

The manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis

Volume 2

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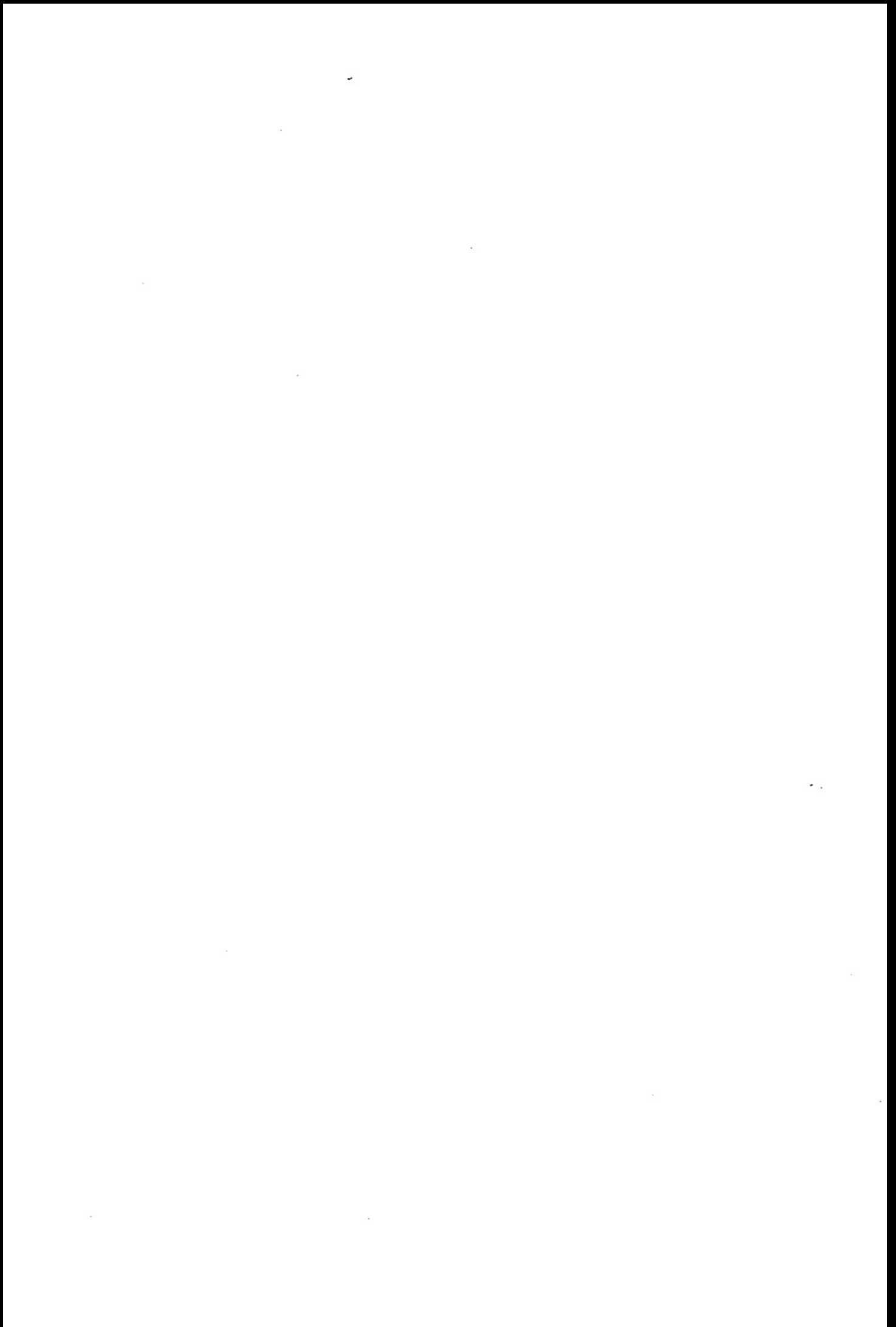


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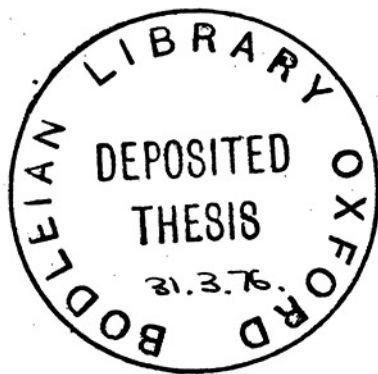
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MS. D. Piu. c. 1722.

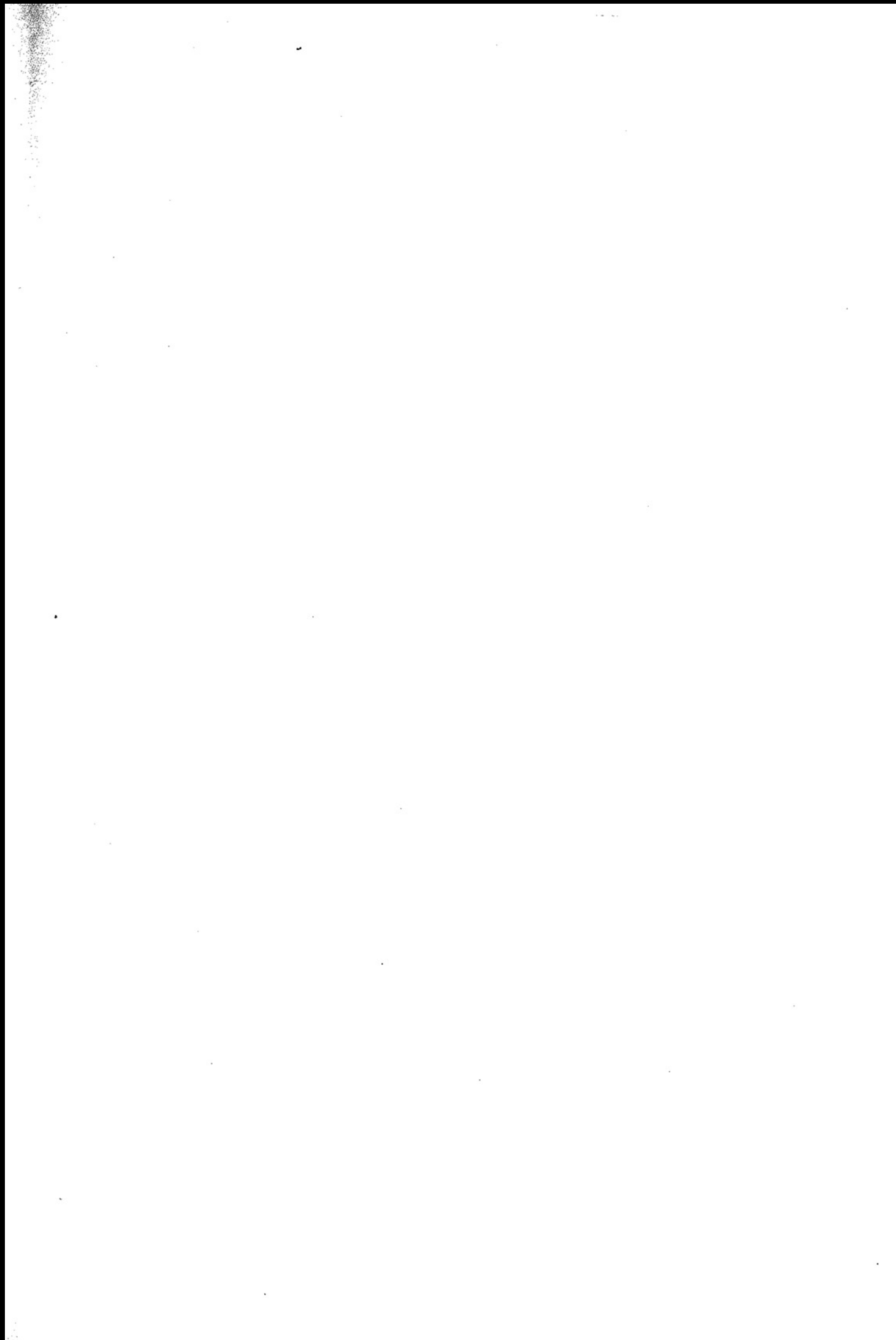


PART II

Sample descriptions of manuscripts



There are no pp. 140-9



MS.2 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MSS.D'Orville 77 + 95 (S.C.16955+16973).

s.x ex. - xi in.

South German.

Quarto.

Evidence that the two parts belong together.

1. A table of contents, s. xv, at MS. D'Orville 77, fol.1^r, includes at the end Yginus de ymaginibus celi, which is no longer present in that volume.
2. MS. D'Orville 95 is an Hyginus of the same collection, and has similar script, decoration, format and binding.
3. The € monogram at MS. D'Orville 95, fol.1^r, is partly coloured with a flaking, greenish pigment. The final verso of MS. D'Orville 77 (fol.114^v) carries a greenish smudge of the right pattern in the right place.
4. In the catalogue of the D'Orville library made by C.J. Strackhoven, s.xviii², now MS. D'Orville 302, fols.20^r and 21^r, the source for both parts is given as lot 486 in the auction-catalogue of the library of Isaac Verburg, Amsterdam 1746.

Contents.

Written by several scribes of a single scriptorium. Changes in scribe usually coincide with the beginnings of texts, which often start in a new quire. The manuscript thus falls into sections.

MS. D'Orville 77.

- I. Quires i-iii. Scribe A. Parchment type (a), ruled after folding. Fol.1^r. Originally blank.

CICERO, the speeches before Caesar:

1. Fols.1^v-7^r. Pro Marcello.
2. Fols.7^r-13^r. Pro Ligario.
3. Fols.13^v-20^r. Pro rege Deiotaro.
Fol.20^v. Blank.

This is A.C. Clark's ms.D, the earliest in his β group, see Classical Review, 14 (1900), 254, and his text, 2nd ed., O.C.T., 1918. Fols.16^v-20^r have an enlarged writing area, probably to ensure that the text did not overshoot the quire.

II. Quires iv - middle of vii. Scribe B. Parchment type (b).

4. Fols.21^r-34^v. CICERO, De amicitia.

5. Fols.34^v-47^v. CICERO, De senectute.

G.S. Vogel, The major manuscripts of Cicero's de senectute, doctoral thesis, University of Chicago 1939, 46-54, thinks that this text of the De senectute, like the excerpts of Hadoardus in Vatican Reg.lat.1762, is a descendant of MS.6 in its corrected form.

III. Remainder of quire vii. Scribe A. Parchment type (b).

6. Fols.48^r-51^r. PS. - CICERO, In Sallustium inuectiua.

7. Fols.51^r-52^v. PS. - SALLUST, In Ciceronem inuectiua.

Fol.52^v. Remainder blank.

IV. Quires viii-xv. Scribe B (but on fol.57^r, lines 1-4 and 12-20 are by an assistant). Parchment type (a), except for quire xiv, (c).

8. Fols.53^r-56^r. CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

9. Fols.56^r-111^r. MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Bk. I ends on fol.88^v, II starts on fol.89^r.

10-12. ITEMS ON MUSIC. They are by the same scribe (B), in the final quire of this section (q.xv), but the collation of the quire suggests either bad planning or that these items were an afterthought (the Macrobius was finished on leaf 3 of a quire of four leaves; a further bifolium was then pasted between leaves 3 and 4). The same items are present in my MS.105, see pp. 17-8, 388-9, 391-2.

10. Fols.111^v-113^v. PS. - JEROME, Epistula ad Dardanum, de diuersis generibus musicorum, with diagrams of musical instruments.

P.L. 30, cols.213-5. A Carolingian treatise, possibly by

Rabanus Maurus. See B. Lambert, Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta, IIIA (= Instrumenta Patristica IV), The Hague etc., 1970, no. 323, for a list of numerous other manuscripts, and pp. 391-2 for manuscripts with similar diagrams.

11. Fol.114^r. Excerpts on music from ISIDORE.

Ad omnem autem sonum quae materies cantilenarum est... quae percussa inuicem se tangunt, et sonum faciunt. Short extracts, written continuously, from Etym. III. xix; xx, 3-4; xxi, 3 (beg.), 4, 6; xxii, 8,9-10, 14, 11.

12. Fol.114^{r-v}. Excerpt on musical theory from MACROBIUS, Comm., II.1, 14-25.

Ambrosii Macrobi de simphoniis musicae. Ex innumera uarietate numerorum...et quattuor semitonia minora. Epogdous continet tonum. The last few sentences of Macrobius are considerably modified. The text differs greatly from the equivalent passage in item 9.

MS. D'Orville 95.

V. Quires xvi-xx. Qq. xvi-xvii (parchment type (c)) are by scribe B; q.xviii (parchment type (d), with a text column less wide than usual) by scribes C and D; and qq. xix-xx (parchment type (e), palimpsest, with measurements of both leaf and written space somewhat different) by scribe D.

13. Fols.1^r-38^v. HYGINVS, Astronomica.

According to L. Fitzgerald, Hygini Astronomica, Ph.D. thesis, St. Louis University, 1967, 24, 339-340, this text of Hyginus is a descendant of Paris lat. 11127 ('saec. X'), but contaminated with readings from another family (represented by Paris lat. 8728, 'saec. IX uel X').

The primary text of the palimpsest leaves (MS. D'Orville 95, fols.25-38).

Very little remains. A few initials can be seen in the left-hand margin, and the odd word is visible under ultra-violet light (e.g. fol.27^r, siderum, end of line 16; colore, end of

last line).

However, two diagrams can be seen:

- i) Fol.28^v (at the bottom of a page of text). Graph diagram, illustrating the course of the planets through the signs of the zodiac (identical to that at P.L. 90, cols.363-4). The lower text of fol.29^r, the other half of the bifolium, begins L ***(una?) terris. An ultra-violet photograph of fol.28^v is reproduced in Exh. Cat., R.W. Hunt and others, The survival of ancient literature, Bodleian Library Oxford, 1975, pl.XVI.
- ii) Fol.31^r (on a page otherwise without primary text). Zodiac circle, divided by radii into twelve parts. The names of the twelve signs were written inside the perimeter; only SAGITTAR [IVS] can now be read. The word iouis occurs under the sign which should be Leo, four signs away from Sagittarius. The diagram doubtless illustrates the circle of the planets in the signs of the zodiac. See p.154.

These diagrams are often found with the astronomical excerpts from Pliny's Natural History which are frequent in manuscripts from s.ix onwards (see p.128). Diagram (i) illustrates excerpt (d), De cursu earum [septem planetarum] per zodiacum circulum; King, p.128, says that it is not to be found in the earliest copies of this excerpt and that the first surviving examples occur in my MS.91, Berne 347, fol.24^v (see pp.340-341), and in Oxford, Bodl., MS. Canon. Class. Lat. 279, fol.34^r (s.x, or ix ex.). Diagram (ii) illustrates excerpt (c), De absidibus earum. It seems very likely therefore that the primary text contained an astronomical miscellany which included the Pliny excerpts, or works based on them.

In format and script, the lower text was very similar to the upper; indeed, the scribe of the upper text uses the ruling of the lower. The lower text was probably therefore waste from the same scriptorium.

Additions.

In the Macrobius, corrections and variants, marginal headings and one-word glosses are added by one main contemporary hand, very similar but probably not identical to scribe B, certainly a member of the same scriptorium.

In the other works, there are contemporary additions, some probably by this hand, and a few later additions. There are also several contemporary pen-trials (e.g. MS. D'Orville 77, fol. 1^r: Noli esse incredulus sed fidelis quia ipse ego tecum sum, dicit dominus, written twice).

Technical description.

Number of leaves i + 114 + i and i + 38 + i, foliated (mainly in ink, s. xviii) i, 1-115 and i, 1-39. Collation 1-ii⁶, iii⁸/iv-vii⁸,/viii-xiv⁸, xv⁶ (the bifolia are put together thus ii⁶ iii⁸); leaves 3 and 4 are pasted together at the fold), /xvi-xix⁸, xx⁶. No quire-signatures.

Parchment, of several types:

- a) Qq. i-iii (= pt. I), viii-xiii, xv (= most of pt. IV). Generally thin, pliable, wrinkled and shiny parchment, yellow, often with purplish spots.
- b) Qq. iv-vii (= pts. II & III). Thick, card-like, grey parchment, with an unwrinkled, matt surface, again with purplish spots. Hair-sides, indistinguishable from flesh-sides. Some natural holes.
- c) Qq. xiv, xvi-xvii (one quire of pt. IV and two of V). Similar to type (a), but thicker and unwrinkled, without spots.
- d) Q. xviii (in pt. V). Similar to (c), but with a harsh, matt surface which takes the ink badly. Poor quality.
- e) Qq. xix, xx (last two quires of pt. V). Palimpsest. Similar quality to types (a) and (c). No spots.

The deterioration of quality in (d), and the use of palimpsest material in (e), suggest a shortage of parchment in the scriptorium.

c.238-242 (236 in qq. xix-xx) x 171-3mm. Written space c.
184-186x111-113mm. (MS. D'Orville 77, fols.16^V-20^R, end of
q.iii, pt.I: c. 184x134mm. Q.xviii, c.185x106mm. Qq.xix-xx,
c.178x108-118mm. i col. 30 lines.

Ruling in hard point, normally ><>< / ><>< , except in

- 1) Qq. i, > x x | x > x .
ii, >>< | < > x .
iii, >>> x | >>>> .

Prickings found in the inner margins as well as in the outer margins of these quires confirm that they were ruled after folding (sometimes twice, once on each side).

- 2) Qq.vi, ><<> | <>>< .
vii, <><> | <><> .

These were ruled before folding, and the dislocation was perhaps produced by the difficulty of distinguishing hair - and flesh-sides in parchment type (b).

In the palimpsest leaves, the scribe of the lower text used much the same format as in the rest of the upper text, but with some slight differences (slits instead of prickings, second and penultimate bounding-lines ruled right across). The scribe of the upper text uses the lower text's ruling, reinforcing it with brown ink where necessary.

Script: caroline minuscule, by four main scribes:

- A. Pts. I and III. Neat, rounded script, usually large.
B. Pts. II, IV, first two quires of V. Small, neat, expert hand. Fol.57^R lines 1-4 and 12-20 are by a larger, more spreading hand.
C. MS. D'Orville 95, fols.17^R-22^V line 27, in q.xviii, pt.V. Letters with small bodies but long ascenders and descenders. Many abbreviations. Et = .
D. MS. D'Orville 95, fols.22^V line 27-38^V, part of q.xviii and qq.xix-xx, in pt.V. A very uneven script by a scribe who seems to use two basic styles interchangeably: a very rapid, jagged script, with the pen held at a steep angle to give thick, horizontal strokes; and a slower, more formal,

rounded style (for both, see e.g. fol.25^r). It is possible that more than one scribe is at work here.

Decoration: good interlace initials, MS. D'Orville 77, fols.1^v, 53^r, 56^v and MS. D'Orville 95, fol.1^r, with fillings in oxidising red, and green, sometimes with greenish and flaking gold. Smaller decorated initials, in red only, in MS. D'Orville 77, fols.21^r, 56^r. Titles and first words often in capitals of oxidised red.

Diagrams in the Macrobius usually in ink, but in the Macrobian map at MS. D'Orville 77, fol. 100^r, the ocean is represented by a wash of green. The musical diagrams of item 10 are drawn in oxidised red.

2^o fol.: Ut quidem (MS. D'Orville 77, fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written in s.x ex.-xi in., in southern Germany. It is unfortunate that the exact place of origin of this manuscript, with Corbie connections in its textual ancestry, is unknown. A clue is provided by its close textual links (in items 8-12) with my MS.105, a manuscript which reached Munich with the Freising collection; unfortunately there is no proof that MS.105 was written at Freising, although there are some slight indications; see pp.391-2 for these and for two other manuscripts of item 10 containing diagrams related to those of MSS. 2 and 105.
2. The ms. belonged to a chained library (MS.D'Orville 77, fols. 96^v-97^r, show the marks of a rusty chain which must have got caught up with the book).
3. MS.D'Orville 77, fol.1^r, has a table of contents written in a cursive hand of s.xv: Tullius ad Marcellum. ad ligarium/
Item de amicitia. Item de Iotoro(sic). Item de senectute/Item
Macrobius. Item yginus de ymaginibus celi.

4. Isaac Verburg (1680-1745) of Amsterdam, whose edition of the complete works of Cicero was printed at Amsterdam in 1724. His edition was mainly based on earlier editions, and he makes no certain references to this manuscript. With the Hyginus still attached, it was no.486 in the auction-catalogue of Verburg's books, Amsterdam 1746.
5. Jacques Phillippe D'Orville (1690-1751), of Amsterdam, bought the manuscript at Verburg's sale, as we know from Strackhoven's catalogue (see above, p.150). At some time before that catalogue was written, the Hyginus was separated from the rest of the manuscript, and the two volumes were bound in a standard D'Orville binding of smooth brown leather.

The D'Orville collection passed via Jacques Phillippe's son Jean, his grandson also named Jean, and J. Cleaver Banks, to

6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, in 1804. Until the publication of vol.IV of the Summary Catalogue in 1897, MS.D'Orville 77 was known by its shelfmark Auct. X. 1. 3. 18, and MS.D'Orville 95 Auct. X. 1. 3. 36.

Bibliography.

1. R. Ellis, XX facsimiles from Latin MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 1891, pl.4 (MS. D'Orville 95, fol. 6^v).
2. R. Ellis, Specimens of Latin palaeography from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 1903, pl.13 (same plate as the 1891 edition).
3. Pächt & Alexander, i. nos.27, 28, pl.III (Shows the initial C in MS. D'Orville 77, fol.53^r, and the diagrams at fol.113^v).
4. Exh. Cat., Monumenta Annonis. Köln und Siegburg: Weltbild und Kunst im hohen Mittelalter (Eine Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums der Stadt Köln in der Cäcilienkirche vom 30 April bis zum 27. Juli 1975), Cologne 1975, no.A47, pp.115 (reproduces

MS. D'Orville 77, fol.100^r, with map) and 119.

5. Exh. Cat., R.W. Hunt and others, The survival of ancient literature, Bodleian Library Oxford, 1975, pp.56-7 no.107, pl. XVI (MS. D'Orville 95, fol.28^v, ultra-violet photograph).
6. Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio..., 160-162,164.

MS.4 PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.6370.

s.ix, first third.

French, probably written at Tours.

Large quarto. The oldest and most beautiful manuscript of the Commentary.

Contents.

1. Fols.1^r-111^v.

MACROBIVS, Commentary.

Bk.I ends on fol.67^v, followed by the added subscriptio (see pp.188-9, below, and pp.25-37); fol.68^r, Diagram 2 (Rain) added by Additional hand 2 in the space left for it by the original scribe; bottom of fol.68^r, original closing title of Bk.I, in red rustics; Bk.II begins on fol.68^v, with title in square capitals, in red.

The central bifolium of q.xiv was discarded and replaced by Lupus of Ferrières (see below, pp.169-170), causing the loss in the original text of II.16,10 (Willis 147.29)//non nocebit - abstrahet.//II.17,3 (Willis 151.15). Many other passages and readings of the original have also been destroyed by Lupus' habit of correction by erasure (see below, pp.171-172).

By the same scribe and in the same format:

2. Fol.112^{r-v}.

MACROBIVS, Saturnalia, Praef.1-6 (Willis p.2.22) commi//[temus] (the rest of the word was supplied later by Lupus, on the line).

This leaf survives because it is the last of the final quire of the Commentary; the remainder of the Saturnalia was divided from the Commentary at some time before 1574, and lost (see below, p.198, and, for Lupus and the Saturnalia, pp.60-62).

Technical description.

i+112(110 original leaves + 2 early replacement leaves)+i.

Foliated 1-112 (with one mistake: 94,95,95,97) in ink, s.xix(?).

Unnumbered parchment fly-leaves of the date of binding. Collation i-xiii⁸, xiv⁸ leaves 4 and 5 (the inner bifolium) discarded or lost, and replaced by Lupus (see below, pp.169-170), further quires now lost after q.xiv. Two sets of quire-signatures:

- a) One surviving number, at the centre of the bottom edge of the last leaf of q.ix, fol.72^v: VIII|. This is probably original, although in a browner ink than the script, and its agreement with the present collation shows that nothing has been lost at the beginning (and therefore that this manuscript has never contained a text of the Somnium Scipionis). To its left occur the following signs (Tironian quire-signatures?)⁽¹⁾, perhaps written at different times: 9̄ and m̄.

1. Rand, A survey ..., 1929, I, p.21, notes the occurrence of Tironian quire-signatures in a number of his Tours manuscripts, from the earliest times to the end of s.ix, sometimes accompanying ordinary signatures.

- b) At the bottom right-hand corner of the first recto of most quires, b (fol.9^r) - n (fol.97^r), in small cursive minuscule, s.xvi, added when the present binding was put on (cf. the identical signatures in Paris lat.6332, also in a Charles IX binding).

Parchment of good quality: somewhat limp; thickness varies from quite thick to thin and wrinkled; the colour is generally white on both sides, but there is a lot of stippling on some hair-sides, which are sometimes deep yellow on the thickest leaves (e.g. fols.26-27); the surface is smooth, shiny and rather greasy on both sides (but the hair-side of Lupus' bifolium, fols.108^v/109^r, has a distinctively rough surface). 289x244 mm. Written space 176-184 x 135-144 mm. 1 col. 21 lines.

Ruling. In hard point. Hair sides are always on the outside of the quire, and the regular hair-flesh sequence is observed. The leaves were ruled as follows⁽²⁾:

Quires i-ii and xiii:	» « » «
Quires iii-viii and xi:	» » « «
Quire ix:	<< < > < > >

Quire x: $\rightarrow \langle \langle \langle \langle \mid \rangle \rangle \rightarrow \langle$

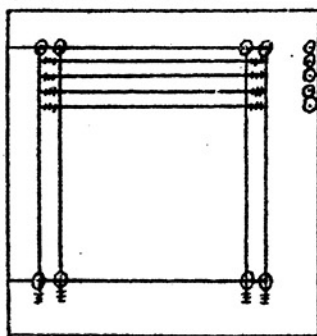
Quire xii: $\langle \langle \mid \rangle \rangle$

Quire xiv (leaves 4 and 5 are Lupus' replacements): $\rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \langle \mid \rangle \langle \langle \langle \langle$ (sic).

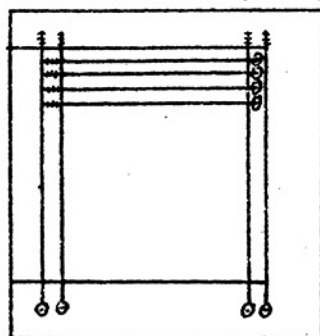
In most quires, therefore, the bifolia were ruled two at a time, before folding, and only the bifolia bearing primary ruling (i.e. the upper bifolium of the two being ruled) show prickings. Jones (see p.199, Bibliography, below), p.100, designates the ruling in MS.4 as '2 0(1d) S(yle)' in Rand's system, in which the change from 'Old Style' to 'New Style' ruling is dated to c.820 A.D.⁽³⁾

Two patterns of pricking and ruling are employed⁽⁴⁾:

a) Quires i-iii:



b) Quires iv-xiv (except Lupus' bifolium):



c) Lupus' bifolium (fols.108-9) was first pricked and ruled as (b), then pricked and ruled again as (a). Lupus wrote in the matrix produced by his second ruling.

2. Dots in my formulae refer to pricking: \rightarrow means pricked and ruled on the recto, \langle means pricked and ruled on the verso. Two dots mean two sets of prickings.
3. See Rand, A Survey ..., 1929, I, pp.11-18.
4. In my diagrams, ordinary lines = lines always present; barred lines = lines sometimes present; dots encircled = prickings.

Script and decoration.

Hierarchy of scripts. There is no decoration, except for the simple but striking effect achieved by the use of a hierarchy of scripts at the beginnings and ends of books. There are large initials and titles in superb square capitals, in red, at fols.68^v and 112^r (there is no

original title at fol.1^r, and the initial is not stressed). Fol.68^r has an original closing title to Bk.I, in red rustic capitals (the pigment is identical to that used on fol.68^v, proving that the closing title is part of the original scheme, not an addition), but Bk.II closes on fol.111^v without an explicit. At fol.1^r, the first three lines of the text are written in red uncials, and the first line of Bk.II at fol.68^v is also in uncials, in ink; the beginning of the Saturnalia at fol.111^r is in ordinary minuscule. The last word of Bk.I, on fol.67^v, is in widely-spaced half-uncial. Small capitals in the course of the text are in uncials or rustics.

Both the fine square capitals and the care taken to observe the hierarchy of scripts are characteristic of Tours⁽⁵⁾.

5. Rand, A Survey ..., 1929, I, vii, 33,49,53,61. Number of scribes. Jones (see Bibliography, *below*, p.199), p.100, makes the following analysis:

'Four main hands: A (1^r-4^r, 1.3 from bottom), B (4^r, 1.3 from bottom to 47^v, 1.2; 48^r, 11.1-2; 48^r, 11.9-67^v; 110^v-112^v. At 48^r, 1.9 the script looks like the work of a new hand, but it is pretty certainly that of the same hand writing more compactly. It becomes angular because of the compression, but expands somewhat again on 66^v, 67^r, and 67^v), D (47^v, 1.3 to bottom; 48^r, 1.3, first half, and 4-8), and E (68^v-110^r).' [Jones' hand C is Lupus; Jones does not imply, pace La Penna (p.178, see Bibliography *below*, p.199) that Lupus was actually involved in the original writing of the manuscript].

However, I am inclined to believe that the original manuscript (i.e. before Lupus' intervention) was the work of one skilled but inconsistent scribe. Variations are certainly present, but these are all in colour of ink and in speed and size of writing rather than in the more valid criteria of letter forms or methods of abbreviation. The systems of punctuation and separation of words vary (the latter from rudimentary division to none at all), but gradually rather than suddenly. Jones distinguishes changes of hand at the following places:

- a) Fol.4^r, line 3 from bottom (B takes over from A, secundum Jones). There is indeed a change from light brown to black ink, and the script looks much sharper as a result. However, there is no abrupt change in size (the script of 'A' starts comparatively

small at fol.1^r, but gets gradually larger over the next few pages). I think that the single scribe has simply remixed his ink and recut his pen at this point.

- b) Fols.47^v-48^r. Jones sees the work of scribe B interrupted by D, who writes: fol.47^v, line 3 to bottom; 48^r, line 3 first half and 4-8. 'D's work can in fact be regarded as continuous, since the first two lines of fols.47^v and 48^r were written earlier (see below), and the second half of fol.48^r, line 3 is probably by Lupus writing in erasure; the lines ascribed to 'D' are in a browner ink than the surrounding script, and written more carelessly and at a greater slant. But this could still be by the main scribe, cf. fol.15^r, where the script in the browner ink becomes more and more untidy, even shaky, and fols.48^r, line 9-67^v, where the script becomes smaller and tends to slant, towards the end of the section (especially fol.67^r).
- c) Fols.68^v-110^r (not counting Lupus' bifolium, 108-9), ascribed by Jones to 'E'. I can see no difference between the script of these pages and the 'compact' style of the preceding section which Jones ascribes to B, nor is there any great change at fols.110^v-112^v, except that the scribe returns to his boldest and most stately style for the beginning of the Saturnalia at fol. 112^{r-v}.

Technique of copying the exemplar. Jones makes this observation (p.101):

'Evidence of fitting one page of the model into one page of the copy is obvious on foll.54^v, 58^v, 59^r, and again on foll.110^v, 111^r, 111^v and possibly 112^v (all by Hand B). In all of these places the scribe has written the first line or two of text in ink of one color, (to mark his cues) and has supplied the remainder in ink of a slightly different color'.

The phenomenon of a difference between the top line or two of a page and the remaining lines is even more widespread than Jones indicates; I noticed 50 instances among the total of 224 sides. The difference is not only in the colour of the ink, but sometimes also in the appearance of the script: the lines at the top of the page are often written in a much more careful, statelier script (i.e. in the type designated by

Jones as 'Hand B') than the remaining lines. It is significant that the phenomenon is least noticeable in the earlier pages, which are written throughout in the rounder, more careful style; the same method was no doubt employed here (see e.g. fols.16^v, 22^r, 22^v, etc.), but there is simply less difference, so that the top lines, written first, do not show up against the rest. If Jones is right to distinguish four separate hands, his hand 'B' nevertheless wrote the first line or two in the pages written by 'D' (47^v, 48^r), as Jones admits, and in most pages written by 'E' (e.g. fols.71^r, 73^r, 74^r, etc.). It could be that 'B' (the best scribe) was the director of the project, but it seems to me more likely that the whole manuscript is by one scribe, who laid out the work for himself at the beginning of his task in his best script, and whose degree of carefulness varied in the course of the work.

The complement to the technique of writing in the top lines first is the need for adjustment at the bottoms of pages. Here words are sometimes bunched together (fols.8^v, 74^v, 84^r, 102^v, 104^v, 106^r, 106^v) or stretched out (fols.67^r, 78^r, 95^r), or a gap is left (fols. 18^v, 78^v, 99^v, 100^r, 101^v, 110^r). At fols.40^v/41^r, the same word est is written twice, at the end of one page (and quire) and at the beginning of another; that on fol.41^r was later erased. This again proves that the project was planned and laid out first. It is most likely to have been done by page for page transcription from the exemplar⁽⁶⁾. Such planning is normally carried out in order that the pages or quires of the exemplar can be handed out to different scribes; this is not the case here even if we accept Jones' view of the four scribes, and I think it is quite plausible that the phenomenon here was caused by a single scribe who prudently calculated the amount of parchment required.

At fol.111^v (last page of the Commentary), gaps are left in three places where the exemplar must have been illegible (see pp.47-48).

6. Rand, A survey ..., I, 22-3, notices a similar example of page for page transcription from the exemplar, in quire XLI of the Grandval bible (London, British Library, Add.10546, fols.309-316).

Letter-forms. Beautiful, rounded caroline minuscule, varying from a slow, stately script (e.g. fol.4^v) to a faster, more untidy hand (e.g. fol.15^r, and especially towards the end), but in general of excellent quality. Jones, p.100:

'the letters are almost always pure in style, though uncial a and pointed v are used several times as minuscules. Ligatures are exceedingly rare. us, ur, li, and nt do, however, appear once or twice each, generally at the end of a line. Greek letters are fairly well rendered'.

Uncial α appears at fols.30^v line 8 and 101^r line 5, and open α (later altered) at fol.37^v line 7. Open ζ. The ligature for -orum, -ā, occurs at fol.80^r line 4.

Abbreviations. Jones, p.100:

'Few. Regular. tur apparently always written out. Also ÷ (est) b₃ (bus) and q₃ (que), all rarely'.

Jones is in fact wrong about -tur; I have noticed the sign for -tur -t̃ at 18 places, usually at the ends of lines, and always changed by Additional hand 3 to -t̃ (e.g. fols.11^r line 5 and 11^v line 7).

Examples of the sign for -tur -t̃, perhaps original, occur at fols. 15^v line 4 and 56^v line 3. Other abbreviations:

autem = autē (fol.47^v line 11) or aut̄ (fol.43^r line 6).

erunt = eṛ (fols.1^v line 17, 110^r line 1).

est = ·ē· or ÷ (fol.72^v, end of line 16).

quoniam = qn̄m (fol.88^v, line 2).

sunt = ṡ (fol.1^v, line 2).

tamen = taṁ (fol.10^r, line 9).

Spelling. The spelling of the original is often peculiar, though usually corrected by the additional hands; among the commoner idiosyncracies, before correction, are:

- a) h often dropped, e.g. fol.12^v, lines 8-9 (Comm.I.6,5, Willis 19.17)
abeatur for habeatur; fol.67^v, line 14 (I.22,13, Willis 93.30)
inibita for inhibita; fol.81^v, line 10 (II.5,18, Willis 113.3)
inabitabilis for inhabitabilis.

Less frequently, h is added, e.g. fol.34^v, line 11 (I.12,7, Willis 49.10) hebrietate for ebrietate; fol.51^r line 9 (I.18,5,

Willis 70.27) horionis for Orionis.

- b) t is often substituted for c, sometimes with unfortunate results, e.g. fol.13^r line 5 (I.6,9, Willis 20.4) atiem for aciem; fol. 52^r, line 17 (I.18,15, Willis 72.16) tunt for tunc; fol.63^r, line 15 (I.21,15, Willis 87.23-4) capatitatis for capacitatis; fol.110^v line 10 (II.17,8, Willis 152.15) Graetia for Graecia.
- c) i is often substituted for e, e.g. fol.77^r, line 14 (II.4,4, Willis 107.30) languiscente for languescente; fol.83^r, line 16 (II.5,30, Willis 115.3) diserta for deserta.

Equally often, e replaces i, e.g. fol.63^r, line 14 (I.21,15, Willis 87.23) demensione for dimensione; fol.103^r, line 7 (II.15, 7, Willis 141.15) deuersis for diuersis.

- d) There is a tendency to put an unnecessary a before e, e.g. fol.3^r line 12 (I.2,6, Willis 5.9) saepae for saepe; fol.5^v, line 4 (I.3,4) oppraessi for oppressi.

On the other hand, the original scribe often puts a simple e for ae, and a later corrector adds a cedilla.

Less frequent peculiarities include:

- e) c for g, e.g. coaculatum for coagulatum, fol.66^v, line 4 (I.22,5, Willis 92.10) and aucrementum for augmentum, fol.73^v, line 2 (II. 2,16, Willis 102.11).
- f) menbra for membra, fol.12^v, line 13 (I.6,6, Willis 19.22).
- g) magestate for maiestate, fol.12^v, line 14 (I.6,6, Willis 19.23).
- h) abtius for aptius, fol.13^r, line 16 (I.6,10, Willis 20.15).
- i) curbatur for curuatur, fol.46^r, line 15 (I.15,18, Willis 63.29).

Punctuation. Jones, p.100:

'The dot usually at the top of a letter for the full stop, and usually on or near the line for the half stop. The usage is not consistent. Later changes.'

The frequent later changes and additions make the original punctuation hard to analyse.

2^o fol.: per illam demum (fol.2^r).

Additional hands.

Additions have been made in this manuscript by numerous hands of varying dates. Some additions are so trivial that it is impossible to tell which hand is responsible, and further complication is caused by the use of the same techniques of addition by different hands (e.g. by hands 1 and 3, 4 and 5 below). Only the most important additional hands are described here.

Additional hand 1. Servatus Lupus of Ferrières (c.805-862).

It was Traube who, in 1891, first surmised that additions in a manuscript of Valerius Maximus (Berne 366), were such that their scribe might be identified as Lupus of Ferrières⁽¹⁾. Since then the identification has been strengthened by work on several other manuscripts in which the same hand has been found. In 1931, additions in MS.4 were identified as being in this hand by C.H. Beeson, the major specialist in the field, who allowed the discovery to be published in 1934 by Jones (see Bibliography, below), pp.100-101. The attribution is accepted in the best and most critical modern survey of this group of manuscripts, that of É.Pellegrin⁽²⁾. She rightly points out⁽³⁾ that although many of them do contain annotations by the same 9th -cent. hand, the identification of that hand with Lupus of Ferrières is still perhaps not quite proven, although extremely probable; 'Continuons donc, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, à donner à ce correcteur le nom de Loup de Ferrières'.

Detailed studies of two Lupus manuscripts have been published: London, British Library, Harl.2736, the one manuscript written entirely in Lupus' hand, main text and all, published with a complete facsimile by C.H.Beeson⁽⁴⁾; and Vatican, Reg.lat.597, extensively annotated by Lupus, analysed by Beeson's pupil, Sister L.Meagher⁽⁵⁾. In a comparison with these two manuscripts, the additions of hand 1 in MS.4 show the same scribal habits and the same tricks of editorial technique.

1. See the revised edition of the 1891 article in L.Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen III (ed. S.Brandt), Munich 1920, 3-17.

2. 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières ...' The scruples of La Penna about the identification, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370 ...', 179, are without weight. See Bibliography below, p. 199, for both references.
3. 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières ...', 19-20.
4. C.H. Beeson, Lupus of Ferrières as scribe and text critic (Medieval Academy of America, publication no. 4, Cambridge (Mass.), 1930.
5. L. Meagher, The Gellius manuscript of Lupus of Ferrières (Ph.D thesis for the University of Chicago), Chicago, 1936.

Script. Features noted in Beeson's analysis of the script of Harl. 2736⁽⁶⁾ and which also appear in the additions of hand 1. in MS.4 are: \mathfrak{g} of the 'figure 3 type', usually with the upper bowl open; the abbreviation for pro with the slanting stroke ending in a concave hook, \mathfrak{p} (fol. 109^r, lines 2, 14); st without a ligature (fol. 109^r, line 3); the \mathfrak{N} ligature, frequent at the ends of words; etc.

The usual abbreviation for -tur is $-\overset{t}{t}$, but at fol. 23^r, line 5 (in one of Lupus' corrections in erasure) there is a $-\overset{t}{t}$ (used occasionally by Lupus in Harl. 2736 and perhaps inherited from his exemplar)⁽⁷⁾ later corrected to $-\overset{r}{t}$ by hand 3(?). The abbreviation for hoc is h , e.g. fol. 108^r, line 11⁽⁸⁾.

6. Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 10. Cf. Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 17-18.
7. Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 20-21. Hand 3 once corrects Lupus' $-\overset{t}{t}$ to $-\overset{r}{t}$ fol. 108^r, line 15.
8. Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 18.

The additions.

a) The middle bifolium of the last quire (xiv), fols. 108^r-109^v, is written entirely in Lupus' hand. It contains Comm. II. 16, 10 (Willis 147.29) [animae]//non/nocebit - abstrahet.//[namque] II. 17, 3 (Willis 151.15).

The last line of fol. 109^v shows distinct signs of 'stretching', with a gap at the end, while the previous three lines are compressed.

It is clear, therefore, that Lupus had to fit a given amount of text onto the bifolium, and that he wrote it at a time after the completion of the top line of fol.110^r.

For a possible explanation as to why Lupus replaced this bifolium, see pp. 51-55.

b) Lupus' concern for the diagrams.

i. Diagram 5, Map. Fol.89^v was almost entirely rewritten by Lupus.

The text as originally written covered the entire writing-space except for the last half-line; the next page begins at II.9,8 (Willis 124.1) Quod autem ..., and Quod is given a slightly larger initial than usual for this manuscript. Since the normal position in the manuscripts for diagram 5 (map) is just before Quod, it seems likely that the original scribe allowed for the diagram when he wrote in the top lines of his pages (cf. diagrams 1 and 4, where spaces are left for the diagrams at the bottoms of pages, while the texts resume on the following pages with slightly larger initials, fols.62^r, 86^r).

However, not enough space was left on fol.89^v for the map, so Lupus erased the entire text from the end of line 4 to the bottom of the page (II.9,5, Willis 123.18//nam inter nos et australes ... perseuerat// II.9,7, Willis 124.1), and rewrote it in a smaller, more compressed, and more highly abbreviated script. This effort allowed another five empty lines as well as the lower margin for the map, which was, however, filled in not by Lupus but by hand 2, presumably a collaborator of Lupus (see below, pp.174-175).

ii. 'Lambda' III and 'Medietates' diagrams. At fol.73^r, the

Lambda III diagram appears in the margin opposite its correct place in the text, II.2,15-16. In the inner margin opposite this diagram is a gloss definitely in Lupus' hand: hi numeri qui inter duplares et triplares inserti dicuntur requirendi sunt in fine huius libri. There is nothing at the end of the manuscript as it now stands to which Lupus could here be referring. His reference is surely to the Medietates diagram often found with the Lambda III diagram, and it was presumably placed at the end of the

Saturnalia, of which all but the first page is now missing. It is impossible to tell who is responsible for the Lambda III diagram since there are no letters in it, only numbers; however, Lupus would not have placed his gloss in the narrow inner margin unless the Lambda III diagram were not already taking up the space of the outer margin, and it is much more likely that the diagram is by Lupus himself than by the original scribe, who is responsible for none of the other diagrams.

iii. Tironian notes near other diagrams. They occur in the extreme outer margins opposite the spaces left by the original scribe for the main diagrams:] $\mu \sim i$ (fol.61^v; there are traces of further notes cut away on the left); $\delta \sim \sim$ (fols.68^r, 81^r, 85^v); an erasure in the appropriate spot on fol.89^v may have been a similar inscription. $\delta \sim \sim$ must be deest, and it seems plausible that \sim means something like figura. They must have been written before hand 2 set the diagrams in place, and they could well be instructions to that hand. If so, the joint activities of Lupus and hand 2 over the map on fol.89^v (see (i) above) make it very likely that Lupus added these notes as instructions to his collaborator.

However, it is also quite possible that the notes were added not by Lupus but by those who originally made the manuscript (see above, p. 161, for a Tironian quire-signature, possibly added in the original scriptorium).

c) Corrections in the text. The various methods used here reflect those in Lupus' other manuscripts:

I. Corrections in erasure. Lupus' characteristic habit⁽⁹⁾ of erasing and rewriting whole lines, or parts of lines, or a few letters, is very much in evidence throughout MS.4 (e.g. fols.7^v, lines 7-8, and 18-20; 8^r, lines 2,4,8 and 10; 9^v, line 14, etc.)⁽¹⁰⁾. It is his most common method of correction. Some of these corrections may be of a 'technical' nature, i.e. corrections of scribal practices which displeased him,⁽¹¹⁾ rather than corrections of actual mistakes and variants in the text; unfortunately, the original readings are

usually completely obliterated, even under the ultra-violet lamp, so that they must all be regarded as potential places where the original readings differed from those now visible, unless there are obvious technical reasons for the erasure⁽¹²⁾. Some of Lupus' corrections in erasure are done so skilfully that they do not show up on microfilm. Willis, the first editor of Macrobius to use this manuscript, prints many readings from it in his apparatus criticus, but his work is vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the original readings and Lupus' corrections in erasure⁽¹³⁾.

As a further complication, not all corrections in erasure in MS.4 are by Lupus. For example, the words in aliam rursus discretionem, added in erasure at fol.3^v, lines 12-13 (Comm.I.2,10, Willis 6.3-4), are almost certainly by the original scribe, for they are in the same pale ink as the rest of the page.

9. Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 45-6; Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 44-8.
10. A few letters are corrected in erasure on the single surviving leaf of the Saturnalia, fol.112, e.g. fol.112^r, lines 9 and 10 of the minuscule script; these corrections were presumably by Lupus, but there is insufficient *material* positively to identify his hand.
11. Sister Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 22-27, notes many examples in her manuscript, usually concerning the starts of chapters, and mentions other manuscripts in which they occur, p.19.
12. e.g. the insertion of the map at fol.89^v (see above, p.170) or the correction of syllabic division between lines (see below, p.174).
13. The manuscript's siglum in Willis' edition is 'S'. Willis gives no indication that Lupus was involved in correcting the manuscript (see his introduction to vol.I, Saturnalia, Teubner, Leipzig, 1963, p.viii), although he must have known of the fact from the article of La Penna (see Bibliography, below, p.199 ; cited in Willis' bibliography, vol.I, p.464), who first drew attention to the textual importance of the manuscript.

II. The supplying of omissions, in the margin, linked to the text by a repeated signe-de-renvoie,^h at fols.23^v and 76^v, ^h at fol.37^r(14).

14. Neither of these signs are mentioned by Beeson (Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 36-7) or by Sister Meagher (The Gellius manuscript ..., 43).

In the following types of correction, III and IV, some examples are probably by Lupus, but others could be by his successors, who used the same devices (especially Additional hand 3); it is usually impossible to be certain of the corrector's identity because the corrections involved are so tiny, often without the addition of any letters.

III. Deletion of an offending letter with a diagonal stroke, with the substitute letter (if any) written above it (e.g. fol.24^v, line 11, a spelling variant, adloquendo). This device was certainly used by Lupus⁽¹⁵⁾.

15. Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 44; Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 52-3.

IV. Correction of word-order through slanting strokes over the words involved⁽¹⁶⁾, e.g. fol.41^r, lines 11-12 (I.14,2, Willis 57.20) nunc plura dicere to give the more usual reading plura nunc dicere.

These signs are also used as guides to construing sentences, with no intention of changing the word-order, e.g. fol.33^v lines 9-10 — an ambiguity which could have been a potential source of error for future copyists.

16. Cf. Harl.2736, fol.37^r, col.II, line 6, in Beeson's facsimile.

Some of the many additional marks which separate words run together by the original scribe,⁽¹⁷⁾ the added punctuation marks, and the spelling corrections, could well be by Lupus, but they are again too slight for identification to be possible.

17. Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 60.

d) Syllabic division. The most characteristic feature of Lupus' corrections in the various manuscripts is his attention to the division of words between the end of one line and the beginning of the next. Beeson⁽¹⁸⁾ notes that he adopts 'the rule of the Latin grammarians, by which any pronounceable group of consonants is placed with the following vowel'. This rule is imposed by Lupus on MS.4, and in order to produce conformity he erases letters at the ends of lines and writes them at the beginning of the next, or vice-versa, e.g. fols.12^r lines 11-12 nas/cuntur becomes na/scuntur; 36^r lines 4-5 m/eruerunt becomes /meruerunt; 52^v lines 15-16 mons/tra becomes mon/stra. These are only a few of many examples. Even Greek words do not escape; at fol.71^r, lines 13-14, ΔΙΑΠΑCΩ/N becomes ΔΙΑΠΑCΩN/.

At some points, Lupus adds a letter but forgets to erase its counterpart on the other line, thus creating variants: fols.22^r, lines 1-2 collec/tas becomes collec/ctas; 79^r, lines 19-20 mag/num becomes mag/gnum. At 42^r, lines 12-13 and 43^r lines 17-18 the unnecessary letters are not erased but deleted (perhaps not by Lupus).

18. Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 14-15, 46-7, cf. Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 60.

e) Marginal headings. Those by Lupus are very few, but unmistakably in his hand. Two are in his typical rustic capitals, in rich brown ink:

Fol.5^r, opposite I.3,2 (Willis 8.18): DE DIVERSITATE SOMNIORVM.

Fol.94^r, opposite II.11,10 (Willis 129.8): DE MAGNO ANNO.

Three more are in minuscule:

Fol.87^r, opposite II.7,15 (Willis 120.7): de civitate syene.

Fol.88^r, opposite II.8,1 (Willis 121.16-17): laus uirgilii.

Fol.94^r, opposite II.11,12 (Willis 128.24-5): quid sit proprie mundus.

Additional hand 2.

A hand using pale brown ink, s.ix, adds the five major *Macrobian diagrams*. ☪ The compasses used to draw the circles

of the diagrams also left prickings in the surrounding leaves; this indicates that hand 2 did his work after the book had been bound. The greenish-yellow pigment visible in hand 2's version of the map (fol.89^V) is not original, but a 12th.-cent. addition by hand 5 (the same shade appears in the map added beside hand 2's version on fol. 89^V).

The capital letters in the diagrams tend to be uncial in form, and built up, but the smaller capitals are more rustic. The minuscule script, which appears in diagrams 4 and 5, fols.85^V and 89^V, is a tiny caroline 'glossing' script. It is similar but not identical to that of hand 3 (Heiric); for example, the a of hand 2 is much more upright and normal than that of hand 3. Since hand 2 adds the diagram at fol.89^V for which Lupus contrived to make a space (see above, p.170), it seems almost certain that he is a collaborator of Lupus (the Tironian signs opposite the other diagrams may also have been added by Lupus for his benefit, see above, p.171). The script of hand 2 is therefore of potential value to palaeographers as that of another personality in the school of Lupus, for comparison with the script of Heiric.

Two ninth-cent. glosses on fol.1^V, which seem to lack the characteristics either of Lupus or of Heiric, could also be by hand 2, although their ink is darker than that of his diagrams:

- a) Written above castigato, Comm.I.1,3 Willis 2.7): l.(=?)
adbreuiato uel emendato.
- b) Written in the margin, with the signe-de-renvoie), referring to inexpugnabilium, Comm.I.1,6 (Willis 2.23)): l. cuius libro nullus rationabiliter contra ire potest.

Additional hand 3. Heiric of Auxerre (841-876/7).

A small caroline hand of s.ix makes additions which exceed those of Lupus in number and variety. The hand is present throughout the Commentary, but not in the single surviving leaf of the Saturnalia (fol.112).

His additions were made at a later stage than those of Lupus, for

he is to be seen at work in the two leaves written entirely by Lupus (fols.108-9), e.g. fol.108^r line 2 with an omission supplied in the margin; 108^r line 19; 108^v marginal heading (Ne). Elsewhere, marginal headings echo words corrected by Lupus in the text, e.g. fol.31^r lapsura silex (line 2, silicem, entirely by Lupus, in erasure), 33^r contag(io) (line 19: I.11,11, Willis 47.21 cogitationis]co<6 letters erased> onis a, contagionis Lupus in ras.).

An important feature of hand 3's additions is that they echo those of Lupus in technique. This suggests at once that they are the work of some pupil of Lupus. Mlle.Pellegrin⁽¹⁹⁾ has tentatively suggested that hand 3 might be Heiric of Auxerre, who studied under Lupus between 859 and 862⁽²⁰⁾.

Our knowledge of Heiric's script rests securely on a 9th.-cent. manuscript now at Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 412 (G 32), for in its margins (pp.39,40) there are added entries relating to the important events of his own life and of his monastery, S.Germain at Auxerre, which must be in his own hand⁽²¹⁾. A second manuscript, Vat.lat.4929, has recently been shown by Billanovich⁽²²⁾ to contain additions in Heiric's own hand: among other works, the manuscript contains the epitome of Valerius Maximus by Julius Paris, which must be closely connected with the work of Lupus and his school on the text of Valerius Maximus⁽²³⁾; the man who supervised the making of Vat.lat.4929 and made major corrections in it learnt his technique from Lupus (whose hand does not, however, appear in the manuscript)⁽²⁴⁾; and, above all, that correcting hand is the same as that which added the entries in Melk 412, i.e. Heiric.

See below, pp. 200-201, for other manuscripts potentially connected with Heiric.

19. 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières...', p.11: 'Quelques notes marginales d'une main plus tardive (Heiric?)'.
20. For these dates, and a detailed study of the problems surrounding the chronology of Heiric's life, see R.Quadri, I. Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre (Spicilegium Friburgense xi), 1966, 3-28.
21. First discovered by Th.Sickel, 'Lettre...sur un manuscrit de Melk, venu de S.Germain d'Auxerre', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 23 (5th ser., tom.III), 1862, 28-38.

22. G. Billanovich, 'Dall' antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche', Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Annuario for 1955-6 and 1956-7, pp.71-107, Tavv.I-IV, including plates of Vat.Lat. 4929 fol.151^v.I and Melk 412, pp.39 and 40 (the article was also published, in an earlier version, in Aevum 30 (1956), 319-337, Tavv.I-IV).

An exhaustive description of Vat.lat.4929, with numerous plates, was published by C.W.Barlow in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, XIII (1936), 87-124, pls.11-18. His analysis of Heiric's additions is on pp.91-8.

23. See *above*, pp.34-6.

24. Billanovich, 'Dall' antica Ravenna ...', 83; Barlow, 97-8. The format of Vat.lat.4929 matches that common to the Harl.2736 group of Lupus, see below, p.193.

I think that Mlle.Pellgrin's suggestion that hand 3 in MS.4 is Heiric of Auxerre can be confirmed by a comparison with the additions in these two other manuscripts. Melk 412 is the locus classicus for the script, while Vat.lat.4929, with the detailed analysis by Barlow, provides an example of Heiric's treatment of a classical manuscript. There are constant parallels with the work of Lupus⁽²⁵⁾.

25. For example, in MS.4 the alterations of word-division at the ends and beginnings of lines all seem to be by Lupus (see above, p.174), in Vat. lat.4929 by Heiric.

Script. Hand 3 in the Macrobius writes swiftly and confidently in a small script, angular and slightly backhand, but of great elegance. It has marked characteristics: λ has a diagonal main stem, sometimes flattening towards the bottom; ϵ is noticeably higher than other letters; \mathcal{N} , with a long first stroke, is frequent in the middle of words. Ligatures: ct = $\mathcal{C}t$; nt = \mathcal{N} ; rt = $\mathcal{R}t$. Abbreviations: the standard -m and -n abbreviation varies from a straight horizontal - to the diagonal ' ; ae = \mathcal{E} , with a spiky cedilla; et = \mathcal{E} ; pro = \mathcal{P} ; -tur = \mathcal{T} . Most of these characteristics can be seen in Billanovich's plates of Heiric's additions in Melk 412 and in Barlow's plates of those in Vat.lat.4929.

The ink of hand 3 in MS.4 is brown, varying from pale brown to

a bright, rich, orange-brown colour. The same bright tinge is to be seen in Vat.lat. 4929 (I have not yet seen the Melk manuscript in the flesh).

The additions.

a) Corrections. In MS.4, the corrections of hand 3 are made in a richer ink and in a slightly larger and more flamboyant script than his other additions. Nevertheless, the similarity in letter forms convinces me that we are concerned here with one hand, not several. Several devices of correction are used:

i. Longer omissions are supplied in the margin using various signes-de-renvoie:

Ÿ, e.g. fols.10^r (line 3), 10^v (line 13 — long omission supplied in lower margin), 40^v (line 3), 99^v (line 10).

Vat.lat.4929: Ÿ (fols.116^r, 150^v, slightly different in shape from those in MS.4 mentioned above, but similar to that which introduces the subscriptio in MS.4 (fol.67^v, see below, pp.138-139) and to those used by Lupus (see Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 43 and pl.I).

∕, e.g. fol.80^r (line 16), cf.fol.108^r (line 2), with ∕ in the margin, / in the text.

Vat.lat.4929: fol.121^v.

Lupus: dots and lines in various combinations used as signes-de-renvoie are typical of Lupus, see Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 36-7, and Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 43.

∴, fol.111^v (lines 8,10,11, where spaces are left in the text by the scribe).

ii. Shorter omissions are sometimes supplied with ^, above the line, and another , below the line, e.g. fols.60^r line 6, 63^v line 12, 69^r line 6, 101^v line 7.

Vat.lat.4929: fol.112^v col.II.

Lupus: Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 37-9;

Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 49-51. In MS.4,

corrections of this type can usually be ascribed to hand 3

rather than to Lupus, because of the colour of ink and also because some examples of the ' sign appear with hand 3's ampersand &, e.g. fols.66^v line 18, 101^v line 7 (the form used by Lupus is quite different, see Beeson, 10).

The letter n is inserted by writing it in majuscule above the line and extending the first down-stroke into the word itself, e.g. fol.64^v line 7 fuera^Nt (cf. fol.101^v line 6, where the same trick is applied to long s).

Lupus: see Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 52.

iii. Short corrections are made above the line by simple expunction, e.g. fols.29^r line 16, 71^r line 3, 75^r line 1, 109^r (Lupus' leaf) line 8.

b) Textual variants. Variants are entered in the margin, and can be distinguished from corrections because the original readings are not deleted or expuncted. They are introduced by the following signs (usually with a group of two or three dots, : or ::, as signes-de-renvoie):

i. *hv*. Fols.25^r, 53^v (inner margin), 62^r (twice), 63^v, 65^r (inner margin), 70^r (inner margin), 82^r (inner margin), 89^r (inner margin), 97^r (inner margin).

According to Chatelain⁽²⁶⁾, *hv* is the Tironian sign for al or aequum; the former is doubtless meant here.

26. É. Chatelain, Introduction à la lecture des notes Tironiennes, text volume, Paris 1900, pp.5 and 44.

ii. \bar{q} or *q*. This sign occurs by itself at fols.14^r (twice) and 70^r; with variants at 12^v (inner margin), 56^v (inner margin) and 65^r (inner margin). The variant at fol.65^r is also accompanied by *hv*.

At some places where *q* is present, it may be that more than one hand is at work. For example, at fol.40^v line 6 (Comm.I.14,8, Willis 56.23 $v\hat{o}v$) *q* appears in the margin and \hat{v} above the line, in a pale ink which may belong to hand 3; but the original non has been altered to noyn in a different ink. At fol.1^v line 7,

it is hard to tell exactly who is responsible for the work on Comm. I.1,5, Willis 2.15, where the original reading inoculandum is marked with a cryphia υ , and next to it in the inner margin is added the variant inculcandum with a υ above it (? used simply as signe-de-renvoie) and a \bar{q} beneath; possibly it is all by hand 3.

Lupus uses the sign q , with or without the cryphia; Beeson⁽²⁷⁾ suggests that it means quaere, and that Lupus uses it to mark corrupt passages (but cf. MS.4, fol.14^v, where hand 3 uses the word in full simply about the sense contained in the passage, in a marginal heading opposite I.6,23, Willis 22.15-16, on the word medietas: quere quae sit horum numerorum medietas).

Vat.lat.4929: Barlow includes q = quaere in his list of marginal additions (e.g. his p.97).

27. Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 28; see also Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 22.

iii. Δ . Hand 3 uses this sign once in MS.4, fol.39^v line 4, with the letter u, to give the variant rutundae for rotundae at I.14,1 (Willis 55.15). Dots $\cdot\cdot$ are used as a signe-de-renvoie. The original reading on the line itself seems to have been rutundae altered to rotundae by a hand which might be that of the scribe but could belong to Lupus or some other early corrector. It is just possible that the original rutundae of the text remained uncorrected at the time of hand 3, and that his addition is merely a marginal heading to remind himself of an interesting form (see below, p. 201). However, if that were so, he would have been more likely to write more than just one letter from the middle of the word (rut. or even r. would be better aides-memoire), and less likely to have used the dots $\cdot\cdot$ as signe-de-renvoie (rarely, if ever, found in MS.4 with marginal headings, but very common with variants). It is therefore much more likely that he is writing after the correction in the text, and that his addition is a variant which echoes the original reading. The interest shown

in this word is significant, see below, p.184 .

Vat.lat.4929: fol.190^v, col.II (Barlow, pl.18). The sign Δ is much more common here than in MS.4, and is often used simply to introduce marginal headings (e.g. fol.159^r, Barlow pl.16). Δ is the Tironian sign for antiquum⁽²⁸⁾, which raises fascinating questions about the variants introduced by it - from an 'old' manuscript? - recognition of an 'archaic' spelling (rutundae)? However, speculation must be restrained, for its usage in Vat.lat. 4929 suggests that it was regarded simply as an economical shape for a signe-de-renvoie rather than as a symbol with a definite meaning.

28. Chatelain, op.cit., 44.

Occasionally, hand 3 adds variants in MS.4, with no sign except the groups of dots used as signes-de-renvoie, e.g. fol.97^r.

c) 'Nota' signs. MS.4 contains a number of nota signs, usually small and of the form $\overline{\text{N}}$ (fols.12^r, 12^v, 19^v, 21^v, etc.). The form $\overline{\text{N}}$ occurs twice, at fol.91^v. They can be attributed to hand 3 rather than to Lupus because they are in the pale brown ink of hand 3 and are sometimes found in conjunction with marginal entries by hand 3 (e.g. fols. 12^v, 21^v, 32^r, etc.).

Vat.lat.4929: the same $\overline{\text{N}}$ occurs passim (see Barlow p.93 col. II), e.g. fol.55^r (Barlow pl.12), 56^v (Barlow pl.56^v).

Lupus: this is the form used by Lupus, see Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 28, and the facsimile of Harl. 2736, fols.4^v, 5^r, etc.; Meagher, The Gellius manuscript..., 22 and pl. I (Reg. lat. 597, fol. 98^r).

See p. 188 for another type of nota sign, $\overline{\text{N}}$, which also occurs in MS.4.

d) Glosses. Hand 3 adds only three short glosses (explanations of words, rather than marginal entries merely drawing attention to them, see below), all above the line in the same short passage on numerical

theory: fol.14^v line 16 (Comm.I.6,23, Willis 22.17) the word extima is annotated id est nouissima; fol.15^r line 3 (Comm.I.6,25, Willis 22.26) the word iugabilem is defined as id est conuenienter iungentem; fol.15^r line 6 (Comm.I.6,25, Willis 22.29) the word oportunitate receives the gloss quadam conuenientia.

Vat.lat.4929: none mentioned by Barlow.

Lupus: none in MS.4, and none mentioned by Beeson or Sister Meagher.

I have made a distinction between explanatory glosses (rare in these manuscripts) and

e) Marginal headings (very common). Like Heiric in Vat.lat.4929, hand 3 of MS.4 follows the practice of Lupus in making a 'marginal index', i.e. by writing in the margins words or phrases taken from or relevant to the text.

Vat.lat.4929: Barlow, pp.93-7, compiles a list of headings.

Lupus: see the lists compiled by Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 32-4; Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 28-43.

The headings added in MS.4 fall into the following categories:

i. Words or phrases summing up the content of a passage, sometimes put into the form of the question which Macrobius might be said to be answering, e.g. fols. 7^v Quid portae cornea et eburn(ea) (Comm.I.3,17-20); 21^v Cur VII uocales (Comm.I.6,70); 78^v Cur celestis musica non auditur (Comm.II.4,14-15); but often they are simple headings, e.g. fols.59^v solis mensura (Comm.I.20,25-32), 79^v sententia Maronis et Tullii de quinque circulis (Comm.II.5,7).

Vat.lat.4929: similar headings are frequent, e.g. Barlow p.97 col.I line 23, Quae gentes interiora terrarum habitant.

Lupus: examples occur in MS.4 itself, see above ,

including one set in the form of a question, fol.94^r).

ii. Interesting proper names, words or phrases occurring in the text (not necessarily discussed there), e.g. fols.35^r Liber pater (Comm.I.12,12, Willis 50.3); 50^r (top margin, opposite an omitted passage

supplied by hand 3 himself) Iupiter (Comm.I.17,14, Willis 69.12); 55^r Iouis (Comm.I.19,18, Willis 76.20); 57^r cor caeli (Comm.I.20,7, Willis 79.26); 77^r tibiae (Comm.II.4,5, Willis 108.1).

Vat.lat.4929: passim, but especially in the Pomponius Mela (see Barlow pp.93-7).

iii. Greek words and words of Greek derivation occurring in the text, e.g. fols.8^r κκοπος (Comm.I.4.1, Willis 12.31); 19^r fasis (echoing the original reading in this manuscript, for φάσις, Comm.I.6,55, Willis 28.20); 75^r stropha (Comm.II.3,5, Willis 104.23); 104^v εαυτον (Comm.II.15,19, Willis 143.16. The text itself in MS.4 has heauton, written entirely in Latin letters).

Vat.lat.4929: apart from the numerous proper names of Greek derivation to which Heiric draws attention in the Pomponius Mela, see also Barlow, p.95 col.I line 16 antict(ones), cf. p.93 col.II antist + (sic) for antictiones; p.97 col.I line 42 metamorf(osis) and line 46 apos(iae).

Lupus: see Meagher, The Gellius manuscript..., p.30, satrapeN for the σατραπήν of Aulus Gellius x.18,2; agona, x.18.5; ΟΥΙΜΑΘΙΑ for ὄψιμαθίαν, xi.7,3; etc.

The extent of Heiric's knowledge of Greek has received some attention⁽²⁹⁾; the conclusion seems to be that it was slight. But in MS.4, he was at least able to put κκοπον into the nominative correctly (see also below, p.185).

29. Quadri, I Collectanea ..., 17-18.

iv. Rare or difficult words, e.g. fols.37^r accers(iri) (Comm.I.13,7, Willis 52.29); 70^r exaud(iebantur) (Comm.II.1,11, Willis 97.9); 87^v alterutrum (Comm.II.8,1, Willis 121.12); 92^v inexperta (Comm.II.10,15, Willis 127.23); 97^v suapte (Comm.II.13,7, Willis 134.11).

Vat.lat.4929: Barlow p.94 col.II lines 32 decid(ens) and 42 subinde.

Lupus draws attention to some of the same words noticed by hand 3: alteruter at MS.Harl. 2736, fol.27^r col.II line 20 (Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 33); in Vatican Reg.lat.597, the word accers(erent)⁽³⁰⁾ appears in his

marginal index at Aulus Gellius xvii.1,11, and suapte at xviii.10,5 (Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 36, 39). The root rotund-/rutund-, to which hand 3 devotes attention by supplying a variant in MS.4, fol.39^V (see above, p. 180) is also noted both by Heiric in Vat.lat.4929 (rutundo occurs in the marginal index, against the original rutundat in the text of Pomponius Mela I, 95, changed to rotundat by a much later corrector, see Barlow p.96 col.I line 41 and p.99 col.I line 42) and by Lupus in Vatican Reg.lat.597 (rutund; noted against rutundis, Aulus Gellius xvi.1,1; Sister Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 34 n.7, remarks that in his marginal entry Lupus started to write ro but changed it at once to ru).

30. The accers- root appears in the marginal index of another manuscript possibly annotated in the circle of Heiric, see below

- v. Common Latin words, presumably picked out for their syntactical usage, e.g. fol.34^V sic(ut) (Comm.I.12,6, Willis 49.3); ne at fols.82^V (Comm.II.5,26, Willis 114.14) and 108^V (Comm.II.16,19, Willis 149.18); 104^X sto (Comm.II.15,15, Willis 142.22). The word quin attracts attention four times, at fols.36^V (Comm.I.13,3, Willis 51.31), 82^X (Comm.II.5,22, Willis 113.23), 84^X (Comm.II.5,36, Willis 116.7) and 99^V (Comm.II.14,9, Willis 136.24).

Vat.lat.4929: few examples, if any, in Barlow's list, pp.93-7. Lupus draws attention to the word quin four times in Vatican Reg.lat.597, at Aulus Gellius xiii.21,20;xv.28,3;xvi.19,15; xvii.13,2 (Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 32,34,36,38).

The evidence of the marginal headings is especially interesting: although marginal headings of types (i) - (iii) (pp.182-3, above) are frequently added in the manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary by hands of all periods, headings of types (iv) and (v), which display an interest in rare words and in grammatical usage, are rare; the interest shown in the same words both by hand 3 in MS.4 and by Lupus in other manuscripts seems to me to prove the intimate connection between the two scholars, and one of those words, the stem rutund-, is also noted by Heiric in Vat.lat.4929 (see above). From such parallels

we can begin to define a distinctive method of approach to classical texts in the circle of Lupus.

In making the marginal index in MS.4, hand 3 used certain peculiarities of technique:

- I. Longer headings are often split into several short lines, narrowing at the bottom to form a triangular shape, e.g. fols. 3^r, 5^v, 11^v, etc.

Vat.lat.4929: see for example, fol.159^r (Barlow, pl.16).

Lupus: Harl.2736 (in Beeson's facsimile), fol.47^r (there are very few longer headings in this manuscript); Vatican, Reg.lat. 597, fol.131^r (Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., pl.II).

There is an exception at fol.32^r, where the heading INFERI, in capitals, is split into its separate syllables, and stretches down the page IN/FE/RI (Comm.I.11,4-5).

- II. Single words in the marginal index are often cast into the nominative if they occur in the text in other cases, e.g. fols. 10^r (Comm.I.5,7, Willis 15.31 and 16.1), lineis becomes lineae, punctis becomes puncta; at fol.30^v (Comm.I.10,12, Willis 43.32-3) uulturem becomes uultur. At fol.8^r (Comm.I.4,1, Willis 12.31) CKOTTON becomes CKOTOC (see above, p.183).

Vat.lat.4929: see, for example, fol.150^v (Barlow pl.15), where the africam and europen of the text become africa and europa.

Lupus: Harl.2736, fol.26^v col.II line 7, persium becomes persius; in Vatican Reg.lat.597, locupletem becomes locuples at Aulus Gellius x.5,2 and agrippae becomes agrippa at xvi.16,1 (Meagher, The Gellius manuscript..., 30 and 35).

By the same principle, but more rarely, verbs are put into the first person singular: at fol.104^r (Comm.II.15,15, Willis 142.22), stare becomes sto, and at fol.107^v (Comm.II.16,8, Willis 147.13) spirare becomes spiro.

Vat.lat.4929: rutundat becomes rutundo (see above,).

Lupus: Harl.2736, fol.41^v col.II line 17, delegare becomes delego; in Vatican Reg.lat.597, cum sertorio faciebant becomes

facio tecum at Aulus Gellius xv.22,10 (Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ...,34) - a clear example of citation for grammatical purposes.

III. The endings of the words entered in the margins are often omitted, through ruthless abbreviation, e.g. fols.16^V (Comm.I.6,36, Willis 24.32) dimens̄ for dimensiones; 31^V (Comm.I.11,1, Willis 45.13) dissip̄ for dissipatur; 63^R (Comm.I.21,12, Willis 87.10) cleps̄ for clepshydrae (original reading).

Vat.lat.4929: fol.56^V (Barlow, pl.13) Amiger̄ for Amigerum; fol.150^V (Barlow pl.15) cimm̄ bosph̄ for cimmerius bosphorus, etc.

Lupus: Beeson, Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 32-4, and Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 28-43, passim.

Words are sometimes abbreviated to their first letters only, e.g. fols.3^R, inner margin (Comm.I.2,7, Willis 5.13) b.f. for bonam frugem; 56^V (Comm.I.20,4, Willis 79, 6-8) dux/p/m for dux ... princeps ... moderator.

Vat.lat.4929: Barlow p.97 col.I fourth line from bottom, m.d. for mentis dubiae; etc.

Lupus: Harl.2736, fol.63^R, GL for glacianti (with a ḡ sign) - but Lupus does not usually abbreviate to such a drastic extent.

IV. Tironian notes. At fol.75^V there is a pair of Tironian notes in the ink of hand 3, perhaps a marginal heading: ∞ √, falling opposite Comm.II.3,10 (Willis 105.27-9) //ut cycni - ter//[renae]. We have already seen that hand 3 introduces variants with signs that could be Tironian (see above, pp.179-181). Their use is another manifestation of hand 3's liking for abbreviation.

Heiric: it is certain that Heiric was adept in their use.

This is stated in his verse preface to the Collectanea:

Haec ego tum notulas doctus tractare furaces/Stringebam digitis arte fauente citis⁽³¹⁾. Tironian signs appear in the margin of Melk 412, p.143, ⁽³²⁾ and in Vat.lat.4929, fols.56^V (extreme top margin) and 190^V ⁽³³⁾.

Lupus: Tironian notes do not seem to have been used by him, in Harl.2736 and Vatican Reg.lat.597 at least; but see above, p.171.

31. Quadri, I Collectanea..., 77.
32. Reproduced by Th.Sickel, Monumenta Graphica Medii Aevi, Vienna 1858, fasc.VIII, pl.XI; other additions, in Heiric's caroline hand, appear on this page.
33. Barlow, pls.13 and 18. For the sake of accuracy, I should add that I cannot prove that these Tironian notes in Melk 412 and Vat.lat.4929 are by Heiric because I have not yet been able to examine the inks in the manuscripts themselves. See below pp.200-1 for other manuscripts containing Tironian notes which may link up with Heiric.

The worst problem in identifying two hands as the same is that the palaeographer may mistake local characteristics for personal ones. In discussing any given hand, he must have a wider grasp of the habits of an entire area and period. Yet for students of 9th.-cent. manuscripts, the tools for acquiring that wider knowledge have yet to be forged.

In identifying hand 3 as that of Heiric, I think that this difficulty is outweighed by the sheer bulk of the similarities in individual criteria, and for this reason I make no apologies for the length and tedium of my exposition. The parallels with Heiric's work in Vat.lat.4929 and with Lupus' work in his manuscripts are innumerable. But in my last sentence there is a hint of the very danger which I have just mentioned: these characteristic critical techniques are symptomatic of a circle, rather than of an individual; hand 3 must be a member of the circle of Lupus, but is he to be identified as Heiric himself? The ultimate criterion is the script alone, and in my view the similarity between hand 3 and the script of Heiric in Melk 412 is sufficient.

Additions of uncertain attribution, made during the Lupus-Heiric period.

- i. Nota signs shaped thus, \mathcal{N} , quite different from those of hand 3 or the later hand 4, appear at fols. 21^r, 49^v, 90^v (twice), 92^v, 96 (= 95 bis)^v. It is impossible to date them because they do not appear in conjunction with any script, but they look earlier rather than later. Sister Meagher, The Gellius manuscript ..., 22 and n. 8, notes one in Vatican Reg. lat. 597, draws the parallel with MS.4, and seems to assume that Lupus is responsible. She may be right. The nota signs in Harl. 2736 fols. 2^v, 3^r, which Beeson thinks are 'much later' than Lupus (Lupus ... as scribe and text critic, 28) are slightly different in form.

- ii. 'Instructions to the rubricator' at the end of Comm., Bk. II, fol. 111^v. The original scribe left no concluding title at the end of Bk. II as he did at the end of Bk. I (fol. 68^r). At the very bottom edge of fol. 111^v, half cut away, is a title written in pale brown ink: ... Cicer]one in somnium Scipionis explicuerunt feliciter. The script is possibly that of hand 3. Its position at the extreme edge suggests that it was intended as instructions to a rubricator; but if so, the rubrication was never carried out.

- iii. The subscriptio, fol. 67^v. The standard Macrobian subscriptio (see *ch. I, esp. pp. 25-37*) is added at the end of Bk. I in brown ink. It is introduced by the sign γ , and is written in small rustic capitals; the H of SYMMACHVS has the \mathcal{H} shape, and the last letter of DISTING' has a very clumsy look, \mathcal{S} - probably a G rather than S. The words PLOTINO EVDOXIO are stretched out to fill an entire line, with 'VC' centred beneath.

This subscriptio is certainly not by the original scribe, as can be seen in a comparison with the larger, firmer rustic capitals used in the original closing title of Bk. I at fol. 68^r in red. It is a 9th.-cent. addition - but by whom? ⁽³⁴⁾ It is possible that the subscriptio is by Lupus, for the colour of the ink is perhaps closest to his - a darker, richer brown than the

tints used by hands 2 and 3; however, the pen used is thinner than in any of his other additions in MS.4, and the delicate capitals of the subscriptio are smaller and less clumsy than his (cf. fols.5^r, 94^r). The subscriptio is unlikely to be by hand 2, whose rustic capitals are rather different (cf. fol.85^v). I am inclined to believe that hand 3 is responsible, in spite of the difference in ink: the pen-width is similar to that of hand 3; the diagonal abbreviation-stroke for MEMM is similar to that used by hand 3, e.g. at fols.26^v (aspergin), 33^r (contag); and the probability that the instructions for the title at fol.111^v were added by hand 3 strengthens his claim to the subscriptio.

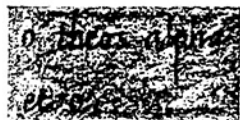
At any rate, it seems certain that the subscriptio was added by some one of the Lupus-Heiric circle. The introductory sign Υ resembles the signe-de-renvoie for omissions used by both scholars (see above, pp.173, 178). The \mathcal{H} form of H was commonly used by Lupus⁽³⁵⁾, and would have been intelligible to a member of his circle; but its presence here could be a direct inheritance from an ancient exemplar.

34. La Penna, (*Le Parisinus Latinus 6370...*, 185, recognises that the subscriptio is an addition, and observes: 'C'est le réviseur qui l'a ajoutée et qui a ajouté la plus grande partie de l'interponctuation ...'. I do not know what La Penna is implying here. The word disting(uebam) in the late-5th.-cent. subscriptio probably refers to punctuation, and later changes of punctuation have been made in MS.4. But it is surely impossible to connect these changes with the addition of the subscriptio.

35. See Beeson, Lupus...as scribe and text critic, p.10, and the facsimile of Harl.2736, fol.83^r col.II line 23. The \mathcal{H} forms which occur so frequently in the main text of Vat.lat.4929 will certainly have been derived directly from its ancient original.

The following addition is very hard to date and place, but it could be early:

- iv. Fol.89^r, centre of top margin, written in a rounded script as large as that of the text, and set in a brownish rectangle:



Additional hand 4.

This annotator uses a formal, early gothic script, s.xii (*first half?*), very small and neat, written with a fine pen in black ink. He adds:

- a) corrections and variants (with or without *t*), not very frequent.
- b) short interlinear glosses, very frequent, e.g. fol.2^r, line 21 (on Comm.I.2,1, Willis 2.29, Tullius memoret) in tribus de re publica libris (repeating the significant error that Cicero's de republica had only three books, see p. 224), and fol.8^r, line 8 (on Comm.I.3,20, Willis 12.26, densetum) denseo denses, et denso densas, attestante Prisciano (Inst.Gramm.VIII.xvii.95 and IX. viii 43 = Keil vol.II p.443 lines 21-2, p.479 line 4).
- c) longer, marginal glosses, fairly frequent, e.g. fol.53^v (on Comm. I.19,6, Willis 74.14 , supra solem): Quod dicit supra solem non est intelligendum quod sol in inferiore sui circulo sit quia non inde(?) posset a nobis uideri. Sed illis siue in summo siue in imo circulorum suorum positus, sol siue in dextro siue in sinistro sui est.
- d) marginal headings, rare, e.g. fol.14^r (on Comm.I.6,17) ¶ utrum septimo siue nono nasciturus (?) sit.




Additional hand 5.

This script is much looser, rounder and larger than hand 4, and written with a thicker pen in browner ink (e.g. fol.38^r, marginal gloss beginning Quemadmodum ...), s.xii (med.?). This hand uses red as well as ordinary ink, both in his diagrams (e.g. fol.76^r) and in his glosses (e.g. fol.53^r, long marginal gloss written entirely in red).

I thought at one time that some characteristics shared by hands

4 and 5, the use of the same letter-forms and abbreviations (especially the ð, the ct ligature, and the strange α) and methods (marginal glosses introduced by paragraph marks ¶; punctuation including /), could suggest that there were not two scribes at work here, but a single manic-depressive writing at different times. However, my revised opinion is that the differences are too great for the two sets of additions to be by one and the same hand; the similarities may be due to the fact that the two annotators belonged to the same area. (36)

Hand 5 makes additions of all four types listed above under hand 4, plus:

- e) nota signs, rare, in the extreme outer margin, e.g.  (fol.27^v)
 (fol.71^r).
- f) Diagrams (see below, ). They include touches of yellow as well as the red, and the map on fol.85^v has washes of red, green, and greenish-yellow.

He may also be responsible for

- g) the title written in the top margin of fol.1^r (but the script is larger and more formal): Macrobiani Ambrosii Theodosii .vc. et in. l.(sic) commenta ex Cicerone in somnium Scipionis.

36. Another discarded idea was that hand 5 might be that of Bernard Itier (1163-1225), the famous librarian of the abbey of St.Martial of Limoges. But Mlle.M.-Th. d'Alverny has kindly advised me that the resemblance is only faint, and that hand 5 seems earlier than Bernard Itier, though perhaps from the same area.

Additional hand 6.

A cursive hand of s.xv adds a marginal heading at fol.1^v (on Comm.I.1,4, Willis 2.12-13) nota de amore Iusticie in pale grey ink, and another at fol.14^r in pencil.

Additional hand 7.

A very small cursive hand of s.xvi(?) is especially active at fols.30^v-32^r (around Comm.I.10,12 - 11,6, mainly on Hades). This

annotator adds marginal headings here, and carefully corrects word-division (e.g. at fol.30^V lines 5-6, Comm.I.10,12, Willis 43.33, the original reading iecurim mortale is firmly altered by dividing strokes to the correct iecur immortalale, and immortale is also written above the line). He knew Greek, for at fol.32^F line 1 (Comm.I.11,3, Willis 45.24 δέμας), where the original reading was written in Latin letters demas, he adds δemas in Greek minuscule above the line. At the top edge of fol.31^F he has added the line Cardine spero uires facili fortuna rotab[*] (cf. Comm.I.10,14).

History.

1. The manuscript was written in the first third of s.ix, in France, in the script region dominated by Tours (i.e. Loire valley), very probably at Tours itself.

Jones (and with him Rand) assigned the manuscript definitely to Tours⁽¹⁾, and dated it to Rand's period V, the Régime of Fridugisus, 'about 820'. Rand's studies in the script of Tours are damaged by his attribution of too many manuscripts to the Tours scriptoria without adequate non-palaeographical evidence⁽²⁾, but I feel in this case that the attribution may well be right. Apart from the palaeographical evidence of the manuscript itself, another approach to the secret of the manuscript's origins can be made through its earliest known reader:

2. Lupus of Ferrières⁽³⁾.

Mlle.Pellegrin⁽⁴⁾ establishes a canon of eleven manuscripts which bear the authentic marks of Lupus' intervention, and observes (p.20):

Bien qu'issus de différents scriptoria (encore une question mal éclaircie!), les manuscrits de Loup ont une frappante ressemblance d'aspect: forme presque carrée, disposition du texte en deux colonnes, sauf rares exceptions, écriture très régulière avec peu de ligatures et peu d'abréviations... Ce

sont de parfaits représentants du style de Tours de la première moitié du IX^e siècle qui s'est diffusé dans toute la région de la Loire'.

With the technical details provided by Mlle.Pellegrin, and using MS.Harl 2736 as a yard-stick (it is the one manuscript written entirely in Lupus' hand rather than just corrected by him), we can see that at least five others of the eleven have very similar measurements and formats: Berlin Phill.1872, Berne 366, Paris lat.8623, Vatican Reg.lat.597 fols.79-200, Vienna lat.189. They and MS.Harl 2736 have 2 cols., mostly 24 lines⁽⁵⁾, leaf-sizes 213-237 x 165-217 mm.⁽⁶⁾ It is significant that Vat.lat.4929, a manuscript probably written under the supervision of Lupus' pupil Heiric, is also very similar in format: 2 cols., 22 lines, 230 x 216 mm. The common appearance of the six manuscripts of the Harl. 2736 group is surely not a coincidence; although the problem of their place or places of origin is not yet resolved, we must at least agree with Mlle.Pellegrin that 'les copistes ont dû se conformer à des instructions précises de ce philologue minutieux, pour ne pas dire maniaque'.

The important fact about MS.4 is that it does not resemble the Harl.2736 group in format, and its script seems earlier. The differences imply that MS.4 was not written under Lupus' supervision. The same applies to two other⁽⁷⁾ manuscripts of Lupus' eleven, Paris lat.5726 and Vatican Reg.lat.1484. Like MS.4, these two manuscripts are ascribed by Rand to Tours, Paris lat.5726⁽⁸⁾ to his Period III, The Pre-Alcuinian Style (s.viii ex.-ix in.), and Reg.lat.1484⁽⁹⁾ to the same period as the Macrobius, Period V, the Régime of Fridugisus (820s and 830s). All three manuscripts include the abbreviation for -tur -²t̄, certainly an early feature⁽¹⁰⁾, and Rand's 'Old Style' system of ruling (see above, pp.161-2). But again, there seems to be little or no evidence other than palaeographical for assigning Paris lat.5726 and Reg.lat.1484 to Tours.

There are various pieces of evidence to show that Tours was

a target for Lupus' book-collecting activities:

- a) Literary evidence. In a letter to Orsmar, archbishop of Tours from c.837 until 846⁽¹¹⁾, Lupus asks the archbishop's help in borrowing a papyrus codex of Boethius' commentary on Cicero's Topica, which Amulricus in armario sancti Martini habet. Lupus adds the ominous proviso that he does not wish his own name to be revealed in the transaction.
- b) Berlin, Phill.1872 (a manuscript which I have assigned to the Harl.2736 group on the grounds of its format and measurements, but which is perhaps somewhat earlier than the rest) contains notes relating to Tours in a hand of s.x or xi⁽¹²⁾; the manuscript must have gone to Tours at some time after Lupus had annotated it. Possibly it is an example of a manuscript borrowed by Lupus from Tours and duly returned; but there is nothing but the palaeographical evidence to link it to Tours before Lupus' intervention⁽¹³⁾.
- c) Even Lupus' own script may show something of the influence of Tours⁽¹⁴⁾ (this is not of course unusual).

However, we must bear in mind that Tours was not Lupus' only source of books, for his correspondence shows that his net was spread wide.

Nevertheless, although there is no conclusive evidence, I think it is very likely that MS.4 was written at St.Martin's of Tours. We know that by hook or by crook Lupus probably derived other books from Tours. The palaeographical evidence of the manuscript itself cannot be conclusive, but it is certainly suggestive — in particular, the magnificent square capitals on fols.68^v and 111^r bespeak the origins of the manuscript in that proud centre of calligraphy⁽¹⁵⁾.

1. See Bibliography, below
2. For example, Rand attributed my MS.6 (see) to his Period IX, the end of the 9th century, in A survey ..., 1929, I, p.179 no.159. Bischoff

later demonstrated that the manuscript had been written somewhat earlier in the century, at Corbie. The sole evidence for its Tours 'origins' was Delisle's identification of it with a manuscript known to have been at Tours in s.xviii or s.xix (my MS.151, see) - an identification which I believe to be false but which was anyway insufficient for Rand's purposes.

3. See above, Additional hand 1, for the nature of his additions and the evidence that they are his.
4. 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières ...' see Bibliography. The total of eleven includes Mlle. Pellegrin's new addition, Orléans, Bibl. mun., 162(139).
5. Paris lat.8623 has 23 lines, and Berlin Phill. 1872 has 26.
6. Measurements of the written space would of course provide more certain evidence of the scribes' intentions.
7. The two remaining manuscripts of the eleven, Paris lat. 7774A, fols.103-184, and Orléans, Bibl. mun.162 (139), are larger and have different numbers of lines to the Harl.2736 group, but are similar to those manuscripts in general appearance.
8. Livy, Bks.VI-X, 46, 6; see Rand, A survey ..., 1929, I p.95 no.14, II pl.XXIII.
9. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos, Bks.I-VI; see Rand, A survey ..., I p.143 no.89, II pls.CX, CXI.
10. Ibid., I, p.26; W.M.Lindsay, Notae Latinae, Cambridge 1915, 372-381. The abbreviation is present in the Macrobius, pace Jones, see above, p.166.
11. E.Dümmler, ed., Lupi abbatis Ferrariensis epistolae (in M.G.H. Epistolae VI pars prior), Berlin 1902, p.24 no.16. The passages in Lupus' correspondence relating to his manuscript-chase are conveniently printed together by G.Becker, Catalogi Bibliothecarum antiqui, Bonn 1885, pp.56-9, no.25.

12. Rose, p.276 no.126.
13. Rand, A survey ..., 1929, I pp.132-3 no.72 and II pl.LXXXIX, attributes the manuscript to Tours, Period V (the Régime of Fridugisus). The text, the Jerome-Eusebius Chronicon, is a copy of a 5th.-cent. manuscript in uncial, of which fragments survive in Paris, B.N., lat., 6400B, fols. 1-8, 285-290, + Vatican, Reg.lat.1709A, fols.34-35 + Leiden, Voss.Lat.Qu.110a, fols.167-172 (C.L.A. v, 563); a Fleury ex libris of s.ix survives in Paris lat.6400B, fol.1^r; see L.Traube, Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta ... (Codices Graeci et Latini, ed. S.de Vries, suppl.I), Leiden 1902, esp. pp.III-IV.
14. See É.Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières ...', 20, drawing special attention to Lupus' use of the form K for H.
15. MS.151, the lost manuscript, was probably written at Tours at about the same time as MS.4, see pp. 45¹-2.
Lupus mentions his work on the text of Macrobius in a letter to a certain Adalgaudus, but the precise relevance of this to MS.4 is difficult to ascertain, see pp.33-42, 52-9. Other manuscripts may reflect his work on the Saturnalia, see pp.60-62.

The considerable nature of Lupus' additions in MS.4 suggest that it was not one of those manuscripts which he borrowed from his correspondents for transcription, but that it belonged either to Lupus personally or to an institutional library under his control (i.e. his abbey at Ferrières, if indeed there really was a library there). I am less certain as to whether MS.4 was ever owned by:

- ?? 3. Heiric of Auxerre. I am sure that Additional Hand 3 is Heiric; but if I am right in thinking that Heiric's additions were made under Lupus' supervision, it need not follow that Heiric himself took over the ownership of MS.4 or that it went with him finally to Auxerre.

Items 4 and 5 are potential sources for the later medieval history of the manuscript, but they have yet to yield their secrets:

4. Fol.1^r, top margin (beneath the title perhaps added by additional hand 5, but not related), an erased inscription of s.xii or xiii, presumably an ex libris, of which only a few letters can be made out under ultra-violet light: Iste liber [c.22 letter spaces] bi[c.23 letter spaces]ar[c.6 letter spaces].
5. Fol.92^r, top margin: a late medieval sketch, in hard point, of a hooded head, with the inscription Dms ... (rest illegible). Similar sketches (without inscriptions) occur in the outer margins of fols.108^r and 110^r.
6. Fol.93^v, lower margin, cursive hand of s.xv or xvi: Cl[o]uis (possibly El[o]uis) Bignon fis de Filibe[rt] Bigon (sic), followed by another line, probably by the same hand and now erased, of which I can make nothing.
7. The Royal Library of France. The next fact known for certain about the history of MS.4 is that it had entered the Royal Library by 1574 at latest, for its present binding, of red leather over wooden boards, decorated with blind and gold tooling, bears on it the arms and monograms of Charles IX (1560-1574). Delisle⁽¹⁶⁾ knew c.140 manuscripts in similar bindings with his insignia, but suggested that accessions to the library during his reign and that of his predecessor Francis II (1559-1560) were rare, and that the bindings merely indicate an active binding programme in the library at Fontainebleau. Nevertheless, it must surely be more than a coincidence that two other manuscripts annotated by Lupus also have this binding, Paris lat. 7774A and Paris lat.8623. So, too, does Paris lat.7496, a manuscript almost certainly annotated by Heiric (see *below*, p. 200). But unfortunately, the intermediate provenance of none of these other manuscripts is known for certain, and the descriptions given in the two inventories of the Royal

Library during its period at Blois, of 1518 and 1544, are too short and imprecise for us to identify these manuscripts positively in them⁽¹⁷⁾.

A source for some of the manuscripts now in Charles IX bindings was Aimar de Ranconet (d.1559)⁽¹⁸⁾. One of them is an important early manuscript, Paris lat.4568⁽¹⁹⁾; three later manuscripts known to be from his collection and in Charles IX bindings are Paris lat.4709 and 8022, and fr.800. He also owned Berne 391, a 9th.-cent. copy of Cicero's De officiis which Mlle. Pellegrin⁽²⁰⁾ thinks was written at Auxerre in a format slightly reminiscent of the Harl.2736 group of Lupus' manuscripts. He may have been the source for MS.4 and the other Lupus manuscripts in Charles IX bindings, but there is no firm proof.

The original decoration of the Charles IX binding of MS.4 includes the title MACROBIVS IN SOMNIVM CICERONIS on each cover; this proves that MS.4 had lost the Saturnalia by the date of this binding.

There are various obsolete catalogue numbers of the Royal Library in the top margin of fol.1^r: CDCGXXXIII (Rigault, 1622), 1347 (Dupuy, 1645 catalogue, pt.I), 5556 (Clément, 1682).

16. Cabinet des Manuscrits, I (1868), 191. A list of books in Charles IX bindings is given by E. Quentin-Bauchart, La Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau et les livres des derniers Valois à la Bibliothèque Nationale (1515-1589), Paris 1891, 141-164. Of the 110 manuscripts in the list, 32 are dated by Quentin-Bauchart to before s.xii, and 16 of these contain classical texts. The number of Ciceronian texts among the 110 is quite high.
17. Two entries in the 1544 catalogue (ed.H.Omont, Anciens Inventaires et Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, Paris 1903, pp.155-264) might refer to MS.4: no.1020 (among PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS. Couvers de veloux), Commantum (sic) Macrobi in somnium Scipionis; veloux tanné, or possibly 1037 (among Couvers de cuir), Somnium Scipionis; cuir tanne. Mlle. Pellegrin, writing in Scriptorium 5 (1951), 278 n.78, has rightly scotched a wrong identification of MS.4 as no.796 (Commendationes

Scipionis Africani majoris) of the 1518 catalogue (ed. Omont, pp.1-154).

Heiric's other manuscript, Vat.lat.4929, seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Orleans in s.xi and s.xii, possibly in the library of the Cathedral (see R.H. & M.A.Rouse, 'The Florilegium Angelicum: its Origin, Content, and Influence', Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to R.W.Hunt, ed.J.J.G.Alexander & M.T.Gibson, Oxford 1975, 77-8).

18. See Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, I (1868), 190 n.1, and Quentin-Bauchart, op.cit. (in n.18, above), 34 and n.1.
19. C.L.A. V. 557.
20. 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières ...', 17, modifying an attribution by F.M.Carey.

Bibliography.

1. Jan I, pp.XLVII, LXXV, LXXXVI, C (Jan's siglum is P₄; certain passages only were collated from the manuscript for Jan by Theodorus Pressel).
2. A description by L.W.Jones printed by E.K.Rand in his Studies in the script of Tours. II, The earliest book of Tours (The Mediaeval Academy of America, publication No.20), Cambridge (Mass.), 1934, 100-101, 104 (no.70A), pl.XLVI.
3. A.La Penna, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370 et le texte des Commentarii de Macrobie', Revue de Philologie, 3rd Ser., 24 (1950), 177-187 (using Jan's siglum P₄).
4. A.La Penna, 'Note sul Testo dei « Commentarii » di Macrobio', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 20 (1951), 239-254 (presenting more readings from P₄ and comparing them with some from other Paris manuscripts).
5. É.Pellegrin, 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières. A propos du ms. Orleans 162 (139) corrigé de sa main', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 115 (1958), 6,11.
6. Willis, vol.I, p.VIII, and II, passim (his siglum is 'S').
7. Unpublished description by É.Pellegrin at I.R.H.T.

Appendix I: some other manuscripts connected with the circle of Heiric.

Dr. R.W.Hunt once delivered a mild rebuke against one of my less happy conjectures by remarking that all 9th.-cent. glosses look as though they had been written at Auxerre. The joke contains a wise and terrible warning. For one thing, I am still unable to decide whether or not there would be any difference between a glossing hand of the 'school of Heiric', and a glossing hand of the 'school of Auxerre'; Heiric's script, though not his technique, is quite different from that of Lupus; where did he learn it? Nevertheless, there are undoubtedly manuscripts in which the annotations are written in scripts closely resembling that of Heiric, sometimes allied to the same critical techniques; I am unable to resist the temptation to mention a few of these manuscripts here. Most of them are already well-known in discussions about Lupus and Heiric, but I am omitting the bibliographical references for the sake of brevity. The list is not intended to be complete, and I have left out several very likely candidates simply because I have not seen them.

When I was at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1972, I took the opportunity to look at all the Paris manuscripts listed by Mlle. Pellegrin in 'Les manuscrits de Loup de Ferrières...'. Among those rejected from her corpus of genuine Lupus manuscripts are three where annotations combine the script-type and technical devices of Heiric: Paris lat. 7496 (a strong candidate), lat.1913A, and lat.5763, fols.1-112. Their annotations must belong to the circle of Heiric, and those of Paris lat.7496 at least are very probably the work of Heiric himself.

The following candidates are written in scripts which remind me of the Heiric type: the verses added at the ends of the Lupus manuscript Harl.2736, fol.107^v-108^r (see Beeson's facsimile); marginalia in Paris nouv.acq.lat.

1615 ; and (only a distant echo, see pp.61-2) the main text of Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 225. Heiric's predilection for Tironian notes could suggest other manuscripts: in some of the plates included by É.Chatelain in Introduction à la Lecture des Notes Tironiennes, Paris 1900 (2 vols., text and plates), Tironian notes are combined with 'long-hand' scripts of the small, elegant Heiric type; pl.I, Berne, Burgerbibl.357, additions on fols.25^r, 32^v (my MS.91, see *below*, pp.351-4); pls.IV and V, Paris lat.9603; pl.VI (2), an addition to Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 334, fol.56^v. Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Patr.46 (Q.VI.32) containing three homilies, written in a mixture of Tironian notes and long-hand, and attributed to the authorship of Heiric by A.Mentz, is another possibility to be considered, but I have not yet seen photographs of it. I must stress that I am not attributing any of the manuscripts mentioned in this paragraph directly to

Heiric himself, only to a nebulous and ill-defined 'circle of Heiric'.

Another possibility is the famous Codex Aesinas of the minor works of Tacitus etc. (Jesi, library of Count Balleani, Aesinas Latinus 8, published in partial facsimile by R.Till, Handschriftliche Untersuchungen zu Tacitus Agricola und Germania, Berlin-Dahlem, n.d.[1943]). It may seem somewhat unlikely that the much-discussed, 9th.-cent. corrector of this Hersfeld manuscript might belong to the circle of Heiric. But the script of the annotations in the 9th.-cent. part of the manuscript reproduced by Till, with the high e, 'flat' d, N in mid-word, and N ligature (fol.62^r) seems to me to be somewhat reminiscent of Heiric's, and so are some of the techniques of annotation: q (fols.56^r, 60^r, 61^v) and deletion by diagonal strokes (e.g. fol.60^v col.I line 15). A triangular marginal entry appears on fol.65^r in the 15th.-cent. part, perhaps a careful copy of the 9th.-cent. original. To return to the 9th.-cent. part, at fol.62^v col.I line 12 (Agricola 35,4) the annotator writes accersendas in the margin opposite the text's arcessendas, either as a variant or as a marginal heading. The stem accers- is picked out by Heiric in his marginal index to MS.4 and by Lupus in his marginal index to Vatican Reg.lat.597 (see above). The distinction between arcesso and accerso is much discussed by the grammarians (see the references cited in Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, II, Berlin 1900-1906, 448-9). Although this fact reduces the force of the argument, I still think that the parallel is rather striking, given the similarity of the script; accers-, like rutund-, was very probably a root which interested the Lupus-Heiric circle (were they interested in alternative forms of words?). It may not be irrelevant that Lupus of Ferrières spent some of his early years at Fulda, and that a letter survives written by Lupus in A.D.836 to an abbot of Hersfeld (ed.Dümmeler, pp.107-8, Additamenta 1).

MS.5 VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-8
+ PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 16677.

s. ix. French, Loire Valley (? Fleury). Octavo.
Physical quality fairly poor (no decoration, and parchment less
than satisfactory).

Evidence that the two parts belong together.

1. The Vatican part carries signs that its text of the De senectute was followed by a copy of Macrobius' Commentary: the indication of contents at fol.65^V (see p.203), and the title and introduction to the Commentary on fol.80^V (see pp.205-6).
2. Script, measurements, and quality of parchment are identical.
3. A continuous sequence of quire-signatures runs through both parts.

Original contents (omitting the added leaves, see below, pp.203-4).

1. Reg.lat.1587, fols.66^r-80^v.

CICERO, De senectute.

First published by A. Barriera in 'L' alter codex uetus Danielis del Cato Maior', Athenaeum : studi periodici di letteratura e storia, 1st ser., 8 (1920), 174-6, and used in his edition in Corpus scriptorum Latinorum Parauianum, n.d. (? 1921, reprinted 1937). See also G.S. Vogel, The major manuscripts of Cicero's De Senectute, doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1939, and P. Wuilleumier, 3rd ed., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1961 (reprinted 1969), 60-67. The manuscript is a member of a family of which the other principal members are my MSS.6 and 9, and Brussels 9591 (s.ix); it is closest to MS.6.

Remainder of Reg.lat.1587, fol.80^V blank (see below, pp.205-6). After it, leaf 8 of q.ii, with the beginning of the Macrobius, is now lost.

2. Paris lat.16677, fols.3^r-4^v, 1^r-2^v, 7^r-8^v, 5^r-6^v, 9^r-55^v, 58^r-72^v.
MACROBIUS, Commentary, I. 1,9(Willis 3.24)//Hanc fabulam - end.

Fols.1-8 (q.iii) are now misbound, and should be read in the above order; fols.56-7, 73-5 are later additions, see below. Fol.41^v: Bk.I ends, followed immediately by emendatum est in the main script (later deleted); diagram 2 (Rain); Bk.II begins (originally no title); see also below for additions. At fol.72^v, the closing title is followed by the verses de errore emendationis (not laid out as verse), see pp.78-80.

Remainder of Paris lat.16677, fol.72^v, originally blank (see below, p.206).

Added leaves.

The six additional leaves were probably added all at the same time (s.x?), since they show the same quality of parchment (thicker and more durable than that of the main ms.) and are all ruled for a page of 24 lines, one less than in the main ms. (in the bifolium Paris, fols.74-5, this supersedes an earlier ruling of 20 longer lines). The leaves are:

- i) Reg., fol.65. Fly-leaf, containing on the verso the title Cato de senectute cum Macrobio in bold rustic capitals of s.x.
- ii)-iii) Paris, fols.56-7 (? bifolium). Now bound between quires ix and x, they break the text unnaturally at II.9,8(Willis 124.9) extentae//chlamydi and probably belonged originally with Paris fols.73-5. They are blank except for the following, written in a rounded hand of s.xi or xii in the lower margin of fol.5^v:

<u>Aurea Cyllenias</u>	<u>discurrunt flumina metas,</u>
<u>Lumine de Masico</u>	<u>progressu uasta supremo,</u>
<u>Sed uiduata sui iusta bilibre uigoris,</u>	
<u>Ditis in imperium contracta fluenta reponunt.</u>	
- iv) Paris, fol.73^{r-v}. CICERO, Somnium Scipionis, beginning only, by two scribes:

- a) Fol.73^r-73^v line 11. Beginning - inquit ne//Somnium 2.3(Willis 157.4). A small, rather spreading caroline hand of the 'Fleury' type (see pp.88-89), s.x ex.-xi¹; n is frequently N; ligatures are prominent, ct = ct̄ or c̄t̄, rt = rt̄, st = st̄; the normal abbreviation for -m is ˆ. A decorative initial S at the beginning is now partially obscured by a binding guard.
- b) Rest of fol.73^v. Somnium 2.3(Willis 157.4)// me - affricanum// 3.3(Willis 157.23). An uneven caroline hand of the same period (but the abbreviation for -m is ˘). The rest of the text, if written, is now lost.
- v)-vi) Paris, fols.74-5 (bifolium). Fol.74^{r-v} is blank, Fol.75^{r-v} contains a miscellany of short excerpts on unconnected subjects (some from the Old Testament), written by a single scribe of s.xi as a continuous text : Eusebius dixit. Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid nec coctum aqua, nec assum igne, sed tantum ossa cum pedibus...Factum est hoc in diebus Helie sacerdotis filii Baltasar, quando fabricata est archa in insulis iuxta mare Galileae.

Additions in the text.

In various hands, of which the following are the most notable:

In the De senectute.

1. A somewhat clumsy, rounded hand of the same size as the text, using dark ink, s.x (?). Corrections throughout the De senectute; variants with t̄ or at̄ (e.g. Reg., fol.67^v). The signes-de-renvoie are ṛ (Reg., fol.66^r), ṝ (Reg., fol.67^v), etc.
2. A hand undoubtedly that of Pierre Daniel adds a single variant in the De senectute, at § 78 (Reg., fol.79^r): prudentia in the text is underlined, and ats providentia (? = aliter or alius) is added in the margin. Daniel adds the same variant (again his only addition), in my MS.9, Voss.Lat.F.12β, fol.23(9)^v, with the same underlining and ats sign (see p.231).

In the Macrobius.

3. Similar hand to (1), *perhaps the* same : heavy, clumsy script, dark ink. Corrections throughout the Macrobius. Large repertoire of signes-de-renvoie for longer omissions (v, 7, 8, e, f, etc.). Faulty passages in text often underlined. Marginal glosses, e.g. Paris, fol.47^v (on Comm. II.4, 11, Willis 109.5, netas et hypatas), Necias prima dicitur extentarum cordarum, hipatas quae est iusta neciam; Paris, fol.48^r (on Comm. II. 4, 14, Willis 109.26, Catadupa), Catadupa proprium nomen montis Aegipti pluraliter dictum de quo Nilus cum magno descendit fragore; other glosses at Paris, fols.12^r, 61^r only.
4. Smaller, more angular hand written with a pen held at a steep angle. Fine rustic capitals with a characteristic *M* and *S*. This hand is of the 'Fleury' type, s.x ex.-xi¹ (see pp.88-89). It is extremely similar to one of the hands in Berlin (East), Phill.1833 (see pp.107-9, III-2), responsible, among other things, for the Macrobian diagrams and excerpts there on fols.36^r and 39^v (however, fol.39^v includes a Macrobian map which has no parallels in MS.5). It is also close to the main glossing hand of Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70. I, fols.1-66 (see pp.109-110; a good example of his hand occurs on fol.11^v of that manuscript). The hand adds:
- a) Title to Bk.I in capitals at Reg., fol.80^v; subscription *and* title to Bk.II in capitals at Paris, fol.41^v (around top of 'rain' diagram, after deleting the emendatum est of the original scribe) Aurelius Memmius Simmachus. V.C. emendabam uel distinguebam Rauennae cum Macrobio Plotino Eudoxio. V.C.; (around bottom of 'rain' diagram) Macrobi (altered from Macrobio, perhaps by this hand) Ambrosii Theodosii. V.C. et inlustris de somnio Scipionis liber primus explicit, incipit secundus.
- b) Material from the abbreviated form of text (*see ch. VI, pp. 126-8*).
- i) Reg., fol.80^v. Introduction no.4. Macrobius honicretes, id est interpres somniorum. In hoc libro de

differentia stellarum et siderum carpsio ex ipsius libris...I have found this introduction, which was specifically designed to introduce the abbreviated form, in one other manuscript, MS.104 (written at Freising in s.x², a copy of the abbreviated form, see pp.391-5), where it is an addition by the original scribe.

ii) Paris, fol.26^v. The interpolation from I.12,1 (Willis 47.31-48.5), Et ita lacteus...numquam relinquit, added in the margin at I.15.7 (Willis 62.2) temperaret./ quibus.

iii) Paris, fols.33^v-34^r. In the abbreviated form of text, I.19,23 (Willis 77.18) // uitam...et // I.19,27 (Willis 78.15) is omitted. In this ms., A is added at the beginning of the passage, B at the end.

iv) Paris, fols.34^v-35^r. In the abbreviated form of text, I.20,5 (Willis 79.10) // nam...uocauit // I.20,8 (Willis 79.32) is omitted. In this ms., A is added at the beginning of the passage; at the end, there is a stroke / followed by a small erasure.

c) The diagram at Paris, fol.72^v.

This hand is probably also responsible for:

d) The diagram at Paris, fol.43^v (illustrating Comm. II.1,25, Willis 99.11, symphonia δια τεσσάρων), and perhaps also that at fol.44^v (Lambda III, at II.2, 8-17).

e) Numerous corrections, and variants with t or at (e.g. Paris, fols.14^r, 38^r) throughout the text, including those parts not present in the abbreviated form. Ascenders are often prolonged. Signes-de-renvoie /·, ^, ~, §, etc.

f) Very occasional short interlinear glosses, of which the longest is at Paris, fol.38^v (on Comm. I.21,12, Willis 87.10, clepsydrae), clepsidra est uas unde quasi furando deorsum trahitur aqua.

5. A firm, rounded hand, s.xi; a is α or α, d is δ or d, g is g. He adds the diagrams at Paris, fols.9^r, 9^v, 19^r, and perhaps at

fols.11^r and 44^r. This hand is also present in my MS.7, an important piece of evidence in the history of MS.5, see below pp. 208-210.

6. Tironian notes at Paris, fols.25^v, 32^r (also at Reg., fol.74^r).
7. A small, humanistic hand of s.xvi or xvii, possibly that of Pierre Daniel, adds some chapter nos. to the Macrobius.

Technical description.

86 original leaves : 15 in Reg., foliated 66-80 (ink, s.xvii or xviii); 71 in Paris, foliated 1-55, 58-72 (ink, s.xix; one leaf not numbered after fol.16). Collation i-xi⁸, with the following later changes:

- a) Six parchment leaves added in s.x (?): a fly-leaf (Reg., fol.65) before q.i; two leaves (Paris, fols.56-7), probably a bifolium, between qq. ix and x, perhaps not the original position; three leaves (Paris, fols.73 and 74/75, a bifolium) at the end.
 - b) Leaf 8 of q.ii now lost after Reg., fol.80.
 - c) Q.iii (Paris, fols.1-8) now has its bifolia misbound, so that the leaves are in the order 3, 4, 1, 2, 7, 8, 5, 6.
 - d) In q.xi, leaf 8, perhaps blank, is now lost after Paris, fol.72.
- Quire-signatures: $\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \vdots \\ \text{I} \end{array}$ (Reg., fol.73^v) — $\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \vdots \\ \text{X} \end{array}$ (Paris, fol.65^v), centre lower margin of the last verso of the quire, probably by the scribe. II and XI are not now present.

Thin, yellow-grey parchment, shiny on both sides and slightly transparent. The surface sometimes soaks up the ink. The parchment was of poor quality originally, and later ill-treatment has caused severe damage, sometimes affecting the text: the surface is wrinkled, and worn away in places; edges are lost (e.g. Paris, fols.58^r, 59^r, where the lost text is supplied in a hand of s.xi or xii); and there are purplish spots (e.g. Paris, fol.7^r). The parchment of Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70.I, fols.1-66 (see above, pp.109-110, 205) is of very similar quality, and has suffered in much the same way, though it is a later manuscript.

Reg.:199-203x170-174mm.; Paris:197-8x167mm. Written space:
158-164x116-122mm. 1 col. 25 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F<>|><><.

Script: a small, neat caroline *script*, by one hand (though the script is somewhat larger from Paris, fol.52^r, to the end); N is frequent in mid-word; there are many ligatures, et, N, ra or ra, re, ft, ft

Decoration: sparse. Simple ink versals, c. 2 lines high at Reg., fol.66^r (inside the initial, a human head in profile, red face, brown hair - probably a much later addition), fol.66^v, Paris, fol.41^v, and elsewhere in the Macrobius. The capitals in the text of Paris, fol.24^v, are touched with yellow, perhaps later. There are original titles in widely spaced rustic capitals at Reg., fol.66^r (beginning of the text in uncials) and Paris, fol.72^v, in ordinary script at Reg., fol.66^v. Diagrams in ink.

An early hand, perhaps that of the scribe, has added a circular, interlace pattern in ink opposite the verses on fol.72^v, somewhat similar to the initial Q in Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70.I, fol.6^r and the body of the initial Q in Rouen, MS.473, fol.22^r (s.xi, from Saint-Evroul)⁽¹⁾

1. See Exh. Cat., F. Avril, Manuscripts normands XI-XII^{ème} siècles, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, 1975, pp.65-6 no.67.

2^o fol.: si quoniam speramus (Reg., fol.67^r).

Early history: the Benedictine abbey of Fleury(Saint-Benoît)-sur-Loire.

The manuscript was written in s.ix in France. Prof. B. Bischoff *has very* kindly given me his opinion that it originated in the area of the Loire valley. There are some indications that the manuscript had reached Fleury by s.xi at latest, and it seems very likely that it was written there, in the light of Prof. Bischoff's opinion.

The evidence that the manuscript belonged to Fleury is as follows:

- a) The relationship between additions to Macrobius' Comm. in MS.5

and in my MS.7, a manuscript almost certainly written at Fleury, in s.xi in. (see pp.87-9,95-8):

- i) The elements diagram by Additional hand 5 in MS.5, Paris lat. 16677, fol.9^v (reproduced on p.210) is added by the same hand in MS.7, fol.33^r (reproduced on p.210). Both the hand and the form of the diagram are distinctive and unmistakable: Macrobius' discussion of the union of the four elements (Comm. I.6,24-33) is often illustrated by a diagram in the *medieval manuscripts* ; the diagram is usually round, but here the elements and their shared qualities are linked by an angular, continuous line, a shape which I have not seen elsewhere than in these two manuscripts.

The other diagrams by this hand in MS.5 (Paris lat.16677, fols.9^r and 19^v) do not appear in MS.7. Conversely, the hand is perhaps responsible for diagrams and glosses in MS.7, fols. 31^v and 32^r, which do not occur in MS.5.

- ii) Additional hand 6 in MS.7 echoes additions made in MS.5 by its Additional hands 3 and 4, see pp.96-7. Since the shared material seems to be by one hand in MS.7 but by two in MS.5, it seems very probable that MS.7 has derived the material from MS.5, rather than vice versa or from a common source.

Such connections must imply that the two manuscripts were being studied in the same centre, i.e. Fleury, at the time of the additions (s.xi).

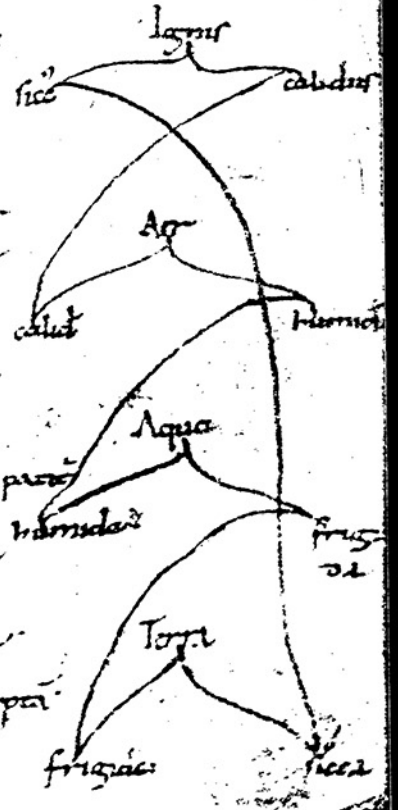
- b) The evidence of 16th-cent. book-catalogues of Fleury. No less than three earlier book-lists have been attributed to Fleury, but all on insufficient grounds.⁽¹⁾ Almost the only guide to the collection is the catalogue made in 1552⁽²⁾ which records one copy of Cicero's De senectute : no.175, Marci Tulli Cato major. This is insufficient for identification with an extant manuscript; the entry has sometimes been thought to apply to my MS.9 (see p.234), but it could equally well be MS.5 or another manuscript. The catalogue also lists three copies of Macrobius' Commentary, all with other works



cuiq; de duabus altera dedit ut in eo cui adhaerere cognata sibi & similes reperiuntur: Terra e sicca & frigida a qua uero frigida & humida e, haec duo elementa sic sibi p se sic & humidumq; contraria sint p frigidum tam commune unguuntur humidus & calidus e. & cum aq; frigida e contrarius sit calor conuersione tam socii copulatur humoris; Sup hunc ignis e sic calidus & siccus humor e quidem aeris respuit siccitate sed con necat p siccitate caloris; Et ita fit ut singula quaeq; in humoru duos sibi hinc inde ut in a singulis qualitatibus uel ut quibusdam amplectatur uelut; A qua terra frigida e aeris sibi necat humoris; Aer que humidus e simili e igni calore sociatur; Ignis aeris miscet ut calidus e & sic siccitate; Terra uero sic patet a qua rigore non respuit; Haec tamen uarietas uinculoru si elementa duo fuerint nihil in ipsa firmitas habuisse; Si tamen minus quidem ualido aliquo tamen nexu uincenda nota e; in quoque tuorum insolubilis colligatio e cum duos sum mixtos duabus in e rationibus uincunt; Qd et manifestus si in medio posuerim ipsam conuenientiam sensus de a meo platonis exoptam; Diuina decoris inquit ratio possit libet talon

Ms. 5. Paris lat. 16677, fol. 9^o (top)

Terra dico & igne potuisse pta uigabile coparentia federari nisi duob; medus aeris & aq; nexib; uincuntur. Ita enim elementa quae se diuersissima opifex condisordinis oportunitate conueniunt facile uingentur. Na cum bing essent in singulis qualitates calidus uniusq; de duabus altera dedit ut in eo cui adhaerere cognata sibi simile repperiret. Terra e sicca & frigida a qua uero frigida & humida e. Haec duo elementa sic sibi p se sic & humidumq; contraria sint p frigidum tam commune unguuntur. Aer uero humidus & calidus e. Et cum aq; frigida e contrarius sit calor conuersione tam socii copulatur humoris. Sup hunc ignis e sic calidus & siccus humor e quidem aeris respuit siccitate sed con necat p siccitate caloris. Et ita fit ut singula quaeq; in humoru duos sibi hinc inde ut in a singulis qualitatibus uel ut quibusdam amplectatur uelut; A qua terra frigida e aeris sibi necat humoris; Aer que humidus e simili e igni calore sociatur; Ignis aeris miscet ut calidus e & sic siccitate; Terra uero sic patet a qua rigore non respuit; Haec tamen uarietas uinculoru si elementa duo fuerint nihil in ipsa firmitas habuisse; Si tamen minus quidem ualido aliquo tamen nexu uincenda nota e; in quoque tuorum insolubilis colligatio e cum duos sum mixtos duabus in e rationibus uincunt; Qd et manifestus si in medio posuerim ipsam conuenientiam sensus de a meo platonis exoptam;



Ms. 7. Paris lat. 7299, fol. 33^o (bottom)

which are distinctive enough to identify them with extant manuscripts: no.84 is my MS.115 (*Orléans 306(259)*), no.253 is my MS.7 (*Paris lat. 7299*), and no.286 my MS.12 (see *pp. 261-2*). However, the 1552 catalogue is certainly far from complete.⁽³⁾

É Pellegrin⁽⁴⁾ has discovered another piece of evidence for the Fleury library, in Berne A 91 no.24. This is a list of seven manuscripts, with titles, incipits and explicits carefully given, in the hand of Pierre Daniel. It carries no heading to indicate its purpose. Mlle. Pellegrin has identified several of these among the manuscripts now at Orléans, or at the Bibliothèque Nationale in the fonds of Saint-Germain-des-Prés - the present homes of Fleury manuscripts which escaped the looters of the sixteenth century. She has therefore made the reasonable suggestion that this is a list of manuscripts which Pierre Daniel saw at Fleury but did not add to his collection.

The sixth entry on the list is as follows (punctuation as in the original):

Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis ut credo sic habet
in fine. / vere etiam pronuncianum ut nihil hoc opere perfectius
quo universa philosophiae continetur integritas
et in subscri MACROBII ambrosii Commenta ex Cicerone in
ptione Somnium Scipionis Explicit de errore emendationis.

We have here the closing words of the text and the final title from a manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary. Mlle. Pellegrin has tentatively suggested that this entry might refer to my MS.10 (see *pp. 243-256*), but this leaves unexplained the last three words, de errore emendationis. The entry must refer to a manuscript which ends with the colophon in verse with this title (see *pp. 78-80*). I know of three such manuscripts: my MSS. 5, 6 and 105. MS.9 could well have been a fourth, but the Macrobius of that manuscript had already been dismembered for bindings by the time of Pierre Daniel. There are two

reasons for believing that the entry in Daniel's list is specifically MS.5, rather than MSS.6, 105, or another unknown manuscript:

- i) Explicit occurs only in MS.5. 105 gives expliciunt written out in full, and MS.6 gives it as EXPLICIT, using a strange abbreviation which, in the common ancestor, must have caused MS.5's variant. This is the only significant difference among the three manuscripts in the passage quoted by Daniel.
- ii) Daniel gives an opening title and/or incipit for all the manuscripts on his list except the Macrobius. The most likely explanation is that the beginning of the manuscript was lost, and the impression is strengthened by Daniel's hesitant ut credo. The beginning of the Macrobian part of MS. 5, Paris lat. 16677, is now lost, but MSS.6 and 105 remain whole, their opening titles intact.

Another point about Daniel's entry may be relevant, although I can make nothing of it: the entry for the Macrobius, alone of the seven in Daniel's list, has been lightly crossed through, in the same ink as the text.

1. See Vidier, L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire..., pp.28 n.4, 38n. 72, 41n. 107, 44n. 116.
2. Paris nouv. acq.lat.137, fols.9-26 (a copy of s.xvii or xviii) published by Ch. Cuissard in Cat.gén., 8^o ser., 12, Orléans, 1889, pp.vii-xviii, and by others.
3. For example, it only records one work on St. Benedict, although the library certainly possessed others; see Vidier, L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, p.30.
4. E. Pellegrin, 'Essai d'identification de fragments dispersés dans des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Berne et de Paris', Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 9 (1960), 17,

Given these two fairly positive indications of Fleury ownership, it is now possible to mention two further points which would not be sufficient evidence in themselves but which help to confirm my conclusion:

- c) Additional hand 4 and the first hand of the Somnium Scipionis, in Paris, fol.73^r-73^v line 11, both write the script which is coming to be recognised as characteristic of Fleury at about the time of Abbo, see pp. 88-89.
- d) As will be proved below, the part of MS.5 containing the De senectute, Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80, belonged to Pierre Daniel, who is notorious for having obtained many manuscripts from Fleury. Of course, Pierre Daniel's ownership by itself cannot prove Fleury provenance, for he had other sources, e.g. the abbey of St. Victor at Paris.

Later history of Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80.

The De senectute in Reg.lat.1587 was first noticed by A. Barriera, who published his discovery in 1920 in an article entitled 'L' alter codex vetus Danielis del Cato Maior (see above, p. 202). He claimed that the manuscript had belonged to Pierre Daniel of Orléans (c.1530-1603 or 1604). I think that he is right, although his two arguments are inadequate. The title of his article refers to the note on De senectute § 8 in Gruter's 1618 edition, (5) quod non fuisset uox ignobilis in uno ueteri codice Danielis nisi a manu recenti, in altero uero nihil illius loco. W. Gemoll (6) recognised that the condition for the first codex Danielis was fulfilled by Mommsen's discovery, my MS.9, and Barriera claimed the second as his new find, MS.5.

But Gruter's characterisation of the second manuscript is far too slight to allow identification as MS.5 or any other specific manuscript. MS.5 does not contain the reading ignobilis, but nor do three of the other six ninth-century manuscripts; (7) and Pierre Daniel may well have owned more than two manuscripts of the

De senectute.⁽⁸⁾ Barriera's second argument for Daniel's ownership was the presence of his ex libris in Reg.lat.1587, fols.1^r and 50^v. But these both fall in the first of the four separate manuscripts which form the volume, the De senectute being the last.

Evidence of ownership in one part must not be applied to another unless it can be established that they were together at the time.

5. J. Gruterus, M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia, Hamburg, 1618, iv, 442. The information is given on the authority of Puteanus (? Claude Du Puy, 1543-1594, but possibly Erycius Puteanus, 1574-1646).
6. W. Gemoll, 'Zwei neue Handschriften zu Ciceros Cato maior', Hermes, 20 (1885), 332.
7. V, b and A in the first edition of C. Simbeck, Teubner, Leipzig 1912, apparatus for p.22 l.13.
8. H. Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Berne 1875, p.154, describes a 13th-cent. fragment of the De senectute in a volume which fuisset P. Danielis (Berne 104, fols.56-57); however, it does not contain the relevant part of the text.

When were the four manuscripts bound together? The library of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) passed into the Vatican Library in 1690. Reg.lat.1587 now wears the usual Reginensis binding of red leather, which can be precisely dated from the arms on the spine: those of Enrico Noris, cardinal librarian 1700-1704, with the emblems of Clement XI (1700-1721). But the four items in Reg.lat.1587 were once part of a larger collection of fragments, no.1732 in the catalogue of the Queen's manuscripts made by the Maurists of Rome in the 1680s⁽⁹⁾ and printed by Montfaucon in 1739⁽¹⁰⁾ (Reg.lat.1587, fol.1^r, bears the number 1732 in heavy black numerals in the top left margin). This collection contained nine separate fragments, of which all but one have now been identified⁽¹¹⁾;

- I. Albini Magistri carmina. Martialis Carmina quaedam.
Maximus Victorius de re Grammatica. Sergius de arte
Grammatica. Bedae Orthographia. Now Reg.lat.1587, fols.1-50.
- II. Cassiodorus de anima. Now Reg.lat.54, fols.1-42.
- III. Ovidii liber Tristium. Unidentified.
- IV. Glossae Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Now Reg.lat.1587, fols.51-56.
- V. Joannis cujusdam carmina ad Carolum Calvum. Now Reg.lat.1587,
 fols.57-64 [? + Reg.lat.1709, fols.16-23].
- VI. Cicero de Senectute. Now Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80.
- VII. Palladius de Agricultura. Now Reg.lat.2120, fols.1-10.
- VIII. Excerpta varia ex Tibullo, Boëtio, Anticlaudio, Sedulio,
Matthaeo Vindocinensi, Ovidio et Horatio. Now Reg.lat.2120,
 fols.11-35.
- IX. Vibius Sequester de fluminibus. Sententiarum excerpta varia.
 Now Reg.lat.1561, fols.1-22.
9. Now Paris lat.13076, fols.7-223.
 Although the manuscript bears an ex libris dated 1691 (fol.7^r), which has sometimes been cited as the date of the catalogue itself, it describes the collection as it was before the changes initiated in 1690. See J. Sparrow in The Library, 5th ser., 17 (1962), 297-304.
10. Bibliotheca bibliothecarum...,
 i, p.53 col. I B-C.
11. See D.M. Robathan, 'The missing folios of the Paris florilegium 15155', Classical Philology, 33 (1938), 188-97 (on item VIII);
 F. De Marco, 'Les manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican: ré-édition du catalogue de Montfaucon et cotes actuelles', Studi e Testi, 238 (1964), 97.

The first leaf of item I bears the inscription nunc Nicolai Heinsii. Nicholas Heinsius (1620-1681) had belonged to Queen Christina's circle of manuscript enthusiasts, and provided several of her manuscripts.⁽¹²⁾ The volume, or at least items I and III,

had passed into the Queen's collection by 1655, when the following entry appears in the Antwerp catalogue: Albini, Martialis, Ovidii, aliorumque scripta. 4^o. The Librarius Antverpiensis adds Heinsius' name against the entry as its source.⁽¹³⁾

Heinsius' collations of several items in the volume have survived, and reveal the name of the previous owner. Leiden, Burm. Q.13,⁽¹⁴⁾ contains among others the following items: Vibius Sequester collatus cum manuscripto codice Iacobi Reui... Cassiodorus De Anima coll. cum Cod. Reviano - Maximus Victorius coll. cum Cod. Reui - Sergius de Arte Gramm. ex cod. Reui - Beda de Orthogr. ex Cod. Reui. R. Gelsomino⁽¹⁵⁾ has proved on textual grounds that the codex Reui of Vibius Sequester is our item IX. The other items are surely therefore our II and I. Berlin (East) Diez B 148e, fols.166^r-168^r⁽¹⁶⁾ contains Heinsius' collations of Ovid in lib. Tristium ex v.c. Jacobi Reui. Reuius' manuscript only went up to I.8.26(fol.168^r), but Sequebantur in eodem codice, sed longo intervallo, excerpta quaedam ex Ovidianis libris (fol.168^v). These excerpts must be those of our item VIII, and the manuscript of the Tristia must be item III, which is further described in Berlin (East) Libri c. not. mss. Diez 4^o 1076, p.160: fragmentum quod librum primum continebat et penes me est ex dono Cl. V. Jacobi Reuii, aliis quibusdam collectaneis annexum. fuerat olim Petri Danielis Aurelii. The collection of fragments, already bound up, was therefore given to Heinsius by the theologian Jacobus Reuius (1586-1658), a friend of his father.

12. See J. Bignami Odier, 'Le fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque Vaticane', Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda, i (Studi e Testi, 219), Vatican City 1962, 165.

13. Vat.lat.8171, fol.155. On the catalogue, see Bignami Odier, op.cit., pp.170-1, 182-3.

14. See J. Geel, Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno Batauae

accesserunt, Leiden 1852, no.596.

15. R. Gelsomino, ed., Vibius Sequester, Teubner, Leipzig 1967, pp.xx-xxi.
16. I am very grateful to Mr. M.D. Reeve for the references to the Ovid material. See his article, 'Heinsius's manuscripts of Ovid', Rheinisches Museum, N.F.117 (1974), 157.

Most of the surviving items show signs of having belonged earlier to Pierre Daniel. Items I, II, VII and IX contain his ex libris (17) Item IV contains a 9th-cent. excerpt from Petronius (fol.53^v), from which Daniel quotes readings elsewhere; (18) variants added to it, and the title on fol.51^r, seem to be in Daniel's hand. The evidence for Daniel's ownership of five of the nine items in the collection lends some confidence to the identification of his hand in our manuscript of the De senectute, item VI: in the title at the top of the front fly-leaf (fol.65^r), Cato Maior seu de Senectute, and the variant providentia for prudencia at §78 (fol.79^r); the fact that he enters this one variant in my MS.9 (see above, p.204) seems to confirm the identification. It would seem therefore that the nine items, which have nothing in common except their size and fragmentary condition, were put together by Pierre Daniel or his heirs. It is well known that his collection was shared between Paul Petau and Jacques Bongars (the usual route from Daniel to the Fondo Reginense was through Petau rather than through Heinsius). Perhaps some scraps from the collection were acquired by Jacobus Revius when he was studying at Orleans, c.1610-1612. (19)

17. Item I: Reg.lat.1587, fols.1^r and 50^v (dated 1560). Item II: Reg. lat.54, fol.1^r (1564). Item VII: Reg.lat.2120, fol.1^r. Item IX: Reg. lat.1561, fol.22^r (1565).
18. See B.L. Ullman, 'The text of Petronius in the sixteenth century', Classical Philology, 25(1930), 152-3.

19. See. E.J.W.P. Meyjes, Jacobus Revius, zijn Leven en Werken, Amsterdam 1895, 21.

By a strange coincidence, the Vatican half of our ms. was for a few years at Paris; Reg.lat.1587 was one of the 500 Vatican manuscripts sent to the Bibliothèque Nationale iure belli under an agreement ratified in 1797. The manuscripts were returned in 1816.(20)

20. Fols.1^r and 80^v, round, red stamp with RF and Bibliothèque Nationale. See the printed catalogue of these manuscripts, Recensio manuscriptorum codicum qui ex universa Bibliotheca Vaticana selecti iussu domini nostri Pii VI prid. id. iul. an. 1797 procuratoribus Gallorum iure belli, seu pactarum induciarum ergo, et initae pacis traditi fuere, Leipzig 1803, no.448. For the transaction, see Bignami Odier, La Bibliothèque Vaticane....,185-190.

Later history of Paris lat.16677.

1. Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). This manuscript is Blaise no. 2917, see fol.(i)^r. Standard binding, s.xvii., of red leather stamped in gold with the cardinal's arms. His collection passed finally in 1660 to
2. The Sorbonne. No.533 in the classification of Guédier de Saint-Aubin, as indicated on fol.(v)^v in the hand of Gayet de Sansale, librarian 1783-1792, with a note on date and contents. After the Revolution, the Sorbonne manuscripts were deposited in 1795 in
3. The Bibliothèque Nationale. This manuscript was no.1563 in the Fonds de la Sorbonne.

When were the two parts separated?

The appearance of Paris lat.16677 in Pierre Daniel's list of manuscripts in Berne A 91 no.24 (see above, pp.211-213) shows that the division had taken place before he made the list; the tentativeness of his identification of the text as Macrobius suggests that he was unaware that the De senectute of Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80, was part of the same manuscript (it bears the title of the Macrobius on fol.80^V) and hence that he was not responsible for the division. I suspect that it took place at some time during the Middle Ages, at Fleury, when there was a demand for texts of the De senectute but not of Macrobius; the loss of the first leaf of the Macrobius, caused by inconvenient quiring, perhaps shows a lack of concern for that text. MS.9 provides a parallel example, see p. 235.

Other manuscripts on Daniel's list remained at Fleury; perhaps Paris lat.16677 did too. At all events, it must have had a peculiar history, for I know of no other manuscript certainly from Fleury in the Richelieu-Sorbonne collection. (21)

21. But cf. Paris lat. 16678, fols. 1-8, part of my MS.16, see pp. 274-281.

Bibliography.

1. The Macrobius of Paris lat.16677 was first used by A. La Penna, 'Note sul testo dei « Commentarii » di Macrobio', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: lettere, storia e filosofia, Ser. II, 20 (1951), pp.239-254 (siglum P_n). La Penna discusses many readings in relation to those of my MS.4.
2. Collation provided in Willis' edition (siglum E).
3. Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio....passim (announces the discovery of the link between the two parts).
4. Description (not seen) and microfilm of Reg.lat.1587, but not of Paris lat.16677, at I.R.H.T.

s.ix, probably 3/4. French, written at Corbie. Quarto; a handsome copy, from a fine scriptorium.

Contents.

1. Fols.1^r-15^r.

CICERO, De senectute.

This manuscript was first used by S.G. de Vries, Exercitationes Palaeographicae in bibliotheca uniuersitatis Lugduno-Batauae, 1889. 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. They conclude that this manuscript (A) is a member of the 'Y' family of which the other principal members are b (Brussels 9591, s.ix), L (Leiden, Voss.Lat.Fol. 12 β, s.ix, Fleury(?) = my MS.9, see pp.228-242) and D (Vat. Reg.lat.1587, fols.65-80, s.ix, Fleury(?) = my MS.5, see pp.202-219). D is the closest to A. K (Vat.Reg.lat.1762, excerpts made by the Corbie librarian Hadoardus, s.ix³/₄, see pp. 65-68) and O (Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 77, s.x ex. — xi. in, South German = my MS.2, see pp.117-123, 150-9) are descendants of A as corrected by Additional hand(s) 1, see below (C.H. Beeson, 'The Collectaneum of Hadoard', Classical Philology, 40 (1945), 218; Vogel, op.cit., 46-54).

2. Fols.15^r-18^v.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

3. Fols.18^v-81^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Fol.55^v, Bk.I ends, followed immediately in the normal script by

the words emendatum est, later deleted. Fol.56^r, rain diagram, titles (no subscriptio), beginning of Bk.II. Fol.81^v, after end of Bk.II, closing title, and colophon De errore emendationis (see pp. 78-80) in alternate lines of uncial and rustic. Beneath this, there is an erasure of several lines (probably an addition).

Additional hands.

There are various additional hands, of which the following are the most notable:

1. Contemporary Corbie hand or hands, similar to that of the scribe, sometimes very small (e.g. fol.60^r). He/they add(s) corrections and variants (e.g. fol.18^r), and marginal headings (e.g. fol.21^r), throughout the manuscript.
2. A small, rather clumsy hand of s.xi or earlier, using pale ink, adds extensive glosses to the De senectute, fols.1^r-9^r only.
3. A gothic hand, s.xii, writing with a thick pen, adds corrections and variants (e.g. fol.20^r, omission supplied in the margin with b, and a in the text). He is not present in the De senectute, and most frequent at the beginning of the Commentary (but see also fol.61^v).
4. A small, *curvive* hand of s.xv, *Italian*, supplies two diagrams in greenish-grey ink: Lambda II (fol.28^r) and Map (fol.68^v).
He also adds a marginal variant at fol.15^r and the heading Somphium at fol.23^r.

Technical description.

i+81+iii, modern foliation (i), 1-81, (82-4). Collation i-ix⁸, x⁸ + 1 original leaf (fol.81) added after leaf 8. Quire-signatures - 1 - (fol.8^v)-viii (fol.72^v), early, perhaps by the scribe: plain roman numerals apart from I, bottom centre, near edge, of last verso. Thick, shiny parchment of good quality. C.240 x 196-8 mm.

Written space: 172-182 x 127-134 mm. 1 col. No. of lines: q.i-ii, 27; iii, 29; iv, 28, but ruled for 29; v-x, 28. Hard point ruling F<H<<</>>> (ruled one quire at a time, since usually only the central bifolium of the quire is pricked, and here the ruling tends to be very heavy, cutting the surface).

Script: strikingly regular caroline minuscule, by one scribe, of the characteristic Corbie type delineated by Bischoff (see History, n.1, below).

Decoration: initial O with slight decoration in ink, fol.1^r; otherwise, plain initials, in red at fols.15^r, 18^v (I and R), in ink at fol.56^r. Titles and incipits in lines of uncial and/or rustic, in ink or red. Some minor initials, often followed by a line of rustics, in ink, e.g. fol. 32^r. Ordinary capitals at beginnings of sentences touched with red at fol.45^r. Diagrams in ink.

2^o fol.: // et caducum (fol.2^r).

History.

1. Corbie, Benedictine abbey. Written in the distinctive style of that scriptorium, s.ix, probably third quarter. After the corrections noted above under Additions 1 had been made, it was used by the Corbie librarian Hadoardus as the source for his excerpts from both the De senectute and Macrobius' Comm. in his Ciceronian florilegium, Vat.Reg.lat. 1762 (see pp. 65-68)⁽¹⁾.

The Corbie library catalogue of c.1200⁽²⁾ contains the following entry: [item 282] arismetica.Tullius de senectute. Macrobius. If Delisle is correct in printing these three works as a single entry, it is probable that this is not MS.6 but another, related manuscript; for there is no sign of arismetica now, and the quire-signatures show that no part of the original manuscript is lost at the beginning⁽³⁾.

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

2. Vat.Reg.lat.520, fols.2^r-5^r, edited by Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, II (1874), 432-440.
3. If this catalogue entry does refer to MS.6, either Delisle has mis-transcribed the catalogue or MS.6 was once bound up with another, separate manuscript of arismetica and later disbound.

?? 2. Tours, collegiate church of St.Martin, and (after the French Revolution) the Bibliothèque de Tours. Various Tours catalogues of the 18th- and early 19th centuries mention an ancient manuscript containing the De senectute, the Somnium Scipionis and Macrobius' Commentary. It is no.33 in the catalogue made in 1700 and printed by Monfaucon in 1739⁽⁴⁾:

Cicero de Senectute. Ejusdem Somnium Scipionis, excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis. Item Macrobii commentarius in Somnium Scipionis, annorum 800 et supra, nempe tempore Caroli Calvi.

Delisle identified this manuscript, first tentatively, then positively, as MS.6⁽⁵⁾.

4. Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, vol.II, p.1336 col.II C-D. I am using Delisle's punctuation above; Montfaucon's punctuation as printed in 1739 implies that Excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis was a separate item from the Somnium Scipionis. But if so, the identification with MS.6 is even more unlikely.
5. Tentatively (before seeing MS.6) in 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus de la Bibliothèque de Tours ...', Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 31 pt.1 (1884), pp.264-6, no.LXXXII, and positively in his addenda on pp.354-5. This article contains the references to the various descriptions mentioned below.

For a description of the Tours manuscript, which I have designated MS.151, see pp. 449-457.

But although MS.6 is certainly very similar to the Tours manuscript (my MS.151), in contents and in date, there are certain factors which have led me to doubt Delisle's identification.

a) In the catalogue printed by Montfaucon, the Somnium Scipionis in MS.151 is described as excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis. tertio is not a random mistake for sexto, but a rare variant which survives in three manuscripts whose antiquity or history gives them a claim to our attention:

- i) Paris lat.5001 + 7400B. *This ninth - century* French fragment, which can probably be dated to A.D.855, contains a short excerpt from the Somnium Scipionis, headed: ex lib(ro) Ciceronis de re publica tertio ... (5001, fol. 28^r).
- ii) London, British Libr., Cotton Faustina C.I, *fol. 66 - 93 (= my MS. 55)*, s.xii¹, Welsh. The title of the Somnium Scipionis is given as Somnium Scipionis M. Tullii C. excerptum ex libro tertio de R.P. (fol.67^r).
- iii) Paris lat.6370, fol.2^r line 21 (my MS.4, see p.190). A 12th-cent. annotator in this early-9th-cent. manuscript adds an interlinear gloss over Comm. I. 2,1 (Willis 2.29, Tullius memoret): in tribus de re publica libris. MS.4 was probably written at St. Martin's of Tours, and could still have been there in s.xii.

These other examples of tertio suggest that this is a significant variant and not a mere slip of the pen on the part of the cataloguer. The rarity of the variant makes it unlikely that the cataloguer has inserted this phrase out of his head, genuinely thinking that the Somnium Scipionis was from the third book. The most likely possibility is that the cataloguer copied the variant directly from MS.151. If so, that manuscript cannot have been MS.6, where the title firmly gives sexto, and the tertio variant is completely absent.

b) Bréquigny, in the notes on MS.151 taken in 1756-9 and printed by Delisle, cites two examples of the early glosses in the De senectute:

- i) '... une sur le Panathénaïque d'Isocrate [i.e. De sen., V, 13]: « liber totus in contemptum mortis est scriptus. »'

MS.6 contains on fol.3^r a similar gloss in the margin (not interlinear, as Bréquigny implies): Πanathenaticus liber dicitur totus in contemp[um]/mortis conscriptus [c̄ scriptus, could possibly be expanded as est scriptus] panagilicus (?) totus ...

- ii) 'En voici une autre sur le nom de Marcus que portait Cicéron: « quia mense Martio natus, et sic vocati omnes qui eo mense nascebantur, aut consulatum adipiscebantur. » ' MS.6 contains an accessus of sorts in the top margin of fol.1^r. The first line is rubbed and darkened, and not legible on my microfilm, but the second line starts marte(?) qui martio mense uel nascebantur uel consulatus dignitatem consequentur ... This is clearly the same idea, but the words are considerably different.

My experience of the glosses in the manuscripts of Macrobius has shown me that the same glosses often appear in several different manuscripts, but with frequent variations in the wording. The differences between the readings of Bréquigny from MS.151 and those from MS.6 may mean that we are dealing with two separate (though connected) manuscripts. On the other hand, Bréquigny could simply be misquoting from MS.6!

- c) Condition. Bréquigny, in 1756-9, describes MS.151 as 'en beau velin, et parfaitement bien écrit'. But in 1807, Chalmel made the following observation: « Il est à regretter qu'il ait été mouillé par je ne sais quelle liqueur, qui en a gâté une quarantaine de feuillets, dont trente environ ont des petites déchirures. Le tout, quoique imbibé, n'en est pas moins lisible. » There are some small damp-stains in MS.6, but there is no sign of there having been a really major accident to it of the kind which Chalmel describes. The 'petites déchirures' are also not in evidence — certainly not on as many as 30 leaves — but I suppose these could have been trimmed away later by Libri's binder.

There are certainly a number of similarities between MS.151 and MS.6; apart from the contents and the date, they share an unusual title at Comm.I.1,4 (Willis 2.10). But such similarities need not show that they are one and the same manuscript, only that they were closely connected. There is no internal sign of Tours ownership of MS.6 as it now stands, and with Delisle's identification we still have to explain how a Corbie manuscript got to Tours. Delisle's identification could be proved or disproved once and for all if we could discover the two printed volumes into which Bréquigny entered readings from MS.151 (see p. 457).

If we reject Delisle's identification of MS.6 as the Tours manuscript, its first known owner after Corbie is

3. Guglielmo Libri (1803-1869), the notorious book-thief, who had the manuscript rebound by Angiolo Mugnaini in his usual binding of bare wooden boards with spine of reddish leather, and gave it a spurious Italian ex libris (fol.81^v, top margin): Est Sancti Petri de Perusio. Laus Deo⁽⁶⁾. He presumably stole it from some French library.

6. L.Delisle, Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue des manuscrits Libri et Barrois, 1888, XVII - XVIII (bindings), IV - XVI and pl. VII.10 (forged ex libris).

In 1847, Libri sold many of his manuscripts to

4. Bertram, 4th Earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878). Our manuscript is no.21 in the Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Ashburnham Place. Part the First ... Libri, [1853]. In 1888, the Ashburnham manuscripts which Delisle had shown to be stolen from French sources were sold to
5. The Bibliothèque Nationale.

Bibliography

1. É.Chatelain, Paléographie des classiques latins, Paris, vol.I (1884-1892), pp.29-30, pl. XL B, fig.1 (= fol.12^V).
2. Rand, A survey ..., 1929, I p.179, II pl. CLXVI.1 (detail of fol.18^V), 2 (detail of fol.81^V). Rand wrongly attributes the script of the manuscript to Tours, taking his starting-point in Delisle's reconstruction of its later history.
3. Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio, 151, 159-160, 161, 163-4, 165 (this article was written in 1973, when I still believed that MS.6 was the Tours manuscript).

MS.9. LEIDEN, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss.Lat.F.12 (= fols.15-26)
+ " " , Voss.Lat.F.122
+ LONDON, British Library, Royal 15. B.xii, fols.1-2.

s. ix ²/₄ - med. France, Loire Valley (probably Fleury). Folio.
A manuscript of excellent physical appearance, not matched by the quality of the text (of Macrobius, at least).

Evidence that the the three parts came originally from the same manuscript.

The scribe is the same; the sizes of leaves and text spaces, and the numbers of lines, are very close, though not quite identical.

A pencil note, s.xx, in both Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.(ii)^r, and 122, fol.(i)^r, tentatively suggests that they are from the same manuscript. I discovered the link with the London leaf in 1972. M.B. Parkes published the link independently in the same year in the article cited below, p.239 n.8; the article acknowledges no source for the information, but Parkes has told me that the honour of the original discovery belongs to N.R. Ker.

Contents.

1. Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fols.15(1)^r-24(10)^v.

CICERO, De senectute.

Title (original): M.T.A. Tullii Ciceronis Cato maior de senectute

(could the mysterious M.T.A. stand for Macrobius Theodosius Ambrosius, by some confusion?). The last few words of the original text of the De senectute are erased, see below, p.230.

First used by Th. Mommsen in Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1863, 10-21.

See G.S. Vogel, The major manuscripts of Cicero's De Senectute, doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1939, and the 3rd

edition of P. Wuilleumier, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1961 (reprinted 1969), 60-67. This manuscript is a member of a family of which the other principal members are my MSS.5 and 6, and Brussels 9591 (s.ix). Paris lat. 14699 + Paris lat.5752, fols.54-70 (s.x ex. or xi in., French origin, with a 13th-cent ex libris of the abbey of St. Victor at Paris)⁽¹⁾ and Leiden Voss.Lat.F.104 (s.xii¹, French origin) are descendants of our manuscript in its corrected form. Both have its strange title, M.T.A. Tullii Ciceronis...

1. See É. Pellegrin, 'Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor...', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 103 (1942), 72-4, 97. The link between lat.14699 and lat.5752 is made in Mlle. Pellegrin's unpublished 'notices' at I.R.H.T.
2. MACROBIUS, Commentary, of which the following fragments remain:
 - a) Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.24(10)^V: beginning...ad corpus//I.1,7 (Willis 3.6). One leaf is missing between this and
 - b) Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fols.25(11)^F-26(12)^V: I.2,12(Willis 6.15)//nullam...arescentibus laureis//I.4,2(Willis 13.13).
 - c) Royal 15.B.xii, fols.1-2 (two halves of a single leaf, now bound sideways, to be read 1^R, 2^R, 1^V, 2^V): I.19,14(Willis 75.26)//et cur dixerit...lumen in solem(sic)//I.20,3(Willis 78.31). A few lines in the centre of the original leaf are now lost, and some other words rubbed away.
 - d) Voss.Lat.F.122: II.1,13(Willis 97.18)//ex quibus...pari//II.2,11(Willis 101.3). Three or four lines in the centre of each side are now illegible.

Before correction, Macrobius' Comm. originally followed the De senectute with no break or title, on the same line. The original title at the beginning of the De senectute is perhaps a corruption of a title which announced both works; this suggests that the two works were together in the immediate exemplar at least.

Additional hands.

1. The scribe himself adds one or two corrections in smaller script in the De senectute, e.g. at Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.24(10)^r an omission is supplied in the margin (~~had~~ in the text, ~~hp~~ preceding the correction).
2. (See Chatelain's plate). A caroline hand, slightly backhand and with the a a little high, à, adds most of the other additions in the De senectute, usually between the lines; a title at Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.15(1)^r, between §§ 3 and 4, FINIT PROLOGVS. LIBER* INCIPIIT, above the line (Wuilleumier reads the illegible letter as 'a'); a number of variants and corrections; and a few short glosses (e.g. Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fols.16(2)^v, 17(3)^r). The hand could be as late as s.xi (it uses the Tironian 7 for et). See pp.43-46 for the ideas of modern scholars about this set of corrections.
3. (See von Severus' plate). A hand of s.x(? ix), using somewhat uneven caroline minuscule (a is round a as well as à) and rustic capitals, alters the titles between the De senectute and the Commentary. Originally there seems to have been no break at all, with no titles, the first words of the Commentary following the last of the De senectute on the top line of Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.24(10)^v. This hand adds the last words of the De senectute and a closing title, CICERON(IS) DE SENECTVTE LIB(ER) FIN(IT), below the last line of fol.24(10)^r; he erases the original first line of fol.24(10)^v, and on the erasure adds in capitals the first words of the Commentary, INTER PLATONIS ET CICERONIS; above it he adds the title MACROBII THEODOSII IN SOMNIVM SCIPIONIS LIBER INCIPIIT (another hand, not much later, adds AMBROSII in rustics in pale ink before MACROBII).
4. (See von Severus' plate). A hand of s.x ex.- xi in., of the angular Fleury type of the time of Abbo (see pp.88-89), fairly large, somewhat clumsy, with a characteristic long s having a pronounced back hook, ſ (compare, e.g. the main glossing hand in Leiden, Voss.Lat.F.70.I, fol.66^v) adds a further title to the

Commentary beneath that of hand 3: Macrobbi Ambrosii Theodosii V.C. et inl. commenta ex Cicerone in somnium Scipionis. He is also the main corrector of the Commentary, adding variants in the margin with a variety of signes-de-renvoie, ς, ξ, ζ, γ, etc., frequently also with at. It is he who is probably responsible for frequent alterations in the punctuation (the ink is the same). He appears only in Voss.Lat.F.12β, not in the two later leaves (which contain almost no additions).

de Meyler identifies him with hand 2, but this is wrong (compare, for example, the ct of hand 4 with the ct of hand 2; also, hand 2 lacks hand 4's characteristic, top-heavy long s).

5. Other caroline hands, s.ix-xi, are responsible for a few corrections and additions in both works, e.g. the small, neat marginal heading, ϕ Quid sit oraculum, s.x or xi, opposite Comm. I.3,8(Willis 10.12), Voss.Lat.F.12β, fol.26(12)^r.
6. Pierre Daniel adds a single variant in the De senectute at Voss.Lat.F.12β, fol.23(9)^v: at § 78, where the manuscript's reading prudencia is underlined, and at; providencia (? = aliter or alius) is added in the margin, in pale grey ink. Daniel adds the same variant (again, his only addition) in MS.5 (Reg.lat.1587, fol.79^r), using an identical technique.

Technical description.

Number of leaves: in Voss.Lat.F.12 β , 12; in Royal 15. B. xii, 1 leaf, now cut in half and folded sideways, to be read 1^r, 2^r, 1^v, 2^v; in Voss. Lat. F.122, 1 leaf, now straightened and mounted in a separate volume. The foliation of Voss.Lat. F.12 β is complicated; there are three modern pencil foliations:

- a) 16-26, 15, from before the rebinding in 1886, and now deleted.
- b) 15-26, still showing the place of these leaves in the context of the other manuscripts once bound up in Voss.Lat.F.12.

After 1886.

- c) 1-12, in brackets, showing the position of the leaves as now bound separately in volume β in 1886.

de Meyler uses (b) alone, and I here use (b) followed by (c) in brackets.

Collation i⁸, ii⁸ leaf 3 now lost after Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol. 24(10), and 6-8 after fol.26(12); the Royal 15.B.xii leaf came from quire v, and Voss.Lat.F.122 was the last leaf of that quire (the evidence of the quire signature is confirmed by a calculation of the amount of text lost); the text of the Commentary, if complete, should have stretched for at least 17 more leaves. Quire-signatures: none survive, except at the centre of the bottom edge of the verso of Voss.Lat.F.122; here the word CICER[O] was written in capitals, perhaps by a contemporary hand, and at some time another hand using darker ink wrote a small V after the R of CICER[O].

Thickish parchment of good quality, generally creamy in colour, hair-sides darker than flesh-sides (Royal 15.B.xii and Voss.Lat.F.122 are now damaged and discoloured). Leaf size in Voss.Lat.F.12 β , 359x252-7mm.; in Royal 15.B.xii (estimated leaf size after its cutting-down but before its division) 339x245mm.; in Voss.Lat.F.122, 369x255 (at greatest extent)mm. Written area in Voss.Lat.F. 12 β ,

260-261x167mm.; in Royal 15.B.xii, 255 (estimated) x 185mm.; in Voss.Lat.F.122, 252x182mm. 1 col. Number of lines in Voss.Lat.F.12 β , 32; in Royal 15.B.xii (estimated) and Voss.Lat.F.122, 31. In Voss.Lat.F.12 β , q.i, fols.15(1)-22(8) was first pricked and ruled for a slightly larger text height with 34 lines to a page, then pricked and ruled again for the present format; this might account for the extremely generous margins. Voss.Lat.F.12 β now has peculiar proportions, in that the lower margin is smaller than the top; but its lower margin must have been badly cut down, since more usual proportions appear in Voss.Lat.F.122, which has been left 10mm. taller than 12. Ruling in hard point, $M > F < > < / > < > < .$
Script: neat, caroline minuscule by a single scribe; the script slopes forward; the bodies of the letters are small, but with long ascenders, shorter descenders. Minuscule a appears as Δ , u or o. rt = \mathcal{R} . The text is very corrupt, but that might be the fault of the exemplar.

Decoration: The only extant decoration is at the beginning, Voss. Lat. F. 12 β , fol.15(1)^r, a title in fine, large, round uncials (half-uncials at the end), and a plain initial 'O', 2 lines high and indented, all in brownish-red pigment. There was originally no break at all at fol.24(10)^v between the two works (see above, p. 230).

2^o fol.:// deserunt ne extremo (Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.16(2)^r).

Earlier history: arguments for Fleury ownership.

There is unfortunately no absolute proof for the medieval provenance of any of the three volumes involved, Voss. Lat. F.12 β , Voss. Lat. Q. 106 and Royal 15. B. xii, nor of any of the textual descendants of MS.9.

Arguments based on palaeographical opinion:

1. The main script. de Meyier gives the place of origin as 'Gallia (Autissiodurum, teste Bischoff, vel Monasterium S. Benedicti Floriacense)'. Bischoff gave the opinion 'vielleicht

Fleury' to me orally in July 1973, and the date as s.ix, ³/₄ to med. Certainly the use of the three different forms of minuscule a (a, u or λ) is characteristic of the Fleury manuscripts I have seen, from s.ix even until s.xi in. But this is inconclusive.

2. I am certain that Additional hand 4 (see above, pp. 230-1), which adds variants in the Macrobius, is an example of the angular script in use at Fleury in the time of Abbo.
3. M.B. Parkes (see below, p. 239 n. 8) suggests that various neums and pen-trials added on fol. 25^v of Voss. Lat. Q. 106 date from before the end of s.x and are characteristic of Fleury manuscripts, and therefore that the manuscript (and, presumably, its wrapper, Voss. Lat. F. 122, a leaf of MS. 9) belonged to Fleury. His demonstration is preceded by the unsupported assertion that MS. 9 is from Fleury, as subsidiary evidence for the Fleury provenance of Q. 106, and there is a danger here of circularity of argument. I would hesitate to accept Parkes' opinion as conclusive without other evidence.

Other arguments.

4. The text of both works in MS. 9 is closely linked to that of MS. 5 (see ch. II), which I have proved to have been at Fleury by s.xi at latest. But this argument is vitiated by the existence of another manuscript with close textual links known to have been written in s.ix at Corbie - MS. 6.
5. The evidence of the Fleury library catalogue of 1552.⁽¹⁾ It is impossible to make any certain identifications:
 - a) There is only one copy of the De senectute recorded in the catalogue: no. 175, Marci Tullii Cato major. This could be Voss. Lat. F. 12β, but it could equally well be Vat. Reg. lat. 1587, fols. 65-80 (MS. 5), or another manuscript.
 - b) Three copies of Juvenal are recorded, nos. 114, 120 and 224. Nos. 114 and 120 are ruled out because of other works mentioned in them, but the main MS. of Royal 15. B. xii could be no. 224, Juuenalis satyrae. But no proof is possible, owing to the

shortness of the entry.

- c) There is no entry in the 1552 catalogue applicable to Voss. Lat. Q.106 (but this is no argument that it did not belong to Fleury, for manuscripts known to have belonged to Fleury do not appear in the catalogue).

1. See under MS.5, p. 212 n. 2.

6. The fact that Voss. Lat. F.12 β , Voss. Lat. Q.106 + F. 122, and probably also Royal 15. B. xii passed through Pierre Daniel's hands suggests a Fleury origin but does not prove it - he got manuscripts from elsewhere too, e.g. St. Victor at Paris.⁽²⁾

2. E.G. Paris lat.8302, fols.48-58 (gloss on Cicero, De amicitia, s.xii ex.-xiii in.), where Daniel has coolly substituted his own name for that of St. Victor in anathemas at the beginning and end, fols.48^r and 58^r.

7. It seems impossible that Pierre Daniel himself could have used an early classical manuscript for binding purposes, for many composite volumes from his collection show that he hoarded even small scraps.⁽³⁾ Therefore MS.9, and the two other manuscripts bound in its dismembered leaves, came from an earlier library which fulfils the following conditions:

- a) Ancient books were available for use as binder's waste.
 b) There was a demand for Cicero's De senectute, but not for Macrobius' Commentary (hence the first available bifolium of the Macrobius became the wrapper for the De senectute).
 c) Books from it eventually became available to the Daniel brothers.

Fleury fulfils these conditions (the second is suggested by the division of the De senectute from the Macrobius in MS.5).

3. To name just one example, Berne 104, fols.56-7, are two leaves from a manuscript of the De senectute, s.xiii, bound in a volume which belonged to Daniel.

Conclusion.

These arguments taken together seem to be conclusive, although no single one carries enough weight by itself. MS.9 therefore belonged to Fleury in the Middle Ages, and was probably written there. At some time the Macrobius was used as binder's waste, no doubt because of its large size and good, stout parchment.

Later history of Voss.Lat.F.12 β .⁽⁴⁾

Voss. Lat. F.12 was a volume of six independent manuscripts which were separated in 1886 and numbered α - ζ . Like the other five, β is now bound in a standard library binding of that date, with spine and corners of parchment and sides of marbled paper over millboards. The only trace of the earlier binding is a paper fly-leaf (α , fol.I). β certainly belonged to:

1. Pierre Daniel of Orléans (c.1530-1603 or 1604). The evidence for his ownership and use of the manuscript is as follows:
 - a) His ex libris on fol.26(12)^r, top margin: 'Ex libb. Petri Danielis Aurelij 1560'.
 - b) The manuscript fulfils the condition for identification as the first of the two codices Danielis mentioned in Gruter's 1618 edition at De senectute §8: ...quod non fuisset vox ignobilis in uno ueteri codice Danielis, nisi a manu recenti...⁽⁵⁾
The omitted word ignobilis is added above the line, by Additional hand 2(?), at Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.15(1)^v.
 - c) Daniel entered readings from this manuscript up to §57, using the siglum v (= uetus), in a printed edition of the De senectute (Paris, 1543), now Berne, Burgerbibliothek, G 85.⁽⁶⁾
 - d) He adds a single variant in the manuscript itself at De senectute §78, see above p.231.

Before 1886, the leaves of β were so bound that the present last leaf preceded the others, as appears both from foliation type (a) (see above, p.132), and from a note on fol.(ii)^r:
Haec folia usque ad an. 1886 perperam ita erant ligata ut

ff.1-10 Ciceronis librum continentia, media inter ff.12 et 11.

The presence of Pierre Daniel's ex libris, with the title Ciceronis de senectute in a hand of s.xvii (de Meyier thinks it is Daniel's own hand) in the top margin of fol.26(12)^r, shows that this leaf was at the front in Daniel's time. Fols.25(11) and 26(12) were originally a bifolium though not now joined. At some time before 1560, therefore, a bifolium of the Macrobius had been cannibalized to form a wrapper for the De senectute.

Of the five other manuscripts of Voss.Lat.F.12, all but one (J) show evidence of Daniel's ownership. The discrepancy between the dates of Daniel's ex libris in the two manuscripts which bear it, ⑆ (1560) and ⑇ (fol.43^r, 1564), proves that the volume had not been assembled when he made these inscriptions. *Therefore,* although γ, δ and J show evidence of Fleury ownership, we cannot infer from this that α, β and ⑇ also came from Fleury. It would *seem that* either Daniel or his heirs made up the volume from miscellaneous items in his collection. The earliest period at which we can be certain that they were bound together is during the ownership of Alexander Petau (table of contents, see below).

4. For the history of Voss.Lat.F.12, see, in addition to the new catalogue, K.A. de Meyier, Paul en Alexandre Petau en de Geschiedenis van hun Handschriften (= Dissertationes Inaugurales Batauae 5), Leiden 1947, 62-3.
5. See under MS.5, pp. 213-4.
6. H. Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Berne 1875, p.523. The readings entered here were identified as those of MS.9 by S.G. de Vries, Exercitationes palaeographicae in bibliotheca uniuersitatis Ludguno-Batauae..., Leiden 1889, p.10 n.2.

The 17th-cent. owners are listed in de Meyler's catalogue under α (see below, p. 241), with full references to early catalogues. Briefly, the owners were:

2. Paul Petau (1568-1614), co-purchaser with Jacques Bongars of Daniel's library. Petau's number, Y.43, occurs on fol.1^r of α . His manuscripts were inherited by his son

3. Alexander Petau (d. 1672). This volume was his no.220. A table of contents of the entire volume appears on a paper fly-leaf (α , fol.I^v, the sole survivor of the earlier binding; it lacks a watermark) in the same hand as the catalogue of Alexander's collection, now Voss.Lat. Q. 76.

In 1650 he sold the greater part of his manuscript; to

4. Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689). She employed, as a consultant for her manuscript collections,

5. Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), who retained many of her manuscripts, with or without her knowledge. The volume was his no.33. His nephews inherited the collection, and sold it in 1690 to

6. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

Later history of Voss. Lat. F.122.

This leaf, folded in two with its edges tucked in and stitched, once formed the cover of Voss.Lat. Q.106, from which it was detached in 1886 (see the notes on F.122, fol.(i)^r and Q.106, fol.(ii)^r). It was then flattened and separately bound in marbled paper over millboards. The history of this leaf is therefore part and parcel with that of Voss. Lat. Q.106, which is as follows:

1. Q.106 contains the Enigmata of Symphosius and Aldhelm, s.ix, and, added on the last verso, fol.25^v, a famous Anglo-Saxon

translation of Aldhelm's 33rd riddle, De Lorica, added in s. ix or x. Bischoff⁽⁷⁾ considers that the main manuscript was copied in western France (in which area he would include the Loire basin and Orleans).

7. Quoted by Parkes (below, n.8) p.212.

It is likely, but not proven, that Q.106 belonged to
2. Fleury, from at least s.x onwards. M.B. Parkes⁽⁸⁾ suggests that the calligraphy of various neums added on fol.25^v dates from before the end of s.x, and is characteristic of Fleury manuscripts (especially in the context of pen-trials, etc., at the end of the text).

8. M.B. Parkes, 'The manuscript of the Leiden riddle', Anglo-Saxon England, 1 (1972), 213-6.

3. Pierre Daniel. There is no ex libris, but Voss.Lat.F.122, fol.1^r, carries the title for Q.106 Enigmata Symphosii Poetae Veteris in Daniel's hand on what would have been the back cover, and another title Symphosii Enigmata perhaps also in Daniel's hand, followed by a note of s.xvii(?) on the contents of Q.106, on what would have been the front cover. There are also some notes in his hand in the Aldhelm (fol.11^r onwards).

Q.106 with its Macrobian wrapper then passed through the same series of owners as Voss.Lat.F.12^β, see above, p. 238. (Paul Petau's number R.37 occurs in Q.106, fol.2^r), to reach the Leiden University Library in 1690.

Later history of Royal 15.B.xii, fols.1-2.

The leaf is now divided into two parts which are no longer joined. Placed sideways, they must once have formed the fly-leaves or wrapper of the main manuscript, a Juvenal, s.x, with glosses. The present binding is modern.

The medieval provenance of the Juvenal is unknown. Traces of a flourished inscription, s.xvi, now illegible even under ultra-violet light, appear at the top of fol.1^r. The Juvenal's first known owner is:

1. François Daniel of Orléans, brother of Pierre Daniel. Warner & Gilson were able to decipher his ex libris after the end of the text on fol.59^v: Ex libris Francisci Danielis Aurelii (only the final letter is now legible, even under ultra-violet light; Warner & Gilson⁽⁹⁾ doubtless applied the reagent of which traces are still visible). François was particularly interested in Juvenal; a printed text with copious annotations by him survives at Berne (F 59)⁽¹⁰⁾
 9. G.F. Warner & J.P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's collections, London, 1921, II, p.158.
 10. See H. Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Berne 1875, pp.XIV and 536.

The manuscript doubtless passed to his brother:

2. ? Pierre Daniel. His ex libris does not appear, but a fine formal humanistic hand, s.xvi², which adds variants (e.g. 3^v and 16^r) and satire numbers could be his (see the variant with his typical *als* sign, fol.49^r); there are also variants added in another, more cursive humanistic hand.

The real evidence for Pierre Daniel's ownership is that the next certain owner was:

3. Jacques Bongars (1554-1612), co-purchaser of Pierre's collection, with Paul Petau. Fol.3^r, top left (first page of the Juvenal): Bongars. The bulk of Bongars' collection passed via Jakob Gravisset to Berne, but at least six manuscripts⁽¹¹⁾ with his ex libris (four of which are concerned with Juvenal) turn up in

4. The Royal Collection, where they appear in the 1666 catalogue of manuscripts at St. James's Palace.⁽¹²⁾ Here the leaf of Macrobius was used by Richard Bentley (1662-1742), keeper of royal libraries from 1694. Warner & Gilson identify his hand in the title in the outer margin of fol.1^r, Macrobius de Somnio Scipionis p.77. Edit.1628, and note that his collation of the Macrobian leaf appears in his copy of the 1628 Leiden edition, now British Library 681 c.20 (pages 77-80). That volume bears welcome confirmation that the leaf was bound up with the Juvenal by then, for on p.77 Bentley describes the leaf as Folium ms 800 annorum in Bibliotheca Regia Londini; quo codex MS Iuuenalis compagitur.

11. See Warner & Gilson, III, 1921, p.104.

12. Royal App. 71, see Warner & Gilson, II, p.396. Our manuscript is recorded on fol.20 (Warner & Gilson II, p.158).

The Royal Collection was incorporated by an act of 1753 in those of

5. The British Museum, now British Library.

Bibliography.

General catalogue description:

1. K.A. de Meyier, Codices Vossiani Latini. Pt.I. Codices in folio (Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti, 13), 1973, 21-28, with an extensive bibliography, especially on the text of the De senectute.

Reproductions:

2. É. Chatelain, Paléographie des classiques latins, I, Paris 1884-1892, p.29, pl. XLa Voss.Lat.F.12 β , fol.8^v).
3. P.E. v Severus, Lupus von Ferrières (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, 21), Münster 1940, 57-8, 102, pl.II (fol.10^v, negative print).

MS.9

See also:

4. Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio..., 146, 149, 151, 156, 157-9, 163-4, 165.
5. Descriptions and microfilms of all three parts available at I.R.H.T.

s.x ex. - xi in.

Fleury.

Small folio.

Elaborate initials, but script fairly uneven and not calligraphic.

MS.7 has a kindred look (same size), but is in general of finer quality, with better parchment and a script less cramped.

Contents.

The manuscript was executed all in the same scriptorium, and at the same time, but divides naturally into three parts through correspondences between the beginnings of new quires and of new works.

A. Quires i-v.

1. Fols.1^r-19^v.

HYGINVS, Astronomica.

After the final words, ...cum sol ab aestiuo circulo redit, a contemporary hand has added CCCLXV dies suo cursu transigit, and corrected the word redit to rediens. At fol.11^v, there is a drawing of a centaur holding a rabbit by its hind legs in his left hand, and piercing it with a spear held in his right hand (illustrating Bk.II cap. XXXVIII).

L. Fitzgerald, Hygini Astronomica, Ph.D. thesis, Saint Louis University, 1967, pp.24, 351-353, says that the manuscript is 'possibly from a common exemplar with' London British Libr., Harl.2506 (s.x ex.-xi in., written by both French and English scribes, perhaps at Fleury) and that Leiden, Voss.Lat.0.84 (s.xi) 'may be an apograph or a gemellus of' our manuscript.

2. Fols.19^v-23^v.

DE ORDINE AC POSITIONE STELLARVM IN SIGNIS.

(Preface, fol.19^v) Est quidem hic ordo ac positio siderum... descriptio in medium huius modi proferatur. (Main text,

fols.20^r-23^v) Helice Arcturus maior habet stellas in capite VII... Anticanis habet summam stellarum III. Each constellation is illustrated by a line-drawing of the mythical figure from which it is named. M. - Th. Vernet, 1959, pp.41-2, lists the various constellations illustrated here and in other manuscripts. Thorndike & Kibre, col.513, point out the close relationship between this work and Hyginus' Astronomica. King, p.41, notes that this is Bk.V, cap. ii, in the '7 - Book Computus' (see p.128). See also Saxl & Meier (below, p.256). The text must have circulated widely in s.ix.

3. Fol.24^{r-v}.

Two of the standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II (see p.128):

- a) Fol.24^r. De positione et cursu septem planetarum. At the top of the page are line-drawings of busts of the upper five planets, Venus, Iouis, Mars, Mercurius, Saturnus, at the bottom left that of the sixth, Luna, and at the bottom right a space marked Sol for the seventh, not filled.
- c) Fol.24^v. De absidibus earum. No diagram.

See King, pp.106-8. He finds that the texts here are reasonably accurate, but show no close connection with any other of his manuscripts. Rück, Auszüge, 22-3, etc.

B (Quires vi-viii).

4. Fols.25^r-44^v.

MACROBIVS, Commentary.

Bk.I ends at fol.34^r, II begins at fol.34^v. One quaternion (not two, as M. - Th. Vernet calculates, p.42) is now lost between fols.32^v and 33^r; it would have contained I. 11,4 (Willis 45.31)//de loci...factum re//[ferens] I.21,8 (Willis 86.22).

5. Fol.44^v.

Introduction no.2 (see p.103).

Written at the foot of the page in smaller script than usual; possibly added later, but certainly by one of the main hands.

6. Fol.45^{r-v}

CICERO; Somnium Scipionis, 1.1-6. 2(Willis 160.24) utraque parte//.

Fol.46^{r-v}. Originally blank, ruled.

The text of the Somnium as written by the original scribe breaks off at the end of the last line of fol.45^v; he must have left blank fol.46, an original leaf of q.viii. This suggests that the scribe simply failed to complete his task rather than that his exemplar was faulty. A different hand added part of the missing text at the top of fol.46^r, see below, pp. 251-2.

C (quires ix-x).

7. Fol.47^{r-v} line 27.

[GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus (a letter to Constantine, monk of Fleury, c. 980 A.D.)].

Vis amiciciae pene impossibilia redigit...denominaciones mittunt ad extremos digitos. Ed. Bubnov, pp.1-22, see also p.LVIII. Fol.47^{r-v} contains Bubnov's textus genuinus (Textus A); his siglum for this part of the manuscript is 'Par Ha'. See below, item 10. A slightly more developed version of this text is found in my MS.16, see pp. 274-5.

8. Fol.47^v line 28-48^r line 36.

[HERIGER of Lobbes, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus], fragment only.

[S]ingularem per decenum si multiplicaueris, dabis dig(itis)

.X. articulis .C. ... Centenum mill(enum) per $\bar{I}\bar{M}$ simul [sic] dabis unicuique dig(itis). $\bar{C}\bar{M}\bar{M}$. et art(iculis). $\bar{I}\bar{M}\bar{M}$, followed, in capitals, by Hic ulterius ad hanc consequentiam multiplicantur numeri, etiam si interminabilis multitudinis fiat abacus.

Indicated by Bubnov, p.207, as one of the group 'Obbb' of his section 'A', and containing part I only (on multiplication) in a recension considerably different from that which he prints.

9. Fol.48^r line 37 - 49^r line 7.

[Part of an anonymous commentary on GERBERT'S Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus].

Dividuntur autem numeri diuerso [altered i.l., perhaps by the scribe, from ? numero diuisso] modo. Dividitur autem maior per minorem...sic diuisores per denominationem totius dividendi multiplicabuntur.

Ed. Bubnov pp. 262 line 5-268 line 6 (pt.III, caps.1-6), see also p.LVIII for a list of major variants from his printed text, and p.245 for related manuscripts (under 'Nbbb').

10. Fol.49^r line 7 - end of page.

[GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus]. Additional material to item 7 from a later recension.

QVOMODO DECENVS METIATVR [altered s.l. by scribe from METITVR] CENT(ENVM) AVT MILL(ENVM), VEL MILLENVS VLTERIORES. Si uolueris per decenum numerum dividere, uel centeni [sic] uel milleni [sic], aut per cent(enum)...Quod si tres uel quattuor in divisoribus intermittantur, uel simul uel alternatim, idem tibi diligenter ex sequenti constabit.

Additional material from recension 'B' (subgroup 'B2b') not found above in item 7, see Bubnov pp. LVIII, 3, 5; Bubnov's siglum for this part is 'Par Hb'. Some mistake took place here in the writing of Bubnov's chapter B II 9 (pp.19-20) at fol.49^r

lines 12-22, for the scribe rewrote it in erasure, stretching out the letters in the last four lines to make the text fill the available space.

11. Fol.49^v.

[Diagram of the abacus].

In the top left corner is 'CAP̄ VI', probably in an original hand. The diagram is partly in erasure. The characters (apices) used for 9-1 are reproduced by M. Destombes, 'Un astrolabe carolingien et l'origine de nos chiffres arabes', Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences, 15 (1962), pp.38-39 no.9.

12. Fol.50^r lines 1-16.

[GERBERT, Epistola de horologiis duorum climatum ad fratrem Adam, A.D.989].

Marcianus in astrologia incrementa horarum ita fieri putat...
que fit uiginti quatuor partium, followed by the two tables of different horologia.

Ed. Bubnov, pp.39 line 23-41 line 6. This manuscript omits the opening paragraph. Bubnov says that it is descended from the letter as received by Gerbert's correspondent, rather than from the copy in Gerbert's own letter-book.

13. Fols. 50^r line 17-57^r.

[Works on musical theory — or one work consisting of several parts].

- a) Fol.50^r lines 17-40. DESIGNATIO MONORDI (sic) Dulce ingenium musicae, quamuis instrumentis plurimis uigeat, unius tamen instrumenti uia ueritatem legentibus insinuat...inter quartum uero et octauum diapente.
- b) Fol.50^r line 40-50^v line 18. DE CORDIS OMNIBVS. Omnis igitur tropus ypodorii ypofrigii uel ceterorum in genere diatonico...
quod in singulis tropis acutior exurgat.
- c) Fol.50^v lines 18-25. DE SEMITONIO ET TONO VEL DIESIM QUID SINT.
Quicquid autem in singulis tropis melicum sonuerit...Habet

autem tonus semper quattuor diesis et emitonia duo.

- d) Fol.50^V lines 25-35. DE SYMPHONIIIS. Symphoniae autem quae in ascensu cordarum (or cordarii?)...emitonia XXVII diesis LIIII.
- e) Fol.50^V line 35-51^R, diagram at top (? perhaps still part of (d)). DE DIATESSERON et [4.1.s., rubbed]./Igitur ipsas species diapente et diatesseron punctorum ordinatione libet considerare siue per tonos singulos discretos siue in/discretos in incensione uel remissione. hoc modo, followed by a diagram stretching from 50^V-51^R, of which the first caption reads PRIMA SPECIES [D]IATESSERON tercio loco habens semper (?) semitorium and the last QUARTA SPECIES DIAPENTE habens quarto loco semitonium.

The same diagram without captions, is added in my MS.1 (*Bibl. Anst. T.2.27. fol. 5^R*), by a hand of s.xi(?).

- f) Fol.51^R. A prima quoque specie diapason, que est mese, id est .O. inchoatur primus tropus...(last heading) DE OCTAVO... remissum .m. ad .I. Huius tropi talis est forma NOEAGIS. This piece was identified by M.-Th. Vernet, 1959, p.44, as the anonymous tract printed among the works of Hucbald in M. Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastica de musica..., St. Blaise, 1784, I, pp.130. I-II, 132.I, 135 I-II, 137.II-138.I, 140.I-II. The text ends unfinished at Gerbert p.140.II, line 29. The page is much rubbed, causing the loss of many letters. See Le Graduel Romain. Édition critique par les moines de Solesmes. II. Les Sources, Solesmes [1957], p.100, in which the text is described as 'petit traité sur les modes avec exemples tirés des pièces du Graduel'. The examples are given with neums which M.-Th. Vernet, p.44, says are of the Loire valley type.
- g) Fols.51^V-57^R. Numerous diagrams illustrating musical theory, without texts, some very elaborate. Edges often cut away.

Items 12 and 13 (a)-(f) appear also in Bruges, MS.532, fols.1^R-4^R (s.xiii; belonged to the Cistercian abbey of les Dunes).

14. Fol.57^V.

Sphera Apulegii de egris uel monomachis.

Si uis scire quæ die decumbant uel liberentur, summe nomen aegri per litteras...et si supra fuerit, uitam uel uictoriam, si infra, mortem uel casum monomachi monstrabit.

This short text is followed by the diagram itself.

The full text of this manuscript is printed by E. Wickersheimer, 'Figures medico-astrologiques des neuvième, dixième et onzième siècles', XVIIth International Congress of Medicine, London 1913: section XXIII, History of Medicine, London 1914, 318-320, who also mentions similar spheres of Apuleius or Pythagoras in two other manuscripts from the library of Fleury, Paris, B.N., nouv. acq. lat.1616, fol.7^v (s.ix) and Orléans, Bibl. municipale, 276(232), p.129 (s.xi). Wickersheimer reproduces the leaf in his Les manuscrits latins de médecine du haut Moyen Age dans les bibliothèques de France (Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 11), Paris 1966, p.88, pl. VI. For other manuscripts, see L. Thorndike, A history of magic and experimental science, I, London 1923, 692-4.

15. Fol.57^v.

[Tables of weights and measures].

- a) (In two columns). Batus, id est mensura, .L. sextariorum/Cadus id est anfora continens urnas .III./...Talentum maius recipit libras .C./Talentum medium. LXII.(sic) libras/Talentum minus recipit L. libras.

This table may derive ultimately from Isidore, Etym., XVI. xxv-xxvi, as quoted by F. Hultsch, Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae, II, Teubner, Leipzig 1866, pp.110-121. The central section is close, but not identical, to the table printed by Hultsch pp.132 line 12-133 line 11 from Modena, Bibl. Estense, 580 (IV.H.B), s. xiii in.

- b) The as and its major divisions, with their notae: .I. As uel assis. /~~as~~ .XII. unc(iae)/~~as~~ Deunx uel iabus (sic) XI. unc(iae)/...

△ quadrans uel quadras .III. un(ciae)/℥ sextans uel sextas
II. un(ciae).

Wilmart-Vernet 1959, p.44, quote Hultsch, II, pp. XXV-XXVII, for the notae; Hultsch prints several similar tables, see pp.127-130, 131-2. Cf. MS.105, fol.63^v, p. 387.

Fol.58^{r-v}. Originally blank, see below.

Additions on fol.58^{r-v}.

The numerous additions, by several hands all of s.xi, include

1. Liturgical excerpts, with neums. Pieces of various length, including
 - a) Fol.58^r. ℞. Congregati sunt Deus ad deuorandum me seductores..., and successive versicles up to Al(ius) v(ersiculus). Miserere Ihesu Christe miserere qui umbrosum inluminasti infernum, da eis splendidissimum lumen, ut possint uidere perpetuam lucem, as printed by R-J. Hesbert, 'L' Office de la Commémoration des Défunts à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire au XIII^e siècle', Miscellanea Liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg, II (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae", 23) Rome 1949, p.397 lines 4-13. This is followed by other items, probably connected.

Hesbert gives a list of manuscripts containing Congregati sumus, including a Fleury breviary, Orléans, Bibl. mun., 125 (103), s.xii and xiii. In MS.10, neums are written above the line for the entire piece. M.-Th. Vernet 1959, p.40, quotes the opinion of Mlle. S. Corbin that this notation 'est contaminée et pourrait être d'une région entre la Loire et l'Aquitaine, peut-être Poitiers'.

- b) Fol.58^v. A piece (much rubbed) commemorating Anianus presul, no doubt St. Anianus, bishop of Orléans. This is one of several(?) small pieces on fol.58^v, all damaged, with neums pronounced by Mlle. Corbin to belong to the type of the valley of the Loire; this also applies to the neums without words in the bottom

left of fol. 58^r (cf. item 13 (f)) .

The script of (a) and (b) is a small, rounded caroline minuscule (possibly by the same hand), lacking the characteristics of the angular Fleury script of the main text.

2. Another, rather clumsy hand of s.xi has added the following couplet on fol. 58^v:

Florida floriacum perlustrant pragmata cl[a]ustrum⁽¹⁾
Floret florigerum dogmatis hic studium.

Not in Walther, Initia carminum or Proverbia. Other poems involving a play on the word Floriacus are listed in Vidier, L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire..., p.53 n.171.

The manuscript must surely have been at Fleury when these verses were added.

1. M.-Th. Vernet, 1959, p.41, reads Florida floriacum perlustrauit pragmata claustra. The third word looks like perlustrant; perlustrauit does not scan, and I suspect that the scribe intended to write perlustrant, but wrote one too many minims. - The last letter of the line is rubbed, and could be -a or -u; I have chosen claustrum for the sake of the rhyme and the grammatical agreement with floriacum.
3. Pen-trials, on fol. 58^{r-v}, mainly by a single, rather clumsy hand of s.xi using very black ink, including sequences of letters of the alphabet, mirror-writing (fol. 58^r), the word probatio (fol. 58^r), and the name hilda (fol. 58^v)⁽²⁾
 2. M.B. Parkes, 'The manuscript of the Leiden Riddle', Anglo-Saxon England, 1 (1972), 213, 217, has observed that pen-trials of neums, series of letters from the alphabet, and names, often occur on the last page of manuscripts known to have been at Fleury in s. ix and s.x.

Additions elsewhere.

4. A hand of s.xi adds a little more of the unfinished Somnium

Scipionis at the top of fol.46^r, the leaf left blank by the original scribe. He takes up the text where it was abandoned, and writes from 6.2 (Willis 160.25)//subnixos - uiri//7.2 (Willis 161.18), leaving the text still unfinished and the rest of the page blank. The hand is certainly different from and perhaps slightly later than those of the main manuscript, but of the same general character; he uses ζ ; δ rather than τ for final -m; λ rather than α (but one of this type is present in line 4). His pen is held at a flat angle.

After the last word, is added a name in pale green ink, now smudged and scarcely legible: Gir [2 or 3] d(us), read by M.-Th. Vernet, p.41, as Girardus or Giraldus.⁽³⁾ It need not be by the same hand.

3. A common name in Fleury obituaries, see Vidier, L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, p.260. M.-Th. Vernet suggests that it might be the name of this scribe.
5. Contemporary hands, very probably those of the scribes, add occasional corrections, variants, nota signs (e.g. fols.30^v, 43^r), short glosses and marginal headings (e.g. fol.41^v, opposite II. 14,7: ARISTOTELES quid dicit Nota). At fol.37^r, the scribe seems at first to have omitted the first half of one of Macrobius' quotations from the Somnium Scipionis, II.5,1 (Willis 110.1)/Vides - australis/II.5,3 (Willis 110.12), leaving an appropriate gap in the text. In the margin, the words LEGE TEXTUM appear, and the quotation is marked in the text by T(extum) appearing just before it and C(ommentarius) just after it (cf. fol.40^v); these additions are made in brown ink, possibly by the original scribe. Later, the missing text was added in the gap in the text by a contemporary hand using much blacker ink.
6. On fol.46^v, originally left blank, two sets of circles, concentric and interlocking, have been lightly drawn with compasses, in ink.

Technical description.

iii + 58 + i, foliated 1-58 twice, in pencil s.xix(?) and in ink (?1887, see fol.(i)^x). Paper fly-leaves, unnumbered, of the date of binding. Collation i⁸, ii+iii⁸, iv², v⁴,/vi⁸, then one quire probably of eight leaves lost between fols.32 and 33, vii⁸, viii⁶,/ix⁴, x⁸. No quire-signatures or leaf-signatures (but see fol.24^x, the last leaf of q.v, extreme top right corner, for an addition by a hand of s.xv or xvi, partially cut away and possibly concerning the collation). Parchment, thin, limp and very wrinkled, shiny surface, hair-sides often yellowish. 275x181mm. (the diagrams on fols.51^v-57^x show that the edges have been badly trimmed at some time). Written area 221-236x137-161mm. 1 col. 40-45 very long lines (49 on fol.19^x, 33 on fol.19^v). Ruling in hard point, H>F<></><X. Vestiges of earlier prickings in q.iii (fols.11-18) suggest that this quire was originally pricked for a book with a smaller text area. Writing above top line. Sometimes the scribes ignore the ruled lines completely (e.g. fol.29^v).

Script: small, angular caroline minuscule of the type used at Fleury in the time of Abbo (see), with considerable variation in size, tidiness and degree of formality. It is probably by several scribes, but if so they are very hard to distinguish. Minuscule a is usually α , sometimes λ or κ . N is sometimes used in the middle of words in minuscule. Ligatures are pronounced: ct or ct ; occasional ft ; ft . The abbreviation for final -m is — or ' . est can be — (fol.34^v line 4) or — . A common abbreviation for autem is h (e.g. fol.40^x, penultimate line). In the majuscule, there is a tendency to make some letter taller than the rest, even in the middle of a word, e.g. fol.25^x line 2 CICERONE. Capital H = H , e.g. fols.1^x line 29 and 25^x line 1.

The manuscript falls clearly into three parts where new works start in new quires. At the end of q.vi there is an obvious effort made to fit a given amount of text into one quire - the script of the last leaf, fol.32^{x-v}, is noticeably small and compressed, except for the last 2½ lines where the words are drawn out in order

to fill the available space (the next quire is now lost).

Decoration: Fols.11^v, 20^r-24^r, fine drawings of the mythological figures on which the constellations are based, etc., in ink. Fol.1^r, fine large initial E, with interlace decoration incorporating dragons' heads, drawn in ink with patches of red and yellow; this initial is by a different and better hand than the other book-initials in the manuscript. These are nevertheless elaborate, often incorporating animal forms, and are drawn in ink, without colour, perhaps by a single hand, on fols.24^v (cross-bar of T formed by two dogs), 25^r (interlace initial I with dragons' heads at the top, similar but by no means identical to that in the same place in the text in MS.7, fol.28^r), 34^v (S, the letter formed by two dragons, the filling of solid-looking acanthus-leaf decoration), 45^r (initial C formed by the curving body of a peacock), 50^r (D, acanthus-leaf decoration similar to that of fol.34^v, the body of the letter formed by a dragon biting its tail), 50^v (O and Q of acanthus - leaf, S formed by two dragons). Mlle. Pellegrin observes that initials of this type are often found with the angular Fleury script.⁽¹⁾

Smaller initials, appearing frequently in the Hyginus and other works but only occasionally in the Macrobius (e.g. fol.38^v), are built-up capitals, in ink, of elegant design; some, on fols.11^r, 11^v, 12^v, 15^v, incorporate human faces, and occasional simple interlace, fol.13^v. Titles, where present, are usually in rustic capitals, e.g. fols.25^r, 44^v, 45^r, 50^r. Diagrams in ink (besides those mentioned above) appear in the Macrobius (diagram 4, Ecliptic, on fol.38^v, contains an area of red), and on fols.49^v, 50^v-51^r, 51^v-57^r (some very elaborate), 57^v.

2^o fol.: [dimen]//sio significari (fol.2^r).

1. É. Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensia', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 117 (1959), 15 n.1.

History.

1. Written in s.x ex. - xi in., almost certainly at Fleury.

Wilmart's verdict, p.40, was as follows:

'Le manuscrit date au plus tard du début du XI^e siècle. La fin du IX^e siècle n'est pas absolument exclue, à mon avis, pour la partie principale: en tout cas, il y a des indices troublant d'antiquité, quant au style graphique et à la forme des initiales; le moins qu'on puisse dire c'est qu'un modèle carolingien a été soigneusement imité.'⁽¹⁾

In my view the earlier date tentatively put forward by Wilmart is impossible because the Gerbert works in part C are written in script identical to that of the rest of the manuscript, and with identical decoration (compare the initial D at fol.50^r with the S on fol.34^v).

The technical details of parchment, script and decoration suggest that the manuscript was written at Fleury in the time of Abbo. Neums of the Loire valley type appear in the original text, item 13(f), and in 11th-cent. additions (fol.58^v) which also contain the name of a local Orléans saint, Anianus. The addition of a poem referring to the monastery of Fleury by a hand of s.xi is the final decisive piece of evidence. The manuscript does not, however, appear in the 1552 catalogue.⁽²⁾

1. According to F.M. Carey, 'De scriptura Floriacensi' (abstract of Ph.D. thesis), Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 34 (1923), 193-5, the Fleury script of s.x² shows signs of an archaistic revival, harking back to the forms of s.ix.
2. References under MS.5, see p.212 n.2. É. Pellegrin, 'Essai d'identification de fragments dispersés dans des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Berne et de Paris', Bulletin d'Information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 9 (1960), 17, tentatively suggests that this manuscript might be the copy of Macrobius in a list of manuscripts in Pierre Daniel's script, Berne,

Burgerbibliothek, A 91 no.24; I think the entry is far more likely to refer to MS.5, see pp.211-2.

Saxl & Meier (see below) attribute the manuscript to St. Martin of Tours; since they fail to state their reasons, I disregard this.

2. Philibert de la Mare (d.1687). This manuscript was no. 432 in the collection (fol.1^r, top margin). On the death of his son Philippe de la Mare in 1719, the collection of manuscripts was acquired⁽³⁾ by

3. The Bibliothèque Royale. This manuscript was intercalated in the 1682 catalogue of Clément as Reg.5462³ (fol.1^r, top margin).

3. See Delisle, Cabinet des manuscrits..., I (1868), 361-4 (see also II (1874), 365, where he lists this manuscript among those from Fleury).

Binding: parchment over mill-boards, s.xvii. Edges coloured red.

Erased inscription: top of fol.58^v; not legible under ultra-violet light.

Bibliography.

1. Saxl & Meier, pt. III, vol.I, pp. XX, XXV, XXXI (fig.7, showing detail of fol.23^r)
2. Wilmart-Vernet, 1959, 40-44.
3. Fol.57^v is reproduced by Wickersheimer, see above p.249.

MS.12 PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.6365, fols.2-23.

s.xi¹ French, probably written at Fleury. Small folio.

Contents.

Fol.2^r. Originally blank; see below.

1. Fols.2^v.I-3^v.II.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

2. Fol.3^v.II.

Introduction no.1, see p.103.

3. Fols.4^r.I-23^v.II.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.1,1 - II.7,16 (Willis 120.19) sed uno tempor[e]//.

Title to Bk.I on fol.3^v.II. Bk.I ends on fol.18^v.II, Bk.II begins on fol.19^r.I. The text breaks off abruptly at the bottom line of fol.23^v.II. The remaining part of the text, which was doubtless once present, would have covered about another 6 leaves.

Major addition, fol.2^r.I-II.

An addition of s.xi, in a script not dissimilar to that of hands A and B, but certainly not identical: a copy of the letter at the beginning of a mortuary roll in which were announced the deaths of a prior Andreas (in cunctis sanctae religionis institutionibus liberalibusque ferme nostris temporibus adprime eruditissimum artibus) on 31 March of an unspecified year, and of two senior monks Stephanus and Odo on 9 and 29 March. Cunctis per quadrifidi orbis climata passim diffusis fidelibus ... humilis cohors sanctissimi monachorum legislatoris Ben(edicti), commoda presentis uitae cumque bonarum perfectione uirtutum aeternorum gaudia premiorum ... ends De cetero beatitudinem vestram omnipotens Dominus incolomem conseruare dignetur, ad laudem

et gloriam sancti sui nominis⁽¹⁾. The humilis cohors ... Benedicti is identified by Delisle as the monks of Fleury, presumably correctly, although in the other mortuary rolls of Fleury or in tituli added at Fleury to the mortuary rolls of other monasteries, the adjective Floriacensis seems always to be present to identify the monastery⁽²⁾. If this mortuary roll did originate at Fleury, 'rien n'empêche de supposer', as Delisle says, that this erudite prior Andreas was the Andreas of Fleury who composed the Vita Gauzlini and Bks.IV - VII of the Miracula S.Benedicti, in the 1040s⁽³⁾.

1. Edited from this manuscript (the only copy known to survive) by L.Delisle, Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle (Société de l'Histoire de France), Paris 1866, pp.147-150 no.XXVIII. See also Vidier, L'Historiographie a Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire ..., 52 n.163, 121 and n.55, 123 n.74, 202 n.31.
2. See Vidier's list, op.cit., 120-123, with references to Delisle. The possibility that this might be a mortuary roll circulated by some other Benedictine monastery is strengthened by the absence of the three names Andreas, Stephanus and Odo from the appropriate dates in any other Fleury necrology (Vidier, op.cit., 121 n.55).
3. See Vidier, op.cit., 202-3.

Other additions.

The scribes add a few variants and corrections (e.g. fols.3^r, 10^r, 16^v) and nota signs (e.g. fol.8^{r-v}) in the course of writing.

Technical description.

22 leaves, foliated 2-23 in ink, s.xix. Collation i-ii⁸, iii^[6] (fols.18-23, now bound too tightly for the thread to be seen; given that the text was originally complete, about six leaves must now be lost after fol.23). No quire-signatures, leaf-signatures or catch-words. Parchment, fairly thin, with tiny wrinkles, hair-sides yellow. 263 x c.188 mm. Written space c.232 x 139-145 (each col.

57-60) mm. 2 cols. 54(53) lines. Ruling in hard point, H > F < > < /
 > < > < . Writing above top ruled line.

Script: caroline minuscule by several scribes of the same scriptorium. They are difficult to distinguish, and my attempt below must be regarded as tentative. Hands A and B at least are very reminiscent of the type of script which was being written at Fleury at around the time of Abbo (see pp. 88-9).

- A. Fols. 2^v.I - 9^v.II (= quire i). A small, narrow, slightly backhand script of great elegance. The ink is pale brown, but changes to a darker colour on fol. 9^v. Rounded σ . g . N , with a prolonged first stroke, is common in mid-word. Final $s = \mathcal{S}$. $ae = \mathcal{E}$. $ct = \mathcal{Ct}$. $or = \mathcal{Oz}$. $rt = \mathcal{Rt}$. The abbreviation for $-m$ is frequently \mathcal{S} at the beginning, but it is gradually phased out to \mathcal{M} . $et = \mathcal{Et}$.
- B. Fols. 10^r.I - 12^r.I line 49; 19^v.I line 52 - II line 5 (but possibly by hand A); 20^v.II line 34 - end of column; 21^v.I lines 1-16; 22^r.I line 49 - II line 2; 22^r.II line 7 - 23^v.II. This hand seems to alternate with hand F in quire iii. This hand is again small, backhand and elegant, very similar to A. However it is even narrower than A, and the g is noticeably different, \mathcal{G} . The ascenders are often much prolonged, and so are the upward strokes of ampersands \mathcal{A} . $ct = \mathcal{Ct}$. At Comm.I.10,12 (Willis 43.32), fol. 10^v.I, the word vulturem is spelt Wulturem.
- C. Fols. 12^r.I line 50 - 12^v.II line 42(?). A larger, more spreading hand than A and B, but with the same angular, slightly backhand quality. \mathcal{G} is similar to that of B, but with a stronger pull to the right. The ligatures are very exaggerated, e.g. $ct = \mathcal{Ct}$. $et = \mathcal{Et}$.
- D. Fols. 12^v.II line 43(?) - 14^r.I. Rounded, fairly upright, and as large as C. $g = \mathcal{G}$. $ct = \mathcal{Ct}$ or \mathcal{Ct} . $rt = \mathcal{Rt}$. $et = \mathcal{Et}$ or \mathcal{Et} . The word $\mathcal{B}\mathcal{O}$ (= Buobo?), written beneath fol. 13^r.I, is possibly the name of this scribe.
- E. Fols. 14^r.II - 17^v.II. The smallest script in the manuscript; again, slightly backhand. $g = \mathcal{G}$ or \mathcal{G} . m and n are often written


without pen-lifts, *m* and *n*. et = *et*.

F. Fols. 18^r.I - 22^r.II line 6, except for interventions by hand B, see above. An ugly, changeable script, varying in size and in colour of ink. Somewhat similar to E. e = *e*. g has a pronounced kink in the down-stroke, *g*. quia = *quia*.

Decoration: large initials at fols. 2^v.I (C with a red body, slight interlace; this is a contemporary initial, but added in erasure over a more simple capital); 4^r.I (a very large I formed of interlaced bands of yellow and blue, outlined in red, with two birds' heads at the top and an animal's head at the bottom⁽¹⁾); 19^r.I (initial S, in ink). Smaller initials on fols. 3^v.II and 4^r.I are in red, with fillings of yellow and blue; a few 2- or 3-line capitals in ink appear in the course of the text, and there is a 4-line capital in ink with some ornament after Diagram 1 on fol. 17^r.II.

Titles: in capitals on fol. 2^v.I, and in alternate lines of ink and coloured capitals (red touched with yellow and blue) at fol. 3^v.II; the beginnings of texts at fol. 4^r.I and II are treated in the same way, and the overall effect is very colourful.

Diagrams in ink and/or red.

1. The initial I of Comm. Bk. I in MSS. 7 (see pp. 87-90, 95-8), 10 (see p. 254) and 12  each has two birds' heads at the top and some interlace; they are by no means identical in style, but there may well be some connection between them.

2^o. fol.: [punc] // tum eius (fol. 3^r).

History.

1. Written in s.xi¹ in France, probably at Fleury. The Fleury attribution must rest on the combined evidence of script and of the 1552 catalogue entry (see below), not on the early addition of the letter quoted from the heading of a mortuary roll (see above, pp. 257-8); for in the first place there seems to be no certain proof that the mortuary roll was 'issued' by Fleury, and secondly it is in the nature of mortuary rolls to circulate around

different monasteries.

The manuscript (= MS.(a)) is now bound up with the following: Fol.1, a very thick sheet of parchment. The state of the recto's surface, much rubbed and darkened, shows that it must once have been the top cover of an outside wrapper. Fol.1^v: a collection of definitions in a hand definitely contemporary with the Macrobius, resembling and perhaps the same as scribe E: S[y]mbolon, id est nota. Analogicum, id est regulare ... Anathema, id est perditio. Maranata, id est dominus uenit. Hoc est: pereat in aduentu domini. The resemblance of the scripts suggests (but does not prove) that fol.1 was the original wrapper of the Macrobius. MS.(b). Fols.24-66. Three Alexander texts⁽¹⁾:

- i. Fols.24^r-35^r. Alexandri regis Macedonum et Dindimi regis Bragmannorum de philosophia per litteras facta collatio (title, fol.24^r).
- ii. Fols.35^r-52^v. Alexander's letter to Aristotle de situ et mirabilibus Indiae.
- iii. Fols.52^v-66^r. The Commonitorium Palladii, another text about Alexander's contact with the Brahmins, in the Latin version sometimes attributed to St.Ambrose.

Surviving quire-signatures indicate that (b) is only a fragment of a much larger manuscript⁽²⁾. Rounded caroline minuscule, s.xi ex. or x. No evidence of early ownership, but early pen-trials on fol.66^v, including the names of monks, Stephanus, Guarinus (variously described as male indolus and bonus bonus monacus), Humbertus, Hieronimus and Mainerius, show that it must have been used in a monastic school; pen-trials of neums, fol.66^r.

1. For the first two items, the manuscript is listed by D.J.A.Ross, 'A Check-list of MSS. of three Alexander Texts ...', Scriptorium 10 (1956), 131.

2. See M.-Th. Vernet, 1957, p.34.

There is no evidence as to when the Macrobius was joined with MS.(b) (there are no glossing hands in common) until 1552. The

combined volume can definitely be identified as no.286 in the 1552 Fleury catalogue: Macrobian commentaria in Somnium Scipionis, cui adjuncta est Alexandri, regis Macedonum, et Didimi, regis Braggannorum, de philosophia per literas facta collatio⁽³⁾.

3. Ed. Ch.Cuissard in Cat.gén., 8^o series, XII, Orléans, 1889, p.XVII. No other manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary is found with the Alexander works, and the identification is confirmed by the exact reproduction (apart from two spelling variants) of the first title of MS.(b), fol.24^r, in the catalogue. The identification suggested by Cuissard, Orléans, Bibl.municipale, 268(224), containing Alexander texts with other works, but no Macrobius, is certainly wrong.

- In the 1560s, many Fleury manuscripts passed into the hands of
2. Pierre Daniel of Orléans (c.1530-1603 or 1604). The following inscriptions, now erased or rubbed away, can be read with the help of the ultra-violet lamp: fol.66^r, Petri Danielis Aurel^[ii], in Daniel's hand; fol.1^r, Pour rendre/ A Monsieur Daniel/ P. Danielis (not in Daniel's hand). Daniel wrote a title in the top margin of fol.3^r, Somnium Scipionis ex lib. Ciceronis de Republica sexto, and probably also the hexameter on fol.1^v, Egregius quondam nunc turpis et infimus ordo, and the gloss ὄνειροκρήτης at the beginning of the Introduction to Macrobius on fol.3^v.II (Machrobius oronichretes hoc est somniorum iudex ...).

The note on fol.1^r suggests that Daniel lent the manuscript to some one, very probably its next owner

3. Pierre Pithou (1539-1596). Fol.2^r, above col.I: Sum Petri Pithoei. Mlle.Pellegrin has noticed that the word Petri here seems to be in Pierre Daniel's hand⁽⁴⁾. Fol.66^v, top. in a different hand of s.xvi: Pitou.

4. In an unpublished description at I.R.H.T.

A large part of Pierre Pithou's collection of manuscripts was acquired at his death by

4. Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617). Fol.2^r, beneath col.II:

Aug.Thuani⁽⁵⁾ (partly erased, but legible with ultra-violet light).

In 1617 Pierre Dupuy prepared a catalogue of de Thou's manuscripts⁽⁶⁾. M.-Th.Vernet, 1957 p.34 n.5, tentatively suggests that the following entry may refer to this manuscript: Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis. Warnerii ad Rotbertum versus. Alexandri et Didymi collatio. Plauti Aulularia. 4^o. Poems of Warnerius to Robertus, and the Querolus (sometimes known as Aulularia for its resemblance to Plautus' play) are the first surviving works in Paris lat.8121A, a manuscript of s.xi which also belonged to Pithou, de Thou and Colbert⁽⁷⁾, and which had been used by Pierre Daniel during the period of Pithou's ownership⁽⁸⁾. Paris lat. 6365 and 8121A must somehow have been intertwined in 1617. If so, their union was temporary and brief. Apart from their common owners and a close similarity in size, the two volumes have nothing in common. The script of 8121A is not of the type characteristic of Fleury in s.xi, and the entry in the 1552 Fleury catalogue suggests (admittedly ex silentio) that they were not yet joined together in 1552⁽⁹⁾. Pierre Daniel probably did not have access to Paris lat.8121A until after 1564 (see n.8).

The present binding⁽¹⁰⁾ of Paris lat.6365 is of parchment, lettered on the spine: MACROB. IN SOMN. SCIP. ALEXAN. ET DIDYMI COLLAT. (the lettering is possibly by Pierre Daniel himself). There is also on the spine an erased number, not legible under ultra-violet light. In spite of the title on the spine, it is fairly clear that 8121A was once included in this binding, for a gap is visible at the end of 6365, after fol.66, where several quires have been ripped out.

The binding can be dated fairly accurately. Fol.1 of Paris lat.6365 must still have been the top cover of the outside wrapper in Pierre Daniel's time, when his name was written on it; but that inscription is so faded and rubbed that the leaf must have continued to form part of the outside cover for a considerable time after it was written. 1564 is the terminus ante quem non, since Daniel did

not know 8121A before then, and 1617, the date of Pierre Dupuy's catalogue of de Thou's manuscripts, is the terminus post quem non.

5. The inscription may refer either to the great collector, or to his son of the same name (d.1677). On the father's acquisition of the manuscripts of Pierre Pithou, and on the passing of the de Thou collection into that of Colbert, see Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, I (1868), 470-472.
6. Paris, B.N., Collection Dupuy, vol.653. Printed in J.Quesnel, ed., Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae, Paris 1679, where this entry falls on p.436. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Smith 34 (S.C. 15641), pp.187-194, an independent catalogue of de Thou's manuscripts (with numbers, 1-838) from the papers of Patrick Young (1584-1652), describes the manuscript as follows (p.188): 256. Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis. Plauti aulularia. 4to.
7. See H.Omont, 'Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriut', Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 31 (1894), 193-210; P. Dronke, Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages, Oxford 1970, 66-113, esp.76-77.
8. The manuscript was not used by Daniel in his first edition of Querolus, antiqua comoedia ..., Paris 1564, for which he used primarily Leiden Voss. Lat. Q.83, a Fleury manuscript then in his own collection (see the preface de auctore to his notes on the text, fol. F.i^v). Later, Daniel entered readings from a liber Pithoeanus (now identified as Paris lat. 8121A) into the margins of the Leiden manuscript, and (from those entries in the Leiden manuscript) into a copy of his 1564 edition, now Berne, Burgerbibliothek, G 130. See R.Peiper, ed., Aulularia siue Querolus, Leipzig, Teubner 1875, p.XII and n.; L.Havet, Le Querolus, comédie latine anonyme (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc.41), Paris 1880, 22-3. Marginal variants in Daniel's hand also appear in Paris lat.8121A, e.g. fols.2^r, 29^r.
9. Item 286 of the 1552 catalogue describes only the two manuscripts now bound together in 6365. No other item in the catalogue can be identified with 8121A.

10. The binding is similar to that of my MS.13, see p. 271, and the watermarks of the paper fly-leaves used in both are identical (bunch of grapes). MS.13 also belonged to Pithou and de Thou.

De Thou's collection remained in his family until 1679, when the medieval manuscripts were purchased by

5. Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Paris lat.6365 is Cod.Colb. 1645 (fol.2^r) while Paris lat.8121A is Cod.Colb.3352 (fol.2^r); the two manuscripts must therefore have been divided by the time the Colbert numbers were allocated (before 1700)⁽¹¹⁾.

11. I.e. before the retirement from the post of librarian in 1700 of Etienne Baluze, who was responsible for the unpublished catalogue of the Colbert collection (Delisle, Cabinet des Manuscrits, I (1868), 482-3). The present binding of lat. 8121A is the standard 18th.-cent. type, of red leather with the royal arms and 'Louis' monograms.

The Colbert collection finally passed into

6. The Bibliothèque Royale in 1732. Paris.lat.6365 was intercalated in the 1682 catalogue of Clément as Reg.5556² (fol.2^r, top margin).

Bibliography.

1. Wilmart-Vernet, 1957, 33-4.
2. Complete microfilm, and unpublished description by É.Pellegrin, at I.R.H.T.

s.xi, perhaps second half.

French (?).

Folio.

At first this volume seems to fall naturally into two parts, for item 1 is written in one column, while items 2 and 3 are written in two. But in fact it was all written at one time; even if the view that the manuscript was written by a single scribe is wrong, it remains incontestable that the end of item 1, item 2, and the beginning of item 3 all fall in a single quire (iv, fols 24-31) and that the number of lines and the overall written area remains the same. The change from one to two columns is explicable: the large width of the page combined with the smallness of the script was producing very long and unwieldy lines in the one-column format.

Contents.

1. Fols.1^r-25^v.

MACROBIUS Commentary.

Bk. I ends and II begins on fol.14^v, with the subscription between them (see *ch.I, esp. pp. 22-3*). The loss of the central bifolium of q.ii after fol.11 at some time before the date of the leaf-signatures, s.xvi (?), means that the following part of the text is now missing: I.17,5(Willis 67.18)//locum collecta - causa propter//I.19,7(Willis 79.26).

2. Fols.26^r. I-27^r.II.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

3. Fols.27^v. I-84^r.II.

MACROBIUS, Saturnalia.

The text is divided into four books (Jan gives the titles, I, p. LXXXII). The title for Bk.I is Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii

uiri clarissimi et illustris primi diei Saturnaliorum liber .I. incipit (in capitals). The manuscript has been regarded as one of the most important for the text of the Saturnalia ever since Pierre Pithou gave Louis Carrion (Ludouicus Carrio) the use of it for his edition, Estienne, Paris 1585 (see the letter of Henri Estienne quoted by Jan, I, pp. LIII-LIV n.9). The best recent work on the manuscript is by A. La Penna, 'Studi sulla tradizione dei Saturnali di Macrobio', Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 22 (1953), esp.229-230, 240-241; he establishes the manuscript in a group with Naples V.B.10 ('sec.X'), Straurg 14 (Lat.12) (s.xi), and Troyes 514 (s.xii, belonged to Clairvaux, = my MS.147). J. Willis, 'De codicibus aliquot manuscriptis Macrobianae Saturnalia continentibus', Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, N.F.100 (1957), 154, adds Oxford, Bodl., MS.Auct.T.2.27, fols.51-98 (s.xi in., French, with Commentary, = my MS.1) and El Escorial Q.1.1 (s.xv).

La Penna discovered an especially close connection between MS.13 and Troyes 514, the only other in this group to contain the Commentary as well as the Saturnalia (the Commentary and Saturnalia in MS. Auct.T.2.27 are separate manuscripts).

Fol.84^v, blank (see below, p. 272).

Additional hands.

1. A small contemporary hand, very probably that of the scribe, sharing the same characteristics, δ , distinctive g ampersand &, but long s and r further below the line. With its pale ink, this hand most resembles that of the scribe in his last phase (fol.40^r onwards) and this suggests that the additions were made not during the writing of the main text of the Comm., but afterwards (nevertheless, probably from the exemplar, since the twin MS.147 contains the same set of glosses). The

hand adds:

- a) corrections, mainly of omissions (e.g. fol.10^r, with signe-de-renvoie γ). Occasional variants with t .
- b) Short interlinear and long marginal glosses, and marginal headings, almost entirely confined to the first quire (fols. 1^r-8^v, ending at Comm. I.12,11). The long glosses belong to the 'Theoprotus' set, see , and the one very long gloss outside the first quire, belonging with the Lambda III + Medietates diagrams on fol.15^v, also belongs to that set. The glosses are sometimes introduced by nota signs, N .

This hand adds the odd marginal heading in the Saturnalia.

2. A gothic hand of s.xii, using black ink, adds a marginal index in the first few leaves of the Saturnalia, fols.27^v-37^v only.
3. A thick, cursive hand of s.xiii (?) adds the following couplet on fol.27^r:

Lingua breuis, breuitate leuis, leuitate mouetur,
Mobilitate loquitur, garrulitate nocens.

Walther, Prouerbia, no. 13784 (our manuscript presents the version as printed in A. Riese, Anthologia latina, pt.I, fasc.ii, Teubner, Leipzig 1870, p.256 no.790).

4. Fol.72^r bears some marginal notes, apparently in the Hebrew alphabet.

Technical description.

iii + 84+iii leaves, foliated 1-84 in ink, s.xix. Paper fly-leaves, unnumbered, of the date of the present binding. Collation i⁸, ii⁸ leaves 4 and 5 now lost after fol.11, iii⁸ with one additional leaf, fol.16 (diagrams of the virtues), probably contemporary and original, now present after leaf 1 but once stitched onto fol.7 (leaf 7 of q.1), iv-vii⁸, viii¹⁰, ix⁸, x¹⁰ leaves 5 and 6 not conjoint, and an original leaf, fol.83, added after leaf 9; the scribe doubtless added fol.83 when he saw that he was not going to

finish his text within the quinion. No original quire-signatures. Leaf-signatures on lower right-hand margins of the rectos, A-
Av (fols.1-5) to k - k·x₁ (fols.74-84), s.xvi (?); the loss after fol.11 is noted in the same ink at the bottom right of fol.11^v. Wrinkled, shiny parchment, fairly thin for its large size, and of poorish quality. 307x252mm. Written space 237-9mm. (244 on fol.24) x182-194mm. (where there are two columns, the width of each is 83-6mm). 1 col. in the Commentary (fols.1-25^v), 2 cols. in the Somnium Scipionis and Saturnalia (fols.26^r-84^r). 45 lines throughout (46 on fol.24, 44 on fol.34). Ruling in hard point, H>F<><|><><. Double bounding-lines at top and bottom. In quires i and ii, an extra bounding line is ruled vertically, towards the edge of the outer margin, perhaps to accommodate the glosses.

Script: small, ugly, uneven caroline minuscule. It is difficult to decide whether there are several scribes at work, or merely one rather changeable hand (see the discussion by M.-Th. Vernet, 1957, p.34); I think that the latter is more likely. There is certainly no change of hand between the different works at the changes of text at fols.25^v/26^r or 27^r/27^v. The same characteristics persist throughout: ascenders are sometimes wavery; they often have heavy serifs at the tops, l or l̄; frequent use of a round d, δ, gives an agitated effect to the rhythm of the page (more frequent from fol.4^r onwards); g = g, but also g or g; Et and H ligatures; et = & (characteristic) or 7; -is = -i and -us = u; large gaps between words. There is a change in tempo at fol.4^r, and the script grows steadily smaller in the first few leaves until it finds its level around fols.6-7. At fol.40^r, the beginning of q.vi, the script becomes suddenly much smaller, and the ink is paler; however it remains the work of the same scribe, with the same characteristic features.

Decoration: the initials are plain, red, built-up capitals; there are some initials in ink in the course of the Commentary, mostly after the standard diagrams. Titles are in capitals, sometimes lapsing into minuscule, in a pale red (in ink, plain,

or touched with red or blue, at fol.18^v, where the H form of H is used, see pp. 24-25). At fol.26^r, extreme outer edge, can be seen (half cut away) the instructions to the rubricator for the title to the Somnium Scipionis, probably by the scribe, see margin (the position beyond the prickings and the tiny script imply that these are instructions, not a later correction). It is interesting that the rubricator changed the wording; his version reads Incipit somnium Scipionis, sumptum ex libris Ciceronis Tullii de re publica. The diagrams in the Commentary are coloured with varying combinations of blue, green, lilac, vermilion, reddish-brown, or yellow (with crowned busts and haloed faces in the virtues diagram, fol.16^r).

The virtues diagram, fol.16^r.

This diagram is executed on a sheet which was added in the collation and which was originally ruled for a smaller book in two cols. (leaf size 259x185mm., ruled for a written space of 200x142mm. Each col. is 63-68mm. wide). As it now stands in the text, it is out of place. The relevant passage of Macrobius (Comm.I.8,3-11) falls mainly on fol.6^v; on fol.7^r there is a vertical row of horizontal slits in the inner margin, by which something of the same height as the present fol.16 must have been attached. It seems clear that this was fol.16's original position, and that it is now misbound.

The colouring and style of the diagram, the same as in many of the other diagrams (fols.3^r, 14^r, 18^r, 18^v, 20^v), declare it to be part of the original scheme of the manuscript, in spite of its strange position on an additional leaf in the collation.

History.

1. Written in s.xi, perhaps second half (Wilmart's dating), probably in France. The combination of Saturnalia and Commentary

in the same manuscript is rare. *A close relation to this manuscript for the Saturnalia, the Commentary, and glosses in the Commentary, probably a twin, is MS.147, s.xii, which apparently once belonged to Clairvaux (I have not had the opportunity to test this statement).*

2. Pierre Pithou (1539-1596). Fol.1^r (twice), 83^v, 84^v: P. Pithou. The manuscript then pursued the same course as MS.12 (see pp.262-5), through the hands of

3. Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617). Fol.1^r, Jac.Aug.Thuani. The manuscript appears in Pierre Dupuy's catalogue of 1617 as Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis, & Saturnalior. lib IV.fol.⁽¹⁾ and as no.190 in the catalogue from the papers of Patrick Young, Oxford, Bodl., MS. Smith 34, p.188.
 1. Printed in J. Quesnel, ed., Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae, Paris 1679, p. 429.

4. Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). The Colbert number of this manuscript was 1926 (fol.1^r).

5. The Bibliothèque Royale (1732).

Present binding: Parchment, lettered on the spine: MACRO=/BIVS.

The watermark of the paper fly-leaves (bunch of grapes) is identical to that of the fly-leaves in the similar binding of MS.12, which belonged to Pierre Daniel, Pithou and de Thou and which I have deduced must date from between 1564 and 1617 (see).

Lost or puzzling inscriptions.

- a) Fol.1^r: an inscription, in black ink underlined in red, has been clipped away from the top margin.
- b) Fol.1^r. right margin: a three-figure number has been deleted in the area of the page where the Colbert and Regius numbers are now written.

- c) Fol.1^r, top left: 105, crossed through.
- d) Fol.84^r, col.II. An inscription with an ink line at the top once followed the end of the text, and is now cut away. The loss occurred before the date of the leaf-signatures (s.xvi?) for the position of κ·X: on fol.84 is placed unusually at the bottom of col.I, to avoid the gap.
- e) Fol.84^v: an erased inscription which M.-Th. Vernet, p.35, thought might be an indication of price. With the ultra-violet lamp I could make out the letters An, then a gap, then sel(?) L.
- f) Fol.84^v: Robert, smudged, written twice, in a rounded hand difficult to date.

Another possible clue to the manuscript's history.

Jan, I, p. LXXX, says of a manuscript sent to Joachim Camerarius for use in his Basel edition of 1535 a Iustino Goblero scriba Confluentio that simillimus est hic codex meo Pl [= MS.13], ut paene idem esse possit uideri. For details about the life of Justin Gobel (1502/3-1567), then of Coblenz, see P.S. & H.M. Allen's edition of Erasmus' letters, VII, Oxford 1928, 322-3. I feel that we cannot accept Jan's tentative identification until a very detailed comparison has been made between Camerarius' edition and all the manuscripts of MS.13's group as established by La Penna and Willis for the Saturnalia.

Bibliography.

For references to recent articles on the Saturnalia in MS.13, see above, p.267. The manuscript is used as a prime source for both Comm. and Sat. in all three modern editions:

1. Jan, I, pp. XLVII, LIII-LIV, LXVII, LXXX-LXXXI, LXXXII, C (siglum 'P' or 'Pl').
2. Eyssenhardt, 2nd ed., III-V (siglum 'P').
3. Willis, vol.I (Sat.), VII-VIII (siglum 'P').

Other references:

4. Kamal, tome III, fasc. iii(1933), fol.757^r.
5. A. La Penna, 'Le Parisinus Latinus 6370 et le texte des Commentarii de Macrobo', Revue de Philologie, 3rd Ser., 24 (1950), 177-187 (compares MS.4's readings with those of MS.13 and others).
6. Wilmart-Vernet, 1957, 34-5.
7. Description and microfilm at I.R.H.T.

s.x ex. - xi in.

French.

Small quarto.

A humble manuscript, giving a corrupt text in a fast, untidy script, and left unfinished without titles or diagrams. The evidence of text, measurements and script prove that 16678, fols.1-8, is the lost first quire of 6620.

Contents.

1. 16678, fols.1^r-8^v, + 6620, fols.1^r-56^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

16678, fols.1^r-8^v, contains the beginning up to ...usurpari// I.6,14(Willis 21.4); 6620 continues from I.6,15(Willis 21.4)// quamquam[sic]breuiter..., and ends unfinished at ...moralia// II.17,16(Willis 153.26). Bk. I ends at 6620, fol.33^v, followed by the words emendatum est (see pp. 11-13); Bk. II begins on fol.34^r. There is a lacuna between qq.v and vi (6620, fols. 48^v/49^r); the missing text is II.12,9(willis 132.7)uerum// [autem - elementis]//ergo II. 12,15(Willis 133.5); see M. -Th. Vernet, 1959, p.10, for possible explanations of the deficiency.

Remainder of 6620, fol.56^v, blank.

2. 6620, fols.57^r-58^r.

[GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus].

Vis amicitiae poene impossibilia redigit ad possibilia.

Nam quomodo rationes numerorum abaci explicare contenderemus...
(fol.58^r, line 11) mittunt ad extremos digitos. (Fol.58^r, lines 11-12) Si multiplicaueris singularem numerum per decenum, dabis unicuique digito decem et omni a//[rticulo] (unfinished).

Text printed by Bubnov, 1-22 (for this manuscript, see also p.LIV). Bubnov's siglum for the manuscript is 'Par K', one of his group 'A₂b' (see p.4). The additional sentence at

the end comes from the Regulae multiplicationis earlier in the text, Bubnov 9, col.I, lines 3-6. This text is found also in MS.10, item 7, but in a version closer to Gerbert's original (see p.245).

6620, fols.58^v-60^v. Originally blank, ruled, but with additions on fols.59^r-60^r, see below.

Additions. 6620, fols.59^r-60^r.

1. Fol.59^{r-v}. s.xi.

Multiplication tables, x^2-x^9 , of a series of numbers from ψ ($\frac{1}{144}$) to $\bar{1}$ (1,000) (fractions omitted for x^8 and x^9).

This is the beginning of the table which forms the Liber calculi of Victorius of Aquitaine (ed. G. Friedlein, 'Victorii calculus ex codice Vaticano editus', Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche, 4(1871), 443-463). Abbo of Fleury wrote a commentary on Victorius' Liber calculi (See A. van der Vyver in Revue Bénédictine, 47 (1935), 137-140).

2. Fol.60^r. Addition by two hands of s.xi, (a) lines 1-17, (b) lines 17-end, not unlike the scripts of the main text.

[Some short excerpts from BOETHIUS, De arithmetica (I,28 and II,3) with commentary].

B[oe]thius. Quae habitudo siue comparatio incipit a duabus partibus tertiis, id est, ternarius et quinaris. Sunt primi superpartientis habitudinis...qui est secundus superparcularis [sic] creat quadruplum. II VI VIII. Ecce senarius.

The I.R.H.T. incipit file lists a text with this incipit in Vatican, Arch. di S. Pietro, H.36 (s.x?), fol.56^v, but I have not seen a description of this manuscript.

Additions in the text.

A few corrections and variants, and very sparse short glosses, some perhaps by the scribes, others by contemporary hands. Noticeable only at the beginnings of Bks. I and II.

Technical description.

8 leaves in 16678; in 6620, iv+60+ii, foliated (i-iv), 1-62 (parchment fly-leaves of the date of binding). Collation: (16678, fols.1-8) i⁸, (6620) ii-viii⁸, ix⁶ wants 5 and 6, probably blank, after fol.60. Quire-signatures: none in 16678; in 6620, Roman numerals at the bottom left-hand corner of the first recto of each quire, e.g. V (fol.33^r), but often cut away; similar traces in the bottom right-hand corner of the last verso of each quire, e.g. II (fol.16^v). These are of s.xvi, doubtless belonging to the present binding; the sequence shows that quire i had already been detached. Parchment. Leaf-measurements: (16678) 232x173mm., (6620) 235x173-7mm. Written space (16678) c. 163x107mm., (6620) 168-174x107-113mm. 1 col. (Quires i-iii) 27-28 lines, (quires iv-ix) 33-39 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F<></><><.

Script: caroline minuscule, untidy and changeable, by at least two main scribes:

- A. Quires i, ii (6620 fols.4^v-8^r by assistant(s); fol.8^v blank after erasure), iii-iv, vi-vii, the last part of viii (fols.52^r line 14-56^r, and ?56^v), and the remainder of the original part of the manuscript (Gerbert) in q.ix, fols.57^r-58^r.
Also, in B's section, fol.25^r line 18-bottom of page.
- B. Quire v (except fol.25^r line 18-bottom of page, by A, and the bottom two lines of fol.27^r, by an additional hand), and the first part of q.viii (fols.49^r-52^r line 14).

Both scribes write a sprawling but confident script with exaggerated ligatures, suggesting a debased version of the Fleury script (see pp.88-89).

M. - Th. Vernet, p.9, believes that not A but a third scribe

was responsible for quires iv, vi, vii, and fols.52^r-56^r in viii. To my eye, the more compressed look of q.iv is due to the increase in the number of lines, not to a change of scribe. Mme. Vernet rightly observes that the manuscript was copied from its exemplar(s) quire for quire; signs of 'stretching' and spaces left blank occur at the ends of quires i (16678, fol.8^v) and v (6620, fol.32^v). There was serious miscalculation at the end of quire ii: quire iii (6620, fol.9^r) begins at I.8,7(Willis 38.12)//Temperantiam..., but in q.ii the scribe overshoots this mark; Temperantiam fell four lines from the bottom of 6620, fol.8^r, and the mistake was only realised when the scribe had reached... defaecatique//I.8,7(Willis 38.27), nine lines down fol.8^v. At some time the excess text on fol.8^v was erased, leaving this page blank, but the four surplus lines still remain on fol.8^r. Given that 6620, fols.4^v-8^r(8^v), are by a third hand, it may be that scribe A deliberately left these leaves blank to be filled in later; the scribe who did so failed disastrously to fit the given amount of text (I.6,59, Willis 29.12, // hi sunt...domare // I.8,7, Willis 38.12) to his set space.

Mme. Vernet suggested that there was also some page-for-page copying from the exemplar, using the evidence of 'stretching', gaps at the ends of pages, and letters or words added beneath the last line. I disagree, because:

- 1) The embarrassment seen at the ends of quires i, ii(?) and v would have been much reduced if they had been copied page for page.
- 2) All examples given can be accounted for by a desire to start a new page with a new sentence, or to finish a word.

For evidence that more than one exemplar was being used, see pp. 93-95.

Decoration: 16678, fol.1^r, the scribe left spaces at I.1,1 and I.1,4(Willis 2.10) for titles and incipits, and for large initials, probably c. 8 lines high. A different but contemporary hand changed this scheme by adding a small, 3-line capital at I.1,1 (a large gap is still left in the text), and an elaborate 8-line

R, interlace with a dragon's head, at I.1,4; he also added the first words of the text in both places, and a title at I.1,1, in squarish rustic capitals. All his additions are in ink. At the beginning of Bk.II (6620, fol.34^r, no title), and after the spaces left for the five standard diagrams (6620, fols.30^r, 41^v, 44^r and 46^r), there are 2- or 3-line initials in ink by the scribes. The diagram at 6620, fol.3^r, is in red, and the ordinary capitals in this opening, fols.2^v-3^r, are also touched with red (the only colour in the manuscript, probably an early addition).

2^o fol.://tullius, uel (16678, fol.2^r) or qualitatibus, uel (6620, fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written in s. x ex.-xi in. A terminus ante quem non of c.980 is provided by the date of the Gerbert (item 2, see Bubnov, p.6), which I feel sure is by one of the original hands (my scribe A). The archaic-looking script suggests a date as soon as possible after then.

I am sure that the manuscript was written at Fleury, but there is no external evidence to suggest this in either part of the manuscript. The evidence of the script does not contradict a Fleury origin, but it is not sufficient to prove it. The addition of a section from Victorius' Liber calculi (see above, p.275), a work commented on by Abbo of Fleury, is also suggestive but inconclusive. My conviction rests on the textual evidence laid out at pp. 92-95.

The manuscript could have been divided at any time between the date of writing and s.xvi², when the loss of the first quire was noted at 6620, fol.1^r, the quire-signatures of 6620 added and that volume bound.

Later history of Paris lat.16678, fols.1-8.

The fragment is now bound up with two other independent manuscripts:

- B. Fols.9-39. BOETHIUS, De consolatione philosophiae. Misbound, beginning lost. s.ix ex (?). Origin unknown.
- C. Fols.40-213 (text 41^r-212^v). HUGUCCIO of Pisa, Liber derivationum. The manuscript was written at Bolbec in 1298 by a [frater Raim]undus clericus.⁽¹⁾

1. See C. Samaran & R. Marichal, eds., Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste..., III (by M. - Th. d' Alverny and others). Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin (Nos.8001 à 18613), Paris 1974, p.557 and pl. LXXVIII.

The three manuscripts passed through the hands of

1. Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642). This volume is Blaise no. 2923 (fol.(i)^r). The three manuscripts are united in a standard binding, s.xvii, of red leather stamped in gold with the cardinal's arms. The three must have been united at some time between 1298, the date of C, and the date of the binding; there is no firm evidence that they were together before they reached the Richelieu collection. The cardinal's manuscripts passed finally in 1660 to
2. The Sorbonne. No.548 in the classification of Guédier de Saint-Aubin, as indicated on a fly-leaf in the hand of Gayet de Sansale, librarian 1783-1792, who also adds a table of contents. After the Revolution, the Sorbonne manuscripts were deposited in 1795 in
3. The Bibliothèque Nationale. This manuscript was no.1573 in the Fonds de la Sorbonne (fol.1^r).

Other marks in Paris lat.16678, fols.1-8.

- a) Fol.6^r. Comm. I.5,1(Willis 14.24) Nunc iam... is underlined, and the title Interpretationis initium added in a fine 'French italic' hand of s.xvi(?), very similar to that which adds a

note of the loss of leaves at 6620, fol.1^r (though it surely cannot be the same in view of the substance of that note).

- b) Fol.1^r, top right-hand corner: $\text{ij} \text{iiii}^{\text{xx}} \text{xvi}$ (=297), followed by a notarial (?) paraph sign, partly cut away, s.xvi or xvii. Similar inventory numbers are found in many other Sorbonne manuscripts from Richelieu's collection (e.g.lat.16679= my MS.18) and in 13 manuscripts presented by William Laud to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, among his donations of 1633.⁽²⁾ The earlier provenances of these manuscripts show that the unidentified collection to which they all belonged must have been French.

2. See R.W.Hunt's introduction to H.O. Coxe, Laudian Manuscripts (Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues, II), revised edition, Oxford 1973, pp.xvi-xvii.

- c) Fol.1^r, top centre: 185. According to P. Petitmengin, such numbers correspond to the inventory of cardinal Richelieu.⁽³⁾
3. MSS. Datés, III, p.834.

Later history of Paris lat.6620.

1. Fol.62^r. Ce livre appartient a Maistre Gilbert Lejeune, advocat en Parlement, Seigneur de la Boutière, Champcour, Ballole[?] etc., le 19e mars 1614. In the same ornate hand: (front pastedown) B. Leieune (twice) and Benigne; (fol.61^v) B. Leieune and Benigne Leieune.

The binding, of brown leather, must date from before 1614, since Gilbert Lejeune wrote his ex libris on a fly-leaf which was added with the present binding. The pastedowns are from a 14th-cent. manuscript of a legal text.

2. Philibert de la Mare (d.1687). This manuscript was his no.216 (fol.1^r). On the death of his son Philippe in 1719, the collection of manuscripts was acquired by

3. The Bibliothèque Royale. This manuscript was intercalated in the 1682 catalogue of Clément as Reg.6103² (fol.1^r).

Other marks in Paris lat.6620.

- a) A fine 'French italic' hand of s.xvi(?) (see above, pp.279-280) wrote the following: fol.1^r, top margin, and fol.60^v, Macrobius in somnium Scipionis; fol.1^r, inner margin, fo. 16. Cod. Ald. in fi. primae pag. (the reference fits the Aldine edition of 1528); fol.1^r, outer margin, Deest fere pars quarta libri primi; fol.56^v (at the end of the Macrobius), Desunt perpauci versus; fol.57^r, Rationes numerorum Abaci. Quire i must have been lost by the time these notes were written.
- b) Front pastedown top left: 16-4^β, s.xvii(?).

Bibliography.

1. Wilmart-Vernet 1959, pp.8-10.
2. Description and microfilm of 6620 at I.R.H.T.

MS.42 VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. lat.
1577.

s.xi¹. German. Quarto.

Contents.

Fol.1^r. Originally blank, ruled.

By scribe A:

1. Fols.1^v-55^r.

MARTIANVS CAPELLA, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Bks. VI-VIII
only:

Bk. VI (fols.2^r-24^r), with title on 1^v: De geometrica liber VI
incipit feliciter.

Bk.VII (fols.26^r-42^r), with title on 25^v: Incipit de arithmetica
liber septimus feliciter.

BK.VIII (fols.42^v-55^r), with title on 42^r: Incipit de astrologia
liber octavus.

These are three of the four books of Martianus (VI-IX) which deal with the subjects of the quadriuium (see Leonardi, 1959, p.468 and n.132). Leonardi, 1960, pp.462 and 487, notes that this manuscript is 'in rapporto' with Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 266 (s.xi), which contains Bks. VI-IX.

Fols.55^v-56^r. See Additions 1, below.

By scribe B (items 2 and 3):

2. Fols.56^v-79^v.

MACROBIVS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

The title M̄.Tullii Ciceronis de somnio Scipionis appears on fol. 56^v, the text starts on fol.57^r: I.14,21 (Willis 59.13) // Nunc inuideamus [sic]... non poterit // II.9,10 (Willis 124.19), fol. 79^v, followed without a break by the interpolated clause Ut

contentus potius conscientiae premio gloriam non requirat, and, again without a break, by the passage on the gates of horn and ivory, I.3,17 (Willis 12.9) // Siquis forte quaerere uult ... penetretur. // I.3,20 (Willis 12.28). Bk.I ends, and II begins, on fol.68^v.

3. Fols.79^v-83^r.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II.

- a) Fols.79^v-80^r. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], with diagram of the seven planets on fol.80^r.
- b) Fols.80^{r-v}. [De interuallis earum], with intervals diagram on fol.80^v.
- c) Fols.80^v-81^r. De absidibus earum, with round zodiac diagram on fol.81^v.
- d) Fols.81^v-82^v. De cursu earum per zodiacum, with graph diagram on fol.82^v, and a round diagram of the paths of the 'planets' on fol.83^r.

See p.128. Excerpts (c) and (d) have titles in red capitals; (a), (c) and (d) start with red initials, (b) with an ordinary capital in ink.

Fol.83^v. Blank.

Additions.

1. In the Martianus Capella. There are numerous additions, by several contemporary hands including the scribe's, both at the beginning (fol.1^v), between the books (fols.24^v-25^r diagrams; fol.25^v, glosses), and at the end (fols.55^v-56^r diagrams), and many marginal glosses throughout the text. Leonardi, 1960, p.462, quotes part of an introduction to Bk.VI from fol.1^v, and observes that the glosses are to be put 'in rapporto, credo, con quelle di Giovanni Scoto Eriugena'; he makes the same observation, 1960,

p.487, about the glosses in the connected manuscript, Vienna 266. However, C.E.Lutz, 'Martianus Capella', Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: mediaeval and renaissance Latin translations and commentaries (ed. P.O.Kristeller), II, Washington, D.C., 1971, pp.371 and 375, challenges this statement, saying that the glosses in these two manuscripts come not from Johannes Scotus Eriugena, but from the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre.

2. In the Macrobius. Two hands can be distinguished:

- i) A caroline hand, almost certainly that of the scribe, very like the script of the text in speed and letter-forms, but slightly smaller. It is similar to the glossing hand found in quires ii-iii (fols.9-24) in Bk.VI of the Martianus Capella. The colour of the ink shows that this hand made its additions in two stages:
 - a) black ink like that of the text. Marginal headings; occasional elegant nota signs: $\text{N}\overline{\Phi}$ (e.g. fol.64^r).
 - b) rich brown ink. Using this ink, the hand adds corrections (usually rectifying omissions) and occasional variants; frequent nota signs identical to those of stage (a), e.g. fol.72^r; and glosses, usually one-word interlinear glosses, but occasionally slightly longer ones in the margin (e.g. fol.58^r: above the word meridianus at I.15,15 (Willis 63.9) he adds the interlinear gloss id est anabibazon, and in the margin, Anabibazon interpretatur sursum scandens. Orizon autem limitans siue terminans.).
- ii) A near-contemporary caroline hand, using brown ink and a script slightly larger and much clumsier than (i)'s, adds variants above the lines, often with uel(^t). He is definitely later than (i) (see fol.57^v, where a correction is made by (i) and a further variant added by (ii)).

Technical description.



i + 83 + i, foliated neatly in ink 1-83, s.xvii or xviii. The


unfoliated paper fly-leaves are probably of the date of binding. Collation i - ii⁸, iii⁸ leaves 3 and 6 are half-sheets, iv⁶, v - x⁸, xi⁶ leaf 6, probably blank, now lost after fol.83. The number of leaves (correct) and quires (incorrectly calculated) is given in a gothic hand of s.xiv(?) at the extreme bottom edge of the last verso (fol.83^v): .8.3.folia. .10. quaterni et .3.f[o]l[ia] (cut away towards the end). Parchment, all of the same quality, fairly limp, with frequent stippling of tiny black dots on the hair side.

268 x 210 mm. 1 col. Ruling in hard point, H > F < > < | > < > < .

Script. The two works in the manuscript are written by two different scribes, working in the same scriptorium but at slightly different times (the Macrobius is clearly an afterthought, perhaps somewhat later, whose scribe uses a different format but exactly the same shade of red). The scribes are:

- A. (fols.2^r-55^r, Martianus Capella). Fine, even caroline minuscule of the German type, large, bold and upright, with the letters fairly compact. Ascenders and descenders are very short, and there are few abbreviations.

Quire signatures by A in the centre of the bottom margin of the last verso, Roman numerals enclosed in a triangle,  (fol. 8^v) -  (fol.54^v) (V, fol.38^v, is by another hand, writing after the gloss which obscures the place where the original quire-signature should have appeared). Written space 189-195 x 138-141 mm. 27 lines (fols. 1-56^v). Decoration: elegant initials drawn in red, the body of the initial in geometric interlace, fillings in 'vine' interlace, at fols.2^r (with dragon's head), 26^r, 42^v. Titles in large red 'built-up' capitals.

- B. (fols.57^r-83^r, Macrobius and Pliny excerpts). Script very similar to A, but smaller and perhaps written slightly faster. Ascenders and descenders much longer than A's, and abbreviations much commoner. et = , but very occasionally 7 (e.g. fol.58^r line 7 from bottom).

Quire signatures not enclosed in a triangle, VIII (fol.62^v) - X (fol.78^v). Written space 211-217 x 150-152 mm. 30 lines.

Fols.57-62 are the final six leaves of a quire which had been ruled by A (27 lines); scribe B rules another line at the top and two more at the bottom, to accommodate his 30 lines. In the following quire (fols.63-70), there are in fact 31 ruled lines, but there remain 30 written lines, as in this one quire the scribe writes under the top ruled line. Decoration: small, plain initials and titles in red capitals. In the Macrobius, the minor titles of the abbreviated form are in red capitals if incorporated in the text (with initials in red), in black if written in the margin. Diagrams in red. The red pigment is identical to that of scribe A's part.

2^o fol.: // Virgo armata (fol.2^r) or // mihi uideris (fol.3^r).

History.

1. Written in Germany, s.xi¹.
- ?? 2. Lorsch, monastery of St.Nazarius. In the present state of knowledge about manuscripts of s.xi, there is no palaeographical evidence as to whether or not it could have been written there⁽¹⁾.

1. B.Bischoff Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung. Beiheft), Munich 1974, pp.116-7, includes the manuscript in his 'Übersicht über die Lorsch Handschriften', but does not specify Lorsch either as its 'Schriftheimat' or 'Bibliotheksheimat'. The list includes 'einige verwandte Handschriften' as well as manuscripts definitely written at Lorsch or belonging to its library (see p.93). In a kind letter to me of 12 Dec. 1974, Prof. Bischoff told me that he was unwilling to commit himself as to the provenance of this manuscript.

A complete copy of Martianus Capella (Bks.I-IX), written at Lorsch in s.ix, survives at Leiden, BPL 36 (see Bischoff, op.cit., 45,96-7). This is perhaps to be identified with the liber Felicis Capellae mentioned in the ninth-century Lorsch catalogues (Becker, cat.no.37, item 63; cat.no. 38, item 4).

The only argument that it ever belonged to Lorsch is the fact that it later came into the possession of

3. Mathias Widman of Kemnat⁽²⁾ (c.1430-1476), court chaplain of the Elector Palatine Frederick I, and professor of 'Eloquenz' at Heidelberg. Fol.1^r, top right: mathias [k...], in a hand of s.xv (all but the bottom of the upright of the 'k' has been cut away), and table of contents in the same hand.

Bischoff mentions 14 manuscripts⁽³⁾ bearing Mathias Widman's ownership marks; he is able to show from other evidence that six of these belonged earlier to Lorsch⁽⁴⁾. Mathias' inscriptions bear the date 1465 in three of these Lorsch manuscripts, one of which, Vatican Palat.lat.1579, fols.1-15, also contains the words ad Laurissam⁽⁵⁾. The conclusion is that Mathias was obtaining manuscripts directly from Lorsch, c.1465.

However, MS.42 is among the eight other manuscripts belonging to Mathias for which there is no evidence of Lorsch ownership, and it is therefore clearly impossible to prove that Lorsch owned it solely on the evidence of Widman's inscriptions.

10 of the 14 manuscripts contain classical texts, so it is plain that Mathias, a man of humanistic leanings, collected these. No less than three contain Macrobian texts: this manuscript, containing the abbreviated version of the Commentary, and two others, the only Macrobian manuscripts known to survive from Lorsch: Vatican, Palat.Lat.1341, fols.62-109, containing a full text of the Commentary (written at Lorsch, s.x - my MS.38); and Palat.Lat.886, fols.125-164, containing excerpts from Macrobius' Saturnalia Bks.I-III and from the Scriptores Historiae Augustae (written at Lorsch, s.ix¹). Perhaps Widman had a special interest in Macrobius.

2. Bischoff, op.cit., 62-3 and 87 nn.88-92. See also Th.Gottlieb, 'Wer ist der im cod. Montepessulanus 125 genannte Mathias?', Eranos Vindobonensis, Vienna 1893, 145-152.
3. Not counting Vienna lat. 13428, containing verses written by Mathias for the Elector in 1459 (see Gottlieb, op.cit., 147-8).

4. Montpellier 125; Vatican, Palat.lat.886, fols. 125-164; Palat.lat.1341, fols.62-93
(*my MS. 38* - I should say fols.62-109); Palat. lat.1547; Palat.lat.1579, fols.1-15; Vienna 962.
5. The other manuscripts dated 1465 are Montpellier 125 and Palat.lat.1341, fols.62-109. The words Ad Laurissam also occur on fol.1^r of Palat.lat. 1341, fols.1-60, a manuscript written at Lorsch in s.ix² and now bound up with the Mathias manuscript in fols.62-109. Since these words on fol.1^r are in the 'Mathias' hand, we can add fols.1-60 to Bischoff's list of Lorsch manuscripts which passed through Mathias' hands.

The fact that 11 of the 14 are still among the Palatini latini of the Vatican suggests that these manuscripts travelled together as a group from now on. Two of the 11 bear the inscription 'Mathias presentavit' (6).

6. Palat.lat.886, fols.125-164; Palat.lat.1547. This is also found in Vienna 962, together with a number which Bischoff interprets as the date (14)74 (p.63).

He must have presented the collection to

4. A library at Heidelberg, most likely that of his master the Elector⁽⁷⁾. At all events, this group was among the 3500 or so manuscripts which were gathered together by Leone Allacci from the famous Bibliotheca Palatina of the Elector Ottheinrich (1556-9) and from other libraries⁽⁸⁾ of Heidelberg, for presentation by Maximilian of Bavaria after his capture of the city in 1622 to
5. Pope Gregory XV (1621-3). MS.42, fol.1^r, top left: 'c.84.' 492 ; the number is that of the inventory made immediately after the arrival of the manuscripts in the Vatican in 1623⁽⁹⁾. Fol. (i)^r, top middle: '1617', altered to '1317', and finally crossed out (for the date see n.10 below).

Vatican binding, commonly found in this collection, of plain parchment over millboards, c.1780⁽¹⁰⁾.

7. The question of which library at Heidelberg is touched on by P. Lehmann, Johannes Sichardus (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, IV.1), Munich 1912, 133-4. The three Macrobian manuscripts, at least, are not to be identified in the list of 1476 published by G. Kattermann, 'Ein Büchervermächtnis des Kurfürsten Friedrich I. von der Pfalz', Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, N.F. 50 (old series 89) (1937), 44-57 (that list contains many classical texts, with an emphasis on Cicero).
8. See H. Stevenson (Senior), Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae ..., Rome, 1885, xix-xx.
9. For the inventory, see Bignami Odier, La Bibliothèque Vaticane ..., 108, 125 n. 92; Leonardi, p. 462, identifies the number in the index of the inventory (Palat. lat. 1949, fol. 33^v).
10. The date is that of I. Schunke, Die Einbände der Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek. Band 2, Katalog, pt. ii (Studi e Testi 218), 1962, 885. The paper fly-leaves, fols. (i) and (84) are presumably also of c. 1780; this means that the numbers on fol. (i)^r are of this date or later - but they look 17th.-cent., as Leonardi says, p. 462.

Bibliography.

1. Leonardi, 1959, p. 468 n. 132; 1960, pp. 461-2 no. 199, p. 487.
2. Destombes, p. 90, section 36 no. 13 (misdated s. xiii!).

MS.48 (1) VATICAN CITY, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.
1207 + 1405.

s.xi¹ French. Small octavo. A small hand-book of good quality,
with very legible script.

Contents.

1. MS.1207, fols.1^r-104^r.

HYGINVS, Astronomica.

The text ends unfinished at quo maxime sol lucet reliquis partibus
lumen // Bk.IV cap.xiv (ed. B.Bunte, Leipzig 1875, p.116 line 20).

MS.1207, fol.104^v. Blank.

Some leaves, left blank for the completion of the Hyginus, were
probably once present after fol.104, but are now lost (see
Technical description, below).

2a. MS.1405, fols.1^r-8^v.

GERBERT, [Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus].

THEO PHILO [sic] SVO GERBERTVS SCOLASTICVS. Vis amicitiae poene
impossibilia redigit ad possibilis ... denominationes mittunt ad
extremos digitos. Ed.Bubnov, pp.6-22.

2b. MS.1405, fols.8^v-11^v.

[GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus], lacking first part.

Si uolueris per singularem numerum diuidere decenum aut centenum
aut millenum ... denominationes mittunt ad extremos digitos. Ed.
Bubnov, pp.13 line 5 - 22 line 13.

See Bubnov, pp.LXXXI-II, 1-5. This manuscript contains two
versions of the same text. (b) belongs to Bubnov's recension A,

1. The link between the two parts of the manuscript was discovered
by E.M.Sanford (see Bibliography, below).

subsection A₃b (with Rouen, MS.489, fols.72^v-73^r, s.xi ex. or xii in., from Fécamp). In manuscripts of this subsection, the letter to Constantinus and the regulae multiplicationis are omitted. (a) belongs to recension B, subsection B₂b. Late descendants of both (a) and (b) in this manuscript are Paris lat.7189A (s.xvi) and Paris lat.17192 (dated 1719).

3. MS.1405, fols.12^r-22^r.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis, preceded (fols.11^v-12^r) by Introduction no.2.

4. MS.1405, fols.22^r-56^r.

CICERO, Topica.

5. MS.1405, fols.56^r-84^r.

BEDE, De natura rerum.

Printed in P.L. 90, cols.187-278. This manuscript includes the quatrain beginning Naturas rerum uarias labentis et aeu ... (fol. 56^r) and the list of chapters (fols.56^r-57^r), see C.W.Jones, 'Manuscripts of Bede's De Natura Rerum', Isis, 27 (1937), 435. The chapter de circulis terrae, printed as cap. XLVII in P.L. 90, cols.265-273, appears in this manuscript at the end, fols. 82^r-84^r.

6. MS.1405, fols.84^r-105^r.

BEDE, De temporibus.

The title at the beginning is Incipit eiusdem liber primus de temporibus, and at the end Finit libellus Bedae de temporibus primo editus [sic]. There is some addition or defect at the end of the text, for the explicit which I recorded in my notes (... tolle.CXX. remanent XXIII. istae sunt epactae lunares) does not coincide with that printed by C.W.Jones, Bedae opera de temporibus (The Mediaeval Academy of America. Publication No.41), Cambridge (Mass.) 1943, 295-303 (see p.167 for this manuscript).

MS.1405, fol.105^V. Originally blank, see Additions 1.

Additions.

1. MS.1405, fol.105^V: pen-trials (fragments of prayers) in several hands of s.xi or xii, some rubbed or erased. For additions relating to the history of the manuscript, see History 2, below.
2. In the Somnium Scipionis, a contemporary hand has added corrections, variants with Λε, and a few one-word interlinear glosses.

In the other texts there are a few longer glosses, certainly contemporary (e.g. MS.1405, fol.32^F).

Technical description.

Number of leaves: (MS.1207) i+104+i; (MS.1405) i+105+(?)i; fly-leaves (paper, of the date of the present bindings) not numbered, the rest foliated in ink, s.xviii or xix. Collation: (MS.1207) i - x⁸, xi⁶ + 1 original leaf (fol.87) added after leaf 6 (see below under Script), xii - xiii⁸, xiv^[1] (MS.1207 fol.104, a single leaf written on the recto only, doubtless the sole survivor of a quaternion left blank for the completion of the Hyginus⁽¹⁾; fol.104 is followed by a stub), (MS.1405) xv - xvi⁸, xvii⁶, xviii - xxvii⁸, xxviii⁶ leaves 4, 5, 6, probably blank, now lost after MS.1405 fol.105. Leaves 2/7 of quires ii and xxv, and 3/6 of qq. xix and xxii, are not conjoint. Contemporary quire-signatures, on the last verso of the quire, each a capital letter in an elaborate frame (see margin); the series goes A (MS.1207, fol.8^V) to N (MS.1207, fol.103^V), omitting J; Q is not now present (it would have applied to q.xiv, see above); P (MS.1405, fol.8^V) to Z (MS.1405, fol.70^V), omitting V; A secundum (MS.1405, fol.78^V) to D secundum (MS.1405, fol.102^V, the last verso of the penultimate quire). Good quality parchment, all of the same sort; though varying in thickness, it is generally quite stout and opaque for the small size of book; hair-sides are pale yellow of a clear colour, flesh-sides white

[
Λε
]

and shiny. 163-165 x 124 - 5 mm. Written space 119-121 x 76-80 mm. 1 col. 16 lines (occasionally 15 or 17). Ruling in hard point, H>F<><|><<. Writing above top ruled line.

1. E.M. Sanford (see bibliography), 65, calculated that the unfinished portion of Hyginus (92 lines in Bunte's edition) would have just filled the rest of a quaternion, although the fact that fol. 104^v is blank shows that the text was never in fact completed.

Script: round, upright, caroline minuscule, expert and well-spaced, of a large size for such a small book, by several hands of a single scriptorium, who are very difficult to distinguish. The only very distinctive hand is the clumsy scribe (with pronounced *It* and *Et* ligatures; *g* not *ǵ*; irregular spacing), who takes over at the beginning of q.x. (MS.1207, fol.73^r); he writes too small, so that in q.xi he is left with too much text for a senion (as he had intended) but too little for a quaternion; at MS.1207, fol.86^v (the last verso of the intended senion) a master scribe steps in to retrieve the situation. He adds one more leaf (MS.1207, fol.87) and writes the text on his three pages, fols.86^v-87^v, with very wide spacing between words. Two letters are erased on the first recto of q.xii, MS.1207 fol.88^r.

Other symptoms of the sharing out of quires between scribes may be: the repetition of the last word of q.xv (MS.1405, fol.8^v), differentiam, at the beginning of q.xvi (MS.1405, fol.9^r) and the subsequent erasure of that in q.xv; an erasure at the end of q.iii (MS.1207, fol.24^v) which may be the result of a similar repetition; the extension of the last line of q.ii (MS.1207, fol.16^v) into the margin; and the use of a bracket beneath the last line of a quire, to hold a few more words, at quires i (MS.1207, fol.8^v), vi (MS.1207, fol.48^v), vii (MS.1207, fol.56^v), ix (MS.1207, fol.72^v), xviii (MS.1405, fol.30^v), xxv (MS.1405, fol.86^v); and the fact that q.xiv (quire-signature Q) was probably left blank for the completion of the Hyginus, while other texts followed in the next quire.

Decoration: Initials in plain, built-up capitals in ink or red, the

more elaborate ones (at MS.1207, fol.1^r and MS.1405, fol.1^r) in red, with simple patterns of large and small dots of ink and red. At MS.1207, fol.82^r there is a 3-line initial 'I' in simple red interlace, on a black background. Some initials (e.g. MS.1405, fol.22^r) have later been given simple penwork flourishes, in ink, s.xii or xiii. Titles are insularish rustic capitals, in red, or in ink touched with red.

2^o fol.: // quare circulos (MS.1207, fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written in France, s.xi¹, in a scriptorium where the quires were divided among different scribes.
2. At MS.1405, fol.105^v (the last verso), appears the monogram *R*, then a capital *A* and d(omi)n(u)s cuse, all in green; the minuscule is a large, rounded gothic of s.xii. These may provide a clue to a possible owner, but they could be meaningless pen-trials (there are others on this page, in several hands).
3. Paul Petau (1568-1614). The manuscript bears a shelf-mark in the typical Petau form, ⁽¹⁾ in the top right-hand corner of the first leaf (MS.1207, fol.1^r), in ink: Z.40. E.M. Sanford ⁽²⁾ recognized his hand in the table of contents at MS.1405, fol.105^v, bottom left (last verso of the manuscript). This table includes both the Hyginus of MS.1207 and the works in MS.1405, proving that the two parts were still bound together in Petau's time. Petau adds a note about the missing end of the Hyginus at MS.1207, fol.104^r, immediately below the end of the text: a sole accipiens praebebit etc. Quae sequuntur in excusis p.105 (possibly 103).
 1. Cf. MS.9, under History 2, p.238.
 2. See Bibliography, below.

Paul Petau's manuscripts were inherited by his son

4. Alexander Petau (d.1672). In 1650 he sold the greater part of his manuscripts to
5. Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689).

In the catalogue of the Queen's manuscripts made by the Maurists of Rome in the 1680s and printed by Montfaucon in 1739⁽³⁾, MS.1207 was no.1150 and MS.1405 was no.1993. The 'Montfaucon' numbers appear in ink on the spines of the two volumes; MS.1405 also bears the number 1993 on its front pastedown, and a table of contents, similar to that of Montfaucon, on fol.(i)^v.

The manuscript must therefore have been divided into two volumes at some time between Petau's ownership and the 1680s. The present bindings are identical, parchment with head-bands of pale blue, s.xvii.

3. See under MS.5, Later History, p.215 n.g.
MS.1207 = no.1150 in Montfaucon I p.30 col.II A;
MS.1405 = no.1993 in Montfaucon I p.58 col.I C.

In 1690, Queen Christina's library passed into

6. The Vatican Library.

Unidentified numbers.

MS.1207 bears the number 1518 (possibly 1618), written in ink at the bottom of the spine, s.xvii, now deleted; MS.1405 bears an equivalent number, 1727, in the same position, and beneath it the number 864_x, in small script and very pale ink, s.xvii, also deleted.

Bibliography.

1. E.M.Sanford, 'Another of Queen Christina's manuscripts', Classical Philology, 20 (1925), 64-66.
2. Description present at I.R.H.T.; I have not seen it.

MS.52 LONDON, British Library, Harl.2772, fols.44-74
+ MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23486, fols.1-2.

s.xi. Probably German. Large quarto.

The join.

In spite of some differences in parchment and script, the London and Munich fragments must come from the same manuscript because their measurements and number of lines are identical and above all because Clm 23486, fol.2^r carries on the text where Harl.2772, fol.74^v leaves off.

Contents.

MACROBIVS, Commentary.

The major part of the manuscript survives in

- a) Harl.2772, fols.44^r-74^v. I.2,2 (Willis4.6) [quae] // huic —
tamen // [frigus] II. 15,8 (Willis 141.19).

The first leaf of q.i is now lost (before fol.44); the text probably began on the verso). Bk.I ends on fol.63^v, while fol.64^r contains the title, with subscriptio, and the beginning of Bk.II.

The Munich leaves, now bound in the wrong order, must have formed the outer bifolium of the quire of four leaves which followed the Harleian part:

- b) Clm 23486, fol.2. II.15,8 (Willis 141.19) [tamen] // frigus —
inquisitio // [ista] II.15,28 (Willis 145.5).
c) Clm 23486, fol.1. II.16,26 (Willis 151.6) [sit] // probatum —
superum pandit (pandit is added in smaller letters, perhaps by a slightly later hand) // [arcanum] II.17,16 (Willis 153.30).

Additional hands.

1. A few corrections are definitely in the hand of the scribe and in his ink, e.g. Harl.2772, fol.66^{r-v}, omissions supplied with *đ* in the text and *h* in the margin. In the corrections, the script develops peculiar extensions, e.g. *r*.
2. A sturdy caroline hand (possibly two or more hands) similar to that of the scribe, contemporary or near-contemporary, using black ink, adds many corrections and variants throughout. Omissions are supplied either with *đ* and *h* (e.g. Harl.2772, fol.44^v), or with *ŷ* in both text and margin (e.g. Harl.2772, fol.53^r). Some marginal headings. This hand may also have added the map (Harl.2772, fol.70^v, see Diagrams below), where the ink is much blacker than that of the text.
3. A stubby caroline hand, writing in very black ink with a flat pen, s.xi, adds diagrams (see below), and probably also the pen-trial in the top margin of Clm 23486, fol.1^v, which repeats some of the words in the top line.
4. A cursive hand using green-grey ink, s.xv(?), adds marginal headings only, often at the top of the page (e.g. Harl.2772, fol.49^r: De septenario numero, heading a page containing part of Comm.I,6).

Technical description (both parts).

31 + 2 leaves. Collation: (Harl.2772) i⁸ leaf 1 now lost before fol.44, ii-iv⁸; (Clm 23486, fols.2 and 1, in that order) v⁴ leaves 2 and 3 now lost between the two, presumably followed by a further quire, now lost, of which the first leaf contained the end of the Macrobius. No quire-signatures. Parchment: (Harl.2772) fairly thick, limp, yellow parchment with the surface originally smooth, but the flesh-sides now often rubbed and covered with tiny wrinkles;

(Clm. 23486) dark, yellowish-grey parchment with a harsh, matt surface. 276-7x197-8mm. Written space 211-3x148-150¹/₂(143)mm. 1 col. 38 lines. Ruling in hard point, H)F<></><>K.

Script: caroline minuscule. That of Harl.2772 is regular, upright, and slightly compressed, probably by a single scribe. Clm 23486, fols.1-2, seem to be by three different scribes using the same style as the scribe of Harl.2772, but none of them can be identified with him:

- a) Fol.2^r-2^v line 32. A large hand with a squarish look. Long ascenders and descenders. u sometimes written as v.
- b) Fol.2^v lines 33-8. A smaller hand, much more even, with paler ink.
- c) Fol.1^{r-v}. A clumsy, angular hand, letters and words written far apart, with the pen held at a steep angle. The writer may be having difficulty with his thick pen on the rough parchment.

Decoration: there is no colour at all in the manuscript. At the beginning of Bk.II (Harl.2772, fol.64^r), there is a 1½ line versal in darker ink, and the title is in squarish rustic capitals. This title and the first twelve lines of Bk.II are in a slightly paler ink and larger script than usual, but probably by the same scribe.

2^ofol.: before loss of the first leaf // huic operi (fol.44^r).

: after loss of the first leaf // (Et est) oraculum (fol.45^r; *the* words Et est were added by Additional hand 2).

Early history (both parts).

1. Written in s.xi, probably in Germany.
2. Harl.2772, fol.44^r, bottom margin, in a cursive hand of s.xv: Macrobi ambrosii .v.c./comenta ex cycerone in/somnium scipionis/ Juuenalis/de sanctis/——— (illegible word of c. 6 letters) ritibus/Ouidius. The ink is darker from Juuenalis onwards, but by the same *hand*. It is doubtless a table of contents.

Its presence on fol.44^r suggests that the first leaf was already missing by s.xv (fol.44^r is rubbed and darkened, but fol.74^v not noticeably so).

There are further indications to connect this manuscript with a copy of Juvenal. A post-medieval hand of uncertain date (s.xviii??) has added pencil references to Juvenal on fol.2^r of Clm 23486: in the top margin, A JUVENALIS (sic), and in the lower margin four illegible lines, each introduced by a number, marked Satyra: VI, VIII, X and XI. Also, the Macrobius of Harl.2772 is now bound up with several other fragments, three of which relate to Juvenal.⁽¹⁾

- i) Fols.16-25. Juvenal, Satires XI.153-XIV. 160, heavily glossed. s.xi. German?
- ii) Fols.26-27. Juvenal, Satires XIII.234-XIV.110. s.xi. German? Similar to but independent from (i).
- iii) Fols.75-90. Two separate quires from one manuscript containing a continuous commentary on Juvenal. s.xi. German? Fols.75-82 relate to Satires V.51-VI.103, fols.83-90 to Satires VIII.261-XI.140.

These and the other items in Harl.2772 were not bound together in their present binding until s.xviii, but they all derive from the same collection of s.xvii (see below).

How can all these connections between the Macrobius manuscript and a Juvenal be reconciled? The satire numbers mentioned in Clm 23486, fol.2^r do not relate to (i) or (ii) above, as they now stand, but they could to (iii). The script of (iii) is sometimes similar but not identical to the third hand of Clm 23486 (fol.1^{r-v}), and the parchment is also similar to that of the Munich leaves. However, (iii) cannot be part of the same manuscript, because its shape, measurements and number of lines are somewhat different, and its first leaf (Harl 2772, fol.75^r) bears a quire-signature.IIIII. in the lower margin (the Macrobius manuscript itself contains more than four quires). Possibly this commentary on Juvenal originated in

the same centre and was bound up with the Macrobius by s.xv, the date of the table of contents at Harl.2772, fol.44^v. The two manuscripts travelled together from then on, although they were disbound for a period in s.xvii and xviii¹. It was no doubt then that the Munich leaves were detached, and the commentary on Juvenal itself divided into two parts (see below).

1. See E.M. Sanford in Catalogus translationum et commentariorum (ed. P.O. Kristeller), I, Washington 1960, 183 - but she fails to realize that the three Juvenal items are separate.

Later history of Harl.2772, fols.44-74.

See A.C. Clark, 'The Library of J.G. Graevius', The Classical Review, 5 (1891), 365-372, esp. 370 no.14; C.E. Wright & R.C. Wright, The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715-1726, London 1966, II, 302-3, 385, 449, 467; C.E. Wright, Fontes Harleiani...., London 1972, 168-9, 367-8.

3. Joannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703), classical scholar, professor of Eloquence at Utrecht from 1661 until his death. He published an edition of Cicero's philosophical works, including the Somnium Scipionis, in 1688. ⁽²⁾ Several of Graevius' manuscripts are known to have come from Cologne. This manuscript must be MS.23 in the auction catalogue prepared after Graevius' death: Macrobiani, & [sic] Ambrosii V.C. commentar. in somnium Scipionis, in pergameno. ⁽³⁾ It had therefore been separated from the Juvenal and the other works mentioned in the 15th-cent. table of contents on fol.44^r by 1703. It may be significant that one of those other works was Ovidius, for Graevius had collected manuscripts of Ovid on behalf of his friend Nicholas Heinsius. ⁽⁴⁾

2. M. Tullii Ciceronis de officiis libri tres, Cato maior, Laelius, paradoxa, somnium Scipionis. Ex

recensione Ioannis Georgii Graevii....
Amsterdam 1688.

3. Catalogus Bibliothecae...qua usus est...Jo. Georgius Graevius... Cujus auctio habebitur, in aedibus defuncti, ad diem [date left blank], Utrecht, 1703, 260.
4. See P. Burmannus, ed., Sylloges Epistolarum a uiris illustribus scriptarum, Leiden 1727, IV, 19-20.
4. Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine 1690-1716, bought Graevius' library en bloc in 1703, and retained the manuscripts for his library at Düsseldorf.
5. Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni (d.1753), Resident in England for the Duke of Modena, for the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and for the King of Poland (Elector of Saxony), bought Graevius' manuscripts c. 1723 from the librarian at Düsseldorf, Johann Büchels (who was probably acting with the authority of the Elector Karl II) and sold them, with a few exceptions, to
6. The Harleian Library, in two main lots, 6 Aug. 1724 and 20 Oct. 1725. Fol.44^r, top margin, in the hand of the Harley librarian, Humfrey Wanley: 20 die mensis Octobris, A.D. 1725. In the top left corner, in the same ink: 10 (= ?; cf. similar numerals in the same position on the first leaves of other parts of this volume).

The Macrobius was now bound up with several other manuscripts from Graevius' collection, including the commentary on Juvenal, which is listed by the 1703 catalogue in two parts, nos. 33 and 32.⁽⁵⁾ The binding is of the more elaborate Harleian type, red leather with gilt border and a central lozenge, probably by Thomas Elliot.⁽⁶⁾

5. Other items of the 1703 catalogue now bound up in Harl.2772 are nos. 18, 19 and/or 31 (fols.16-25, 26-7), and 40.
6. See J.B. Oldham, Shrewsbury School Library Bindings, Oxford 1943, 112-6, pl. XXXIII, and Wright, Fontes Harleiani, pl.I.
7. The Harleian manuscripts were purchased for the nation in 1753.

Later history of Clm 23486, fols.1-2.

The bifolium, reversed, now precedes a fragmentary copy of Aldhelm, De laude virginitatis, German, s.xi, with contemporary glosses in Latin and Old High German.(?) There appear to be no clues to the specific medieval home of the Aldhelm. A 19th-cent. printed label on the back paste-down reads Bibl. erot.[=?] Fr. Krenneri (= ? Franz v. Krenner, 1762-1819). No copy of Aldhelm appears in the 1703 Graevius catalogue.

The present binding is of speckled brown paper over millboards, s. xix, made after the manuscript reached the Staatsbibliothek (cf. the identical paper in the binding of my ms.94, Clm 14619). The spine is now missing, revealing that the backs of all quires have an earlier set of thread-holes, now no longer in use. These appear both in the Aldhelm and in the Macrobian leaves, proving that they were already together in an earlier binding. The Macrobian leaves were presumably used as fly-leaves (fol.2^r is badly stained, but this looks like damp, not glue).

7. See the edition of Aldhelm by R. Ehwald, M.G.H. Auctores antiquissimi, XV, Berlin 1913-1919, p.343. I have been unable to see H. Mettke, Die althochdeutschen Aldhelmglossen, 1957.

Bibliography.

1. The map on fol.70^v is reproduced by: M.C. Andrews, 'The Study and Classification of Medieval Mappae Mundi', Archaeologia, 75 (1924-5), pl. X fig.2 (map only); Kamal, tome II, fasc.ii (1932), fol.264^v (map only); tome III, fasc.iii (1933), fol. 699^r (fol.70^v, whole page).
2. Description of Harl.2772 present at IRHT; I have not seen it.

The manuscript falls into two parts, by script, contents and collation: the Somnium Scipionis (pt. B) was added to a copy of the Commentary by itself (pt. A). The original quire-signatures of pt. A show that pt. B was not allowed for in the original plan. But the close similarities in measurements and ruling patterns prove that one part was specifically designed to supplement the other, rather than that these two independent manuscripts bound together later. It seems likely that B, with its additional texts and drawings to fill out the quire, was added to A rather than vice-versa.

Pt.A(fols.9-77).s.xii.¹ Italian(?). Large octavo; physically, of some quality
 Pt.B(fols.1-8). s.xii.¹ Italian. Large octavo; fine drawings.

Contents of pt.A.

1. Fols.9^r-76^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Bk.I ends and II begins on fol.50^r, where the title includes the subscription of Aurelius Memmius Symmachus (*see ch.I, esp. pp.14-16*);

2. Fols.76^v-77^r.

Two interrelated diagrams, by the scribe:

- a) Fol.76^v. Numerical proportions: the sesquialter, illustrated by the relationships between four numbers, 8, 12, 18 and 27.
- b) Fol.77^r. The four elements and their six connecting qualities, acutus, subtilis, mobilis, obtusus, corpulentus, immobilis.

The ideas found in these two diagrams are linked in a single unit in MS.38 (*Vatican, Palat. lat. 1341, fols. 62-109, written at Lorsch, s. x²*) . They are related to Macrobius, Comm., I.6, 24-33.

Items 3 and 4 are perhaps by the original scribe:

3. Fol.77^r.

Introduction no.2 (see p.103).

The customary beginning: Incipit somnium Scipionis, quod Macrobius exponens..., has been adjusted to Explicit somnium Scipionis...

4. Fol.77^v.

Table of the Latin numerals, 1-100 (cardinal, ordinal, distributive, adverbial, of weight).

Additions in pt. A only.

The scribe adds corrections and variants throughout, in the same ink and script as the text, and, in the first half of Bk.I only (last place fol.27^r, on Comm.I.10,4), many short interlinear glosses, in a smaller script with browner ink.

Contents of pt. B.

The nucleus of this part is:

Fols.3^r-7^r.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

The following two drawings, items 6 and 7, exquisitely drawn in the same style, are probably part of the original scheme:

6. Fol.2^v.

Drawing of Scipio and Masinissa standing under a colonnade.

The two figures have original headings, in red capitals:

Publius Sci[pio Afr]icanus and Masinissa rex Numidiae. The figure labelled Scipio is crowned, and bears a sceptre, so the headings may have been reversed (but the crowned figure does not look the younger).

Additional hand (iii) adds further headings, Publius Scipio Afffricanus and Masinissa rex Numancie (sic).

7. Fol.8^v.

Drawing of a bearded Macrobius, seated and wearing a hat, pointing to a book or tablet held by Eustachius, who stands before him.

Original headings: Macrobius Ambrosius, in blue capitals; Eustachius filius eius, in red minuscules. Reproduced in Sotheby's catalogue for 22-29 Nov. 1917, pl. opposite p.466.

Item 8 is a contemporary drawing, possibly by the same hand as items 6 and 7:

8. Fol.1^r.

Drawing of an armed man on horseback.

The rider wears a coat of chain-mail coloured green, and a helmet; he carries shield and spear.

Fols.7^v and 8^r are blank; presumably fols.1^v and 2^r were originally also blank, though soon filled by the additions described below.

Additional hands in pt. B only.

- i. The text of the Somnium Scipionis contains a few corrections added in pale ink, probably by the scribe, but in a narrower hand.
- ii. Fol.1^r. A contemporary Italian hand, rounded, squat and written with a fairly thick pen, adds Introduction no.1 (see p.103), beneath the drawing of the horseman.
- iii. A spreading, rounded, 'semi-humanistic' hand, Italian, s.xiv², adds new labels for the drawing on fol.2^v (see above); an alternative title to the Somnium (fol.3^r, top margin), Marci Tullii Ciceronis Arpinatis Romani floris elloquii Scipionis Somnium Incipit; and the following verses (fol.3^r, bottom margin):-

Somnia narantem (sic) celum stellasque docentem,
Intentis spectate oculis, spaciumque profundi
Telluris que situm, quamue arcta est gloria mundi
Corporis ocasus animumque excelsa petentem.

} Versus Fran
cisci Petra
rce laureati

It was once Petrarch's custom to write such verses in his books, usually a couplet. Petrarch wrote these verses in his own hand into MS.56 (*Harl. 5204, Italian?, s.xii, f.68^v*, the MS. discovered by G. Billanovich. The script here is closely influenced by Petrarch's. The text presents one variant, l.4 animumque for Petrarch's animamque.

Additional hands appearing in both parts.

iv. A small, neat, round and almost caroline script, s.xii, written with a fine pen, using et = 7 and de = δ . The presence of this early hand in both parts helps to confirm my theory that pt. B was written to go with pt. A. The hand adds:

- a) Corrections and variants throughout Somnium and Commentary.
- b) Some marginal headings, e.g. the types of dreams on fol.12^r.
- c) Glosses - many short, interlinear ones, usually introduced by T (*unlike those of the original hand of pt. A*), tailing off halfway through Bk.I; and some long ones, for example a gloss on fol.3^r (on Somnium 1.1, Willis 155.4, iustis de causis amicissimum), referring to Sallust on the reasons for Masinissa's friendship with Scipio Africanus Major (B.J. v, 4-5).

This hand is probably also the one responsible for two major additions:

- d) Fol.1^v. 'Alfabetum Grecorum' (the Greek alphabet, with names of the letters and with their Latin equivalents; for similar texts, see Bodleian Quarterly Record, 3 (1920-22), 68-70, 95-6), together with 'Diptongi Grecorum' and 'Articuli Grecorum' (a conjugation of the Greek definite article equated with hic). Fol.2^r. Two tables of consanguinity, with four explanatory couplets and abbreviated extracts from papal and other decisions on the subject, laid out to form an elaborate pattern. For full description, see the published B.M. catalogue (below, p.311), p.310.
- v. A small, cursive, febrile Italian hand, with a very fine pen, s.xiv² or xv¹, adds:

- a) A foliation of the Commentary, pt. A, in arabic numerals, 1-67 (fols.46 and 77 are not foliated), and cross-references in the Somnium, pt. B, using this foliation (e.g. fol.5^r, opposite Somnium Scipionis 5.1, Willis 159.15, Quae cum..., he adds the cross-reference to the relevant portion of the Commentary: In comm. principio secundi libri. fol.41. p.1).
- b) Marginal headings throughout the Commentary.

Technical description of pt.A.

69 leaves (including fol.46, an original slip), now foliated 9-77. See immediately above for a medieval foliation by Additional hand v. Parchment, thicker and less shiny than that of pt.B. Collation i-iii⁸, iv⁸ leaves 4 and 5 are half-sheets, v⁸ + one small, original slip for diagrams (fol.46) after leaf 5, vi-vii⁸, viii⁸ leaves 3 and 6 are half-sheets, ix⁴. Contemporary quire-signatures, probably by the scribe, at the middle of the bottom edge of the last verso: ·Q·I·(fol.16^v) - ·Q·VIII·(fol.73^v). 232x c.135mm. Written space 167x c. 85mm. 1 col. 30 lines. Ruling in hard point. Writing above top ruled line.

Script: early gothic script, varying from large and spreading to small, angular and compact, probably by a single scribe (see the variation on fol.17^v). Et = either 7 or &.

Decoration: larger initials usually formed by the body of a dragon, drawn against a background of red and blue, fols.9^r, 10^v(dog), 13^v, 50^r, 65^v; capital letters throughout in the ink of the text, touched with red; titles, in capitals, and Greek words in the text, usually in the normal ink, drawn through with a red bar; part of the title at fol. 50^r in large, squat, built-up capit s.

2^o fol.://irrisam. exemplum (fol.10^r)

Technical description of pt. B.

8 leaves, now foliated 1-8. No medieval foliation. Thin, very shiny, yellow parchment. Collation i⁸. No quire-signatures.

229x137mm. Written space (Somnium only) 161x88 (83). 1 col. 27 (28) lines in the Somnium. Ruling in hard point. Writing above top line. Ruling pattern almost identical to that of pt.A.

Script: the Somnium Scipionis is written by one hand in a bold, round, Italian, caroline minuscule. Et = α .

Decoration: fine drawings by one hand, see above, pp. 305-6. The initial C at fol. 3^r is formed by a dragon's body, with interlace filling, on a background of green, red and yellow. Title at fol. 3^r in red minuscule, some letters touched with green. Capitals in the course of the text of the Somnium are in ordinary ink, touched with green or yellow.

2^o fol.: either // Consanguineos dicimus (fol. 2^r, second leaf of the manuscript) or // Tu eris unus (fol. 4^r, second leaf of the Somnium).

Binding.

Three separate stages are visible in the present binding:

- a) Wooden boards. Sides in rich brown leather with blind tooling, some interlace, into which gilt pellets have been fixed. Four studs, now lost, were once present on each side (nail holes still visible on back cover). s.xv, Italian (Dr. A.C. de la Mare tells me that the style is not Florentine, but perhaps North-Eastern).
- b) Repaired, s.xviii. Boards recovered with brown leather, onto which the old sides were fixed.
- c) Rebacked, s.xx, at B.M., with B.M. labels.

The present foliation is now as follows: i, front paste-down; ii, clipping from the 1899 Phillipps sale catalogue; iii, Dunn's book-plate (ii and iii pasted onto i); 1-8 part A; 9-77 part B; iv, parchment fly-leaf of s.xv, once used as back paste-down (off-print of Blasius' inscription on the board); v, paper fly-leaf of s.xx.

History.

1. Pt. A written in s.xii¹, probably in Italy. It had certainly reached Italy very soon, for pt. B, designed to supplement pt.A and certainly Italian, cannot be much later than pt. A in date.
2. Fol.77^v, top margin, an erasure of two lines, not necessarily each in the same script. The lower line, in a small neat hand of s.xiv(?), is partially legible under ultra-violet
 l : Iste liber est fratris J [c. 6 letters] [6 letters] isci
 [6 letters] fr(atru)m p[rae]di[cat]orum.
3. Fol. iv^v: Ad Vsum Francisci Blasii Pro Serenissimo Dominio Veneto Cohortium Ductoris in Cypro. s.xvi.
- ? 4. Giovanni and Giulio Saibante, noblemen of Verona, s.xviii (see Frati, pp.508-9). There is no evidence for their ownership in the manuscript itself; the clue lies in the sale-catalogue of the next owner:
5. The Abbé Luigi Celotti (c.1768-c.1846), dealer in books. Sotheby's, 26-28 Feb. 1821 ('Saibanti [sic] and Canonici Manuscripts'), lot 267: Macrobbi (Aurelii Theodosii) Expositio in Somnium Scipionis, M.T. Ciceronis, MS. ON VELLUM. The manuscript bears none of the stigmata of the Canonici collection, so unless Celotti added manuscripts from other sources to the 1821 sale, it is likely to have come from the Saibante collection. Sotheby's 'house copy' of the Celotti catalogue (Brit.Lib., S.-C. S.123.(?)) records that it was sold for £2.10s. to:
6. The Revd. Henry Drury (1774-1841). Drury signed a note about the manuscript on the front past-down ('fol.i'), which is printed almost word for word in his auction catalogue, Evans, 19 Feb.-3 March, 12-23 March 1827, lot 2797.

7. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) bought 69 manuscripts at Drury's sale, including this one, which became Phillipps MS.3362. It was sold by his heirs at Sotheby's 9 June, 1899, lot 841 (clipping from the catalogue, fol.ii), to
8. George Dunn (1865-1912), through the bookseller Leighton. On fol.i, in pencil: GD, June 1899. His book-plate is pasted below ('fol.iii'). Sold at Sotheby's, 22-29 Nov. 1917, lot 3413 (with plate of fol.8^v).
9. The British Museum. Fol.i: Purchased of Messrs. Quaritch (Dunn Sale), 8 Dec. 1917. Red stamp of the Egerton arms, fols. 1^v, 77^v.

Unidentified mark: erasure in the middle of fol.i (front paste-down), not susceptible to ultra-violet light.

Bibliography.

Detailed description in British Museum: Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts, 1916-1920, London, 1933, 309-311.

Contents.1. Fol.1^r.Introduction no.11.

Probably by the scribe, but using a 'glossing' script, ascenders and descenders prolonged. A diagram was added on this page by Additional hand 3, see below, p. 314.

2. Fols.1^v-3^v.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis, end lost.

One leaf is now lost after fol.3^v, causing the loss of 8,1 (Willis 162.15)//praemio-end. The missing leaf may have contained a diagram of Man as the microcosm, see p.17.

The Somnium is written by the main scribe in a separate quire, on the parchment type of the end of the Commentary. This suggests either that the Somnium here was originally at the end of the manuscript but later transferred, or that the scribe found the Somnium after the Commentary in his exemplar (or elsewhere), and transferred it himself.

Starting a new quire:

3. Fols.4^r-58^r.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Bk. I ends fol.36^r, II begins fol.36^v, while the title, including the subscription, stretches from recto to verso. The closing title, fol.58^r, in capitals, is the rhyming hexameter Laus tibi summe deus, finem canit iste libellus (not in Walther, Initia carminum or Prouerbia).

Items 4-6 are all by the scribe, 4-5 in normal script, 6 in

smaller script:

4. Fol.58^r.

[Modified excerpt from MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.12,14(Willis 50.15-24), on the attributes acquired by the soul in its downward course through the spheres of the seven 'planets'].

In Saturno ratiocinatio et intelligentia quod logisticon et theoreticon dicitur...in luna natura plantandi, augendi, quod phiticon nominatur.

5. Fol.58^{r-v}.

[Excerpt from ISIDORE, Etymologiae, XVI. xxvi, 10, mainly on the theological significance of the number twenty-two].

[M]odius dictus est quod sit suo modo perfectus. Est autem mensura librarum XLIIII, id est sextariorum XXII^{orum}...

[apud] Hebreos constitutione divina tali ratione seruatur.

The passage was doubtless added for its similarity to the Pythagorean theories of numbers put forward by Macrobius, Comm., I, 5 and 6. It is also to be found at the end of the Commentary in my MS.148, fol.109^{r-v}, see pp.16-17.

6. Fol.58^v.

[Note on Macrobius].

Macrobius ornirocrotos (sic) fuit id est interpres somniorum.

Cf. the beginning of Introduction no.1 (see p.103). A diagram was added beneath this by Additional hand 3.

Substantial addition.

At fol.58^v, following item 6, a contemporary hand (not that of the main scribe) has added the following:

[A short passage on measurements of length].

Quinque [altered s.l. by the original hand from quique] grana ordeï faciunt pollicem unum, .XV. pollices faciunt pedem unum...duo miliaria faciunt leuam, deae [sic, for duae]

leuuae faciunt restam. Thorndike & Kibre, col.1248, cite one manuscript : St. Gall, Stiftsbibl.,877 (s.ix), pp.58-9.

Additional hands in the body of the manuscript:

1. The scribe, using a smaller script and different ink than in the text, adds short interlinear and long marginal glosses throughout the Somnium Scipionis and Commentary (they are fewer in Bk.II). These glosses are the 'Theoprotus' *set*. He also adds additional diagrams in this script and ink.
2. A contemporary hand, round and clumsy, using pale ink, adds a few short interlinear glosses in the Somnium Scipionis and a longer marginal gloss at the beginning of the Comm. (fol.4^v). The elements diagram *added in the margin of* fol.10^v is perhaps an addition by this hand.
3. A very small hand, s.xii (?), using a gothic g, *g*, s.xii (?) and writing in pale ink, adds short interlinear glosses in the Somnium Scipionis, and longer marginal ones throughout the Commentary. His glosses are usually introduced by a paragraph sign, *¶*. He also adds diagrams.
4. A hand using greenish ink, s.xiv², adds the relevant book number (·1· or ·2·) in arabic numerals at the top centre or top right of each recto, and two series of chapter numbers, 1-71 for Bk.I, 1-48 for Bk.II. The chapter numbers are placed in the margins in arabic numerals preceded by paragraph marks, and there are often matching paragraph marks or other signs in the text. There are no chapter divisions in the Somnium Scipionis. This hand also adds a single short interlinear gloss, in *incursive* script, at fol.37^r.

The same sequence of chapter numbers is added in another copy of Macrobius' Commentary which belonged to S. Croce, Laur,S.Croce Plut.22 Sin.11 (s.xii), almost certainly by the same hand. In that manuscript, the hand of s.xiv² also adds in a more formal script (round, gothic, Italian) a copy of the

Somnium Scipionis, complete with chapter numbers (fols.107^r-110^r), and a complete list of the chapter numbers and headings in the Commentary (fols.110^r-113^r): Incipiunt continentie capitulorum libri Macrobiani super idem sompniū. ¶ Primum capitulum. In quo differunt libri Platonis de R.P. a libris Tullii Cyseronis...
 ¶ 4 cap(itulum) [of Bk.II]. Quod sicut uirtuti praemium ita uitiiis pena tribuitur. et breui epylogo totius libri laudibilis continentia et utilitas replicatur. Explicit tabula Macrobiani.

Technical description.

iv + 58 (including fol.24, a small, original script containing diagrams) + iv leaves, foliated in ink, s.xix: (i-iii), paper fly-leaves of the date of the present binding; I, parchment fly-leaf, s.xv (?); 1-58; I¹, parchment fly-leaf, s.xv (?); (II¹-IV¹) paper fly-leaves of the date of the present binding. Collation i⁴ leaf 4 now lost after fol.3 (this quire perhaps once after q. viii, see Contents), ii-iii⁸, iv⁸ + one original slip (fol.24) after leaf 4, v-vii⁸, viii⁶. No quire-signatures, but near the edge of the bottom middle of the last leaf (fol.58^v), Membra .X. (=?), probably by the scribe. Parchment, of two qualities:

- a) Qq.i, iv-viii, shiny, thin, yellowish.
- b) Qq.ii-iii, slightly matt surface, thicker, greyish (impossible to tell hair- from flesh-sides), causing the ink to appear especially black.

214x167mm. Written space 158-166x115-121mm. 1 col. 32 lines.

Ruling in hard point, H>F<>< / ><><. Writing above top ruled line.

Script: neat, upright, caroline minuscule, by one scribe. The ink varies from light brown to black, sometimes changing several times on one page (e.g. fol.23^r). r and s well below line, r and r.

Et = usually &, occasionally 7.

Decoration: fol.1^v, 8-line initial C, interlace, with filling also of interlace, the outlines drawn in red; interstices in the initial

itself filled with red, in the filling with green; touches of yellow. Other major initials in the same style at fols.4^r (initial I, 11-line, dragon's head incorporated at bottom; initial R, 3-line), and 36^v (initial S, 7-line). A few one-line red initials in the text (fols.36^v, 41^v, 44^v), and some in ink, slightly larger than usual. Titles in red capitals, first words of books in ink capitals touched with red and sometimes also with pale yellow. Diagrams usually in ink, but sometimes in red, often with some colouring of pale yellow.

2^o fol.://ostendas oportebit (fol.2^r), or, if q.i was originally at the end,
[notio]//nem, si habitum (fol.5^r)

History.

1. Written in s.xi. Origin unknown.
2. Florence, Franciscan convent of S. Croce. Fol.I^v, in a cursive humanistic hand of s.xv² or xvi¹: Liber conuentus sancte Crucis de Flor(enti)a ordinis minorum/Machrobis super somni[um] Scipionis/N^o.640. This number, and its present shelf-mark (the bench-number out by one) is sufficient to identify the manuscript in the inventory of s.xv: the ninth volume in uigesimo primo bancho ex parte claustro is Macrobius super somnio Scipionis (no.640).⁽¹⁾

The eleventh volume on the same bench is recorded in the inventory as another copy of Macrobius super somnio Scipionis (no.642). This is now Laur. S.Croce Plut.22 Sin.11, the volume which bears the same system of chapter numbers added in s.xiv² as this manuscript (see above, pp.314-5). It would seem very likely that the additions to both manuscripts (very probably by the same hand) were made at S. Croce,⁽²⁾ not only because the two manuscripts definitely belonged to S. Croce by s.xv², but also because such additions of chapter numbers seem typical of Franciscan scholarship.⁽³⁾

1. C.Mazzi, 'L' inventario quattrocentistico della biblioteca di S. Croce in Firenze', Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi, 8 (1897), p.136. Mazzi, p.18, thinks that the inventory was made immediately after the building of the new library of S. Croce in 1426.

2. A difficulty in this theory is caused by the inscription in S. Croce Plut.22 Sin.11, fol.iv^v: Iste liber fuit ad usum Sebastiani de Bucellis. Qui pertinet armario conuentus Sancte Crucis de Flor(enti)a ordinis minorum. Sebastian de Bucellis (d.1466) was connected with the library of S. Croce from at least the 1440s (see A.M. Bandini, Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae..., IV, Florence 1777, pp. XLVII-XLVIII), as we can infer from similar inscriptions in many manuscripts of S. Croce. The phrasing of some of the inscriptions makes it quite clear that Sebastian gave books to the library; others, like this one, could imply that he merely had the use of books which already belonged to S. Croce. This hypothesis is strengthened, in the case of S. Croce Plut.22 Sin.11, if Mazzi is right about the date of the inventory.

3. Cf., for example, the Franciscan books exhibited in [R.W. Hunt], An Exhibition to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the coming of the Grey Friars to Oxford, 1224-1974, Bodleian Library, Oxford 1974, pp.5-14. Another example of such work on Macrobius' Commentary, made in Italy, in s.xiv and certainly in the S. Croce library by s.xv, is Laur., S. Croce Plut.6 Sin.10, fols.89^r-90^v; it is a table of subject-headings, arranged alphabetically, with references to a system of chapter-numbers in roman numerals (two sequences, one for each book), with subdivisions a-d (but a different system to that of Plut.22 Sin.9 and 11, using fewer

chapters). It occurs in a collection of similar indexes for other authors (fols.1-54, 56-90) : Aristotle, Seneca, Orosius, Valerius Maximus, Justinus, Solinus. With its large, 2-column format, the manuscript has the air of a university book.

The library of S. Croce was transferred by order of Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany (1765-1790, d.1792) to

3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, in 1766. The transfer is recorded on the standard printed label glued to the front paste-down.

Binding: $\frac{1}{2}$ - leather binding, covers of purple cloth, spine and corners of brown leather, s.xix², standard for this collection.

Bibliography.

1. Kamal, Tome III, fasc.iii(1933), fol.704^r(shows fol.46^v, with map).

MS.89 ST. GALL, Stiftsbibliothek, 65, pp.1-(153 ter)
+ LEIDEN, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss.Lat.0.33, fol.58.

s.x. Probably written at St. Gall. Large octavo, well-produced.

Contents.

St. Gall 65, p.1. Originally blank, ruled (a few contemporary pen-trials).

1. St. Gall 65, p.2; the Leiden leaf; St. Gall 65, pp.3-7.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

Complete. The Leiden leaf contains Somnium 2.1(Willis 156.12)
[coac]//ta per me...magnitu//[dines]3.7(Willis 158.17).

2. St. Gall 65, pp.7-151.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Bk.I ends & II begins on p.95.

St. Gall, p.152. Blank, except for a pen-trial in a bold, caroline hand similar to the scribe's: Si cupimus uitare malum debemus adire./ Sectarique bonum. Si cupimus is repeated below in the same hand. Not in Walther, Prouerbia.

St. Gall 65, pp.(152 bis-ter). Originally blank, ruled. Outer $\frac{3}{4}$ of the leaf now cut away.

The following portions of the text are now lost:

- a) (Comm.)I.12,18(Willis 51.17) phyloso//phiae-tractemus.//Quaesio
I.13,2-3(Willis 51.29). The lower half of p.(52 bis) is blank, ruled; the upper half of the leaf has been cut away, causing the loss of the top 13 writing lines on both sides. Quaesio... begins on the first remaining line of p.(52 ter).

The mutilation of the leaf makes the reason for the blank on the recto, p.(52 bis), obscure. This is not the usual place for

a diagram. The blank must be seen in conjunction with two *other* details: (1) the preceding pages, 47-52, though written in the scribe's normal script, form a quire of four leaves only. (2) The Q of Quaeso on p.(52 ter) is an ink versal, two lines high; it is the only initial in the ms. to be stressed, other than those at the beginnings of books. Either the scribe saw this point as a major break in the text, or some interruption took place in the writing process.

- b) I.21,1(Willis 84.31) caelo//omnes-sphae//rarum 21.2(Willis 85.7)
The top 9 writing-lines of p.(86 bis) have been cut away.
- c) I.21.4(Willis 85.29) descripsi//mus-maxi//mus 21,5(Willis 85.34)
Diagram 1 (zodiac) and this part of text cut away at the top of p.(86 ter).
- d) II.9.1(Willis 122.32) genere ne//scitur (altered, ^{perhaps} by the scribe, from nascitur)-cin//gens 9.5(Willis 123.19). The bottom 18 lines of p.121 cut away.
- e) II.9,7(Willis 123.32) influe//re—circo//tanto 9,8(Willis 124.4).
The lower part of p.122 cut away, containing diagram 5 (map) and this part of text.

Additions by the scribe.

- i) Normal size of script. Some corrections, e.g. long omissions supplied in the margin, with Q (p.39) or ψ (p.29) as signes-de renvoie.
- ii) 'Glossing script' of almost half the size of the text-script, written neatly with a fine pen in pale brown ink. Small minimum height, but ascenders and descenders prolonged and sometimes ornate (e.g. pp.20, 21, 132); same subscript letters and -√ as the main text, e.g. dion,fi√, p.45. Certainly by the scribe.

Scarcely present in the Somnium. In Comm., corrections and variants throughout; marginal headings throughout, often introduced by N or N^u; short interlinear glosses, and some longer ones in the margin (not in Bk.II). Distinctiones are

very frequently laid out in the margin, e.g.p.13 Somniandi modi, p.36 Lex signorum uel somniorum. Introduction no.14 is written in *this script in* the outer margin of p.6, the page facing the beginning of the Commen_tary. Some of the diagrams are in this script, others in the normal style of the text.

There are close affinities between these additions and the contemporary additions in my MS.96 (Clm 19471, German, s.xii, belonged to Tegernsee. — The additions may be by its main scribe). I have not been able to compare the two manuscripts in detail, but at least some of the distinctiones are present in both manuscripts (e.g. that showing the lex signorum uel somniorum of Comm. I.7,1, MS.89 p.36, MS.96 fol.9^r), and they share two diagrams which I have not seen elsewhere ('the three cycles of heavenly light' and 'numerical harmonies of the seven planets', in MS.96 fols.6^v and 30^v).

Other additions.

2. The interpolation at II. 11, 1 (Willis 127.31) of an extra passage quoted from the Somnium Scipionis (7.2 = Willis 161. 15-18, // Quid...uiri //) is added by a small caroline hand of s.xi or xii (et = 7). The interpolation is absent in MS.96 (fol.53^v).
3. P.(152 ter): rough, freehand diagram *without* writing, perhaps late medieval.
4. Front pastedown: table of contents in a small, neat hand of s.xix, signed F.B. (this must be Franz Eduard Buchegger, librarian 1861-1868). The same hand adds titles and chapter nos. throughout the text, and notes the losses.

Technical description.

79+1 leaves. The 79 leaves still at St. Gall bear a pagination 1-152 in modern pencil which omits three of the damaged leaves:

(52 bis-ter), (86 bis-ter), (152 bis-ter). Collation i⁸ (the Leiden folio is leaf 2 of the quire), ii-iii⁸, iv⁴, v-x⁸, xi⁴.

Quire-signatures: cursive minuscule letter in red (crayon, s.xv, a (twice, p.14) - k (p.146), beneath the text on the last verso in centre or on right; the sequence extends into ms.B up to o (p.196), and doubtless belongs to the present binding. Thin, shiny parchment. 220-221x152-3 (Leiden 146)mm. Written space 181-7xc.111 mm. 1 col. 29 lines. Ruling in hard point, ><><|><><.

Script: small caroline minuscule of excellent quality, neat, regular and elegant, by one scribe. Letters 'broken', *ſ*, *d*. rt commonly = *ft*. Fondness for subscript letters, e.g. *h*, *m*. Final us sometimes -*v* (e.g. p.62 line 5).

Decoration: good initials with fillings of interlaced vine pattern, all drawn in red, at pp.2 (C) and 95 (S); simple red capital I at p.7. 2-line initial Q in ink at p.(52 ter), and elsewhere slightly larger 1-line initials in ink, often in mid-line (e.g. pp.108-9). No titles, but incipits in capitals, by the scribe: p.2, lines 1 (red) and 3 (ink) in uncials, lines 2 (red) and 4 (ink) in rustics; pp.7 and 95, line 1 of the new book in large red rustics, line 2 in small ink rustics. Surviving diagrams in ink and/or red.
2^o fol.: [coac]/[ta per me...(Leiden leaf).

Medieval history of the entire manuscript.

Probably written at St. Gall, s.x. It has certainly been there since s.xii: p.(152 ter), bottom right, written upside down in a gothic hand of s.xii: liber Sancti Gall [...(anything further now cut away)].

The ms. was bound up, at some time between s.xii (date of ex libris) and s.xv (date of binding), with MS. B (pp.153-216), Epistolae VII catholicae with gloss, s.xii (or xi?), probably just for reasons of size. MS.B bears the inscription liber Sancti Galli in the lower margin of p.153, in the same hand as that on p.

(152 ter). Binding of white leather over wooden boards with two clasps, s.xv, doubtless made at St. Gall. A square of paper on the spine bearing a capital P in red, s.xv, confirms the identification of this volume with P[23] in the 1461 St. Gall catalogue (Tullius de sompno Scipionis, in the section Libri in poesi).⁽¹⁾

A copy of our text is also listed in the catalogue of Fabritius, 1518, the Index librorum bibliothecae sancti Galli in ueteri turri: Somnium Scipionis Macrobi (lacuna of about 2 cm. before Macrobi, see line 46) in the secunda regio [lateris occidui].⁽²⁾ It is possible that this is MS.89 - if so, the presence here of a copy of Macrobius in what appears to be an entirely theological collection could be explained by its being bound up with a copy of the Epistulae VII catholicae. However the 1461 and 1518 catalogues do appear to describe separate collections, and Poggio's description (p.58) of 1416-17 implies that the 'old tower' contained books separate from the main library.⁽³⁾

1. Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands..., I (1918), no.23, p.118 line 31.
2. Ibid., no.28, p.144 line 9.
3. Bruckner (see Bibl. below,) identifies MS.89 with this entry in the 1518 catalogue, but strangely enough does not mention the entry in the 1461 catalogue.

Later history of St. Gall 65.

Later St. Gall marks: pp.1, 152, stamps with the monastery's arms (s.xvii?); p.1, top right corner, D n.255 in the hand of P. Pius Kolb (librarian 1748-1762), with table of contents. D. 255 is the number given by Haenel in 1830 (col.670). The monastery was finally suppressed in 1805, but the manuscripts remained in situ.

Later history of Leiden, Voss.Lat. Q.33, fol.58.⁽⁴⁾

The leaf is now bound up with three other manuscripts, A (fols.1-57),

C (fols.59-61) and D (fols.62-174). A, a 10th-cent. copy of Cicero, De inuentione, was said by E. Stroebel in 1886⁽⁵⁾ to be a descendant of St. Gall 820; its St. Gall origin is confirmed by the remarkable resemblance between its script and that of the leaf from the Somnium Scipionis, fol.58. The similarity extends to the measurements of the written space (170-175x115mm. in A, 184x110mm. in fol.58) and to the number of lines (29 in both). However the leaf measurements of A are now a good deal larger than fol.58, and the medieval binding of the rest of the Somnium Scipionis, etc., St. Gall 65, shows that it and A were not together in s.xv. My conclusion is that they are contemporary products of the same scriptorium, but not designed to go together; the stray leaf in the Leiden volume, fol.58, did not join A until after the end of the Middle Ages.

Although fol.58 bears no marks of ownership it is possible to discover who was responsible. MSS. A (fols.1^r, 57^v) and C (fol.59^v) bear the ownership inscriptions of Bartholomaeus Schobinger (1566-1604), one of a prominent St. Gall family, and D (fol.62^r) that of Melchior Goldast (1578-1635). Goldast's collection was acquired in 1646 for the library of the city of Bremen, where the bulk of it still remains. It includes many manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts from St. Gall, many carrying Schobinger's name. Accusations of theft had indeed been made against Schobinger and Goldast by the Council of St. Gall in 1605. Given the St. Gall provenance of A and fol.58, and the various ex libris of Schobinger and Goldast among A, C and D, it seems certain that one or the other of the two men removed our leaf from St. Gall 65 (and ? caused ~~its~~ other losses, still unresolved). The history of the leaf may *thus* be traced as follows:

1. St. Gall.
- ?2. Bartholomaeus Schobinger.
3. Melchior Goldast.
4. (In 1646) Bremen, Staatsbibliothek. Although there is no evidence for this particular volume, the road to Vossius

must have been through

5. Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), who 'exigea quelques manuscrits [from Bremen], en vertu du traité de Westphalie' (J. Bigami Odier). She employed, as a consultant for her manuscript collections,
 6. Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), who retained many of the manuscripts, with or without the Queen's knowledge. The composite volume bound together by his time at latest, was his no.110 (fol.2^r, on printed label. The present binding is 18th-cent.). His nephews inherited the collection, and sold it in 1690 to
 7. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.
4. I am greatly indebted to Dr. K.A. de Meyier for giving a Xerox of the typescript of his description of Voss.Lat.Q.33 before the publication of that section of his catalogue of the Vossiani Latini. A summary of the Schobinger-Goldast depredations is given by J. Bignami Odier, 'Le fonds de la Reine à la Bibliothèque Vaticane' in Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda (Studi e Testi 219), Vatican 1962, 165 n.7, with further references to material not available in the Bodleian. On the accusations against Goldast in 1605, see Pl. Butler's article in Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse (ed. V. Attinger et al.), III, Neuchâtel 1926, 485.
 5. E. Stroebel in Philologus, 45 (1886), 496-9 (reference from de Meyier).

Use of St. Gall 65 by 19th-cent. scholars.

P.1, in the hand of Buchegger (see above, p. 321): Collatus ab Orellio. This presumably means that the manuscript was collated by the editor of Cicero, Johann Caspar Orelli (1787-1849). It was not in fact used by Orelli in his edition,⁽⁶⁾ but it was due to his authority that its readings appeared in A.G. Gerhard's Prolusio altera de Ciceronis somnio Scipionis, 1835.

6. See M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia, 1st ed., vol.IV pt.i, 1828, p.484 n.4.

Jan notes the readings of a St. Gall ms. (G) in his apparatus. He tells us (I, pp. LXIX-LXX) that these were taken from a copy of the 1550 Gryphius edition, into which some scholar probably with the initials M.H.G. (?? Melchior Haiminsfeldius Goldastus) had entered variantiae ex Mso. Monasterii S. Galli. Jan rejects the identification of G with St. Gall 65 (my MS.89) because there is no indication in G of the lacuna caused by the absence of the Leiden leaf. This argument is invalid if 'M.H.G.' had made the collation at some time between 1550 and the time of Schobinger and Goldast.

I have compared the two sets of readings in my sample passages and elsewhere. MS.89 was certainly the source for many, perhaps most, of G's readings. Jan gives double readings for G (i.e. original reading and correction) on 22 occasions throughout the text, of which 19 correspond in MS.89 - e.g. Comm. I.19, 12 (Willis p.75.14, Jan p.105) multo tamen] G a sec. m., 89U exp.; ut multo tamen] G a p.m., 89a. A closely related ms. might show the same readings but not the same corrections in so many cases; the source for G in these places at least must be MS.89 itself.

But a significant number of readings in G are different from MS.89. This arises because

- 1) the original collator of G failed to enter its readings into his base text. In some places, G agrees with the 1550 Gryphius edition (Jan's g) against MS.89 and against all the other mss. which I have so far collated - e.g. Somnium I, 1 (Willis, p.155.1, Jan p.3) consule 89. Cos. G, g ; and Comm. II. 9,9(Willis, p.124.15, Jan p.174) terra signum sit]89 terra signum sit et punctum]G, g. It seems probable that Jan has here deduced the readings of G ex silentio.
- 2) readings from sources other than MS.89 were entered in the copy of the 1550 ed. A few of G's readings differ from both MS.89 and g. Some of these could be due to misprints in Jan's apparatus. One certain example of a reading from another source occurs at Comm. I. 2, 8(Willis p.5.16, Jan p.19) quibus vel multum se Arbitr exercuit]89. Jan gives the following: 'in

quibus vel multum esse Arbitrum (omisso verbo exercuit...) G, quem qui contulit, adscripsit: „ ita Wouwer invita Petronii.”'

This is the reading quoted by *Ioannes à Wouweren* in the preface De Petronio et eius scriptis to his edition of Petronius, first printed at Leiden in 1594. The one title which Jan attributes to G (p.13) is derived from neither MS. 89 or *g*. The readings of G can therefore be used with some hesitation as a substitute in the lacunae of MS.89.

The 1550 edition containing G's readings had a series of distinguished owners, for whom see Jan pp. LXIX-LXX. The 'A.F. Francke' whose ownership inscription is mentioned was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a protégé of Bentley, and worked on an edition of Macrobius which was never published. His dates are c. 1685-1733. He writes from London on 2 Oct. 1712 to Thomas Hearne that he 'lately bought a very good collation of a MS. of the library of St. Gall of the Somnium in an edition of Seb. Gryphius'.⁽⁷⁾ Unless Jan returned the book to E. Osenbruggen, it was doubtless deposited with the rest of Jan's collations and editions in the library of the Gymnasium Ludovicianum (now Celtis-Gymnasium) at Schweinfurt, to be destroyed in the 1939-45 war.

7. Oxford, Bodl., MS. Rawl. letters 13, no.6, see Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, III, ed. C.E. Doble (Oxford Historical Society, XIII), Oxford 1889 (for 1888), p. 464; scattered references to Francke occur elsewhere in vol. III, and in IV, VIII, IX and XI. He appears as 'Franks or Frank, Abraham' in J & J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. I (to 1751), vol.2, Cambridge 1922, p.176.

Bibliography.

1. A. Bruckner, Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica. III, Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, St. Gallen II, Geneva 1938, p.62 col.II.

2. Unpublished description by E. Pellegrin at I.R.H.T.
Microfilm at I.R.H.T. of pp.1-21, 24-(152 bis).

s.xi. Country of origin uncertain. Folio; a 'working' manuscript, i.e. of poor physical appearance.

Contents.

The late-medieval quire-signatures show that eight quires are now missing at the beginning (see below, p.333); however, fol.1 with its pen-trials and ex-libris looks like the first fly-leaf of a manuscript, so the eight quires probably belonged to an independent manuscript once bound up with this one.

Fol.1^{r-v}. Originally blank, ruled. Pen-trials on fol.1^r by contemporary hands, including six lines from PERSIVS (I, lines 1-2, 4-7) perhaps in the hand of scribe A.

By scribe A:

1. Fols.2^r-36^r.

BOETHIVS, In Aristotelis Categorias.

Aristoteles Latinus, II (1955), pp.815-6, no.1153. The closing title on fol.36^r is EXPLICIT LIBER.III. QVIN ET ALTISSIM(V)S (?) IN ARISTOTELI CATEGORIAS A BOETIO VIRO/DE CASSIMO (=?) GAUDEAT ET QVA SCRIPSIT OLIBRIVS. The nonsensical bits suggest that this is a transcription of something in the ancestry of the text, rather than a colophon by the immediate scribe.

By scribe B (items 2-8):

2. Fols.36^r-40^r.

APVLEIVS (?), Περί ἑρμηνείας.

The text (fols.37^r-40^r) is prefaced by an excerpt from ISIDORE, Etymologiae, II, xxvii, 1 - xxviii, 22: (fol.36^r)

[S]equitur dehinc liber Periermenias, subtilissimus nimis...
 (fol.36^v) unde et analaetica (sic) pertractatur./[xxviii]
 DE SILLOGISMIS DIALECTICIS (sic). Sequuntur dehinc dialectici
syllogismi...distincta enim atque considerata, ad magnas
intellegentie uias lectorem praestante domino utiliter
introducunt (this word repeated, but the mistake is corrected
 by underlining). EXPLICIT PRAEFATIO. The Isidore excerpt
 is wrongly identified by Leonardi as the similar passage
 in CASSIODORVS, Institutiones, II. iii, 11-12.

3. Fols.40^v-47^v.

MARTIANVS CAPELLA, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Bk. IV
 (liber dialecticae, as it is called in the closing title).

With many long glosses in the hand of the scribe. Leonardi
 1960, pp.12-13 no.18. Leonardi 1959, p.467 n.126, lists nine
 manuscripts of s.ix-xi containing this book alone (but our
 manuscript is unusual in containing the complete book), often
 with the *Περὶ ἑρηνείας*.

4. Fols.48^r-58^r.

MACROBIVS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

I.14,21(Willis 59.13)//Nunc uideamus...(fol.57^v) non poterit//
 II.9,10(Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the
 interpolated clause ut contentus potius conscienciae premio,
gloriam non requirat, and the passage on the gates of horn
 and ivory, I.3,17(Willis 12.9)//Siquis forte querere uult...
 (fol.58^r) penetretur//I.3,20(Willis 12.28).

5. Fols.58^r-59^r.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History,
 Bk.II, with diagrams:

- a) Fol.58^r. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum].
- b) Fol.58^r. [De interuallis earum].
- c) Fol.58^{r-v}. De absidibus earum.

- d) Fol.59^r. [De cursu earum per zodiacum circulum].

Rück, Auszüge, pp.19-20. King, p.99, places this manuscript with his 'Berne 347' group, and observes that it is particularly close to my MSS.106 (see p.395) and 107 (see pp.47-8). Only excerpt (c) has a title here.

6. Fols.59^v-67^v.

'CORNVTVS', Commentary on PERSIVS.

No title. Satyre proprium est ut uera humiliter...facile uideatur etiam silogismum crissipi definire. EXPLICIT. I have been unable to obtain access to the various works of E. Kurz on Die Persius - Scholien nach den Berner Handschriften (1875, 1888, etc.).

Remainder of fol.67^v blank, ruled.

7. Fols.68^r-71^r, 73^r-76^v (fol.72 should be read after fol.78).
REMIGIVS of Auxerre (?), Commentary on BOETHIVS' Opuscula sacra,
I - III and V.

Written here as a continuous text. See Hagen for the incipits and explicits of each part. For a summary of the authorship problem, and full bibliography, see G. Schrimpf, Die Axiomenschrift des Boethius (De Hebdomadibus) als philosophisches Lehrbuch des Mittelalters (Studien zur Problemgeschichte der antiken und mittelalterliche Philosophie, II), Leiden 1966, pp37-8.

Remainder of fol.76^v blank, ruled.

8. Fols.77^r-78^v, 72^{r-v}, 79^r-84^v.

REMIGIVS of Auxerre, Commentary on MARTIANVS CAPELLA, part only.

- a) Fol.77^{r-v} (from Comm. on Bk.III, De grammatica). Rursum: id est iterato... Nam sapientia uera breuitate gaudet, et refugit uagam garrulitatem.

- b) Fols.77^v-78^v, 72^{r-v}, 79^r-84^v (from Comm. on Bk.IV). DE DIALECTICA. Primo dicendum de nomine dialecticae...Qui inter nimia eam deriserant.

Written here as a continuous text. C.E. Lutz in Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum (ed. P.O. Kristeller), II, Washington 1971, p.373, says that the manuscript belongs to Family B (a shorter version, perhaps the work of a student of Remigius), and that it contains material added from Martin of Laon.

Fol.85^{r-v}. Originally blank, ruled.

Additions in the Macrobius.

A contemporary hand, writing a small script in dark ink with a fine pen, long ascenders, adds many corrections. Occasionally, the original scribe leaves blanks for words which either he or some earlier scribe in the ancestry could not read; these are usually filled in by this hand, e.g. at fol. 48^r line 31, Comm. I.15,7(Willis 61.30) siderei: a gap of c. 8 letter-spaces is left blank by the scribe, to be filled in by this hand with the variant aetherei. Elsewhere, the hand supplies some longish omissions (e.g. fol.48^v, with d in text, h in margin), though not the omissions peculiar to the abbreviated form. At fol.50^v, the nota sign N̄M̄ occurs in the margin.

Additions elsewhere.

I cannot be certain whether or not the additional hand of the Macrobius occurs in the other works, but there are some glosses in a similar hand in the Cornutus (item 6). Elsewhere, there are a number of glosses by various contemporary hands, e.g. in the Boethius (item 1) and Martianus (item 3).

At the end of the manuscript there are various additions:

- a) Fol.84^v, after the end of the text. A contemporary caroline hand adds what appears to be a copy of part of a letter. The beginning is erased (c. 37 letter-spaces), then successibus/
Apud senioem nos pollere gaudemus...
- b) Fol.85^r, perhaps by the same hand. Scenices: qui nudi cum
feminis coeunt. Concinnantes: blandientes... This seems to start as a glossary, but degenerates into nonsense at the end.
- c) Fol.85^v, by a later caroline hand (s.xii ?). A receipt.

Technical description.

i+86 (including fol.62a) + i, foliated in pencil, s.xix. Some alterations in the foliation of the present fols.81-5 suggest that 83 was once separated from the manuscript and later returned (it has an earlier folio number, 27., in ink). The fly-leaves, not foliated, are of the date of the re-backing, s.xix. Collation i-iv⁸, v⁶, vi-viii⁸, ix⁸ with an added slip (fol.62a) bearing contemporary script, pasted to leaf 1, and with two bifolia 64/69 and 65/68 formed of scraps stitched together, x⁸ leaf 8 (fol.72) now misbound after leaf 1, xi⁸ leaf 8, probably blank, now lost after fol.85, and leaves 4 and 5 not conjoint. Quire-signatures at the bottom left of the first recto of most quires, XI (fol.17^r) - XVIII (fol.79^r), in large, clumsy Roman numerals in red crayon, possibly s.xv, showing that the manuscript was once bound up with another (see above,). Parchment, fairly limp, slightly shiny and yellowish-grey on both sides; the quality is rough, with many natural holes, tears carefully stitched (e.g.fol.47) and some bifolia towards the end formed of fragments stitched together. The scriptorium must have been short of material. 273-9x220-232mm. Written 215-224 x 152-6 (quires i-iv) or 169-183 (quires vii-xi)mm. 1 col. 45 lines in quires i-viii, 53-4 in quires ix-xi. Ruling in hard point, H>F<></><><. Some changes in ruling- and pricking-habits at fols.48/49 and 62/63.

Script: caroline minuscule, by two main hands:

- A. Fols.2 -36 line 29 (item 1). A small, round hand. Et = \mathcal{E} or \mathcal{V} . The scribe's name cannot, I think, be deduced from the closing title of item 1 (see above, p.329).

There are possible interventions by other hands in A's section, e.g. fol.12^v(with a sudden rash of open a, u , and rounded d, l).

- B. Fol.36^r line 32 - end. A graceless, uneven hand which varies in size. The script becomes smaller as the work progresses, doubtless in order to save parchment. From fol.63^r (beginning of q.ix) he changes the ruling pattern and increases the number of lines, in order to fit more text onto the page.

This scribe also worked with minor collaborators (see, for example, the very widely spaced script at fol.39^v/lines 8-27).

Decoration: in effect, none. The only colour present consists of the touches (perhaps added later) in the Pliny diagrams on fol.59^r. Otherwise, the initials (major and minor) the titles in capitals, and the diagrams are all unadorned and in ink. There are a few minor initials and titles incorporated in the Macrobius.
2^o fol.://aut substantiam (fol.3^r).

History.

1. Written in s.xi. The poor physical quality of the manuscript makes it very hard to diagnose the country of origin from the script alone.
2. METZ, Benedictine abbey of St. Arnulph. At the bottom margin of fol.1^r, is an ex libris of s.xii or xiii: iste liber est sancti Arnulphi Met(e)n(sis). The word Arnulphi is in erasure, and by a different but contemporary hand. Above this ex-libris is another, of much the same date and possibly even by the same main hand as the first. It is erased, but can be read as: iste liber est sancti ***cis Met(e)n(sis). It seems clear

that the book passed to St. Arnulph's from another monastic library in Metz, shortly after these ex libris were written. However, it is difficult to think of any that would fit what remains of the ex-libris. The Premonstratensian abbey of Ste.-Croix might be possible, if I am guilty of a misreading in sancti.

3. The late-medieval quire-signatures show that the manuscript was once preceded by eight quires bound up with it (see above, p.333).

A large cursive hand of s.xiii or xiv, using grey-brown ink, has added a brief indication of contents in the bottom margin of fol.2^r: logica et musica Boecij. Boethius' De institutione musica is not now contained in the volume. It is unlikely that the work was contained in the earlier eight quires, for in that case the title here would be in a strange position, in the middle of the volume, and logica et musica would be in the wrong order. The fact that fol.85^{r-v} was originally blank suggests that nothing of our manuscript is now lost at the end, so either yet another independent manuscript was bound up at the end of ours, or the title is inaccurate.

There is no positive evidence for the manuscript's intermediate history before reaching:

4. Berne, Burgerbibliothek. Yet although I can present no formal proof, it seems almost certain that a manuscript with such a medieval provenance will have reached Berne via Bongars and Gravisset (cf. MS.91, pp.365-6), and it is quite likely (though less certain) that it came to Bongars from Pierre Daniel. The hand of s.xvii which added the title of item 1 on fol.1^r, Commentorum in Categorias Aristotelis libri III., is one which I have seen elsewhere in Bongars' manuscripts (e.g. Berne 347, fol.1^r), but I am not absolutely convinced

that this hand need have been at work before the collection reached Berne.

Binding: parchment over millboards, s.xvii or xviii (spine replaced, s.xix). A standard binding of this collection (cf. Berne 330 and 357), but again I am not certain whether it belongs before or after 1632.

The top right corners of fols.1-22 are now eaten away.

Unidentified marks.

Fol.1^v. Two lines in a tiny script, apparently Hebrew.

Bibliography.

1. Jan, I pp. LXXVI, XCIX (siglum H3).
2. Leonardi 1960, pp.12-13 no.18.
3. Description (seen) and complete microfilm at I.R.H.T.

MS.91 BERNE, Burgerbibliothek 347 + 357 + 330,
+ LEIDEN, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss.Lat.Q.30,
 fols.58 & 57,
+ PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat.7665.

s.ix² French, Loire valley area, ?Auxerre.
 A very large and important collection of many different texts.

The linking of the five fragments.

It was Theodor Mommsen who first discovered the Leiden leaves and realised that they were two of the four lost leaves of Petronius' Excerpta uulgaria from Berne 357; Mommsen's discovery was published by F.Bücheler in his edition of Petronius in 1862⁽¹⁾. In 1867, H. Usener announced that Berne 357 + Leiden Voss.Lat.Q.30, fols.58 & 57, were fragments of a larger manuscript, of which other parts were Berne 330 and 347. In 1884, H.Meylan added the Nonius Marcellus of Paris lat.7665⁽²⁾.

It is certain that all five fragments came from a single large volume which was all written at one time and place; the similarities of script, ^{format} and measurements are supported by a continuous series of quire signatures and by a table of contents of s.xiv(?) (see below, pp.363-4). But even now, c.21 leaves of the original volume are still lost.

1. There is a note in Voss.Lat.Q.30, fol.(i)^r, initialled T.M., in which the identification is made. F.Bücheler, ed., Petronii Saturæ, Berlin 1862, reprinted 1958, pp.XVII-XIX. Doubts about the link were expressed by C.Beck in Philologus 20 (1863), 293-301, but were refuted by Bücheler, also in Philologus 20, 726-30. See also E.T. Sage in Classical Philology, 11 (1916), 19-21.
2. For Usener and Meylan, see Bibliography below, p. 368.

The sectional make-up of the manuscript.

The later division of the manuscript was made easier because it falls naturally into distinct parts; the dividing-lines occur at the places where the original scribes began new works in new quires. This was deliberately contrived, for where it happens there are usually blank spaces left at the ends of the preceding quires; and in the last quire of section E (q.xxii), the number of leaves is reduced from eight to six. I have followed these dividing-lines in laying out the numerous items contained in MS.91 in distinct groups. Some of the resultant groups may be coincidental, or merely reflect the natural division of tasks in a well-coordinated scriptorium (for example, section F is by a new scribe), but others may give us significant insights into how this extraordinary collection was put together by its editor.

Other manuscripts, related in content.

1. Oxford, Bodl., Canon.Class.Lat.279 + Leiden, Voss.Lat.Q.70 I, fols.67-73 (I shall designate this manuscript by the siglum Q)⁽¹⁾. French, s.x (possibly s. ix ex.). It contains four of the same items, nos.2,3 + 6, 11 and 12; in items 2,3 + 6 and probably 12, there is evidence of close textual connections between Q and MS.91. The fact that the Pliny excerpts on astronomy are *also* duplicated in Q and MS.91 (item 2), not just grammatical texts, is further evidence for their closeness.
2. Montpellier 306⁽²⁾, s.ix, duplicates items 7,8,12,13,14,17,18 and 19 (see also Additions below, p.353). This is not quite as impressive as it looks at first sight: they are all grammatical or 'glossarial' texts; the list of items includes two groups of texts which tend to travel as such, 7 + 8 and 13 + 14 + 17; in those items about which I have been able to gain information (12,13,14,17,19) there seem to be considerable textual differences between Montpellier 306 and MS.91; and finally, Montpellier 306 was not designed and written as a single unit.⁽³⁾ Nevertheless,

a total of eight shared items out of MS.91's total of twenty is impressive, and items 18 and 19 at least appear to be rare. Perhaps the differences and similarities could be reconciled by the theory that Montpellier 306 and MS.91 were written in the same environment but at different periods.

1. For the contents, see H.O.Coxe, Catalogi codicum mancriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars tertia codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens, Oxford 1854, cols.229-231. The join was discovered by E.Chatelain, 'Un nouveau manuscrit des lettres de Sénèque dispersé entre Lyde et Oxford', Revue de Philologie, N.S.21 (1897), 50-57. Chatelain reproduces leaves from each part in Paléographie des classiques latins, II, Paris 1894-1900, p.23, pl.CLXXII (Oxford, fol.63^v, Leiden, fol.72^v). For a hint about O's provenance, see below pp.359-6a.
2. I have not seen this manuscript, and my conclusions are based solely on two descriptions, that of G. Libri (!) in Cat.gén. 4^o ser.I, Paris 1849, pp.409-413, and that of G.Goetz in Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum III, Teubner Leipzig 1892, pp.XXIV-XXVI, supplemented by textual information about individual items gleaned mainly from Keil. For provenance, see below, p.359 .
3. Goetz, loc.cit., notes that a section with an independent system of quire-signatures begins at fol.139 (quire-signature I on fol.146^v). The make-up of the volume needs further investigation.

Contents.

I have not quoted the incipits and explicits of the less obscure items in MS.91, as they are cited in full by Usener.

Quire i now lost.

- A. Astronomical section. Quires ii⁶, iii⁸⁺⁵ (a quaternion, Berne 347, fols.7-11 and 17-19, after leaf 5 of which scribe I added a ternion, fols.12-16, lacking leaf 6; no disturbance in the text, but see pp.134-139), iv⁸ leaves 7 & 8 now lost after Berne 347,

fol.25. 31 lines to the column.

1. Berne 347, fols.1^r-22^r.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

See ch. vi, pp. 114-119. Fols.1^r-22^r, col.I: I.14,21 (Willis 59.13)/Nunc uideamus ... non poterit/II.9,10 (Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the interpolated clause Ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio, gloriam non requirat. The remaining 9 lines of fol.22^r col.I are left blank. Col.II: the passage on the gates of horn and ivory, I.3,17 (Willis 12.9)/Siquis forte quaerere uult ... penetretur/I.3,20 (Willis 12.28). The remaining 11 lines of col.II are left blank. Bk.II begins on fol.12^r. I.

2. Berne 347, fols.22^v-25^r.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from Pliny, Natural History, Bk.II.

- a) Fol.22^v. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], with diagram of the seven planets.
- b) Fols.22^v-23^r. [De interuallis earum], with simple table of intervals on fol.23^r.
- c) Fol.23^{r-v}. De absidibus earum, with round zodiac diagram on fol.24^r.
- d) Fols.24^r-25^r. De cursu earum per zodiacum, with graph diagram on fol.24^v; the round zodiac diagram on fol.25^r is illustrated by Homburger, pl.LIX, fig.131.

See p.128 . These leaves are written in one column per page, not two, to accommodate the diagrams. Rück, Auszüge, pp.18-19, etc. Homburger describes the diagrams in detail. Only (c) and (d) have titles. The readings of MS.91 are recorded by King (his MS. 'C'), who proves (pp.82, 93-4) that this is not a copy of Paris, Nouv.acq.lat.1615 (s.ix¹, origin probably Auxerre, see p. 200), as Traube had suggested [Neues Archiv 18 (1893), 87-88 = Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, III (1920), 142]. Instead, he shows that it is very closely linked to Q (Canon.Class.Lat.279,

fols.32^v-34^r; end of (d) either cut away or never completed) even containing the same glosses in excerpt (b); that MS.91 and Q are two members of a family of ten manuscripts which usually contain the abbreviated form of Macrobius' Commentary as well as the four Pliny excerpts from Bk.II (but Q does not now contain Macrobius); and that in the Pliny texts, MS.91 and Q are the best and oldest members of the family, the other eight being descended from a common and inferior exemplar. The graph diagram of excerpt (d) seems to be an innovation in this family, and MS.91 contains the earliest known example (King, p.128).

Fol.25^v. Blank, apart from two concentric circles forming a ring which fills the page — perhaps an unfinished diagram. They are drawn in ink which could be original.

Leaves 7 & 8 of quire iv and the whole of quire v now lost.

Sections B - D. Glossarial works, interspersed with important excerpts from Petronius and Sallust.

- B. Quires vi - vii⁸, viii⁸⁻² (leaves 1 & 2 = Berne 357, fols.33-4; leaves 3 & 4 = Leiden Voss.Lat.Q.30, fols.58 & 57, in that order; leaves 5 & 6 now lost; leaves 7 & 8 = Berne 357, fols.35-6), ix⁸ leaf 8, probably blank, now lost after Berne 357, fol.43. Usually 30 lines to the column (occasionally 31-33 in quires vii and viii).
3. Berne 347, fols.26^r-41^v, + 357, fols.33^r-34^r.I.

NONIVS MARCELLVS, De compendiosa doctrina, Bk.IV, 'Extract form'.

The opening title, written in capitals at Berne 347, fol.26^r, is Index earum rerum quae hoc codice continentur. Nonius Marcellus Peripatheticus Tiburcicensis de compendiosa doctrina per litteras ad filium. See below, item 6, for other parts of the text, and, for textual information, W.M. Lindsay's edition, Teubner, Leipzig 1903, I, pp.XXIII ff. (with bibliography). The text of items 3 + 6 belongs to sub-group D^A of Lindsay's third family, 'Extract

MSS.' where an attempt has been made to transmute the text of Nonius into a glossary by adding more explanations of words but omitting examples. The other members of the sub-group, very closely linked to MS.91, are O (Canon.Class.Lat.279, fols.1^r-28^v.II, containing on fol.1^r the same peculiar title as MS.91) and Montpellier 212 (s.ix or x, see É.Chatelain, Paléographie des Classiques Latins, II, Paris 1894-1900, p.9, pl.CXXII). But in these manuscripts, the text of Nonius Marcellus is not split up, as in MS.91, by Petronius and the poem on weights and measures.

3a. Berne 357, fol.34^r.I-II.

Glosses, added at the end of the Nonius Marcellus by the same scribe, scribe I, but in a slightly faster script: Catalogus: ordo uel numerus, uel collectio. Mancipandum: sociandum, iugendum ... in quibus sculpta erant nomina patriarchum, quo soli pontifices utebantur.

Berne 357, fol.34^r.II. See Additions below, p. 352.

4. Berne 357, fol.34^v; Leiden, Voss.Lat.Q.30, fols.58,57; Berne 357, fols.35-41^v.I.

PETRONIVS, Excerpta uulgaria.

This manuscript is by far the earliest surviving witness of the Excerpta uulgaria, and is usually designated 'B'; see K. Müller & W. Ehlers, Petronius. Satyrice, Munich 1965, 382-3.

Voss.Lat.Q.30, fol.57^v ends at ... perit//80.9; Berne 357, fol.35^r begins at 109.10//Phoebo ... The collation shows a loss of two leaves. See Sage in Classical Philology, 11 (1916), 19-20, 23-4, for the readings at the damaged corners of the Leiden leaves, and below pp.358-9 for the link with Pithou's Autissiodurensis and for the separation of the Leiden leaves.

Remainder of Berne 357, fol.41^v.I, originally blank, but see Additions below, pp.354-5.

5. Berne 357, fols.41^v.II-43^r.I.

Poem on weights and measures.

This is the poem beginning Pondera Paeoniis ueterum memorata libellis ..., edited by A.Riese, Anthologia Latina, pt.I fasc.ii, Teubner, Leipzig 1906, pp.29-37. On the vexed question of authorship, see F.Hultsch, Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae, vol.II, Teubner, Leipzig 1866, pp.24-31. MS.91 has no title or author's name, and ends at line 163, ... Nec non et sine aquis//, like the others of Riese's family B. Thorndike & Kibre, col.1059. Walther, Initia carminum, no.14226.

Berne 357, fol.43^r.I: remaining 14 lines blank. Col.II cut away. Fol.43^v blank. One leaf. perhaps blank, now lost after fol.43.

- C. Quires x - xiii⁸. 30 lines to the column.

6. Paris lat.7665, fols.1^r-31^v.II.

NONIVS MARCELLVS, De conpendiosa doctrina, Bks.I-II, V-VIII, X-XIV, XVII, XV, XVIII-XX, 'Extract form'.

See above, item 3 (Bk.IV). Besides moving Bk.IV to the beginning, the three manuscripts of sub-group D^A omit Bk.IX, and transpose Bk.XVII to between XIV and XV. Bk.XVI is not known to survive, even in the fuller version. Title, fol.1^r: Item Nonii Marcelli de proprietate sermonum.

Paris lat.7665, fol.32^{r-v}. Originally blank, ruled, but see Additions below, p.353.

- D. Quires xiv-xvi⁸, xvii⁸ [= Berne 357, fols.25-32. Leaf 8 (fol. 25), now misbound before leaf 1 (fol.26), should fall after fol. 32]. 31 lines to the column.

7. Berne 357, fols.1^r-7^v.I.

Greek/Latin glossary.

HAEC SVNT GRECA VERBA ET ALIQUA EORVM CVM GLOSIS SVIS. Abdomen: pinguedo carniū. Absida: lucida eo quod lumine accepto per arcum resplendeat ... Zonarim: cingulum. Zozia: signa.

See G.Goetz, De Glossariorum Latinorum origine et fatis (Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, I), Teubner, Leipzig & Berlin 1923, pp.185-6. Items 7 & 8 are derived from the great Liber Glossarum or Glossarium Ansileubi, and the two items travel together in several manuscripts.

7a. Berne 357, fol.7^V.I.

At the end of item 7, which is mostly the work of scribe III, definitions of two further words are added out of alphabetical sequence by scribe I, the director of the project. The first is Zelotypia dicitur furor cum rancore mentis accensus (this is also found at the end of item 7 in Cambridge, C.C.C. 356, pt.III, fol. 42^r.I; see item 9, below).

The second is longer, and must come from some commentary on a Christian text:

Apethno tentorii sui interpretatur. In quo .p. litt(era) quae apud Hebreos non est, in sono est tantum. Nam φ. Grecum scribitur. Et est sensus: figet tabernaculum tentorii sui, uel throni sui, in Emaus, quae Nicopolis dicitur ubi incipiunt montana Iudaeae inter mare ab oriente mortuum et mare magnum, et ueniet ad montem inclitum Oliueti, quo indicitur Antichristus occidendus (the quo, and the ti of Antichristus, are added above the line, perhaps by the scribe).

Berne 357, fol.7^V.I. Rest of column blank, but see Additions below, p.352.

8. Berne 357, fols.7^V col.II - 24^V, 26^r - 28^r.

Glossary.

Abba: pater. Abi: iulius mensis ... Zozimus: uiuax, uel uiuidus.

Zozia: signa.

EXPLICIUNT NOMINA.

See Goetz (cited above, item 7), pp.184-5.

9. Berne 357, fol.28^r. II.

PS. - JEROME, Interpretatio alphabeti Hebraeorum.

INTERPRETATIONES ALFEBETVM HEBREORVM. Aleph: mille uel doctrina...Tau signum, uel subter. Printed in PL 23, cols. 1305-6. A list of manuscripts, not including MS.91, is given by B. Lambert, Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta III B (Instrumenta Patristica IV), The Hague etc., 1970, pp.255-7 no.400.

9a. Berne 357, fol.28^r. II.

Scribe III, who is responsible for item 9, adds a few glosses at the end:

Crismata: dona concede. Doene (sic, for Poene):
prope. Liuore: uulnere.
Consulere: percontare. Vsurpat: usu inlicito habet.

These additional glosses are also found, though in a garbled form, at the end of the Interpretatio alphabeti Hebraeorum in Cambridge, C.C.C. 356, pt.III, fol.42^r.II (insular hand, s.ix, according to James), see also item 7a above.

Berne 357, fol.28^r. II. Rest of column blank, but see Additions below, p. 352.

10. Berne 357, fols.28^v-32^v.II.

SALLVST Speeches and letters extracted from the Coniuratio Catilinae and the Bellum Iugurthinum.

Title (original): EX HISTORIA SALVSTII CRISPI. Speeches: Catil.20; 52, 2-36; 58. Iug.10; 14; 102, 5-11; 110.

Letters: Catil.44,5. Iug.9,2; 24, 2-10. Collations from MS.91 published by E. Wöllflin, 'Handschriftliches zu Sallust', Philologus, 17 (1861), 154-7, cf: 519ff. This is the one extant manuscript known to descend from the same ancient collection of Sallust's speeches and letters as the unique V (Vat. Lat.3864, fols.109-133). It is not a copy of V, though it shares most of V's readings, and it does not contain V's extracts from Sallust's Histories or the Epistulae ad Caesarem

(see A.W. Ahlberg, Prolegomena in Sallustium, Göteborg 1911, 104). V was written at Corbie 'bald nach der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts' (B. Bischoff, 'Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Großen', in Karl der Große, II. Das geistige Leben, Düsseldorf 1965, 60; see also B.L. Ullman in Philological Quarterly, 1 (1922), 17-22). An earlier copy is recorded in a catalogue of s.viii ex. which has been shown to be a book-list from Charlemagne's court library (West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Diez. B.66, pp.218-9; Bischoff, op.cit., 59-60, and in his introduction to the complete facsimile of the manuscript, Codices Selecti 42, Graz 1973, pp.21-3, 38-9; see also B.L. Ullman in Scriptorium 8 (1954), 24-37). Given the rarity of these Sallust extracts, it seems reasonable to assume that the manuscript of the court library was the common ancestor of the two extant copies, V and MS.91.

Berne 357, fol.32^v.II (remainder) and fol.25^x originally blank, see Additions below, p.352. Fol.25^v still blank. Outer column of fol.25 now cut away.

Sections E and F. Orthographical works (and computistical works, on the last page of F).

E. Quires xviii-xxi⁸, xxii⁶. 31 lines to the column. Change in the ruling method, quires xviii and xx (see below, pp.355-6).

11. Berne 330, fols.1^x-17^v.

CASSIODORVS, De orthographia.

Ed. Keil VII (1880), pp.143-210. This is Keil's most important manuscript (B). The text also occurs in Q (Canon. Class. Lat. 279, fols.35^x-42a^v. I, beginning now lost), not used by Keil.

12. Berne 330, fols.18^x-34^v. I.

De orthographia.

This work has the same incipit as the Orthographia of Alcuin

(Albinus), ed. A. Marsili, Pisa 1952 (MS.91 mentioned on p.9), but shows great differences from Marsili's text. Ends:... Ungo, unxi, sine 'u'. Attamen ad nomen diriuatum unguentum, non unguentum dicitur (cf. Marsili, p.120.17). A work with the same incipit and explicit in O (Canon. Class. Lat.279, fols.42a^V. I-53^V.I) is doubtless the same text, which owes much to the De orthographia of Bede (see C.H. Beeson in Classical Philology, 42 (1947), 81-2). See also Keil VII (1880), pp.295-312, and p.225 for MS.91.

Berne 330, fol.34^V.II. Blank, ruled.

13. Berne 330, fols.35^r-37^v.I.

CAPER, De orthographia.

Ed. Keil VII (1880), 92-107 (MS.91 is Keil's B, see p.85).

14. Berne 330, fols.37^v.I-38^v.I.

CAPER, De uerbis dubiis.

Ed. Keil VII (1880), 107-112. Ends: recte.

14a. Berne 330, fol.38^v.I.

Item 14, written by scribe III, is followed without a break by a short extra passage in the same hand: metor metaris... Pedagogus : Nutritor paruulorum. EXPLICIT. This is printed from MS.91 as part of the text of item 14 by H. Putschius, Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui, Hanau 1605, col.2250.

15. Short, miscellaneous items, written by scribe I:

i. Berne 330, fol.38^v.I (last line). A single gloss, hecho: imitatio uocis.

ii. Berne 330, fol.38^v.II. Two lines from Ausonius, ^{Epit.} xxviii, 28-9. headed ANSONIUS [sic] PAVLINO:

Innumeras possum celandae [sic] ostendere formas
Et clandestinas ueterum reseruare loquelas.

Perhaps a good motto for the writers of glossaries!

iii. Berne 330, fol.38^v.II. Single hexameters from Paulinus (Ausonius, Epist. xxx, 45), Lucan (IV,33) and Vergil (Aen. V, 467), all containing forms of the word dirimo. The last two examples are quoted among others by Priscian, Inst. Gramm. XIV, 54, in a discussion of that word.

Remainder of Berne 330, fol.38^v.II originally blank, see Additions below, p. 354.

F. Quire xxiii⁸. 31 lines to the column (32 on fols.42-3). Scribe IV takes over (items 16-19).

16. Berne 330, fols.39^r-43^v.I.

Q. TERENTIUS SCAVRVS, De orthographia.

Ed. Keil, VII (1880), 11-33 (MS.91 is his B).

17. Berne 330, fols.43^v.I-44^v.II.

AGROECIVS, Ars de orthographia, excerpts only.

Ed.Keil, VII (1880), 113-125 (see 86 ~~for~~ this manuscript, which presents only a part of the text, with many passages altered).

Begins : as Keil. Ends : Keil, p.118 line 28, ueneunt, si uenduntur, followed without a break and in the scribe's hand by Dilectum a diligendo [corrected in erasure from dilegendo, perhaps by the scribe]. Delectum ab eligendo [corrected by erasure from abeligendo]. Delictum a peccando.

Keil notes that the same excerpts, ending with the same distinction of dilectum/delectum/delictum, also occurs in Paris lat. 13025 (s.ix), fols.35-6. According to Keil, 85, the Agroecius tends to travel with items 13 and 14 in the manuscripts (as might be expected from its first sentence).

18. Berne 330, fols.44^v.II-45^r.I.

ANON., Orthographia.

ITEM ALIA. Religio ideo dicitur, quod animas religet ad cultum

diuinum...frixum a frigore, frictum a frigendo. EXPL.

Printed in full by Usener (see Bibliography below, p. 368), 417-8. This item is also found in Montpellier 306 (see above, pp. 338-9), fol.27^V. H. Hagen prints a similar text (not identical) in Anecdota Helvetica (= Keil, Supplementum), Teubner, Leipzig 1870, pp.297-9 and CXXXIX, from Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., 281 (886), pp.53-9 (Rhaetian, s.viii ex.-ix in. = C.L.A. vii.875).

19. Berne 330, fols.45^r.I-46^r.II.

ANON, De dissonantia sermonum (= PS. CICERO, Differentiae sermonum), incomplete form.

Ed. H. Hagen, Anecd. Helv. (= Keil, Suppl.), 1870, 275ff., see p. CXIX for the differences between MS.91 and Hagen's text. MS.91 begins IN NOMINE SALVATORIS INCIPIIT DE DISSONANTIA SERMONVM. Inter auxilium et praesidium et subsidium ..., and ends at Hagen 282.2, ...qucs nescimus, followed without a break and in the same hand by Inter redibium per b litteram, et rediuuum per u, hoc interest: redibium quod nascitur, rediuuum quod re iuiscit.

According to G. Brugnoli, Studi sulle differentiae uerborum, Rome 1955, 47, this form of the text is to be found in only three manuscripts: MS.91, Montpellier 306 (see above, pp. 338-9), and Berne A 92 fragm.34 (s.xi.ex.). Even so, the order of the individual differentiae in Montpellier 306 is considerably different to that in the two Berne manuscripts (Brugnoli, 53).

Berne 330, fol.46^r.II. Rest of column originally blank, see Additions below, p. 353 .

20. Two excerpts on computus, attributed to St. Augustine. Written by scribe I.

a) Berne 330, fol.46^v.I. DE IVRE BISSEXTI SANCTI AVG(VSTINI). Incipit primus annus ab occasu solis...et incipit quadrans

quarti anni a media die Mercurii usque ad occidentem solem eiusdem diei.

The I.R.H.T. index of incipits lists one other manuscript: Paris lat.7418A (s.xii), fols.36^v-37^r.

- b) Berne 330, fol.46^v.I-II. ITEM AVG(VSTINI) DE SIGNIS XII.
Intrat sol in Arietem inchoante prima hora noctis...et exit de Piscibus hora III, noctis plena quae praecedat XV. K(alendas) Apr(i)l(is).

I can locate neither of these excerpts among the works of St. Augustine of Hippo; possibly they are not by St. Augustine but are derived from some compustical work in the title of which his name appeared (see Jones, Pseudepigrapha, 50 n.2).

Additional hands.

Additional hand 1. This is the 'editor' and principal scribe of the manuscript (scribe I, see below, pp.356-7). The distinction between the minor additions, which I am about to describe, and several items listed above under the original contents, is arbitrary, for he did editorial work as the manuscript was being written (items 3a, 7a, 15 and 20 may well be after-thoughts, added on blank spaces by scribe I after the main works had been completed). His corrections and minor additions to the work of his subsidiary scribes are as follows:

Scribe II's sections (nucleus of the Macrobius, Berne 347, fols. 7^r-11^v, 17^r-21^v). Scribe I makes corrections in erasure, frequent on fol.9^v, also at fol.21^r. I, last 3 lines; he corrects an omission in the top margin of fol.7^v, and above the line at fol.8^r. I, line 1; he alters the divisions of words between one line and the next, e.g. fol.8^r.I, lines 2/3 me/at is altered to / meat and lines 20/21 or/tui to /ortui (at fol.20^r.II, lines 6/7 he changes cons/tat to constat/, but forgets to erase the /tat on line 7); he adds a marginal heading on fol.10^r, Quare zodiacus dicatur, on Comm.I. 21, 22.

In the Pliny, which scribe I wrote himself, the glosses in excerpt (b), Berne 347, fol.23^r, are perhaps also by him.

Scribe III's section. Scribe I starts off item 7 for scribe III (possibly a learner, as his script is rather uneven) by writing Berne 357, fols.1^r-2^r.I, line 6, and makes corrections throughout his work, e.g.: a correction in erasure, at Berne 357, fol.16^r.II, line 23; corrections of omissions in the top margins, at Berne 330, fols. 3^r, 11^r, 16^r, 18^r, 20^r. He makes several additions in item 8 (a glossary in alphabetical order) in the gaps left at the ends of the groups of glosses arranged under the individual letters of the alphabet, e.g. Berne 357 fol.12^v.I, last line, 18^v I, line 1, 22^r.I, last 8 lines. He adds a marginal index in items 13-14 (Berne 330, fols.35^r-38^v).

Scribe IV's section. Scribe I's marginal headings continue, though with less frequency, in scribe IV's section, items 16-19 (Berne 330, fols.39^r-46^r).

Additional hand 2.

A small, contemporary glossing hand, nervous and elegant. He uses an a with a slanting, almost flattened down-stroke, λ ; high e; \mathfrak{g} ; majuscule \mathfrak{N} , with elongated first stroke, used frequently in the minuscule; \mathfrak{N} ligature, used often, even in mid-word; rt = \mathfrak{ft} ; normal abbreviation stroke, veering from horizontal — to diagonal ↙ . In one passage, he uses this script interspersed with Tironian signs (see (d) below). Marginal additions, especially frequent in Berne 330, fols.18^r-29^v (item 12) include the nota signs \mathfrak{N} , and D.M. (e.g. fol.18^r) or $\overline{\text{DM}}$ (fol.21^r).

All these characteristics are reminiscent of Heiric,⁽¹⁾ but we must accept Billanovich's statement that the hand is not that of Heiric himself.⁽²⁾ Nevertheless, the hand is certainly close enough to be from his circle, a representative of what I have come to think of as the 'Auxerre type'.

1. See pp.175-187. Heiric adds $\overline{\text{DM}}$ in Vat.lat.4929, fol.58^r, but not in my MS.4.

2. See Bibliography below, p. 368 .

Besides the marginal additions in Berne 330, this hand adds a number of grammatical excerpts, often in the spaces left blank at the ends of works. They sometimes take the form of quotations from classical poets, but most if not all of these are second-hand, and can be found quoted by the grammarians (Priscian, Servius, Nonius Marcellus, Isidore's Etymologiae), e.g.:

- a) Berne 357, fol.34^r.II, after item 3a. Munia sunt quaedam officia, unde et immunes dicuntur qui nullum officium gerunt (= Isidore, Etym. IX. iv, 21). This hand also adds many marginal glosses to item 3a.
- b) Berne 357, fol.7^v I, after item 7a. Omnium mortium genera animaduersio nominantur. Animaduersio enim est quando iudex reum punit...Intendere utique ad puniendum reum, quia i dex est (= Isidore, Etym. V. xxvii, 36-7).
- c) Berne 357, fol.28^r.II, after item 9a. N(o)t(a). Deficio quando significat Relinquo habet passiuum, quando pro Defeciscor ponitur neutraliter, headed Prisc(ianus) in .I. lib(ro) de uerb(o) [= Priscian, Inst. Gramm. VIII (de uerbo). 31, Keil II p.399.7-8].
- d) Berne 357, fol.32^v.II + 25^r.I (consecutive leaves), after item 10. Excerpts from Priscian, Inst. gramm. (the first excerpt, headed Prisc(ianus) in lib(ro) de temp(oribus) uerborum, begins: Praeteritum imperfectum... = Inst. Gramm. VIII.39, Keil II p.406 2-3), followed by a short excerpt from Servius on Aeneid VIII.275. These excerpts are written in a mixture of Tironian notes and 'long-hand', and are reproduced, transcribed in full, and identified by É. Chatelain, Introduction à la lecture des Notes Tironiennes, Paris 1900, pp.128, 209-10, pl.I.
- e) Berne 330, fol.34^v, margin, last page of item 12. Virgil(ius) in .I. georg(ico). Atsi luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra (= Georg.I.191, quoted by Nonius Marcellus Bk.IV, 340 M., ed. Lindsay vol.II p.536).
- f) Berne 330, fol.34^v, written vertically between the columns, after item 12. Persius. Magister artis ingeniique largitor uenter,

negatas artifex sequi uoces. DON(ATVS). Nisi uiolentia fiat naturae, omnia in deterius cad[unt]. Persius, 'prologue'

10-11. Both items are quoted by Servius in his commentary on two related passages of Vergil's Georgic I, lines 146 and 198.

- g) Berne 330, fol.46^{r-v}, in the blank spaces left after items 19 and 20, and in the margins of this last leaf of text. Numerous quotations from classical poets (Plautus, Juvenal, Vergil, Statius, Ovid, Lucilius), all derived from Priscian, interspersed with a few from later Latin poets (Venantius Fortunatus' Vita S. Martini [I.61 and 114], Iuuencus, Sedulius) which cannot be traced in Keil. Hagen (see Bibliography), p.331, says that these additions are treated by Keil in 'programm. Halense a.1872', but I have not seen this.

Although I have been unable to make a proper comparison with the additions in the Berne parts, I suspect that hand 2 is also responsible for the following additions in the *Paris part*:

- h) Paris lat.7665, fol.31^v.II, after item 6. 'Affinities': Pater: Mater. Frater: Soror. Patruus: Amita. Auunculus: Maiestera (? for Matertera). Doubtless taken from a table of consanguinity, see for example Isidore, Etym. IX. vi,28.
- i) Paris lat.7665, fol.32^r, after item 6. Excerpts from Ps.-Jerome/Ps.-Bede, Interpretationes nominum Hebraicorum: EX LIBRO .IER. INTERPRET. NOM. EBRAIC. QVEM FILO EDIDIT. Ista in eas pirat. Abraham. Arihel. Aegyptus...Thessalonicenses. Thessalonica. The excerpts consist of five columns of names, but very few are actually accompanied by their interpretations. The full work is printed in Venerabilis Bedae Anglo-Saxonis presbyteri...opera, Cologne 1612, III, cols.371-480. A list of manuscripts is printed by B. Lambert, Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta IIIB (Instrumenta Patristica IV), The Hague etc., 1970, pp.260-268 no.402. This work, or a version of it, is sometimes attributed to Remigius of Auxerre. Montpellier 306, fols.117^r-121, contains fuller excerpts from it.

Another curious group of additions, which I am unable to explain,

are also possibly the work of hand 2: the letter \bar{F} or the letters $IN\bar{F}$ added at the beginnings of items 3(\bar{F}), 9 ($IN\bar{F}$), 11 (F), 13 (F) and 15 (ii) ($IN\bar{F}$), and the letter \bar{n} added at the ends of items 3, 11 and 18, and at the end of a section in item 6 (Paris lat. 7665, fol.19^r.II = end of Nonius, Bk.V).

Additional hand 3.

Another contemporary hand, writing an elegant script in brown ink, makes a single addition in Berne 330, fol.38^v.II, after item 15 (iii):
FASIANVS A FASIDE INSVLA GRECIAE DEPORTATVS. DYSTICON DE EA.

Argiua primo sum transportata carina./Ante mihi notum nil nisi fasis erat. This is a quotation from Isidore, Etym. XII. vii, 49, incorporating a couplet from Martial (XIII, 72).

There are insignificant additions by a number of later hands, of whom only two are worth mentioning:

Additional hand 4.

An early gothic hand of s.xii (or xiii?) adds a few pen-trials in the margins, e.g. Berne 357, fol.8^v, upside-down, now erased: domus... One of his pen-trials provides a vital clue to the history of the manuscript (see below, p.358): Berne 347, fol.31^v, now badly smudged and rubbed, antiphon[a?] de Sancto Germano per tot[a] m odomid [**] (? = hebdomadam) dominica ad laudes [c. 10 letters, illegible].

Additional hand 5.

A small, cursive 'legal' hand of s.xiii or xiv, adds upside-down at Berne 357, fol.41^v.I (after the Petronius, item 4) a long passage, resembling the beginning of a sermon, in which is given a free version of the start of Gregory the Great's homily on Matth. xx. 1 etc. (Homiliae in euangelia Bk.I, Homil. XIX = PL 76, cols.1153-5) and the beginning of the lemma from Gregory's homily on Luke xviii. 35 etc. (Bk.I, Homil.II = PL 76, col.1082): Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia. Secundum Math(eum). Simile

est reg(num) c(aelorum) homini patrif(amiliis), qui exiit primo
mane conducere oper(arios) in uineam suam. Dicit Gregorius.
Paterfamilias est Christus...qui autem praeibant increpa(bant)
eum ut tacere(t).

Technical description.

164 original leaves in all, comprising (Berne 347) ii + 41 + ii, (Berne 357) i + 43 + i, (Berne 330) ii + 46 + ii, (Leiden leaves) 2, (Paris lat. 7665) iv + 32 + iv. All the fly-leaves are paper, unfoliated, of the respective dates of binding. The foliation in *all* parts is recent. There is also an earlier foliation in small, neat arabic numerals, in ink, 1-11, in the top right-hand corners of Berne 357, fols.33-42 (the last two quires in Berne 357, including the Petronius); it was added in s.xvii(?), after the separation of the four leaves now missing after Berne 357, fol.34 (the number 6 is left out between fol.37[5] and 38[7], but doubtless by accident since the collation shows no loss).

Collation: see above under Contents, and pp.133-139 for the change of plan in quire iii concerning the Macrobius. Quire-signatures: a contemporary series in fairly small Roman numerals appears near the bottom edge of the last verso of the quire, in the centre between the columns. The following numerals now survive, on their appropriate leaves: II (Berne 347, fol.6^V), III, VI-VIII, X-XII, XIII-XXIII. For erased quire-signatures in the Macrobius, see p.136.

Parchment, varying in thickness but all of one sort, shiny on both sides, flexible; hair-sides are yellow, often with brown or black stippling, flesh-sides are fairly pale. 2 cols.(occasionally 1 col. in the Macrobius and Pliny in order to accommodate the diagrams: Berne 347, fols.9^r, 22^v, 23^r top six lines, 24^r-25^r. These pages are nevertheless ruled for two cols.) 31 lines to the column in quires ii-iv, xiv-xxiii, 30 lines in quires vi-xiii (occasionally 32-3, in quires vii, viii,xxiii). 241-6x224-232 mm.

(237-9x223-5mm. in Paris lat.7665). Written space 165-173x164-171 mm. (both cols.). The width of the inner column (71-7mm.) is less than that of the outer (77-83mm.). Ruling in hard point. The ruling pattern is usually $H>F>>>|<<<<$, but in quires xviii and xx (parts of section E) and xxiii (section F) it is $H>F<><|><><$.

In quire iii (Berne 347, fols.7-19, see pp. 133 - 139), the ruling pattern is $H>F>>>|<||H>F<F<|H>H>||<<<<$. The pattern in quire xxii (Berne 330, fols.33-38) is $H>H>F<|H>F<F<$; this break in the hair-flesh sequence might have suggested that this was a quaternion, $H>F<H>F<|H>F<H>F<$, of which leaves 2 and 7 had been lost; but there are no breaks in the text, and it is more likely that this was intended as a ternion, $H>F>H>|F<H<F<$, but the order of leaves 3 and 4 was accidentally reversed between ruling and writing.

Script: rounded caroline minuscule, probably of the Loire valley (so Homburger, see Bibliography below, p. 368). The manuscript is the work of several scribes, all of the same scriptorium. My analysis of the different scribes has unfortunately had to remain incomplete (not least because of the later dismemberment of the volume), and some parts of the manuscript are still to be accounted for. However, in the three Berne sections, I have been able to detect at least four scribes at work:

- I. Berne 347, fols.1^r-6^v, 12^r-16^v, 22^r-25^r (parts of item 1; item 2); Berne 357, fols.33^r-43^r and the Leiden leaves (at least part of item 3; items 3a, 4 and 5); Berne 357, fols. 1^r-2^r.I, line 6 (beginning of item 7), fol.7^v.I, lines 20-27 (item 7a); Berne 330, fol.38^v.I, last line - II (item 15); Berne 330, fol.46^v.I-II (item 20).

Expert, neat, regular script, slightly floating above the ruled lines. The a is occasionally open, \mathcal{a} , or uncial, α , as well as the caroline λ ; the rounded δ is very frequent; the top of \mathcal{g} is often open; the long s is small, \mathcal{r} , slightly below other letters, while f is much larger, \mathcal{f} .

This scribe is the director of the project (and, doubtless of the scriptorium), for not only is his hand more expert than

the others, but additions and corrections by him are to be found in the work of all the other scribes whom I have been able to distinguish (see above, p. 350, Additional hand 1). His work is not merely scribal but editorial (see especially my analysis of his very significant contributions to the Macrobius, pp. 133-139).

- II. Berne 347, fols. 7^r-11^v, 17^r-21^v (nucleus of the Macrobius, item 1).

Slightly larger, broader and less regular script than scribe I's; II's ascenders are much longer; he uses the straight, not the rounded form of d, the top of his g is closed, g or g, and the upward stroke of the ampersand is much longer, &.

- III. Berne 357, fols. 2^r.I, line 7-28^r (except fol. 25, a misplaced leaf), Berne 330 fols. 1^r-38^v.I, line 29 or 30 (= most of item 7, items 8, 9, 11-14, 14a).

This scribe writes a large, untidy script, and holds his pen at a fairly flat angle. His capitals are particularly graceless and ugly. Perhaps a learner.

- IV. Berne 357, fols. 39^r-46^r (section F, = items 16-19).

The best of the subsidiary scribes, and the closest to scribe I; scribe IV writes a regular, very rounded script; g and e have large upper lobes.

Decoration: no elaborate decoration whatsoever. The initials at the beginnings of works are simple, built-up capitals, 2- to 4-lines high, in ink or red. Minor initials in the course of the texts are very similar, of various sizes and in red, ink, or ink touched with red; there are many in the Macrobius, some in mid-line. Titles at the beginnings of texts are usually in red rustics (ink for the Petronius, item 4, and the Sallust, item 10), occasionally in red uncials (items 1, 6, 11, 12; one line of item 6's title is in ink). Minor titles in the middle of texts are in rustics, ink or red. The diagrams of items 1 and 2 are in combinations of ink and red.

2° fol.://lineis limitatum (Berne 347, fol.2^r). But the original 2° fol. would have fallen in quire i, now lost.

Date.

The manuscript was almost certainly written in the second half of s.ix. Within that period, current opinion seems to place it fairly late. Billanovich's opinion is that 'Esso fu formato nel s. IX (non nel X, come si ripete), ma probabilmente un po'dopo di Heiric'.

Place of origin, and early history.

Two pieces of evidence suggest that MS.91 belonged to the Benedictine abbey of St.- Germain at Auxerre later in the Middle Ages:

- a) The pen-trial added by Additional hand 4, s.xii (or xiii?), in the lower margin of Berne 347, fol.31^v, mentioning an antiphon de Sancto Germano (first noticed by Homburger).
- b) Pierre Pithou quotes readings for the excerpta uulgaria of Petronius in his editions of 1577 and 1587 from an exemplar Autissiodurensis, which had no missing leaves. Its readings are extremely close to those of MS.91, item 4('B'), with which

it is usually identified. (1) E.T. Sage (2) questioned the identification: five out of the fifty-five Aut. readings quoted by Pithou in his 1587 edition are different from those of MS.91. I think a margin of error of 9.09% is allowable (compare, for example, Willis' rate of about 20% error in citing readings from my MS.4); it is of course possible that Pithou's Autissiodurensis was another manuscript closely allied to MS.91, but then that too would be an argument in favour of Ms.91's Auxerre provenance.

1. E.g. by K. Müller & W. Ehlers, Petronius. Satyrice, Munich 1965, 382-3.
2. Pp.22-3 (see Bibliography below, p.368); Sage quotes six readings, but one was dissolved by B.L.Ullman, 'The Text of Petronius in the Sixteenth Century', Classical Philology, 25 (1930), p.140 n.2. The evidence behind Sage's attribution of MS.91 to Fleury seems inadequate: the connection with Pierre Daniel and a vague, palaeographical premonition. I have stressed elsewhere, e.g. p.213, that Daniel's ownership is no guarantee of Fleury provenance.

These are supported by three even less positive indications which may take us back to Auxerre in the ninth century:

- c) Montpellier 306, the 9th-cent. manuscript which duplicates eight out of MS.91's twenty items (see above, pp.338-9) can be linked with Auxerre: it contains at the end a 14-line poem beginning: Vos qui Germanum gaudetis habere patronum.. (ends..atque relinquit.). Neither the 1849 Cat.gén. description nor that of Goetz mentions that this is an addition rather than part of the original volume, so it may well prove that Montpellier 306 was written at Auxerre, and even if it is an addition it almost certainly proves Auxerre ownership.

Unfortunately the medieval history of Q is still unknown; the only clue is the marginal entry in Canon.Class.Lat.279, fol.39^v,

in the elongated letters of a contemporary chancery hand: prodagius clericus.⁽³⁾ The Leiden part of O, Voss.Lat.F.70.I, fols.67-73, belonged to Pierre Daniel (title in his hand on fol.67^r), who perhaps derived it from the same source as he did MS.91 (in spite of my cautions above, n.2!).

3. Noticed by L.D.Reynolds, The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's Letters, Oxford 1965, 152.

- d) Reminiscences of the Excerpta uulgaria of Petronius have long been recognized in the verse life of St. Germanus written by Heiric of Auxerre (841-?876/7). Heiric is known to have finished his Vita S. Germani in 873 (the dedication to Charles the Bald was later), and he presumably started it after his return to Auxerre in 865. The conclusion is that some manuscript of Petronius' Excerpta uulgaria was available at Auxerre between those dates. The Excerpta uulgaria is such a rare text (the next earliest manuscript after MS.91 to survive is 12th-cent.) that it has been suggested that MS.91 was the one which Heiric used.⁽⁴⁾ But

- i. MS.91 was not the only manuscript of Petronius in circulation in s.ix, even if it is the only one to survive. Firstly, there was of course MS.91's own exemplar. Secondly, a copy described simply as Petronii is listed in the 9th-cent. catalogue⁽⁵⁾ which has been identified as a list of the books of Wulfhad (d.876), archbishop of Bourges and friend of Johannes Scottus. Quadri identified Wulfhad's manuscript as Berne 357, but this is impossible: even in a catalogue as summary as this, it would make no sense to characterize a large grammatical miscellany by the title of a single short and atypical work in the middle; Petronii is not an adequate description of MS.91. It is of course highly likely that there is some connection between Wulfhad's copy, Heiric's copy and MS.91 (Quadri suggested,

plausibly, that Heiric may have used Wulfhad's copy), but there are certainly at least two manuscripts involved.

4. E.g. by Chatelain (Bibliography below), II p.16; R. Quadri, I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre (Spicilegium Friburgense, 11) 1966, pp.23-4, n.6. See Quadri pp.24-8 for the dating of the Vita S. Germani.
5. Printed by Becker, cat. no. 21; the Petronius is item 29. See P. Lehmann, Erforschung des Mittelalters, II, Stuttgart 1959, 152-4.

ii. Bücheler drew attention to four passages of the Vita S. Germani where Heiric echoes Petronius.⁽⁶⁾ One of these is probably invalid, for Traube noticed a closer parallel in Vergil.⁽⁷⁾ Two are rather vague, and could be put down to coincidence were it not for the third, where three of Heiric's hexameters echo Petronius' wording to a greater extent than can be allowed to coincidence. One of these lines is as follows:

Heiric, I. 113: Si qua fuit regio, fuluum quae gigneret aurum..

Petronius 119.5: Si qua foret tellus, quae fuluum mitteret aurum.

MS.91 and the other manuscripts of the excerpta uulgaria read quae fuluum, but Heiric's fuluum quae is the reading of the 'longer excerpts' represented by Leiden, Scaliger 61.⁽⁸⁾ Could Heiric's manuscript have belonged to the latter group? Possibly, but such a conclusion cannot be secure on the basis of only one reading.

E.T. Sage pointed out⁽⁹⁾ that one of the other two echoes does not work at all if we accept MS.91's reading: Heiric uses a very rare word, septifluus,

in Bk.III, preface, line 16. Most manuscripts of Petronius, including Scaliger 61, show this word at 133.3, but MS.91 has a unique variant, semper flavius⁽¹⁰⁾ If Heiric used MS.91, he cannot have derived the word septifluus from Petronius.

Neither of these points is individually conclusive, but together they suggest that Heiric used not MS.91 but some other manuscript.

6. F. Bücheler, ed., Petronii Saturae, Berlin 1862, reprinted 1958, pp.XI and 152. For the Vita S. Germani, see the edition by L. Traube in M.G.H., Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, III, Berlin 1896, 428-517.
7. *Heiric, Vita S. Germani, v. 207 (Traube, p. 494), Hinc subit aerias meritis sublimior Alpes, cf. Vergil, Georgics III. 474 (aerias Alpes) and Petronius 122 line 144 (Alpibus aeris).*
8. See K. Müller & W. Ehlers, Petronius. Satyrice, Munich 1965, p.266, and for the relationship of the two forms, pp. 415-7.
9. E.T. Sage, 'The text-tradition of Petronius— preliminary paper', The American Journal of Philology, 50 (1929), 28-9.
10. Pithou gives the reading of his Autissiodurensis as semper fluuius (1587 edition, leaf h viii^r). It should be checked whether MS.91 has an open a at this point.

iii. Another possible link with Heiric was the supposed occurrence of the Pliny excerpts (item 2 in MS.91) in Melk 412 (G 32), the miscellany annotated by Heiric. But King, p.82, states that Traube's identification of two sections in the Melk manuscript as Pliny excerpts (a) and (c) is wrong.⁽¹¹⁾

Yet although it is impossible to prove that Heiric used MS.91 itself, the fact that Petronius was known to the great scholar

of Auxerre, and the ~~rur~~ness of Petronius, do point to Auxerre as a likely home for MS.91.

11. For the Traube reference, see Contents item 2 above, p.340 ; see also M. Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur, I (Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, IX, Abt.2), Munich 1911, pp.447, 502. For Melk 412, see also p.176.
- e) The script of Additional Hand 2 is of the Auxerre type, resembling Heiric's, although Billanovich has stated his opinion that this is not Heiric's own hand.

Individually, none of these five pieces of evidence provides unassailable proof of Auxerre provenance. Yet they support each other, and I think their combined weight is overwhelming. MS.91 certainly belonged to St. Germain of Auxerre from the ninth century onwards. But was it written there? This is faintly suggested by points (c) and (d), but by no means proved. An Auxerre origin is not contradicted by the script or format. Such a collection of texts must have been compiled at an important centre with access to rare texts, and Auxerre would fit this description. Finally, although no personal connection between Heiric and the manuscript can be proved, the work of scribe I is entirely compatible with his influence (for example, Heiric's habit of making marginal indexes of rare words surely means that he would be interested in glossaries). We may conclude that the manuscript was probably written at and certainly belonged to the abbey of St. Germain at Auxerre.

If MS.91 is indeed the Autissiodurensis used by Pithou, its designation as such suggests that its departure from Auxerre had taken place within living memory. If so, the table of contents for the whole manuscript written in the lower margin of Berne 347, fol.1^r by a hand of s.xiv (? xiii) was presumably made at Auxerre:

<u>¶ liber macrobii de astronomia..</u>	Item no.1.
<u>Item [c.7 letter-spaces obscured by library stamp]</u>	
<u>macelli [sic] de compendiosa doctrina per litteras./</u>	3.

<u>Item eiusdem de proprietate sermonum...</u>	6.
<u>Item d[e difer]encia similibus significationum/</u>	6. ⁽¹²⁾
<u>Item greca uerba cum glosis suis et [alfebe]tum</u>	7-9.
<u> hebreorum.</u>	
<u>Item quaedam historia salustii crispi/</u>	10.
<u>Item ortographia cassiodori collecta ab ipso</u>	
<u> ex antiquis..</u>	11.
<u>Item ortographia quae est pericia scribendi [?]/</u>	12.
<u>Item ortographia capri.</u>	13.
<u>et ortographia terencii.</u>	16.

Although this table of contents omits some items, most notably the Petronius (item 4), it includes enough to show that the manuscript was still a single unit when it was added; its position on the first leaf of quire ii shows that quire i was already lost.

12. The title of Nonius Marcellus Bk.V at Paris lat.7665, fol. 19^r.II, is De differentia similibus significationum.

Later history: Pierre Daniel of Orléans (c.1530-1603 or 1604).

There is evidence that Pierre Daniel owned at least two parts of MS.91: Paris lat.7665, fol.1^r bears in the lower margin the inscription Petri Danielis Aurel in an italic hand of s. xvi or xvii (possibly that of Daniel himself, but probably not; it is larger than usual and slightly more spreading; and Pierre Daniel tends to write his name in the top margin). In the top margin of Berne 347, fol.1^r, Daniel's name, now erased and written over with a title, can just be read with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp:...Danieli... Chapter references at Berne 347, fol.1^r.I, 1^v.I, 22^r, etc. are probably in Daniel's hand.

All three of the Berne parts are inscribed with the name of Jacques Bongars (see below), who shared Daniel's collection with Paul Petau. If one part of MS.91 definitely belonged to Daniel, it seems highly probable that Bongars derived his other two parts of the same manuscript from Daniel as well. As regards the part containing the Petronius, Berne 357, Daniel was sufficiently interested in this author to have projected an edition,⁽¹³⁾ and he is known to have lent manuscripts of other texts to Pierre Pithou

(see p. 262), who probably used this manuscript for his editions of 1577 and 1587. If Berne 357 was indeed Pithou's Autissiodurensis, it had not yet lost the Leiden leaves and the other two leaves when it belonged to Pierre Daniel.

It is extremely likely, then, that all five parts of MS.91 belonged to Pierre Daniel, and it follows that he is the most likely person to have partitioned the manuscript. It is of course possible that it may already have been in pieces when it reached his hands, but slight evidence to the contrary is provided by the fact that he appears to have written his name only on the first leaf of the entire corpus, Berne 347 fol.1^r (the entry in the Paris volume not being in his hand).

Pierre Daniel also owned the Leiden leaves of Q (see above, p.360.

13. See H. Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Berne 1875, pp.XII-XIII. Some of his notes on Petronius were eventually published posthumously, appearing first in the Frankfurt edition of 1610, pt.II, pp.75-98.

Later history: Berne 347, 357 and 330.

Pierre Daniel's library was bought from his heirs by Jacques Bongars and his cousin Paul Petau, and the collection was divided between them.⁽¹⁴⁾ The three Berne sections were in the part which went to

1. Jacques Bongars (554-1612). He wrote his name at Berne 347, fol.1^r, top right; at Berne 357, fols.1^r, top margin, 32^v.II at the foot of the column, and 43^r, at the end of the text (the entry at fol.32^v.II, the separate foliation [see above, p.355], and the fact that fols.1-32 and 33-43 were not consecutive in the original volume, strongly suggest that in Bongars' time the present Berne 357 was in two parts)⁽¹⁵⁾ and at Berne 330, fols.1^r, top right, and 46^v.II, bottom margin, at end of text.

Berne 330 was used as a source⁽¹⁶⁾ for four items (13, 14 + 14a, 16 and 19) by Helias Putschius (1580-1606) in his monumental

Grammaticae Latinae auctores antiqui, Hanau 1605 (cols.2239-46, 2247-50, 2250-2264, 2203-8). Putschius acknowledges his debt to this and other libri Bongarsii in his table of contents (leaf **2^r), and makes a special reference in his dedicatory letter to Joseph Scaliger to the manuscriptos codices... quorum non exiguum numerum, pro immenso suo in literas fauore, amplissimus Iacobus Bongarsius transmisit (leaf *2^v).

In describing item 16, Terentius Scaurus, in his table of contents, Putschius says that his text (basically a reprint of the edition of J. Sichardus, Basel 1527) is Ex libro Bongarsii, notis Ranconeti & Petri Scriverii restitutus. Ranconetus is presumably Aimar de Ranconet, the man whom I suspect to have owned several Auxerre manuscripts (see p.198). It is a coincidence that his name should crop up again here, but Putschius' reference is too fleeting to build on it any specific connection between Ranconet and MS.91.

14. See K. Müller, 'Jacques Bongars und seine Handschriftensammlung', in Schätze der Burgerbibliothek Berne, Berne 1953, 89.
15. It may also be significant that the lower part of Berne 357, fol.33, is cut away.
16. Berne 330 is identified as Putschius' source for these items by Keil and Hagen (see the references given above under Contents). Other texts also occur both in MS.91 and in Putschius' collection, but Keil shows that for these Putschius used other manuscripts.

Jacques Bongars bequeathed his library to

2. Jakob Graviset (1598-1658), who presented it in 1632 to
3. The city of Berne.

MSS. 357 and 330 are in parchment bindings of s.xvii or xviii,

and MS.347 has a parchment spine with covers of yellowish paper over millboards, of the same date. A single hand of that time has written lists of contents on all three spines.

Later history: Leiden Voss.Lat.Q.30, fols. 58 & 57.

If Berne 357 was indeed Pithou's Autissiodurensis, it is very likely that the Leiden leaves were still bound up with the rest of the text of Petronius when he used it for his editions of 1577 and 1587, since the Autissiodurensis was complete. The Leiden leaves are now bound at the end of a manuscript of Plautus, s.xi (fols.1-56). The Plautus carries the ownership marks of Paul Petau, who shared Pierre Daniel's library with Jacques Bongars (fol.1^r, lower margin, P. Petavius; top right of front fly-leaf, shelf-mark of the typical form, C.31). The Plautus must then have passed to Leiden through the usual channel: Alexander Petau, Queen Christina of Sweden, Isaac Vossius (cf. MS.9,).

It seems impossible to be certain exactly when the Petronius leaves were bound up with the Plautus (the foliation 1-58 is certainly early, ? s.xvii), but given that Berne 357 belonged to Pierre Daniel and the likelihood (not proved) that the Plautus reached Paul Petau in his legacy from Pierre Daniel, it is probable that for some unexplained reason the Leiden leaves were detached from Berne 357 in Daniel's time, so causing the Petronius to be divided in the partition of his library. The two lost leaves, once joined to the Leiden pair as leaves 5 and 6 of the bifolia 3/6, 4/5 in q. viii of MS.91, presumably left Berne 357 under the same circumstances.

Later history: Paris lat. 7665.

There is nothing to connect this section with either Bongars or Petau. Its first known owner after Daniel was

1. Philibert de la Mare (d.1687). The manuscript was no.265 in his collection (fol.1^r, top margin). On the death of his son Philippe de la Mare in 1719, the collection of manuscripts

was acquired⁽¹⁷⁾ by

2. The Bibliothèque Nationale.

Binding: light brown suède, s.xix.

17. Cf. my MS.10, p.256.

Bibliography (omitting references cited above on individual points).

Macrobius:

1. Jan, I, 1848, pp.LXXV-VI, IC (MS.91 is his 'HI' = 'Helveticus 1').

Reproductions:

2. É. Chatelain, Paléographie des Classiques Latins, II, Paris 1894-1900, p.16, pl. CXLIX (Berne 357, fol.34^v; Leiden, Voss. Lat. Q.30, fol.57^r).
3. É. Chatelain, Introduction à la lecture des Notes Tironiennes, Paris 1900, pp.128, 209-10, pl.I (Berne 357, fol.32^v.II and 25^r.I).
4. O. Homburger, Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern, Berne 1962, pp.134-6, pl. LXI fig. 131. (Berne 347, fol.25^r).

General:

5. H. Usener, 'Eine Handschrift Peter Daniels', Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, N.F.22 (1867), 413-421.
6. H. Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium, Berne 1875, pp.330-1, 336, 345-6.
7. H. Meylan, 'Note sur le ms. de Nonius Marcellus N° 347 de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Berne', Revue de Philologie, N.S.8 (1884), 77-8.
8. E.T. Sage, 'Petronius, Poggio and John of Salisbury', Classical Philology, 11 (1916), 11-24, esp. 19-24.
9. G. Billanovich, 'Dall' antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche', Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Annuario for 1955-6 and 1956-7, p.90n.4.
10. Complete microfilm and description at I,R.H.T. of Berne 347
(I have not seen those of the other parts, which may be present.).

MS.98 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14353, fols.94-117
+ 29020, fols.(3-4).

s.x ex.-xi in.

Probably German.

Quarto.

Contents.

MACROBIVS, Commentary, abbreviated form, damaged at the end.

The surviving parts are as follows:

- a) Clm 14353, fols.94^r-117^v. I.14,21(Willis 59.13)//Nunc uideamus...
etiam aduersos stare uobis// [a quibus] II. 5, 1(Willis 110.6).
Bk. I ends and II begins on fol.111^r (the deficiencies of the
abbreviated form at this point are corrected by Additional
hand 3).

Three leaves now missing.

- b) Clm 29020, fol.(3)^{r-v}. II.5,35(Willis 116.3) [ille]//in quo...
depictis// [sine] II.7,5(Willis 118.7).

Two leaves now missing.

- c) Clm 29020, fol.(4)^{r-v}. II.8,5(Willis 122.12)[tales]// mutasse...
puncti ob// [tinnet] II.9,9(Willis 124.11). The outer margin
has been cut away, causing the loss of one or two letters
on most lines.

Further leaves lost.

Additional hands.

Several contemporary hands, often impossible to distinguish. The
principle ones are:

1. The scribe, who supplies omissions, in the margin, in very large
script. At Clm 14353, fols.97^v and 111^v the omitted passages
are written sideways in the outer margins.
2. Another hand, who adds a few corrections and variants with At;
some marginal headings; frequent short glosses, interlinear; and
some longer glosses in the margin.

3. A third hand, using pale brown ink (features of his script are the frequent subscript a and i; -orum = -o; and id est = H, e.g. fol.104^r). This scribe supplies the omissions symptomatic of the abbreviated form, from a 'long' version of the text (fols.103^v-105^r,111^r). This hand can be identified as that of the principal scribe of my MS.106, pts. I and II β , who is either Hartwic of St. Emmeram or one of his associates (see pp.402,407). Pt.II β of MS.106 contains the Somnium Scipionis and the beginning of Macrobius' Commentary up to the start of the abbreviated form I.14,20/21(Willis 59.13). The scribe doubtless used the same exemplar of the complete text both for MS.106, pt.II β , and for his supplements in MS.98.

Technical description.

24 + 2 leaves. The 24 in Clm 14353 foliated 94-117 in ink, s.xix(?); the 2 in Clm 29020 not foliated. i-iii⁸, iv¹⁰ only leaves 4 and 7 now surviving, in Clm 29020, fols.(3-4), which form a bifolium. No quire-signatures. Thin, pliable parchment, with much stippling on hair-sides. 258-260x198-204mm. (in Clm 29020, 231-4 x195(fol.3) or 149(fol.4)mm.) Written space 186-190(180 in Clm 29020)x130-135mm. 1 col. 24 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F>>> / <<<<< (quires i and iii) or H<F<<< / >>>> (quire ii). Clm 29020, fols. (3-4) are ruled F< / H>, and the fact that fol.(3)^r is a flesh-side confirms that it is the fourth leaf of a quire, not the third.

Script: rounded caroline minuscule, varying in size (larger in q.i), but probably by one scribe (except perhaps fol.107^r lines 1-7).

-mus = -m \int , -us = - \int . Et = \mathcal{E} , occasionally γ .

Decoration: fol.94^r, 6-line initial N in red, with vine-stem filling also in red, fine quality, followed by the rest of the first word and the second in rounded red capitals. The style looks German. Some capitals in the course of the text are made slightly larger and thicker, but still in ink; on fols.94^r-95^r, 102^r, 111^v-112^r, they are touched with red. No title at the beginning.

Titles in the text are in ink capitals. The diagrams are in ink, but the rain lines of the second rain diagram on fol.111^r are in red; in the map at Clm 29020, fol.(4)^v the ocean is coloured green and the hot zones (III (a) and (c)) red.
2^o fol.://esse possit (fol.95^r).

History.

1. Written in s.x ex. or xi in, probably in Germany.
2. The Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram, Regensburg. The manuscript was at St. Emmeram's from the first third of s.xi, for it bears additions either by Hartwic of St. Emmeram or by one of his associates. For its relationship with MS.106, and the hypothesis that MS.98 and MS.106 pt.II^o have changed places, see pp.409-410.

Clm 14353, fols. 94-117.

MS.106, pt. II^o contains a note by the St. Emmeram librarian and cataloguer, Dionysius Menger (1465-1530), see pp.400-1; on fol.52^v, opposite a signe-de-renvoi after...uobis//,Comm. II.5,1(Willis 110.6): hic ad hoc signum T relinquitur indicium defectus alterius libri qui etiam melioris distinctionisque littere esse comprobatur. Menger's cross-reference is to Clm 14353, fols.94-117, and shows that it had already lost the leaves at the end by his time.

By the time of the present binding, it had been amalgamated with four other manuscripts (the others are quite unconnected,⁽¹⁾ and there are no shared glossing hands; the only common elements are a similarity in size, and the fact that several are damaged or defective — they had probably lain about unbound for some time). The binding consists of a limp parchment cover formed of several sheets of a small service-book (German?, s.xiv or xv), pasted together. The date of the binding is supplied by a table of contents written directly

onto the front cover in a large, formal gothic script, s.xv or xvi, in which the Macrobius features as Astronomia η (=?. Another hand, s.xvi(?), adds the identification Macrobius super sonio [sic] Scipionis). In the top left-hand corner of the front cover, perhaps by the same hand as the table of contents, is a large number, damaged:] $\overset{\circ}{6}$. Beneath the table of contents is a label of s.xvi, Z2. On the spine, Rat.S.Em.353 is inscribed in ink, s.xix, and there is also a brown paper label of similar date, $\overset{\circ}{AA}$. The number given by the Munich catalogue is 'Em.D 78'.

1. The beginning of Pliny except (a) was noticed by Jan, I p.LXXIV and King, p.102 n.77, as occurring on fol.76^r. This falls in the third manuscript, fols.70-77, a miscellany of excerpts on canon law and the computus, s.xii, German (?), quite unconnected with our Macrobius.

After the secularization of the monastery, the manuscripts were finally transferred c.1812 to

4. Munich, Hofbibliothek (later Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Clm 29020, fols.(3-4).

Clm 29020 is a folder containing 10 leaves or fragments of leaves from 3 separate manuscripts of Macrobius' Commentary (for the other two, my MSS.101 and 103, see). The fragments seem to have been removed from bindings at Munich in s.xix. The bifolium which concerns us contains the following annotation on fol.(3)^r, lower margin, in pencil, by a hand of s.xix: 'vom Deckel einer Hschr. S. Emmer'. As we know from Menger's note, the major part of our manuscript, now in Clm 14353, fols.94-117, ended where it does now already by his time. Presumably some over-zealous binder had removed the last quire for binding purposes shortly before Menger set to work. It is astonishing that the remainder nevertheless survived. Unfortunately, it seems

impossible to identify the binding from which our fragment was taken in s.xix.

The single set of thread-holes now visible in the bifolium doubtless reflects the sewing of a very early binding: two groups of three holes each, at top and bottom.

Bibliography.

Clm 14353, fols.94-117.

1. C. Halm and others, Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis..., tom. II, pt. ii(=IV.ii), Munich 1876, p.161 no.1336.

2. Jan, I, pp. LXXIV, XCIX (siglum E2).

Clm 29020, fols.(3-4).

3. Destombes, Mappemondes, p.44, section 20 no.10.

MS.99 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6362, fols.35-85.

s.xi.

South German.

Quarto.

Contents.

Fol.35^r. Ruled, blank, except for contemporary pentrials
(e.g. Exaudi exaudi exaudi Domine preces nostras sancta
Maria [*****]).

1. Fols.35^v-38^r.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

2. Fols.38^r-74^r.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.1,1...non poterit. Quod doctrinae propositum
non minus in sequentibus apparebit.// II.10,1(Willis 124.21)

Bk. I ends and II begins on fol.64^v, but the break
originally fell not at the usual place, reseruemus./Superiore,
but at disputetur./Quid, II.1,1/2(Willis 95.4), where the
original title stood, FINIT PRIMVS L(IBER) INCIP(IT) SECVNDVS
(Quid has the initial); the title was then deleted there and
rewritten above the line in its proper place, by a contemporary
hand.

3. Fol.74^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.3,17(Willis 12.9)//Si quis forte quaerere
uult... penetretur.// I.3,20(Willis 12.28). The passage on
the gates of horn and ivory.

4. Fols.74^v-75^v.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History,
Bk.II, in a muddled order:

d) Fol.74^v. [De cursu earum per zodiacum circulum], ending
incomplete at ... Saturni duabus ut sol.// Rück, p.41 line 7.

With the diagram for excerpt (c), but lacking its own diagrams.

- a) Fol.75^r. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum]. Lacks diagram.
- b) Fol.75^r. [De interuallis earum], following (a) without a break; after it, is the usual intervals diagram in tabular form.
- c) Fol.75^v. De absidibus earum. The title falls on fol.75^r, the excerpt itself begins on the recto. Its diagram falls on fol.74^v, see above under (d).

Rück, Auszüge, 16-17 (siglum f), 29-30, notices a close textual connection with my MS.104 (see pp.381-2). See also King, pp.100-101. In the collation, fol.75 is a single leaf, and it is just possible that it may not now be in its original position. However, it is difficult to see where else it could have stood.

5. Fols.76^r-84^r.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, II.10,1(Willis 124.21)//Quin etiam...end.

Completes item 2.

6. Fol.84^r.

Another part of astronomical excerpt (d) from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II (see above, item 4(d)).

Rück p.41 line 7 // Tres superiores ab exortu matutino... supra solem tria sydera.// Rück p.43 line 5. This continues the excerpt from the point it left off at fol.74^v, but does not complete it. A self-contained section is still missing at the end, as in MSS.106 and 107 (see pp.395 and 417-8). A different hand adds a signe-de-renvoie, ✕, at the end of the text on fol.74^v and at the beginning of this continuation on fol.84^r.

Last four lines of fol.84^r left blank. Fols.84^v-85^v probably blank at first, see below.

Textual information on the Macrobius.

The presence of items 3 and 4, separating Macrobius'

Commentary Bk.II into two parts at II.10,1, instantly proclaims that the text of Macrobius here consists of the abbreviated form as a nucleus, to which the Somnium Scipionis and the remainder of the Commentary have been added from a full copy of the text. The adaptation did not take place in this copy itself, for in spite of the many scribes it is clear that the manuscript was written as a single unit. The text covered by the abbreviated form (I.14,21 - II.9,10) shows many signs of having been collated and corrected from a full version of the text before it was written out. The process of cobbling the text together must have taken place in the immediate ancestry of this copy. Minor adjustments were however still being made after the completion of this copy, e.g. the erasure of the opening title and initial of the abbreviated form at fol.53^v (see below, p.378), and at fol.64^v the transference of the title of Bk.II to its correct position (see above, p.374).

Major additions at the end.

It may seem somewhat arbitrary to describe the continuation of Pliny excerpt (d) on fol.84^r under Contents and the following items under Additions, when they all appear to be by roughly contemporary scribes of the scriptorium responsible for the main body of the work. However, there is a difference, in that the scribe of the Pliny continuation uses the same size of script and follows the same ruling grid as the main body of the text, and carries straight on at the end of the main text, whereas these items are written in smaller scripts, do not follow the ruling pattern, and have the general appearance of additions.

1. Fol.84^v. By a small, blobby hand using a flattish pen, the lines close together.

Unidentified text on the links between the four elements.

Ex his ergo .IIII. elementis .VI fiunt coniunctiones, duae mediatae .IIII. inmediateae...sic aqua et terra unam, sic terra cum igni unam, ut subiecta descriptio docet. The elements

diagram is in the centre. The Macrobian passage on the elements is Comm. I. 6,24-33.

Directly after the end of this text, a hand of s.xii has added: nunc palam sciatis quod ego sum rex Iudeorum.

2. Fol.85^{r-v}. A more elegant hand, bodies of letters small, but with long ascenders.

Unidentified text on the horologium (more in the sense of tables than of instruments).

Rem quaesitu arduam et paruitati nostrae onerosam domine mi ac preceptor uenerande, inchoamus, dum quae poteris uestra uoluntas predestinau(it) exequi conamur. Ardua quippe est ratio horologii sed scitu utilis...His ita dictis probatur et factum illud laudabile esse, et dictum abhinc nostrum credibile.

Thorndike & Kibre, col.1347, mention only this manuscript.

3. Fol.85^v. Perhaps by the same scribe as the previous item. Four logical distinctiones, on Uniuoca dicuntur; Solum duobus modis dicitur; Commune dicitur; and Ratio quoque multimode dicitur.

Minor additions.

Contemporary hands, probably those of the scribes themselves, have added corrections and variants, also a few headings and short glosses in the margins.

Technical description.

51 leaves, foliated 35-85 in ink, s.xviii or xix. Collation i-iv⁸, v⁸ leaves 4 and 5 not conjoint; vi⁸⁺³ with original leaves added, (a) fol.75 before leaf 1, (b) fol.83 after leaf 7, (c) fol.85 after leaf 8 (fols.75 and 85 cannot be conjoint, for both rectos are hair-sides). No quire-signatures. Thin, pliable parchment. 279-280x206-8mm. Written space 227-240x153-8mm. 1 col. 35-6 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F<><|><><.

Script: caroline minuscule by several scribes, all contemporary

and working together, to a certain extent quire by quire. The following attempt to separate them is only tentative:

- I. Fol.35^v. Long s = \int . Jan, pp. LXV-LXVI, thought that fol.35 was a replacement leaf, but this theory is not supported by any faults in the collation.
- II. Fols.36^r-38^v line 1, 51^r-53^v (fol.53^v possibly by another hand). A large, rounded hand.
- III. Fols.38^v line 2-42^v. A small hand, with many subscript letters: ma = m_a , ni = n_i , etc.
- IV. Fols.43^r-50^v (=q.ii). A rounded hand, using black ink, which starts large but gets smaller and faster. Et = γ (the ampersand is the usual form of the other scribes).
- V. Fols.54^r-58^r line 7. A large, rounded script, written with a flatish pen. -mus = $-m^o$.
- VI. Fols.58^r line 7-66^v. A large, rounded, slightly clumsy hand, using dark ink. Possibly the same as hand IV.
- VII. Fols. 67^r-74^v (=q.v). Long s is sometimes \int .
- VIII. Fols. 75^r-84^r line 7 (= most of q.vi). A smallish hand.
- IX. Fol.84^r lines 8-29 (item 6). From the same scriptorium as the others. Et = α or \int .

Decoration. Fol.35^v, 6-line space left for the initial, not filled.

Otherwise, the initials are plain red built-up capitals (that at fol.62^r is red, filled with green), and titles are in red or ink capitals (there are minor initials and titles occasionally in the body of Macrobius' text). Diagrams in ink and red.

The red used is of a very bright orange tinge.

At fol.53^v, the beginning of the abbreviated form of Macrobius (I.14,21), there was originally a 3-line initial N with vine-work decoration, and a title consisting of two lines of capitals, all in red; all this has been erased.

2^o fol.: [inge]///(mui)ssentque uehementius (fol.36^r). The letters mui, once present, are now damaged by a hole.

History.

1. Written in s.xi, doubtless in Southern Germany.
2. Freising, cathedral library. Fol.36^r (2nd leaf), Iste liber est sancte Marie et sancti Corbin(iani), in a clumsy caroline hand of s.xii.

Present binding: spine replaced in red leather in 1969, but basically a medieval binding, s.xv (?), with bare wooden boards, bevelled, with the metal fittings for two straps of red leather, now lost, and a mark at the top centre of the back cover where the chain was once attached. The top right of the front cover has a parchment label of s.xv (?), from which the top has been torn away: HJT (=?? N or 12).

This binding also contains another manuscript, fols.1-34 (to be read in the order 1-24, 27-34, 25-26), Boethius' Commentary on Cicero's Topica, South German, s.xi. The script is very similar to the general house-style of our manuscript, and probably originated in the same scriptorium. But the two manuscripts are separate, for the measurements are different. The same conclusion is supported by the very ragged state of fols.35-7, suggesting that the Macrobius was unbound for some time. The Boethius contains a similar ex libris in the top margin of fol.1^r, Liber iste sancte Marie sanctique Corbiniani Frisinḡ., also s.xii (but a different hand). The repetition of the ex libris on fol.36^r suggests that the two manuscripts were not yet together when these ex libris were written. There is no reason to suppose that they were together before the date of the present binding.

In the centre of the front paste-down is a printed book-plate showing the Virgin and Child, with the motto INSIGNIA CAPITULA (?). It bears the number Fris.162 written on it in pencil, s.xix.

After the secularization of the see (1802), the manuscripts

passed to

3. Munich, Hofbibliothek (later Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Bibliography.

1. Jan, I, pp. LXV-LXVI, XCIX (siglum F). Most of the diagrams in Jan's plates are taken from this manuscript, including the map (fol.74^r).
2. Kamal, Tome III, fasc. i (1930), fol.553^r(= fol.74^r, with map).

s. x².

Freising.

Large quarto.

Contents.

Fol.1^r. Originally blank, but with additions mainly by the scribe, using his small glossing script.

1. Fols.1^v-23^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

I.14,21(Willis 59.13)//Nunc uideamus...(fol.23^r) non poterit//

II.9,10(Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the interpolated clause ut contentus potius conscienciae premio, gloriam non requiratur, and the passage on the gates of horn and ivory,

I.3,17(Willis 12.9)//Siquis forte...(fol.23^v) penetretur//

I.3.20(Willis 12.28).

2. Fols.23^v-24^v.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II, incomplete:

a) Fol.23^v. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], followed by planets diagram.

b) Fol.23^v. [De interuallis earum], followed by intervals diagram in tabular form.

c) Fols.23^v-24^r. De absidibus earum, followed by its circular zodiac diagram.

d) Fol.24^v. [De cursu earum per zodiacum circulum], ending incomplete at...supra solem tria sidera//Rück p.43 line 5, and followed by the graph diagram.

Beneath the diagram on the left is a large, ornate letter N, possibly original, standing by itself. N is the first letter of the final section of this excerpt, here missing, Rück p.43 lines 5-15, //Non comparere in celo...inobseruabilis est

cursus.

Rück, Auszüge, 13-14 (siglum δ), 29-30, notices a close textual connection with my MS.99 (see also King, pp.100-101).

Additions by the scribe.

The scribe uses a small glossing hand (see Daniel, pp.152-3) for items other than the main text; I call these additions for convenience, though they could have been written as he copied out his text. The additions on fol.1^r, (a)-(f), start with three items concerning the divisions of philosophy and the Artes (for an introduction to the problems involved, see B. Bischoff in Mittelalterliche Studien, I, Stuttgart 1966, 273-288):

- a) Distinctio of philosophia into ph[is]ica, ethica and logica.
- b) A definition: methanica [*] peritia fabrice arti[s] in met[a]llis et lignis et [**] [la]pidi[bu]s. Damaged by worm-holes.
- c) A distinctio of phisica into aritmetica, astronomia, astrologia, mechanica, medicina, gemetria(sic), and musica.
- d) Interpretations of the word Alleluia, syllable by syllable: Interpretatio alleluia. Al. est laus tibi soli, Laus tibi exercituum... Le est tibi benedicere, Le est tibi/laus eterne... rex aeternae gloriae.

Identified by Daniel, p.152, as very close to the preface on the Psalms printed by [D. De Bruyne], Préfaces de la Bible Latine, Namur 1920, p.76 (conflation of (a) and (b)), and especially to Clm 6426, fols.152^r.II-152^v.I (a similar conflation, in the corpus put together by Abraham, bishop of Freising 957-994, see Daniel pp.126-7).

- e) A definition of the word definitio, ending with a definition of homo as an example: Definitio est oratio brevis et lucida (altered from ludicida) eius rei de qua naturam ab aliis rebus diuisam propria significatione concludens...et sic peruenit ad proprietatem hominis [id est](?) risus capax

quod solum est hominis.

- f) Possibly by the scribe, certainly contemporary: diagram from Boethius, De institutione musica, I.20, illustrating the musical notes (originally strings; prosmelodos- [nete] yperboleon), as in Friedlein's edition, p.212, and the chords which they form (not in Friedlein). The diagram is relevant particularly to Macrobius, Comm., II.4,11 (Willis 109.5) netas et hypatas, but also to the more general discussion of musical intervals at II.1,14-25 where it is to be found incorporated in the text in two other manuscripts of the abbreviated form, MSS.42 (see pp.282-9) and 127 (see esp. p.435).

Elsewhere, the scribe adds:

- g) Fol.1^v, outer margin, opposite the beginning of the text:
Introduction no.4. I have found this introduction, which was specifically designed to introduce the abbreviated form, in one other manuscript: MS.5; see p.91, and Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio...,162.
- h) Corrections and variants.
- i) Many short interlinear and some long marginal glosses.
- j) Marginal headings, often in capitals, e.g. fol.5^r (on Comm. I.17,15): QVARE DICATVR NVNC AER CONIVNX ET SOROR IOVIS.

Additions by other hands.

Other contemporary hands make some additions, usually corrections. A contemporary pentrial at the bottom of fol.24^v reads probatio incausti.

Technical description.

24 leaves, foliated 1-24 in ink, s.xix. Collation i-ii⁸, iii⁶, iv². No quire-signatures. Shiny parchment. Leaf measurements in fols.1-22 (qq.i-iii), 274-7x195-7mm.; in fols.23-24 (q.iv, uneven leaves), c.270mm. at the tallest part 186 (fol.23) or 183mm. (fol.24) at the widest part. Written space in fols.1-22, 217-219

x134-145mm.; on fol.23^r, 225x161mm. (fols.23^v-24^v are interrupted by diagrams). 1 col. 28 lines on fols.1-22, 34 on fol.23^r.

Ruling in hard point, H>F>>>|<<<<; q.iii can be seen to have been ruled as a quire before folding (the lines become weaker in the central bifolium), fols.23-4 are not ruled.

Script: caroline minuscule, handsome, rounded and regular, by a single scribe. Et = & or 7. Fols.23^r-24^v present a somewhat different appearance because the scribe has dispensed with the ruling, and is trying to cram more than usual onto each page, using a larger written space and closer lines. For a detailed analysis of the script, see Daniel, pp.152-3.

Decoration: no colour in the manuscript at all. There are initials (2 or 3 lines high), titles in capitals, and diagrams, at intervals throughout the text.

2^o fol.: Quas ideo (fol.2^r).

History.

1. Freising, cathedral library. N. Daniel has identified the scribe as one of the Bavarian circle whose script was influenced by Willihalm, an important scribe of the cathedral library under Abraham, bishop of Freising 957-994. Daniel thinks that the scribe of our manuscript was also responsible for Clm 6367, fols.84-106 (Boethius, opuscula sacra, with the glosses of (?) Remigius), Clm 29008 + Clm 6313, paste-down (fragments of Lucan) and Clm 29026 (fragments of Boethius, De institutione arithmetica).

Present binding: white leather over very thick wooden boards. No decoration is now visible, but the soft leather bears some marks, including the remains of an illegible word in large gothic script. The top and bottom of the flat spine are strengthened by sewing, to form slight tabs. A single strap of white leather, now lost, once passed from the middle of the edge of the front cover to a metal pin stuck in the edge of

the back cover. A rusty mark at the top centre of the back cover shows where the chain-fittings were once attached.

Daniel, pp.49 and 152, describes this binding as Ottonian.

Fol.1^r, written sideways down the page in a caroline hand of s.xii.: Iste liber est S. Mariae et S. Corbin(iani) Frisinḡ. The front paste-down bears the same printed bookplate as MS.99 (see p.379), annotated in pencil, s.xix, with the number Fris. 164. There is a large parchment label at the base of the spine, ? medieval: K (or R)[*]I.

After the secularization of the see (1802), the Freising manuscripts passed to

3. Munich, Hofbibliothek (later Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Bibliography:

1. Jan. I, pp.II, LXIV-V, XCIX (siglum C).
2. Kamal, tome II, fasc.ii (1932), fols.262^v (fol.19^r, diagram 3 only), 263^v (fol.21^r, diagram 4 only), tome III, fasc. i (1930), fol.553^r (fol.23^r, with maps).
4. N. Daniel, Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 11) Munich 1973, 152-3, also 49, 87, 140.

MS.105 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6369.

s.xi.

German.

Quarto.

Contents.

1. Fols.1^r-59^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary.

Bk. I ends on fol.40^r, II begins on fol.40^v. The closing title on fol.59^v is followed by the verses De errore emendationis, see pp.78-80.

There is a change of hand at fol.35^v 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; this can be seen at once by the stressing of the first words of the abbreviated form, I.14,21 (Willis 59.13), [N]unc uideamus quae sint haec duo nomina, at fol.26^r; they are written in capitals, and a 4-line space is left for an initial N. The characteristic omissions of the abbreviated form (supplemented later by correctors) occur on fols.33^r, 34^v, 35^r. Scribe B used an exemplar which clearly had affinities especially with MS.6 (which also contains the verses De errore emendationis) and with MS.2 (which is followed by the same musical items, nos.6-8 below).

Last nine lines of fol.59^v blank.

2. Fols.60^r-62^v.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

Last four lines of fol.62^v blank.

3. Fol.63^{r-v}.

INCIPIVNT SENTENTIAE PHILOSOPHORVM. Amiti (sic) uitia (corrected by

erasure from uitiam) nisi feras facias necesse est tua. Amoris finem tempus non animus facit...Decima hora amicos plures quam prima reperies. Eripere iram officia non suggerere.

A collection of short maxims arranged roughly in alphabetical order, reaching only the letter E. It has been considered by the editors of Publilius Syrus, and was first published by W. Meyer in Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Munchen, 2 (1872), 538-560, to supplement a defective copy of the same collection, Zürich C.79 (s. ix), fols.160^v-162^v, containing the maxims under the letters C-V. A complete copy was found in Vendôme 127 (s. xi), fols.35^v-37^r by F. Giancotti, Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta delle sentenze di Publilio Siro (Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea 79), Messina & Florence, [1963], 153-166, etc. Giancotti does not mention that the same collection, with an identical title to that in our manuscript, is to be found at the end of Hadoardus' florilegium in Vatican, Reg.lat.1762, fols.224^v-225^r (see pp 67-8), but again defective (maxims for letters A, B, part of C, and the first maxims only for D and F) - further evidence for Corbie connections in the ancestry of MS.105, see pp.117-123.

4. Fol.63^v.

Table of weights and measures.

Libra uel as, siue assis, XII. unciae (looks like uniae)./.../ Dimidia sextula, siue sesclae, v. siliquae./Scrupulus. In two columns. This table is similar but not identical to that of Bede, De temporum ratione, iv.

5. Fol.63^v.

The derivations of the names of the weights and measures.

Libra dicitur quasi libera quia liberaliter pondera adaequat. As, quasi aes... Sexcunx: semis et unt(ia). Scrupulus.

MUSICAL ITEMS (nos.6-8), identical to those in MS.2 (see pp. 151-2).

6. Fols.63^v-65^v.

PS. - JEROME, Epistula ad Dardanum, de diuersis generibus musicorum.

Title here: EP(ISTV)LA S(AN)C(T)I HIERONIMI DE CARMINIBVS. There are numerous diagrams of musical instruments. The text itself ends on fol.65^r, but there are further diagrams at the top of fol.65^v (the scribe originally began the next item at the top of the page, but erased this and added the diagrams instead). The diagrams are identical to those in MS.2, except that MS.105 contains two more, labelled ITEM PSALTERIUM (fol.65^r) and CHORVS (fol.65^v).

7. Fols.65^v-66^r.

Excerpts on music from ISIDORE, Etymologiae, III. xix; xx, 3-4; xxi, 3 (beg.), 4, 6; xxii, 8, 9-10, 14, 11.

Ad omnem autem sonum quae materies...quae percussa inuicem se tangunt et sonum faciunt.

8. Fol. 66^{r-v}.

Excerpt on musical theory from MACROBIUS, Comm., II.1, 14-25.

The same excerpt as that in MS.2, and with the same modifications to the last few sentences, but lacking the title. As in MS.2, the text is quite different from the equivalent passage in item 1 (fol.41^{r-v}).

9. Fols.66^v-70^v.

Life of St. Syrus, bishop of Pavia (incomplete).

Title (added by a contemporary hand): Conuersacio, siue obitus sancti presulis Siri. Begins: Celestis exorta prosperitas dulci reuelata facundia...Breaks off, owing to the loss of

further leaves, at...Reuertens autem ad propriae funcionis cathedram accersiu it ad se prudentissimum uirum nomine// (ed. B. Mombritius, Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum, revised ed. by the monks of Solesmes, II, Paris 1910, p.547 line 40; only shortly before the end).

Bibliotheca hagiographica latina (ed. socii Bollandiani), Brussels 1898-1901, p.1154 no. 7976.

Additional hands.

1. Scribe B corrects omissions both in his own section (e.g. fols.44^r, 53^v) and in that written by scribe A (fols.32^v-33^r, filling in one of the long omissions characteristic of the abbreviated form, at Comm. I. 19, 18-19).
2. A large, rounded, slightly clumsy contemporary hand, in pale brown ink, similar but not identical to scribe A. He adds corrections and variants with † throughout the Commentary and the Somnium Scipionis, in the sections written by both scribes. He fills in the other two long omissions in scribe A's section, at Comm. I.19, 23-26 and I. 20, 5-8, on an added slip of parchment, fol.34^{r-v}. The two diagrams on the other added slip, fol. (47 bis^{r-v}), are probably also by him (they could possibly be by scribe B himself). He uses, as signes-de-renvoie for omissions, h at fol.42^r and b at fol.42^v.
3. A small, contemporary caroline hand, in dark ink, similar to scribe B, adds a few short interlinear glosses (e.g. fols.12^v, 30^v) and marginal headings (e.g. fol.15^r).
4. Other contemporary hands also add a few corrections.

Technical description.

i + 71 + i (including the two added slips), foliated 1-70 in ink. s.xix (one of the slips, fol.34, is foliated, but that after fol.47 is not). Collation i⁸ leaf 1, probably blank, now lost

before fol.1, ii-iv⁸, v⁶ with a slip, fol.34, added by Additional hand 2 after leaf 2, vi⁸, vii⁸ with a slip, fol.(47 bis), added by Additional hand 2 after leaf 1, viii-ix⁸. No quire-signatures. Thin, shiny parchment. 257-261x204-209mm. Written space 204-210x146-152mm. 1 col. 28 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F<><|><><.

Script: caroline minuscule by two scribes who used different exemplars (see above, p.386). The lack of any differences in technical details such as quality of parchment or format strongly suggests that the two scribes belonged to the same scriptorium.

A. Fols.1^r-35^v line 15. A large, stately, rounded hand, upright and well spaced. a = ɶ, with the bowl not closed. d and e start with a minim-like stroke instead of a rounded curve, d and e; I have come to regard this as a German characteristic. Et = 7 or 8.

B. Fols. 35^v line 16-70^v (but item 9, fols.66^v line 4-70^v, is possibly by a third hand). A smaller, faster hand, sometimes slanting backwards, with greater individuality than A. The a is closed, ɶ. The st ligature is elongated, st.

Decoration: fol.1^r, a clumsy, 10-line initial I drawn in red, coloured with a wash of green, on a purple background; the rest of the word is in ink capitals touched with purple, and above is a title in clumsy red capitals touched with yellow. All this is probably a slightly later addition, for the lettering is far too clumsy for either scribe. Elsewhere, spaces are left for initials, sometimes filled by plain ink capitals (possibly additions). The titles are usually by the original scribes, in ink capitals. The diagrams are in ink, except for diagram 4α (zones) on fol.47^v, in ink and red (oxidising). Apart from the latter, there was no colour in the manuscript as it originally stood, before the additions on fol.1^r. In the margin of fol.12^v, there is a drawing of a dog's head and front paw, perhaps contemporary.

2^o fol.://tantum philosophum (fol.2^r; originally tantum phi philosophum, the middle 'word' deleted by underlining).

History.

1. Written in s.xi, in Germany, by two scribes using different exemplars for the Macrobius, etc. That of scribe B was very similar to my MS.2 (German, s.x ex.-xi in., see pp.150-59), both in contents (items 1-2, 6-8) and in the text of the Macrobius and Somnium Scipionis, and there is a link with Corbie somewhere in the ancestry (see p.387).

Present binding: white leather over bevelled wooden boards, s.xv or xvi. Five engraved brass bosses survive on each cover, one at each corner and one in the centre. A simple pattern of double lines in blind-tooling links the bosses, and a rosette tool is also employed. The metal fittings remain for a strap of brown leather, now lost, which once passed from the back to the front cover.

2. Freising, cathedral library. There are no medieval marks of Freising ownership - the earliest consists of 19th-cent. indications that this is Fris.169 (yellow labels on the spine and front paste-down, and pencil note on the front paste-down). The manuscript was referred to by Jan in 1848 as zz.475. (cf. another scarcely legible 19th-cent. pencil note on the front paste-down).⁽¹⁾ The presence of the life of St. Syrus (item 9) does not seem to me to indicate any specific provenance; nor does the semi-legible note on the verso of the front fly-leaf, in a cursive hand of s.xv or xvi, mentioning the feast of the Purification.

There are however two slight indications that it could have been written at Freising:

- a) the measurements of the written space are very close to those of my MS.104, which also has 28 lines, and the leaf-measurements are not far off. The later evidence that MS.105 belonged to Freising makes it less likely that this is a mere coincidence.
- b) In describing the diagrams which illustrate the Ps.- Jerome

Epistula ad Dardanum in my MS.2, and which are very close to those here in MS.105 item 6, Pächt & Alexander ii. no.28 compare similar diagrams illustrating this text in Clm 14523, fols.49^v-52^r, s.x or xi, 'from Freising, later at St. Emmeram, Regensburg', and in Vienna, lat. 50, fols.47^v-48^v.⁽²⁾

Certainly there seems to be some connection between these two manuscripts and my MSS. 2 and 105; the Epistula ad Dardanum in Clm 14523 (fols.49^v-50^v, diagrams on 51^r-52^r) is accompanied by the musical excerpts from Isidore (fols.50^v-51^r), while it is preceded in Vienna lat.50 by a text De asse et partibus eius (fol.47^r), which I suspect may be the same as items 4 and /or 5 in MS.105. However, the usefulness of the connection with Clm 14523 as evidence of a Freising origin for MS.105 is diminished by the fact that pace Pächt & Alexander I could find no marks of ownership to prove Freising origin for the relevant part of Clm 14523 (fols.49-117); furthermore, Hermann has described Vienna lat.50, fols.1-54 as 'Oberitalienische Arbeit der 2. Hälfte des X. Jahrhunderts'.

1. ZZ.475 is Clm.23475, a 12th-cent. copy of Juvenal, in C. Halm & W. Meyer, Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, Tom. II, pars. iv, Munich 1881, p.72.
2. Described and reproduced by H.J. Hermann in Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, N.F.I (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, Bd. VIII), Leipzig 1923, pp.208-210, no.80. Fols.55-135 were written in s. x^{ex}. 'wohl in Salzburg'.

After the secularization of the see (1802), the manuscripts passed to

3. Munich, Hofbibliothek (later Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Other marks on the binding, s. xix or xx.

1. Top left corner of the front cover, written on the leather: 184.
2. An orange label at the bottom of the spine: cr./904.

Bibliography.

1. Jan, I, p. LXXIV n.6.
2. Kamal, Tome III, fasc. iii (1933), fol.702^r (=fol.49^v, with Map α).
3. Barker-Benfield, Cato de senectute cum Macrobio...,160-162.

This is part of an extremely complex volume which has been studied in detail by B. Bischoff and H.P. Lattin (see Bibliography, below, p. 416). For purposes of description, I have divided the volume somewhat arbitrarily into three parts: I (fols.1-9, 83-119), II (fols.10-61) and III (fols.62-82). Pt. II, containing the Macrobius, consists of an original nucleus, α (fols.34-61) and a supplementary part, β (fols.10-33). Pts. I and II β were probably written at the same time, to form a single volume with pt. II α , but owing to the confused order of quires as they now stand I have found it more convenient to describe them separately in the first instance. Pt. III need not have been joined with the rest until quite late, and I give only a summary description, p. 411.

Part II α . Fols.34-61.

s.x.

German ?

Quarto.

Contents of α .

Fol.34^{r-v}. Originally blank, ruled (see below, p. 398).

1. Fols.35^r-58^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

I.14,21(Willis 59.13)// [N]unc uideamus...non poterit//II.9, 10(Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the interpolated clause Ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio, gloriam non requirat. The scribe (hand C) then continued, again without a break, with the beginning of the passage on the gates of horn and ivory, I.3,17(Willis 12.9)//Siquis forte quaerere uult...anima//I.3,18(Willis 12.13). However, he seems to have changed his mind about this passage, for he left it unfinished after ~~only~~ three lines. His reason for abandoning it was probably that the wash of ink used for the Ocean in the map diagram on the other side of the leaf, fol.58^r, sank through badly, ruining the surface of the verso at this point. The

next item follows on the first available unspoilt line. The abandoned excerpt was written instead on fol.61^v (see below, item 3), and the three lines on fol.58^v were erased, doubtless by the scribe.

2. Fols.58^v-61^r.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II, incomplete.

- a) Fols.58^v-59^r. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], with diagram of the seven planets on fol.59^r, by the scribe, over an erased earlier attempt at the same diagram.
- b) Fol.59^r. [De interuallis earum], followed by intervals diagram.
- d) Fols.59^v-60^r, 61^r. De cursu [earum] per zodiacum [circulum]. The text ends incomplete at fol.60^r line 3, ...simili ratione qua supra solem tria sidera.// (Rück, p.43 line 5). The rest of fol.60^r is blank, and the graph diagram occurs in the lower part of an otherwise blank page, fol.61^r. The missing portion of text, //Non comparere in caelo Saturni sidus et Martis... maxime inobseruabilis est cursus.// (Rück, p.43 lines 5-15), elsewhere sometimes forms a separate section (there is often a large initial at Non..., e.g. in MS.127, fol.41^r).
- c) Fol.60^v. The round zodiac diagram only, without text, for the third excerpt, [De absidibus earum].

The blank spaces on fols.60^r and 61^r, presumably left for the missing portions of excerpts (c) and (d), may suggest that the exemplar was damaged; the presence of (c)'s diagram in the middle of (d) could mean that the exemplar's leaves were muddled. Rück, Auszüge, pp.14-16 (his e), etc. King, pp.97-9, notes that the text of excerpts (a), (b) and (d) shares many errors with Zürich Car C.122 (my MS.107, see pp.47-48); and that these two must be closely connected. MS.107 certainly shares the same dislocations and omissions.

3. Fol.61^v.

MACROBIUS, Comm., I.3,17(Willis 12.9)//Siquis forte querere...
penetretur.//I.3,20(Willis 12.28). The passage on the gates of horn
 and ivory, transferred from fol.58^v (see above).

Fol.61^v, remainder originally blank, see below, pp.399-400.

Technical description of pt.IIα.

28 leaves, foliated 34-61 in ink, s.xviii(?)⁸. Collation v-vii⁸, viii⁴ four single leaves not conjoint but with the text apparently continuous (to avoid confusion, I am adopting the artificial system of numbering the quires as they now stand in the composite volume). No quire-signatures. Thin, rather wrinkled, shiny parchment. 246x206mm. Measurements of the written space vary somewhat among the three scribes, see below. 1 col. Number of lines: 27 in q.v, 27 but occasionally 26 in q.vii, ruled for 27 but no full pages in q.viii; 26-31 in q.vi. Ruling in hard point, H>F<></><>. The ruling pattern is identical throughout (with some extra lines ruled in q.vi), but the scribes handle it in different ways, see below.

Script: caroline minuscule, by three hands:

- A. Fols.35^r-40^r line 15. Rounded, broad, expert script, well spaced. Written space 192-5x129-135mm. The ruling pattern is faithfully followed.
- B. Fols.40^r line 15-43^r line 14. A clumsy script, irregular in size, spacing and rhythm. rt = *rt* frequently. Written space 195-6x139-150. This scribe does not always write on the ruled lines, and sometimes completely disregards them.
- C. Fols.43^r line 14-61^v line 12. A delicate script, written smaller and faster than A, with a pronounced forward slant. Final a is often written thus, *∞*. rt is frequently *rt*. The ordinary -m abbreviation is written in one swift stroke with a flick at the end, *—*. Et = 7. Bischoff, p.82, observes

that this hand 'zeigt in einer ungewöhnlichen Schlankheit insularen, vielleicht irischen Einfluss. Diese letztgenannte Hand kehrt im Verein mit einer ähnlichen in Clm 14370 in dem Teile fol.42-69 von 51^v Z.7 von unten wieder'. For this important connection with Clm 14370, see below, pp.412-414.

Written space 186-199x142-175mm. This scribe produces longer lines by writing across both bounding lines.

Decoration: no colour at all. A 4-line space for the first initial N is left but not filled at fol.35^r, and the first line of the text is in rustic capitals, in ink. Spaces for other initials are left but not filled elsewhere (e.g.fol.59^v), but there are some 2 - or 3-line initials, in ink (e.g. fol.36^r). No title at fol.35^r. Titles in the course of the text are in rustics, in ink. The neat diagrams are also in ink.

2^ofol.: either//[N]unc uideamus (fol.35^r) or // de hoc competens (fol.36^r).

Additions made in pt.IIα before the date of β.

Each of the three scribes makes additions:

- A. Occasional corrections in the part written by him, e.g. fol. 35^v line 4: omnia is underlined and una written above in his normal script (Comm. I.14,25 = Willis 60.16).
- B. Various additions in the part written by him, e.g. fol.42^r, outer margin, a nota sign \mathcal{N} ; a marginal heading introduced by a similar nota sign; a variant introduced by $\mathcal{A}t$; another marginal heading; and finally, the nota sign \overline{NM} . These are all in normal script.
- C. His additions are much more extensive than those of A and B, and cover not only the part written by him, (end of the Macrobius, and Pliny excerpts) but also those written by A and B. He uses a script of about half his normal size. He adds: many corrections, e.g. supplying A's omission at fol.38^v; frequent nota signs, of various shapes, \mathcal{N} or \mathcal{N}^{\dagger} or \mathcal{N}° , sometimes

followed by \bar{M} (e.g. fols. 41^r, 41^v); occasional marginal headings, sometimes introduced by $\mathfrak{N}\bar{M}$, e.g. fol. 44^r inner margin, $\mathfrak{N}\bar{M}$ Qualiter inuenta sit mensura solis, opposite Comm. I.20,26; short interlinear glosses, e.g. fol. 47^r line 14 (on Comm. I.22,2, Willis 91.24, Nec poterat non infima non esse; the first non should not be present) duo negatiua faciunt affirmatiuum; and occasional slightly longer glosses, e.g. fol. 37^r inner margin. The glosses in the Pliny excerpts are printed by Rück, Auszüge, p.16.

The scribal additions in the other manuscript written by this hand, Clm 14370, fols. 42-69, are very similar: short interlinear glosses in the same sort of script (e.g. 14370, fol. 52^r) and an identical range of nota signs, \mathfrak{N} or \mathfrak{N} or $\mathfrak{N}\bar{M}$ (Clm 14370, fol. 58^r, twice).

Additions made in pt. II α before or after the date of β .

1. Fol. 34^r. Caroline minuscule, s.xi at latest. Metrical diagrams, with the following headings: Dissillabi cum dissillabis geminati .XVI. faciunt; Trissillabi cum trissillabis gemin[ati] .LXIII de se redibunt [? - my initial reading was discredebunt]; Dissillabi cum trissillabis iuncti faciunt .XXXII. The diagrams consist of appropriate columns of 'long' and 'short' signs: $\overset{vvvv}{vv}$, etc.

This item and the page on which it stands are rather rubbed; a possible explanation is that the rubbing took place when this page was the outer side of an unbound manuscript, i.e. α before the possible addition of β , but this is by no means certain.

2. Fol. 34^v. Bold caroline minuscule similar but not identical to the main hand of d . A different hand to that of (1). This hand has a German look. Characteristic forms are final $\underline{r} = \mathfrak{r}$; $\underline{u} = u$ or v ; $\underline{et} = \mathfrak{et}$.

Short passage on the relationships of metrical

quantities within the foot, set in the form of question and answer: Que est aequa diuisio? Ubi duo numeri in uno quolibet pede ratione temporum equaliter concordant, ut .II. ad .II., IIII. ad .IIII. ...Unde dicitur epitrita? Epitrita dicitur quasi super trina eo quod super tria unum habeat, ut .IIII.

Thorndike & Kibre, col.1183, mention this manuscript only.

3. Fol.34^V. A smaller, less confident caroline hand, s.xi or xii: one and a half lines of words with, above them, neums on a one-line stave. The words are: Optinens partim quod uoluit in pace ecclesia dum floruit perpessa est a domesticis quem misit Ihesus gladium persecutionis. The line of the stave is in red, now oxidised.
4. Fol.61^V. A caroline hand, s.xi at latest. A book-list: .II. Commenta super ysagogas. Commentum super categor(ias) .I. Periermenias Boetii, et duo desuper commenta...Libros Titi Libii ab urbe condita .c. decades. Becker, no.63.

The identity of the collection here listed is still uncertain; see the discussions of Bischoff, p.83, and Lattin, pp.222-4. It includes a Somnium Scipionis cum commento Macrobi. What is the relationship between this entry and pt.II α , the copy of the abbreviated form of Macrobius into which the list was written? If the list was added to α before the manuscript was supplemented by β , then the entry cannot strictly refer to α itself, since it originally lacked the Somnium Scipionis (there is no title referring to it, either). If the list was added after the arrival of β , the entry is a possible description of $\alpha + \beta$ (the implication would then have to be that pt.I was not bound up with pt. II $\alpha + \beta$; but the main work of pt.I is included further down the list: Ad Erennium iterum eiusdem [Ciceronis]).

E. Dümmler, in Neues Archiv 5, heft. iii (1880), 625, argued that the list could not apply to St. Emmeram because

of its lack of similarity to the St. Emmeram catalogue made in the time of abbot Ramwold, s.x ex. But this argument is invalid if the list belongs to a time later than Hartwic's addition of β in the early part of s.xi. With its almost complete lack of theological matter, the list can only represent a selection of books, not a complete medieval library. The script of the list is completely different from anything else in the volume, so it would be dangerous to argue for a specific connection with Hartwic, though we *think* that he was importing books (of the type mentioned in the list) to St. Emmeram early in s.xi. Given that the identification of the Macrobius in the list with pt.II $\alpha + \beta$ is the most economical solution, can a St. Emmeram connection for the list be entirely ruled out? This train of thought cannot be right if we accept my theory that β was not joined to α until late in the Middle Ages (see below, pp.409-10).

An additional hand at work in pt.II α in s.xv ex.

A small, neat cursive hand of s.xv ex. Prof. B. Bischoff suggested to me orally in July 1973 that this might be the hand of the St. Emmeram librarian and cataloguer, Dionysius Menger (1465-1530). A comparison with Clm 14675, the catalogue in Menger's hand, shows that this identification is probably correct (but the r in the catalogue is \mathfrak{r} , not \mathfrak{r} as here). The probability is strengthened by the nature of these additions.

At fol.52^v outer margin, the hand writes: hic ad hoc signum T relinquitur indicium defectus alterius libri qui etiam melioris distinctiorisque littere esse comprobatur. The signum T is entered in mid-text after...uobis//Comm. II. 5,1 (Willis 110.6). The reference is to the main part of my MS.98, Clm 14353, fols.94-117, also from the library of St. Emmeram; that manuscript breaks off at uobis//.

Notes by this hand on fols. 41^v, 42^r, 57^v, 58^r, at the

beginnings and ends of quires, indicate that in his day quires vi (fols.42-49) and vii (fols.50-57) were bound in reverse order; the error has since been put right.

Part II β . Fols.10-33.

s.xi, first third.

German.

Quarto.

Contents of β .

4. Fols.10^r-13^r.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

5. Fols.13^r-32^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.1,1 - immortalitate sententia (altered by the scribe from sententie).//I.14,20 (Willis 59.13).

This restores the abbreviated form of the Commentary in α to a more or less complete state as far as II.9,10, but, pace Bischoff p.82, the end is still missing.

6. Fols.32^v-33^v (an afterthought by the scribe to fill a vacant space, see below).

The (forged) correspondence between Seneca and St. Paul.

Preceded by the usual prologue (=Jerome, De uiris illustribus, xii), and lacking the last few words (ends... animam parit .v. [sic, but ? added]/VALETE). C.W. Barlow, ed., Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum...(Papers and monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 10), 1938, 16, 65 (this is his M), notes that the manuscript is a twin of Metz, Bibl. mun., 500 (s.x ex., belonged to St. Arnulph's. Destroyed in 1944), which also ended at...animam parit.

Technical description of pt. II β .

24 leaves, foliated 10-33 in ink, s.xviii(?). Collation ii⁸, iii⁸ leaves 4 and 5 not conjoint, iv⁸. No quire-signatures. Shiny parchment, thicker and less wrinkled than that of α , but still thin. 246-7x201-3mm. Written space 193-4 (199 on fol.33^{r-v}) x 131-5mm. 1 col. 29 lines (30 on fol.33^{r-v}). Ruling in hard point, H>F<></><><.

Script: caroline minuscule, elongated, somewhat clumsy, with a slight forward slant, probably by a single hand. Long ascenders and descenders. g is often σ . Distinctive long f or l. -rum = λ . At the bottoms of pages, there is a tendency to finish a clause or phrase by putting the last few words in a bracket beneath the last full line of text. The size varies (e.g. at fol.18^r, the first side of quire iii, the script is much smaller, but grows back to normal). The script of item 6 (fols.32^v-33^v) is half the normal size, and the written area of fol.33 somewhat enlarged - this is clearly an afterthought, added to use up a blank space between the abbreviated form of Macrobius' Comm. and its supplement. But the hand is certainly either that of the scribe himself or of a contemporary in the same scriptorium.

Decoration: plain 3-line initials at fols.10^r and 13^r, and smaller ones at fol.32^v. Titles usually in small ink capitals.

2^o fol.:// Hisque animus (fol.11^r).

The main additional hands in pt.II β .

1. The scribe adds corrections, and occasional variants with t, in items 4, 5 and 6. Very rarely, there are also short interlinear glosses, e.g. fol.26^r line 8, on Comm.I.9,3 (Willis 40.13) quesiuerit: persius.
2. A caroline hand, very similar to that of the text, but clumsier and not in my view identical. Long s is often fancy: γ . He uses a bright reddish-brown ink which shows up against the dark ink of the text (see especially, fol.11^{r-v}). There are frequent corrections (e.g. fol.20^r, omission supplied, with \dot{d}

in the text, \bar{h} in the margin); in the Somnium Scipionis, the corrections are his only additions. He adds the title on fol.13^r. He uses a distinctive nota sign (e.g. fol.20^r), \overline{M} , in tall, elongated capitals reminiscent of the headings found in contemporary documents, but also more conventional signs such as \overline{N}^b (fol.27^v). There are marginal headings, sometimes in capitals, e.g. fol.19^r CVR OCTONARIVS NVMERVS IVSTICIA, opposite Comm. I.5,17; frequent short interlinear glosses, e.g. fol.14^v line 18 (on Comm. I.2,8, Willis 5.15-16, fictis casibus amatorum referta), id est euentibus sicut in Terrentio Phedria ab amica exclusus(?) (i.e. in Terence's Eunuchus); longer glosses in the margin, e.g. fol.15^v (on Comm. I.2,20, Willis 8.2, consulenti), Hoc uerbum consulo dum iungitur accusatiuo, significat interrogo. Quando autem datiuo, ponitur pro succurro. This hand also adds numerous diagrams (in pt. \overline{I}^b only), usually in ink but sometimes with red, and a distinctio of fabulae (fol.14^v).

This hand may also be responsible for the (irrelevant) glosses on the words zaab and zaba in the bottom left-hand margin of fol.33^v, the last page of the Seneca-Paul Correspondence (item 6): Legimus enim species auri nunc zaab nunc ofax (altered from ofaz through expunction, by the original hand) nunc tarsis nunc obriza. Zaba monumentum (altered above the line from momentum, perhaps by the original hand) in proelio uirorum fortium (cf. the index of G. Goetz in Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum VII, fasc.i, Teubner, Leipzig 1901, p.432).

Part I. Fols.1-9, 83-119.

s.xi, first third.

German.

Quarto.

Contents of part.I.

Fol.1^r. Originally blank, ruled, see below, p.408.

7. Fols.1^v-9^v, 83^r-108^v.

PS.- CICERO, Rhetorica ad Herennium, in six books.

Complete (the manuscript is now misbound).

8. Fols.108^v-112^v line 28.

JULIVS SEVERIANVS, Praecepta artis rhetoricae.

Ed. C. Halm, Rhetores Latini minores, Teubner, Leipzig 1863,
353-370.

9. Fols. 112^v line 28-113^r line 20.

Excerpts from JVLIVS VICTOR, Ars rhetorica.

These excerpts follow item 8 without a break, as though
part of the same work. The first is:

Fols.112^v line 28-113^r line 8. DE MEMORIA. Quid dicam, inquit
M(arcus) T(ullius), de thesauro omnium rerum memoria?...

Nam qui recte conpegerit orationem, numquam non poterit enarrare
(sic). Ed. Halm, p.440 lines 10, 12-26.

The last is:

Fol.113^r lines 15-20. Volo, ait M(arcus) T(ullius), se efferat
in adolescentem (sic) facunditas...quasi quendam numerum
versumque conficere. Ed. Halm, p.444 line 32-445 line 4.

Rest of fol.113^r blank.

Items 10-17 are by scribe IV:

4. Fol.113^v.

Finger-calculation, with drawings of hands in the appropriate
positions. An adaptation in tabular form of BEDE, De temporum
ratione, ch.i (de computo uel loquela digitorum).

The sign for I. in the top left-hand corner, has a caption
which begins Cum dicis unum, min/[imu]m in leua digitum in/[fle]ctens
...H.P. Lattin, p.206 n.8, lists early editions taken from
this manuscript. For a more general discussion, see C.W.
Jones in Bedae Pseudepigrapha, 53-4, and in his edition of

the D.T.R., Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication no.41,
Cambridge (Mass.) 1943, 329-331. The chapter occurs by
itself, with or without illustrations, in innumerable manuscripts.

11. Fols.114^r-115^v line 6.

GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus.

Lacks the prefatory letter to Constantine. Si multiplicaueris
singularem numerum per decenum (Bubnov p.9 line 3)...extremos
digitos (Bubnov 22.13). The text in this manuscript is 'B,a'
in Bubnov's system (see pp. XLII, 2,9).

12. Fol.115^v line 6-116^r line 3.

Excerpt on weights and measures from BEDE, De temporum ratione,
ch. iv, beginning to ...disci pariter et doceri queunt (ed. Jones,
p.185 line 44).

The excerpt is headed DE RATIONE VNCIARVM.III. 'Instances
of the separate appearance of this chapter in manuscripts
are too numerous to mention' (Jones' ed., p.334).

13. Fol.116^r lines 3-21.

ANON., passage on the numbers of the abacus.

Sunt in abaco numerali .XX.VI.(sic) numeri, sed tantum
.XII. sunt qui in multiplicando digitos et articulos requirant...
Quartus decimus .I.X.MM.MM. per rel(iquos) habet dig(itos)
in XXVI. This follows item 12 on the same line, without a break.

14. Fol.116^r line 22 (after two blank lines)-117^r line 27.

Excerpt from an anonymous commentary on GERBERT, Regulae de numerorum
abaci rationibus.

Diuiduntur autem numeri diuerso modo (Bubnov 262.5)... Sic
diuisores per denominat(ionem) tocius diuidendi multiplicabuntur
(Bubnov 268.6). For this manuscript see Bubnov, pp.XLII-
XLIII and 245.

15. Fol.117^r line 27-117^v.

Excerpt from HERIGER, Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus.

ALIA RATIO INCIPIIT. Primus XXVI. Secundus XXV...Si
sing(u)l(arem) per c̄m m̄m m̄m., dab(is) dig(itis) c̄m m̄m m̄m.

Identified by Bubnov, see pp.XLIII, 207, 208 var. a,
although considerably different from the main version which
he prints.

Rest of fol.117^v blank.

16. Fol.118^r.

BOETHIVS, Speculatio de rhetoricae cognatione, beginning only.

Quanta sibimet (these words rubbed) ars rhetorica cognatione
iungatur...Omnes enim causae uel speciales uel indiuiduae
sub horum unum [no more written]. The text is printed in
P.L. 1217-1222 (our manuscript ends at 1218D). For the
authorship, see H.P. Lattin, p.206 n.13. This text is found
with genuine works of Boethius in Chartres, Bibl.mun., MS.
100 and Vat.lat.8591, manuscripts of similar date to this one.

Rest of fol.118^r blank.

17. Fols.118^v-119^r.

HARTWIC (?), Life of St. Emmeram, in verse.

[A]latrix sanctorum patria profudit Aequitania...
...Sparsusque grex in medio patrem liquid periculo.

Ed. K. Strecker in M.G.H. Poetae Latinorum medii aevi, V,
Leipzig 1937, 517-521. Bischoff (Mittelalterliche Studien II,
pp.83-4) identified the author as Hartwic on the grounds that
Hartwic was the scribe (but see below, pp.414-5) and that the
poem as it stands in this manuscript displays undoubted signs
of correction by the author himself, in the same hand as the
text. The poem is unfinished. For further discussion, see
B. Bischoff's article on Hartwic in Die deutsche Literatur

des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, vol.5 (ed. K. Langosch),
Berlin 1955, cols. 335-7.

Fol.119^v. Originally blank, ruled.

Technical description of pt.I.

46 leaves, foliated 1-9, 83-119 in ink, s.xviii(?). Collation i⁸ + one original leaf (= fol.1) before leaf 1 (= fol.2), xii-xiv⁸, xv⁸ lacks leaf 2 after fol.107, but this is an original discrepancy in the collation, with no loss of text, xvi⁸ leaves 7 and 8, probably blank, now lost after fol.119. Quire-signatures I (fol.9^v) - U (fol.113^v), in pale grey pencil (?), medieval, at the bottom of the lower margin of the last verso. Smooth, shiny parchment, very similar to that of IIβ (see above, p.402). 245-7x199-205mm. Written space 189-195x149-150 (165-8 in q.xvi, though bounding lines there allow 147)mm. 1 col. 29 lines. Ruling in hard point, H>F<><|><><.

Script: four caroline hands of the same scriptorium may perhaps be distinguished:

- I. Fols.2^v-9^v, 83^r-99^v, 101^r-113^r. The main scribe of this part, identical to the scribe of part IIβ, using the characteristic broken *g*. As in part IIβ, the script varies in size; it gets smaller throughout the manuscript. In this part, though not in part IIβ, the scribe uses the pious habit of writing D(e)o gra(tia)s Am(en) on certain pages in the outer margin opposite the bottom line of text, fols.8^r, 10^v, 83^r (first page of q.xii), 90^v, (last page of q.xii). At the end of item 3, fol.113^r, is the similar sign *ā t̄ g* (=? agimus tibi gratias).
- II. Fols.1^v-2^r. Very similar and possibly identical to I. However, the ink is very black, producing a sharper effect, and serifs are perhaps more pronounced. Many letters are subscript.
See also Scribal additions, below.
- III. Fol.100^{r-v}. A rounder script, but again similar and of the

same size. $g = \text{g}$. The standard -m abbreviation is ~ not — , and $\text{-tur} = \text{t}$ not t .

IV. Fols.113^v-119^r. A rounded script, similar to III, sometimes large and stately (e.g. fol.115^r). On the whole, I think item 17 (fols.118^v-119^r) is by this hand, though it could just possibly be by yet another (-m abbreviation is ~ , not the — usual to IV).

Decoration: fol.1^v, 6-line initial E with vine-work filling, all drawn in red; similar initials, usually smaller, at fols.2^v (drawn in very pale brown ink, but the red not filled in), 5^v (small grotesque head in centre), 87^v, 94^r, 97^v, 103^v. They are slightly clumsy in style. Minor initials are in heavy ink, sometimes in rather fanciful shapes. Titles in ink capitals.

2^o fol.://producti sumus (fol.2^r)

Scribal additions in Pt. I.

Scribe II adds corrections throughout, and marginal headings in ink capitals. He adds a title at fol.2^v, also in ink capitals.

Additions in pt.I other than by the original scribes.

1. Fol.1^r. Small, rounded caroline minuscule, s.xi. Seven alphabets. The characters are arranged, with their names written out in seven columns, headed Hebraice, Siriace, Ara[bice], Egiptiace, Gothorum, Chaldaice, Alanice. H.P. Lattin, p.210, reprints the reproduction of J.G. Eccardus, De origine Germanorum..., Göttingen 1750, pl. XIV, facing p.192. On such collections of alphabets, see B. Bischoff, 'The study of foreign languages in the middle ages' (first published in 1961), Mittelalterliche Studien II, Stuttgart 1967, 232-3.
2. Fol.1^r. Untidy caroline minuscule, s.xi. Various distinctiones,

mainly concerned with logic, are added in the gaps around the 'seven alphabets' addition, e.g. the heading Comparabile and its branches Imago, Collatio, Exemplum.


3. Fol.119^v. Cursive hand, s.xiii or xiv. Lists of imperial documents arranged by emperor; Lud(ouicus), Arnolfus, Otto, Henricus, etc., beginning Lud(ouicus) super t(ra)dicionem Wilhelmi Comit. I.... A 19th-cent. hand, pencil, has added the heading Kaiserurkunden in Regensburg S. Emm., and various references.

History.

When were the various parts bound together?

Pts. II α and β .

The contents of β complement those of α , and the obvious conclusion is that β was made specially to go with α . It is curious that the Macrobius of α was apparently still left uncompleted at the end, and that no attempt was made by the scribe of β to correct α or to rectify its long internal omissions. In fact, α and β share no common scribes or additional hands. However, there is a close similarity in the measurements of the written space between β and the part of α written by scribe A.

There is one further factor. In the other St. Emmeram copy of the abbreviated form of Macrobius (my MS.98, probably German, s.x ex.-xi in., see p.370), Additional hand 3 is astonishingly similar to, and in my view the same, as the main scribe of parts I and II β in MS.106. (? Hartwic himself). This hand supplies the omissions in MS.107 characteristic of the abbreviated form, from a 'long' version of the text. The leaf and text measurements are also very similar to those of MS.106, pt.II β . Another consideration is that the Lambda diagram is of the same unusual shape,  rather than Λ , in both MS.106, pt.II β , fol.21^v and

MS.98, fol.114^r, and the same method of representing a two-dimensional figure, \boxplus , appears in MS.106, pt.II β , fol.22^r, and MS.98, fol.113^v. I think it is extremely probable that MS.98 was the copy of the abbreviated form for which Hartwic wrote pt.II β as a supplement, and that pt.II α was later substituted (perhaps Dionysius Menger arranged this, since MS.98 was incomplete by his time). However, we cannot be certain of this - perhaps Hartwic had access to both MS.98 and pt.II α , annotating the first and adding his supplement to the second.

PTS. I and II β + ? α .

Pts. I and II β are physically very similar: the parchment is of the same quality, the number of lines to the page (29) is the same, and the two parts are (mostly) written by a single scribe. In spite of minor differences (e.g. in decoration - pt. I has decorative initials, II β has none), it seems certain that pts. I and II β were written at one time, to go in the same volume.

Nevertheless, the present muddle in the order of the quires makes it difficult to work out exactly how the two parts originally fitted together. The set of medieval quire-signatures, 1-4, in pt. I (see above, p. 407), suggests that the first five quires of pt. I (now quires i, xii-xv = fols.1-9, 83-113) came first in the volume. Then what — q.xvi (fols.114-119), which I have designated the last quire of pt. I, or pt. II β + ? α ? Presumably q.xvi, for fol.113^v is by the same hand as q.xvi and it is concerned with the same subject - matter as fols.114^r-117^v (arithmetic); moreover, the subject - matter of item 16 on fol.118^r returns to rhetoric, the subject of the earlier quires of pt. I. No doubt pt. II β + ? α then followed. But there is some untidiness in this picture: firstly the contents of q.xvi are so bitty, typical of the material that one finds not in the middle but at the end of a volume; there are

blank spaces, at fols.117^v, 118^r, 119^v, suggesting that the material was being added sporadically, not continuously. Secondly, fols.113^v-119^r are an intervention by another scribe, the remainder of pts. I and II^β being almost entirely by the one main hand. The solution could well be that the original contents of pt.I were items 7-9 (fols.1-9, 83-113) only, followed immediately by pt.II^β + ?^α, and that items 10-17 were a slightly later addition, for which another quire was added. It is quite possible, also, that there were originally other quires, now lost.

Pts. I + II and III.

Pt.III (fols.62-82 = quires ix-xi, now misbound, to be read in the order fols.67-74, 75-82, 62-6) contains an unfinished copy of Boethius, In Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta, editio prima (ends at fol.66^r line 3...Si enim prius dixeris hominem, rem minorem// I.xx, ed. S. Brandt, C.S.E.L. 48, Vienna & Leipzig 1906, p.61 line 24). The rest of line 3 and line 4 were filled with script, now erased, and the remainder of the leaf is blank (much of it is now cut away). The manuscript is German, s.x or xi. Its elegant, large script, and fine decoration (on fol.67^v) are quite different from any other part of the volume, and there are no shared additional hands; in spite of a close similarity in the height of the text column, there is little reason to suppose that pt.III was bound with pts.I + II any earlier than the date of the present binding.

Present binding.

Medieval binding of s. xv or xvi. Spine of white leather (pig-skin?), with blind-stamped rolls. Bevelled wooden boards, probably originally bare. A single strap of white leather, passing from the back to the front cover, with metal clasps and catches, is still extant. This binding is of a distinctive St. Emmeram type. The binding was repaired in s. xviii (?), when paper fly-leaves (fols.(i), (120-121)) were added, and the wooden boards covered on the outside with marbled paper.

Fol.67^r, originally the first leaf of pt.III, bears a tag of red leather, no doubt medieval, attached to the centre of its outer fore-edge.

Hartwic.

This composite volume is one of those from which Bischoff reconstructed the activities of Hartwic, pupil of Fulbert (bishop of Chartres 1007-1029) and monk of St. Emmeram. Bischoff thinks that part II α is northern French, s.x, and that it was acquired in France by Hartwic, who added parts I and II β (supplementing the abbreviated form of Macrobius which he found in pt. II α) and brought the volume to St. Emmeram. I think the theory needs a certain amount of testing.

Origins of part II α .

Bischoff drew attention to the links between pt.II α and Clm 14370, fols.42-69; he pointed out that one of the scribes of pt.II α (fol.43^r . 13ff.) appears also in this part of Clm 14370 ('von 51^v Z.7 von unten'). I think that Clm. 14370, fols. 42^v-69^r was written by a single hand, but I certainly agree that it is identical to one in Clm 14436, pt. II α , my hand C (fols. 43^r line 14 - 61^v line 12); not only are the letter-forms the same, but also the ruling pattern (with the same tendency to overshoot into the right-hand margin) and nota signs (\mathfrak{N} , \mathfrak{N} , and $\mathfrak{N}\bar{\mathfrak{M}}$ all occur in Clm 14370, fols.42-69). Parchment and measurements are also fairly similar.

Unfortunately, there is no non-palaeographical evidence for the origins of Clm 14370, fols.42-69, either. The contents are no help: fols.43^r-58^v, Boethius, Opuscula sacra; fols. 59^r-62^r, Bede, De muliere forti (P.L.91, cols. 1039-1052, part of the Commentary on Proverbs); fols.62^v-69^v, three letters of A.D.850 and after, from Rabanus Maurus to Hincmar of Reims (ed. E. Dümmler in M.G.H., Epistolae V = Epistolae karolini aeui III, Berlin 1899, pp.487-500). Fol.42^v contains, in the hand of the original scribe, a formular letter from a bishop to an archbishop

presenting a presbyter for consecration as bishop (ille substituted for names), and three Carolingian poems (ed. K. Strecker in M.G.H., Poetae latinae aevi carolini, IV, pt.II,2, Berlin 1923, pp.1062-3). In connection with the latter, Bischoff presents the following argument: 'Nach Frankreich als Entstehungsland der Handschrift weist mit einiger Bestimmtheit der Umstand, daß in einem der fol.42^V von der Haupthand des Codex eingetragenen Gedichte der kaum je weit verbreitete, uns nur aus einem Petavianus überlieferte Hibernicus Exul benutzt ist'. This argument is worthless. The connection with the poem of 'Hibernicus Exul' lies in an echo of three words, ...conseruet in aeuum, at the end of a hexameter (see Strecker, p. 1063, poem XVI.iii, line 2, and note); the logic of Bischoff's argument seems to be: our 10th-cent. manuscript contains a poem which includes an echo (three words only) of an earlier 9th-cent. poem by 'Hibernicus Exul'; the latter survives now in one manuscript, which is (if its later history is anything to go by) French; therefore the first 10th-cent. manuscript is French. There are logical loopholes every step of the way. However, Bischoff is right in stating that we cannot use as evidence the piece on fol.42^F (copy of a document of Otto II, Mainz A.D. 977) because it is a later addition, not by the main hand. The same caution applies to the alphabet with short-hand equivalents added above the document on fol.42^R by a hand of s.xi; the short-hand system has parallels in south German manuscripts of the period, and was probably an Ottonian invention (see C. Nordenfalk in Speculum 14 (1939), 443-7, pl. II D). The conclusion is that the link with Clm 14370, fols.42-69, is of no help in detecting the origins of Clm 14436, pt.IIα.

I can add one further piece of evidence to the investigation. There is a close textual link between pt.IIα and my Ms.107 (Zürich, Car. C 122, see pp.47-23). They share one variant for which a direct physical cause is visible in pt.IIα: the Macrobian passage on the gates of horn and ivory was shifted from its usual

place at the end of the abbreviated form of Macrobius' Commentary (fol.58^v) because the parchment there was rendered unfit for writing by the wash of ink in the map diagram showing through from the recto (see above, pp 394-5). The passage was therefore transferred to a position after the Pliny excerpts, where it also stands in MS.107. MS.107 is therefore a direct descendant of MS.106, pt.II α , perhaps (in view of the closeness of dates and the faithful echoes of tiny details such as nota signs, see p.418) a direct transcript. The copy from pt.II α must have been made before the addition of pt.II β (if any), for it would not have been sensible to leave out the extra chunk of Macrobius at the beginning if it had been present. Unfortunately the precise date and origin of MS.107 are uncertain: it was written at some time during the century s. x²-xi¹ (Bruckner dates it s.x.ex), somewhere in the region of 'Suevia sacra' (an addition not later than s.xi refers to Schwyz). At any rate the manuscript is not French.

Bischoff's view that pt.II α is French rests solely on palaeographical judgement (we cannot use the material about Hartwic in this argument for fear of circularity and because of my theory about MS.98, see above, pp 409-10). During my visit to Munich in July 1973 he told me that in our present state^{of} knowledge it is still impossible to deduce the country of origin from the script in many manuscripts of this period. I feel that the existence of MS.107 tends slightly to support the view that MS.106, pt.II α , was already in the German region before Hartwic got hold of it (if, that is, he did), and that it is quite likely to be of German origin.

Parts I + II β .

The base manuscript from which Bischoff established Hartwic's identity is Clm 14272. Bischoff made the reasonable conclusion that the principal scribe of that manuscript could be identified as the indignus Hartwicus depicted in the miniature on fol.1^r

offering a book to St. Emmeram. The script of Clm 14272 is certainly very similar to the hands of MS.106, parts I and II β . Bischoff (p.82) states that fols.1-33 and 83-119 of MS.106 (i.e. my pts.I and II β) are 'von Hartwic und ihm nahe verwandten Handen'. The link is confirmed by the appearance in pt.I of highly abbreviated, pious formulae (see above, p.407) of the type noticed by Bischoff (p.81) in Clm. 14272. Yet I am still uncertain exactly which of the scribes in MS.106 is to be identified as Hartwic; if he is my main hand, the hand of β and scribe I of pt.I, then the life of St. Emmeram on fols.118^v-119^r (item 11, see above, pp.407), was written out and hence probably composed by someone else.

From the historiated initial showing a bishop at Clm 14272, fol.1^v, labelled Domnus Fulbertus episcopus (I could read the letters FVLBE), Bischoff concluded that Hartwic must have studied under Fulbert of Chartres. Certainly the excerpts from the arithmetical works of Gerbert and Heriger in MS.106 (items 5, 9, cf.8) must have been fairly recent imports from France. It may be of significance for Macrobian studies that Clm 14272, fol.182^r, contains in an abbreviated version Adelbold's Epistola ad Siluestrum II papam (Bubnov, pp.300-309). Yet it does not by any means follow that Hartwic obtained all the texts contained in his books from French sources, nor that he necessarily wrote his manuscripts in France. MS.98 is probably German; pt.II α need not be French, and the same is true of the full copy of the Somnium Scipionis with Macrobius' Commentary from which he made his supplements to the abbreviated form, in pt.II β and in his additions to MS.98.

The history of the volume may then be laid out as follows:

1. Pt.II α written in s.x, perhaps in Germany.
2. Pts. II β and I added by Hartwic, either to MS.98 or to pt.II α . Hartwic either did the work at, or brought the completed volume to

3. The Benedictine abbey of St. Emmeram, Regensburg.

Both pt. II α and MS.98 were certainly at St. Emmeram by the time of Dionysius Menger (c.1500), who compared the two texts, noted the deficiency at the end of MS.98 and the reversal of quires vi and vii in pt.II α (see above, pp.400-01). He may have substituted pt.II α for MS.98 in the Hartwic volume, as the former was more complete.

At any rate, the present binding of MS.106, s.xv or xvi, includes not only the compilation pts. I + II α + β , but also another 11th-cent. manuscript, pt.III. The volume's shelf-mark at St. Emmeram was E.59 (paper label, s.xviii?, at the bottom of the spine).

After the secularization of the monastery, the manuscripts were finally transferred c. 1812 to

4. Munich, Hofbibliothek (later Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Bibliography.

1. Jan, I, pp. LXXIII-IV, XCIX (siglum E1).
2. J.C. Orelli, M. Tullii Ciceronis opera, 2nd ed., IV, Zurich 1861 (ed. of Cicero's de re publica), pp.759, 845-852 (siglum R).
3. Kamal, tome III, fasc.iii (1933), fol.702^r (shows fol.58^r, with map).
4. B. Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', first published in 1933 and reprinted in Bischoff's Mittelalterliche Studien II, Stuttgart 1967, 80-84.
5. H.P. Lattin, 'The Eleventh Century MS Munich 14436: Its Contribution to the History of Co-ordinates, of Logic, of German Studies in France', Isis 38 (1947-8), 205-225.

s.x² or xi¹.

South German or Swiss.

Quarto.

Contents.1. Fols.1^r-39^r.MACROBIVS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

I.14,21(Willis 59.13)// Nunc uide mus...non poterit//II.9.10(Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the interpolated clause ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio gloriam non requirat. The passage on the gates of horn and ivory does not as usual follow here, but later (see item 3 below); however the major additional hand has added a cross-reference: deest after requirat, and, in the margin Req(uire). In quarto folio siquis forte quaerere uult.

2. Fols.39^r-42^r.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II, incomplete.

- a) Fol.39^{r-v}. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], with diagram of the seven planets on fol.39^v. This excerpt follows item 1 on the same line, though its first word has a slightly larger initial, in ink.
- b) Fol.40^r. [De interuallis earum], followed by the intervals diagram, by the major (?) additional hand, in erasure, probably over an earlier attempt at the same diagram by the original scribe (II).
- d) Fols.40^r-42^r. [De cursu earum per zodiacum circulum]. The text originally ended incomplete at fol.41^r line 15 ... simili ratione qua supra solem tria sidera// (Rück, p.43 line 5). The rest of fol.41^r was originally blank. The graph diagram, by the original scribe, occurs in the lower part of an otherwise blank page, fol.42^r. The missing

section of text was filled in later on fol.41^r by the major additional hand, see below.

- c) Fol.41^v. The round zodiac diagram for the third excerpt, [De absidibus earum]. The missing text was filled in later on fol.43^r, by the major additional hand and another, see below.

King, pp.97-9, notes that the text of these excerpts shares many errors with Clm 14436 (my MS.106, pt.II α , see p.395), and that these two must be closely connected. That manuscript certainly shares the same dislocations and omissions.

3. Fol.42^v.

MACROBIUS, Comm. I. 3,17(Willis 12.9)// Siquis forte querere uult... penetretur// I.3,20(Willis 12.28). The passage on the gates of horn and ivory, which usually follows immediately after the abbreviated form of the Commentary (see MS.106, pt.II α , pp.394-5, for a similar dislocation).

Rest of fol.42^v-44^v. Originally blank; fol.44^{r-v} not ruled.

Scribal additions.

A few additions are by the original scribes, e.g. fol.29^r N \bar{M} , opposite Comm.II.4,13(Willis 109.17-18) facie/mus...melo/diae, undoubtedly in the original ink of the text (scribe B), echoing an identical sign N \bar{M} opposite the same passage in MS.106, pt.II α , fol.52^r, inner margin (by the scribe, C.)

The major additional hand.

A caroline hand, small and compact, s.xi, using very black ink. -bus = b> (frequent); et = & or 7. The rt ligature is \hat{t} . This hand adds:

- a) The missing sections of the Pliny excerpts (item 2):

- i) Fol.41^r lines 15-24. The missing final section of excerpt (d), // Non compa^u(rere) in caelo Saturni sidus et Martis...maxime inobseruabilis est cursus. // (Rück, p.43 lines 5-15).
- ii) Fols.43^{r-v}. The missing excerpt (c), [De absidibus earum]. The main hand writes only the first part of this; another hand, who uses a fairly flat pen to write a large, bold caroline minuscule with careful horizontal serifs, adds the second part, fol.43^r line 19-43^v, // Ab his retrograduntur ad solem (Rück, p.38 line 9)...end.

King, p.97, does not state that these are additions, but notices that in excerpt (c) 'the text is much more accurate, and contains none of the errors listed above [as symptomatic of the majority of manuscripts of the Pliny excerpts when found in conjunction with the abbreviated form of Macrobius]'. This fact, coupled with the fact that it is placed apart from the other three excerpts, strongly suggests that it was taken from a different exemplar'.

- b) The cross-reference on fol.39^r, see above, p.47.
- c) Corrections (e.g. of omissions, with signes-de-renvoi such as \therefore , fol.27^v; \therefore , fol.33^r; \mathcal{M} , fol.37^v; \mathcal{P} , fol.38^r) and variants with \mathcal{t} , in both Macrobius and Pliny.
- d) Short interlinear and marginal glosses, e.g. fol.29^r (on Comm. II.4.15, Willis 109.29, Nec): Lithoes, in the margin.
- e) Nota signs, \mathcal{N} (fols.10^r, 22^r).
- f) Fol.42^v, the note CC.L.II a med(ia) XL. usque ad oct[auam] pent(e)cost(es) mortui sunt in Suithes (presumably = Schwyz).
- g) Repairs to the text where damaged by damp.

Additions by Felix Hemmerli (1388 or 9-1454).

Pointing hands added throughout the manuscript, e.g. fols.10^r, 21^v, 22^{r-v}, identified as Hemmerli's by Bruckner, p.85n.38 (for details about Hemmerli, see Bruckner, pp.96-7); although no script

is to be found with the pointing hands in this manuscript, identical pointing hands are found in Car. C 132 (e.g. fol.3^r), a manuscript where there are elsewhere entries in Hemmerli's script in the same ink as the pointing hands (e.g. the two Grossmünster ex-libris, fols. A^v and 78^r).

Technical description.

i + 44 leaves, foliated I (pencil, s.xx ?) and 1-44 (in ink, s.xix). The fly-leaf, parchment, seems to have been part of an early paste-down (glue on the recto). Collation i⁶, ii-iii⁸, iv⁶, v-vi⁸. A single quire-signature survives, iv, on the first recto of q. iv (fol.23^r), below the text in the lower margin, right of centre; it is medieval, drawn clumsily in pale ink with a thick pen. Parchment, somewhat brittle, hair-sides yellow and stippled, flesh-sides white. The inner half of each leaf is badly discoloured by damp; this perhaps happened early, because damaged letters seem to have been repaired by the major additional hand (e.g. fol.37^r). 240-247x197-199mm. Written space 201-3x156-163mm. in q.i, 186-193x124-135mm. elsewhere 1 col. 24-6 lines in q.i, 25 elsewhere. Ruling in hard point. Ruling method:

- q. i, H>F>H | FH<F< (fols. 3 and 4 not ruled, written frechand).
 q. ii, H>F<<<|>>>< (normal sequence of hair-and flesh-sides).
 q. iii, H>F<>>|<<>< (normal sequence of hair-and flesh-sides).
 q. iv, H>H>F< | H>F<F<.
 q. v, H>F>>>|<<<< (normal sequence of hair- and flesh-sides).
 q. vi, H>F<F<H> | F<H>H>F (not ruled).

The members of this scriptorium seem to have been somewhat lax in putting the leaves together.

Script: Caroline minuscule, by two original scribes, pace Bruckner:

- A. Fols.1^r-23^r (beginning...poterit//II.1,22(Willis98.24). A handsome, large, rounded script, even and broad. g is rounded, g.
 B. Fols.23^v-41^r line 15, 41^v-42^v (see Contents, above). A much more uneven and ungraceful hand. d is frequently uncial, d,

a form not used by A; $\underline{g} = \text{g}$; \underline{s} is ſ , not f .

Decoration: fol.1^r, 2-line initial N in ink, with a red filling. At fol.21^r, a 3-line space is left for the initial at the beginning of Comm. Bk.II, but not filled. Elsewhere, there are ink initials, some touched with red (e.g.fol.4^v). The titles are in capitals, red on fol.1^r (beside an earlier title also by the scribe, in ordinary ink minuscule), elsewhere (fols.1^v, 2^r, 12^r) in ink. The diagrams are all in ink, except for some red capitals in the intervals diagram on fol.40^r.

2^o fol.:// Sed nos fabulosa (fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written in s.x² or xi¹, in 'Suevia sacra', possibly in the locality where it is still preserved. Bruckner describes it as 'vielleicht...in Zürich beheimatet,'and dates it to s.x ex., but his erroneous statement that the manuscript was written by one hand tends to sap one's confidence in his overall judgement. Nevertheless, the entry about the 252 dead in Schwyz (see above, p.419) is certainly not much later than the original text.
2. ZÜRICH, Grossmünster, chapter library. The evidence that our manuscript belonged to this important library rests mainly in its medieval binding (s.xv, possibly earlier): white leather over bevelled wooden boards, with a nail-hole and horizontal groove at the lower right of the front cover, used to hold the hook for the chain. In the top centre of the front cover, there is a parchment label bearing the title in a large, formal gothic script, s.xv: Macrobius de d(iffere)nt(i)s stellarum et siderum. This binding is extremely similar to others from the Grossmünster library now in the Zentralbibliothek: Car.C 132 (similarity pointed out by Bruckner, p.84 n.38, see also p.82 and n.26), Car. C 180 (Bruckner, pl. XI1, showing

a surviving hook for the chain in the same position as the groove in the binding of the Macrobius) and Car. C 123 with a hook in the characteristic position (see Bruckner, pp.81 and n.23, 82).

The pointing hands added by Felix Hemmerli also indicate Grossmünster ownership (see above, pp. 49-20).

After the Reformation and the secularization of Zürich's ecclesiastical foundations in 1525, the library of the Grossmünster was merged with others and passed through various institutions at Zürich until the foundation of the Zentralbibliothek in 1916.⁽¹⁾

1. See Mohlberg, pp. X-XI, etc.

Other marks.

- a) Various contemporary pen-trials, including on fol.44^r Istius mundi gubernator and on fol.44^r three lines of 'code' (the first is Istius mundi gubernator sit, with the vowels replaced by the consonant following in the alphabet).
- b) Fol.I^v: a shelf-mark D.27, possibly as early as s.xv. Car.C 132 is marked D.25 (Bruckner, p.82 n.26).
- c) Fol.IV: a scarcely legible note, s.xvi or xvii, beginning Hic liber seruari posset nisi foede esset... (the same hand is to be seen in Bruckner, pl. XLI, Car. C.88, fol.1^r line 4 [not Hemmerli]).

Bibliography.

1. A. Bruckner, Scriptoria medi aeui Heluetica, IV. Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, Geneva 1940, pp.84-5 and n.38, pl. XIX(fol.1^r).
2. L.C. Mohlberg, Mittelalterliche Handschriften (Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, I), Zürich 1952, pp.121 and 373.

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3. Description (not seen) and complete microfilm, at I.R.H.T.

The manuscript consists of an original torso (part A) with two later supplements (parts B and C):

Part A	s.xii.	Italian, probably Southern.	} Quarto, of rough quality.
Part B	s.xiv ² .	Italian.	
Part C	s.xiv ² .	Italian.	

Contents.

Part A. Fols.3-56 (fols.3-16 now misbound, to be read as indicated. Upper script, where palimpsest). This part had lost some leaves by s.xiv, when most were replaced. What survives is as follows:

1. Fols.3^{r-v}, 12^r.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis, 6.1 (Willis 160.12)//parua ... 9.3 (the end).



The first two leaves of quire i are now lost.

Fol.12^r, remainder blank.

2. Fol.12^v (main scribe).

Excerpts from ISIDORE, De natura rerum, on the common qualities of the four elements (cf. Macrobius, Comm.I.6,25-33):

a) XI.2-3 (ed.J.Fontaine, 1960, pp.215-7). Sanctus Ambrosius eadem elementa per qualitates quibus sibi inuicem quadam naturae communione commiscuntur, ita his uerbis distinguit ... quorum districtam [sic] communionem subiecti circuli figura declarat.

b) XI.1 (ed.Fontaine, p.213). Partes mundi  et  elementa sunt: ignis, aer, aqua, terra ... Haec itaque ne [originally nec, corrected by erasure] confusa minus colligantur, subiecta expressi pictura.

Excerpt (b) follows (a) on the same line, without a break. Isidore's two relevant diagrams are not shown, and no space is left for them.

Items 1 and 2 are written in a separate quire of a different kind of parchment (see below, p. 429, type (i)), probably by a different hand of the same scriptorium. They were possibly added as an after-thought to the main text:

3. Fols. 13^r-14^v, 4^r-11^v, 15^r-56^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, I.1,1 ... presse pureque//I.8,9 (Willis 38.28), fol.24^v; fol.25^r, I.14,2 (Willis 55.28)//praeconio ... perseuerat//II.9,7 (Willis 124.1), fol.56^v. The gap in the middle is due to the loss of q.iv after fol.24, and that at the end is presumably due to the loss of further quires (it is just possible, however, that the text was never finished, for it is rather a coincidence that the break occurs at a significant point; diagram 5, map, should have followed immediately after ... perseuerat; the last half-line of fol.56^v is left blank). Bk.I ends (with the subscriptio) and II begins on fol.43^r.

On fol.9^v, only the top two lines are written, and the rest of the page is left blank (without loss of text), except for long glosses by Additional Hand 3; the reason was probably that the lower text was badly erased on this page (cf. fol.8^v).

The replacement leaves added in two stages in s.xiv are:

Part B. Fols. 1^r-2^v.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis. 1.1 - tibi//6.1 (Willis 160.12).

Part C. Fols. 57^r-73^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, II.9,8 (Willis 124.1)//Quod ... II.17,17 (end).

The addition of part C meant that the text was now complete except for the gap caused by the loss of q.iv. That quire was already lost by the time of part C, for there is a plain catchword at fol.24^v, praeconio, which bridges the gap and which is probably by the scribe of part C; the lacuna must have been either disregarded, or unrecognised as such.

Contents of the lower script of the palimpsest leaves in part A, fols.3-12.

Leaves from two earlier manuscripts were re-used:

- a) Fols.3 and 12 (parchment type (i)).

Text unidentified.

Parts of two leaves from a large manuscript, now folded sideways so that the primary script runs vertically, from bottom to top. 1 col., with very long lines. Only a few letters are now visible, even with ultra-violet light. Caroline minuscule, s.xi or xii.

- b) Fols.4-11 (parchment type (iii)).

Psalter (fragment).

The leaves now seem to be bound in the right order for the text. The first identifiable part of the text occurs at the top of fol.5^v, Psalms 72.24 // [uolun]tate tua dedu[xi]sti me ..., the last at the top of fol.11^v, ... in die belli//77.9.

A quaternion, consisting of two bifolia (fols.4/11, 5/10) and four half-sheets (fols.6-9). I could read very little, even with the ultra-violet lamp, when I examined the manuscript in April 1973; however, much more is visible in the microfilm made by G.B.Pineider in November 1968, especially on fols.5^v, 7^v-8^v, 9^v-10^r. The primary script goes in the same direction as the secondary, and the single text column is of much the same size, though broader and shorter. 19 lines to the page. Written space c.168 x 111 mm. Script: large, rounded caroline hand. Initials are visible at fols.5^v and 7^v, drawn fairly simply in leafy shapes. Italian, s.xii, perhaps not much earlier than the Macrobius.

The principal additional hands.

In part A only.

1. The mainscribe makes occasional corrections throughout, in a script of the same size as the text (e.g. the large omission

supplied on fol.6^r).

2. Another, contemporary hand erases four lines of the original at the bottom of fol.18^v and writes in six lines (I.6,43, Willis 26.4/Item ... diapason/I.6,44, Willis 26.12), probably correcting an omission. His script is similar to, but smaller than the main scribe's, slightly backhand, and written with a very distinctive ampersand, &.

3. A much smaller, contemporary hand, probably that of the main scribe (7 is very similar) adds corrections, variants with at or t, frequent short interlinear and long marginal glosses (e.g. fol.9^v), some marginal headings, and many diagrams.

He also adds Introduction no.16 in the margin opposite the beginning of the Commentary (fol.13^r). He adds the Latin equivalents of Greek letters at fol.16^r, I.6,15 (Willis 21.5) ΚΥΒΟΪ and at fol.47^r, II.3,3 (Willis 104.15) ΜΟΥ ΗΓΕΤΗΝ. The long glosses are often surrounded by lines. Opposite I.2,9, where Macrobius mentions fictional plots in his discussion of fabulae, he puts the gloss Terentius introducit ceruam. This is a reference to Phormio, lines 6-8 (prologue), where Terence cites a play involving a talking deer as an example of an absurd plot.

4. A small Italian cursive hand, s.xiv ex. or even xiv², using bright brown or dark ink, adds a few corrections (e.g. 36^r) and frequent marginal headings and glosses, e.g. in the top margin of fol.5^r at I.2,18 (Willis 7.19) cuniculis: cuniculus primiciuum est, licet in forma uideatur esse diminutiuum, et dicitur occulta uia et est genus bestie. cunus etiam (?) foramen est. He adds wording to the original diagrams 3 and 4, and new diagrams at fols.19^v and 26^r.

In parts A and B.

5. On fol.1^r, the scribe of part B adds marginal glosses in a script

only slightly smaller than the text, and interlinear glosses written in a minute script, with a very fine pen and grey ink.

6. A fairly large humanistic cursive hand, s.xv, med. or even 3/4, adds marginal headings at fols.5^v and 6^r.
7. A humanistic cursive hand of s.xv ex., small, elegant and compressed, using brown ink, writes marginal headings in the Somnium Scipionis and at the beginning of the Commentary (e.g. over the repaired parchment of fol.3^{r-v}).
8. At fols.3^v, 4^r, a cursive hand of s.xviii(?) writes erroneous statements about lacunae (in fact, there are no lacunae here - the leaves are simply misbound).

In part C.

No additions whatsoever, except for a decorative line drawn in the outer margin of fol.58^r, drawing attention to arguments against the idea that the world had a finite beginning (Comm.II. 10,8-9).

Technical description.

Fly-leaves are paper, of the date of binding: iii at the beginning, not foliated; ii at the end, the first foliated I in modern pencil.

Part A.

54 leaves, foliated 3-56 in modern pencil. Quires i-ii (fols. 3-16) are now misbound, and the leaves should be read 3,12-14,4-11, 15-16. Collation: i⁴ (fols.3,12) leaves 1 and 2 now lost before fol. 3, ii¹² (fols.13,14,4-11, 15,16) leaves 6/9 and 7/8 are not conjoint, iii⁸ leaves 3 and 6 are not conjoint, iv now lost after fol.24 (a quaternion, to judge by the text), v⁸, vi⁸ leaves 3 and 6 are not conjoint, vii-viii⁸. If the text was complete, at least another 14 leaves are missing at the end. One original quire-signature survives: fol.13^r (first recto of q.ii), lower margin, near edge, below right

end of the text column, II. A hand of unknown date adds the signe-de-renvoi ^ after the last word of q.ii (fol.16^v; there is also an erased catchword on this leaf), and before the first of q.iii (fol. 17^r).

The parchment is of four types:

- i) Fols.3 and 12 (two of the original four leaves of q.i, containing the Somnium Scipionis and Isidore excerpts). Palimpsest (see above). The primary text was scraped off, leaving the surface grey and rough. 222 x 139 mm. Written space 184 x 110 mm. 28 lines (fol.3).
- ii) Fols.13/16, 14/15 (the outer bifolia of q.ii, the first quire of the Macrobius). Smooth, thin, shiny yellow parchment. Fols. 14/15 are unpleasantly transparent. The two bifolia are clearly scraps, of poor quality. 212-6 x 134-9 mm. (approximate measurements, as these leaves are not rectangular). Written space 165-175 x 79-95 mm. (fols.13-14) 34-37 lines, (fols.15-16) 26 lines.
- iii) Fols.4/11, 5/10, 6,7,8 and 9 (inner leaves of q.ii). Palimpsest (see above). The thickness of the leaves varies; hair-sides yellow, flesh-sides paler. The primary text was scraped off (causing a hole in fol.8); the surface was originally slightly shiny. 222-3 x 164 mm. Written space 181-2 x 96-100 mm. 26 lines.
- iv) Fols.17-56 (quires iii-viii). Often thick; hair-sides yellow, flesh-sides white; both sides slightly shiny. This is parchment of reasonable quality. 223 x 154-8 mm. Written space 179-185 x 102-4 mm. 27 lines.

Clearly there was a shortage of parchment in the scriptorium, especially at the beginning of the project. Types (i) and (iii) are palimpsest, and (ii) is of very poor quality. Types (i) and (ii) are narrower than (iii) and (iv); later, thin perpendicular strips of white parchment were added along the outer edges to bring them up to full size, by s.xv ex. (these added edges sometimes bear additions by Additional Hand 7). Even when an adequate supply of type (iv) had been obtained, there was still recourse to the use of half-sheets

in quires iii and iv. 1 col. Ruling in hard point, H > F < > < / > < > < > < (fols.17-56). The palimpsest leaves are re-ruled by the scribes of the secondary text. Sometimes the main scribe rules all the horizontal writing-lines from the inner margin to the edge of the page (e.g. fol.36^r). Writing above top ruled line.

Script: large, upright, rounded caroline minuscule (larger and more uneven when written on the rough surface of the palimpsest leaves).

Et = 7 . Tendency to prolong descenders into the bottom margin. The capitals vary from thin and angular (fol.13^r) to rather squat (fol.43^r), and show a great variety of letter forms, e.g. A = À , Λ or λ ; G = G or Σ ; V = V or ∨ . The Greek (more of it than usual, in this strain of text) is written in elongated capitals.

The manuscript is probably by a single main hand, except perhaps for fols.3 and 12 (items 1 and 2, see above, pp.424-5). Here the script is smaller, there are far more abbreviations, and some minor differences: rounded d, δ , not straight d; -tur = -t̃, not -t̄ . In this part, I noticed two elements which possibly suggest the influence of Beneventan script: fol.3^r line 5, incolant with the ligature nt = n̄ ; fol.3^r line 7, gloriam = gta3⁽¹⁾ .

These differences in script, coinciding with the use of a separate type of parchment, (i), a smaller quire, and separate texts, suggest that these leaves were an after-thought - but certainly contemporary, and made in the same scriptorium.


1. The final 3 for -m, common in later Italian manuscripts, is a Beneventan feature, see E.A. Loew, The Beneventan Script, Oxford 1914, 171-2.

Decoration: no colour whatsoever. Larger initials, plain, at the beginnings of books (fols. 13^r, 43^r) and after the main diagrams (fols.39^r, 51^r, 54^v). Titles in ordinary capitals.

2^o fol.: //uiuendi finem (fol.12^r, after the loss at the beginning but before restoration with part B), or //soliditate. sed (fol.4^r, if quires i and ii were already misbound).

Part B.

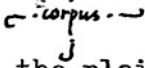
2 leaves, foliated 1-2 in modern pencil. A bifolium, to replace

leaves 1-2 of q.i in part A. A catch-word occurs immediately below the text, which ends half-way down fol.2^V. Thin white Italian parchment. 223 x 158 mm. Written space 180-181 x 119 mm. 1 col. 30-31 lines. Ruling in brownish crayon, bounding lines only. The top ruled line is only visible on fol.2^V, where the writing is above it. Script: rounded, Italian gothic script with humanistic tendencies, written loosely and at some speed (it grows larger, looser, and more fractured from fol.1^V onwards). The characteristic feature is the final s, ç, sometimes written with elaborate hair-lines .

Decoration: fol.1^R, slightly flourished initial, and title in ordinary minuscule, in ink.

2^o fol.: [mira]//bilis uidebantur (fol.2^R).

Part C.

17 leaves, foliated 57-73 in modern pencil. Collation: [ix]¹², [x]⁶ leaf 6, probably blank, now missing after fol.73. No quire-signatures. This scribe adds a plain catchword at the centre of the bottom margin of fol.56^V, to link his replacement leaves with ms.A, and a catchword with simple ink decoration, thus , in the same position on fol.68^V. It may be he who added the plain catchword at 24^V (see above, p.425). Thin Italian parchment, hair-side yellow and stippled, flesh-side very smooth and white. 220-222 x 162.5 mm. Written space 174-5 x 99-100 mm. 1 col. 26 lines. Ruling in brownish crayon. All writing-lines ruled, and writing below top ruled line. Script: rounded Italian gothic script with humanistic tendencies, written more slowly and deliberately than that of part B (Dr. A.C. de la Mare tells me that it is definitely not the same scribe). Final s is of the same shape as in B, but less flamboyant. Final -m = -3 very common here.

Decoration: none. The title at the end, fol.73^V, is in normal minuscule.

History.

1. Part A was written in s.xii, in Italy, in a scriptorium which was short of parchment. That scriptorium was perhaps in Southern Italy, for the subsidiary scribe who added items 1 and 2 shows traces of Beneventan influence in his hand (could he be a scribe trained in Beneventan, but now trying to write caroline?)
2. By s.xiv² three large sections of A were missing, of which two were replaced by parts B and C.

It is difficult to say whether or not B and C were added at the same time. Dr.A.C.de la Mare tells me that the hand of B (s.xiv², but nearer the middle of the century than the end) looks earlier than that of C (s.xiv², but possibly even s.xv¹), and that they are not the same scribe. There are some technical differences between the two parts, in the measurements of the written space, number of lines, and ruling technique. There is also textual evidence (see below,) to suggest that the two parts were copied from different exemplars. On the other hand, the parchment is similar, and it is more likely that major repairs should have been made at one time than at two times not very far apart. The two parts also share some peculiarities of spelling:

- a) Double s is often written x, e.g. fol.1^r line 2 (part B)
Maxinixam for Massinissam, and fol.67^v line 18 (part C)
paxionem for passionem.
- b) The letter g is often preceded by an n, e.g. fol.2^r line 2
(part B) mangnitudines for magnitudines, and fol.67^v line 4
(part C) singnificationem for significationem.

On the whole, I suspect that the two scribes were working together on a single project of repair.

The volume was then rebound at once, to include the new leaves. This can be deduced from the top margin of fol.1^r: the scribe of part B wrote the heading Somnium Scipionis in this margin, but the tops of this title and of the initial were cut away by a binder; this must have happened soon, for another hand of much the same

date (possibly that of part C) repeats the title, cramming it between the damaged one and the first line of text. Presumably he was the person who checked the binder's work.

3. The manuscript belonged to the library of SS. Annunziata at Florence (Order of Servites) from an unknown date until 1846 at the latest. The oval library stamp of that library appears in black ink at the bottom left-hand corner of fol.1^r.

The binding, s.xviii or xix¹, has a spine of brown leather with lettering in gilt, corners of parchment, and sides of marbled paper over mill boards. The spine bears the number 78, echoing the shelf-mark Sopra la porta 78 written in pencil on f.(i)^r, and on a paper label on the spine, both s.xix.

An earlier number, probably also belonging to SS. Annunziata, appears in the left-hand margin of fol.1^r: N^o.115, in ink, s.xvi ex. or xvii. The title in the lower margin, Macrobius de somno Scipionis, in italic script, is by the same hand.

The manuscript was among the group transferred from SS.

Annunziata to

4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. It is SS^{ma}. Annunziata 1577.78 (ora 444) [the number 78 is a later addition] in the unpublished manuscript catalogue of the Laurenziana's Fondo Conventi Soppressi by F.De Furia⁽¹⁾.

1. Supplementum alterum ad Catalogum codicum Graecorum Latinorum, Italicorum etc. Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae ... Catalogus codicum manusccriptorum ... qui a saeculo XVIII. exeunte usque ad annum MDCCCXLVI Saeculi insequentis in Bibliothecam Mediceam Laurentianam translati sunt ..., vol.II, fol.187^r.

MS.127

¹COLOGNY (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, 111.

s.x.² or xi¹.

South German or Austrian?

Small quarto.

Contents.

Fol.1^r. Blank, ruled.

1. Fols.1^v-37^v.

MACROBIUS, Commentary, abbreviated form.

I.14,21 (Willis 59.13) // Nunc uideamus ... non poterit //
II.9,10 (Willis 124.19), followed without a break by the interpolated clause Ut contentus potius conscientiae praemio, gloriam non requirat, and, again without a break and still on fol.37^r, by the passage on the gates of horn and ivory, I.3,17 (Willis 12.9) // Siquis forte quaerere uult ... penetretur // I.3,20 (Willis 12.28) ending on fol.37^v. Bk.I ends and II begins on fol.18^r.

2. Fols.37^v-41^v.

The four standard astronomical excerpts from PLINY, Natural History, Bk.II.

- a) Fols.37^v-38^r. [De positione et cursu septem planetarum], with diagram of the seven planets on fol.38^r.
- b) Fol.38^{r-v}. [De interuallis earum], with intervals diagram on fol.38^v.
- c) Fols.38^v-39^v. De absidibus earum, with round zodiac diagram on fol.39^v.

1. The '111' is in Arabic numerals: one hundred and eleven. I have not seen the manuscript itself, but have used the microfilm at I.R.H.T.

d) Fols.40^r-41^v. [De cursu earum per zodiacum circulum], with graph diagram on fol.41^r.

See The first excerpt follows the Macrobius on the same line, with scarcely a break (the initial is perhaps slightly larger than usual for the beginning of a sentence). The other excerpts begin with larger initials, but the only one to have a title is excerpt (c).

Fols.42^r-45^v. Probably blank, originally.

Major addition.

Fols.42^r-45^v. Rounded caroline script, smaller than the text, and in a slightly different style, but perhaps not much later (s.xi):

Excerpt⁽¹⁾ from BOETHIUS, De institutione musica, I.20 (Friedlein, p.205 line 28) // [S]implicem principio fuisse musicam ... N[ete hyperboleon]. // I.22 (Friedlein, 216.16).

The excerpt includes most but not all of the diagrams (simple, as in Friedlein's edition); the last one (Friedlein, 215.19-216.16), which covers the whole of fol.45^v, seems to have been effaced (? deliberately).

It was from this passage that the original diagrams, incorporated in the Macrobius on fols.20^v-21^r, were taken (see below, Diagrams); the excerpt was presumably added to illustrate these further. The diagram of fol.20^v is repeated on fol.44^r, but in the simplified form of Friedlein's edition; the second diagram, of fols.20^v-21^r, is represented only by a space left on fol.44^v.

An early 12th-cent. copy of Boethius, De inst. mus., which belonged to Admont and was probably written there, is now Chicago, Newberry Library, f.9.

1. The passage was identified by É. Pellegrin, who very kindly lent me her description (soon to be published).

Minor additions, in the text.

1. Corrections, probably made by the scribes in the course of their work, in scripts of the same size as the text; e.g. the omission rectified on fol.12^v, with \dot{d} in the text and \dot{h} with the omitted passage in the lower margin. There are also some contemporary pen-trials.
2. A contemporary glossing hand, minute but very neat and clear, adds interlinear glosses and occasional variants throughout the Macrobius (but most frequently at the beginning) and in the Pliny excerpts. The same hand adds a longer marginal gloss on fol.3^v concerning the measurement of the stade, and a marginal heading at fol.11^r (de lumine solis, at I.20,3).

Technical description.

45 leaves, with modern foliation 1-45 (but the folio number written only on some leaves, not on all). The number of the fly-leaves cannot be deduced from the microfilm. Collation (from É. Pellegrin's description): i⁶ + 1 original leaf (fol.2) after 1, ii⁶, iii-vi⁸. No quire- or leaf-signatures. Parchment. 232 x 190 mm. Written space: 180-185 x 145-150 mm. 1 col. 23 lines. Ruling in hard point, ><><|><><.

Script: caroline minuscule, by several hands. A number of shared characteristics (appearing to a greater or lesser extent among them) suggests that they all belong to the same scriptorium: minims tend to curve to the right, thus), especially in the γ and the first stroke of 'm' and 'n'; final ζ ; $-\text{ov}^x$ or $-\alpha_x$ = -orum; letter 'i' subscript when space is at a premium (hands B and D). The various hands are difficult to distinguish, especially on a microfilm, but I have tentatively divided them as follows:

- A (fols.1^v-3^v line 13 = first part of q.i). A rounded hand where the tail of 'g' is open, the usual abbreviation stroke is \sim , and final ζ is prominent.
- B (fols.3^v lines 14-23, 4^r line 11-7^v, 14^r-21^v = second part of

q.i, q.iii; and ? 41^{r-v}). A very elegant rounded hand, larger than A, where the curving minim is especially noticeable. The tail of the 'g' tends to be closed. Capitals in the text are often uncial forms and somewhat pronounced (*h* etc). Fol.4^r lines 1-10 is by yet another contemporary hand (different ink, somewhat compressed).

- C (fols.8^r-13^v, 30^r-37^v = qq.ii and v). Very similar to B, but slightly less elegant; tail of 'g' tends to be open, and capitals are not stressed (*H* etc.).
- D (fols.22^r-29^v, 38^r-40^v = qq.iv and part of vi). A clumsy hand, sloping backwards, with squarish, angular letter forms. The subscript letter 'i' is frequently used on fol.39^{r-v} (perhaps in order to make enough space for the diagrams on fol.39^v).

If these hands are correctly distinguished, it would seem that the quires were distributed among the various scribes of the team (presumably the exemplar was dismembered). This is especially clear at q.iv (fols.22-9), where D repeats several lines of the previous quire at the beginning of his new quire (fol.22^r lines 1-5; they are later deleted by expunction). At the end of the quire (fol.29^v), he writes the last 1½ words below the last line of the text (? to finish his quire at the right place, but possibly only in order to end the sentence). There are other possible instances of unnecessary waste of space at the ends of quires (though they could be explained by other reasons): the second half of the last line on the last verso of q.i (fol.7^v) is left blank; the whole of the last verso of q.ii (fol.13^v) is written in slightly larger script, with wide spacing between words.

Decoration: plain; larger initials in red and titles in red throughout (the text of the Macrobius broken up by these, as usual in manuscripts of the abbreviated form). Diagrams drawn in red with wording in ink (washes of colour in diagrams 3 [fol.29^r] and 5 [fol.36^v, purple wash] of the Macrobius).
 2^o fol.: [ambi]//tum in eundem (fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written perhaps in Southern Germany or Austria, s.x²-xi¹.
2. Admont, Benedictine monastery.⁽¹⁾ Ex libris of s.xii, written in early gothic minuscule, fol.1^r: Hic liber est Sancti Blasii et Admuntensium fratrum, quem quisquis abstulerit a[na]/thema sit. The same hand has written v.q. et v.f. above the ex libris, and vi q. et vi f. at the end of the added text of Boethius, on the last verso (fol.45^v)⁽²⁾. Another medieval hand has written the following in large, rounded lombardic capitals (fol.1^r, top): EX LIB (c. 7 letters erased) ROBII⁽³⁾.

The manuscript is in a medieval binding of bare wooden boards, bevelled, with the spine also bare. The three bands run in grooves on the outside, fixed to the boards with wooden pegs.⁽⁴⁾ Pasted between the bands are fragments of re-used parchment from a legal(?) manuscript in two columns. There is a title at the top of the outside upper board: astronomia (s.xiv or xv?).

The manuscript is almost certainly to be identified with the following in the second catalogue of Admont's books made by Peter von Arbon in 1380: Item de differencia stellarum, incipit 'Nunc videamus' (in the section libri quadruviales)⁽⁵⁾. It was no.582 in the Stiftsbibliothek (printed paper label, characteristic of Admont books, on the left of the outside upper board).⁽⁶⁾

1. Admont owned another copy of Macrobius' Commentary, which is still there: Stiftsbibliothek MS.154, s.xii or xiii). I have not seen it; the presence of the Somnium Scipionis as well as the Comm. suggests that it is a full text, rather than abbreviated like this manuscript.
2. These should surely have something to do with the collation, but the presence of two different ones is baffling, and neither quite fits the present number of quires and leaves.
3. ?? EX LIBRIS [or LIBRO] MACROBII.

4. Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Lyell 52 [Italian, s.xiv, at Admont by 1380], where the medieval binding is heavily repaired, but enough remains to show that it also had bare wooden boards, bevelled, with the cords attached to the boards with wooden pegs, and a table of contents, s.xiv, written in ink directly onto the wood at the top of the outside upper board.
5. Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS.392, ed. G.Möser-Mersky, Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs. Bd.III.Steiermark, 1961, p.62 line 4. The other copy of Macrobius mentioned, p.61 lines 10-11, under libri phylosophicales, is presumably MS.514 (see above, n.1).
Peter von Arbon's first catalogue (1376; see Möser-Mersky pp.15-34) contains sections neither of libri phylosophicales nor of libri quadruviales, and must have been incomplete.
6. Listed as Cod.m.S.XII. continet partem Saturnalium Macrobi [!] by A.Muchar, 'Handschriften des Stiftes Admont in Steiermark' (= G.Haenel, ed., 'Ungedruckte Handschriften-Kataloge', III), Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik (Archiv für Philologie und Paedagogik), VI (1840), p.432.

MS.127 was among the several manuscripts sold by Admont in or after 1934 to

3. The booksellers L. and A.Brecher of Brünn.⁽⁷⁾
 7. Listed by Möser-Mersky, p.9 ('ehem.Adm. Hs. 582 Perg.s.XII. Macrobius in somnium Scipionis').

It was finally acquired by

4. Martin Bodmer (1899-1971), Swiss book-collector, who bought it via an English (?) bookseller.⁽⁸⁾ The manuscript remains at the institution which Bodmer founded.
 8. Clipping from a sale-catalogue in English pasted in at the back of the manuscript (not visible on the microfilm). It was in the Bodmer collection by 1947, see M.Bodmer, Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur, Zurich 1947, 52.

Bibliography.

1. B.Gagnebin, 'Une source capitale pour la recherche à Genève, la Fondation Martin Bodmer', Genava, N.S. xx (1972), 16-17, fig.13 (= fol.36^v).
2. Unpublished I.R.H.T. description by É.Pellegrin, who is shortly to publish a catalogue of the Bodmer Latin MSS.
3. Complete microfilm at I.R.H.T.; to see it, permission is required from the Fondation Bodmer.

MS.142 BERLIN (East), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phill.1786 (Rose 174)
+ Phill.1787 (Rose 200).

s.x² or xi¹. French. Very small, but of good quality.

Evidence that the two parts are from the same manuscript.

Established by Rose. Apart from the obvious similarities of script and format, there are two unassailable points:

- a) The Clermont catalogue of 1764 describes a single volume, no.697, which contains the texts of Phill.1786 and 1787.
- b) A continuous sequence of quire-signatures runs through both parts.

Contents.

[Phill.1786, fols.1-4. Added leaves, see below, pp.443-4].

1. Phill.1786, fols.5^r-60^v.

[MARIUS VICTORINVS, Liber de definitionibus].

Dicendi ac disputandi...satis esse duxi. This work, attributed to Boethius in most of the manuscripts, was reassigned to Marius Victorinus after a consideration of early literary references by H. Usener, 'Eine unechte Schrift des Boethius', Anecdoton Holderi (Festschrift zur Begrüssung der XXXII Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Wiesbaden), Bonn 1877, 59-66. The edition published by Th. Stangl in 1888 (not using this manuscript) was reprinted by P. Havet, Marius Victorinus: Recherches sur sa vie et ses oeuvres, Paris 1971, 329-362, see also 163-178. This manuscript contains no original titles for this work, but Additional hand 6 has added the title A[~](nicii) M(anlii) S(euerini) B(oethii) U.C. et *itt.* liber diffinit(ionum) incipit (fol.4^v), and a similar title at the end (fol.60^v).

Beginning in a new quire:

2. Phill.1786, fols.61^r-107^v.

BOETHIVS, Liber de diuisione.

Quam magnos studiosis efferat (sic) fructus...diligenter
expressimus, followed by a closing title in capitals, by the
original hand (fol.107^v): A(nicii) M(anlii) S(euerini) B(oethii)
V.C. et *ut* liber diuisionum feliciter explicit. Additional
hand 6 has added the title Incipit liber diuisionis at the
beginning (fol.61^r).

One leaf, probably blank, now lost after Phill.1786, fol.107^v.

Beginning in a new quire, with one more writing-line than before:

Phill.1787, fol.1^r. Blank.

3. Phill.1787, fols.1^v-2^r. Introduction no.2, see p.103.

4. Phill.1787, fols.2^r-16^v line 3.

CICERO, Somnium Scipionis.

5. Phill.1787, fol.16^v lines 3-14 (bottom of page).

Excerpt from BOETHIVS, In Isagogen Porphyrii commenta, editio
secunda, IV. 17, beginning. Now erased.

DE ACCIDENTI. Accidens uero est... The last words that
can be read with certainty are...coruus albus (ed. S. Brandt,
C.S.E.L. 48, Vienna & Leipzig 1906, p.280 lines 18-19);
the last five lines are too heavily erased to be read, even
with the ultra-violet lamp. I owe my information on this
item to the kindness of Dr. Ursula Winter, who examined it
for me with the lamp and succeeded in identifying the
passage (Rose misexpanded what he could see of the title).

The added leaves (Phill.1786, fols.1-4).

It is clear from the contemporary quire-signatures that these leaves were not part of the main scheme of the book. They contain additions by three different caroline hands, not much later than the main manuscript.

1. A small, clumsy, uneven script, slanting forwards (especially the long s):

Fol.1^r. DE CIRCULO GALAXEO QVI LACTEVS DICITVR. Galaxeus, qui et lacteus, articum tangit, ubi extenditur dextra manus Persei... ac summitatem caude eius, seu per sumitatem mali, followed by the added sign \bar{h} (a signe-de-renvoie?).

2. A squarish hand, slanting backwards, with tall ascenders:

Fol.1^v. [Excerpts on logic from BOETHIVS, Commentarii in librum Aristotelis $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\eta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, secunda editio], identified by Rose:

- a) lines 1-10. Bk.I, preface, ed. C. Meiser, pt.II, Teubner, Leipzig 1880, p.7 lines 18-31: Intentio periermenias. a praedicamentorum...nominis proferuntur (sic).
- b) lines 10-15 (same line, no break): the proposition Omnis est non iustus homo. idem est:nullus homo iustus est, followed by Bk. VI cap.14, ed. Meiser p.469 lines 10-13: In his contrarius in quibus nulla medietas est...affirmatio priuatoria et negatio non idem significant.

3. A large, rounded, confident hand, using black ink:


Fols.2^r-3^r. [Definitions, etc.]. A number of short passages of which the first (fol.2^r, lines 1-7) is Quid est uia? Forte uia est quantitas...ex uestigiorum impressione facta. They include (fol.2^v): Quid consideratur in primis analiticis?... in secundis analiticis?...in topica(sic)?...The last (fol.3^r, lines 4-10), Nam ut in castris miles, sic in domo orator debet erudiri...qui honestis inter alienos loqui desiderat, was identified by Rose as being an excerpt from Alcuin's Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus (PL 101, col. 943 lines 4-11).

The next addition is probably by the same hand:


Fols.3^v-4^v. [Riddle, in 35 hexameters]. Naturam canimus causamque
canendo notamus...Qui soluet dicto dabitur mox alter Apollo.

Walther, Initia carminum, no.11613, mentions only this manuscript.

Other additional hands.

4. A contemporary caroline hand similar to those of the text, bold, confident, rather compressed, using very black ink which contrasts strongly with the pale ink of the text, makes numerous additions in item 1 only, Marius Victorinus, although the additions in Phill.1786, fols.77^v-78^r (item 2) are possibly by this hand: corrections, marginal headings often introduced by , marginal glosses (e.g. fol.46^v, lower margin, where a gloss is introduced by the word GLOSA). As in the main text, Greek works are written in fine uncial (e.g. fol.45^r). This hand also repairs faded letters in places, and improves the punctuation (/ j ? replace simple points).
5. A contemporary hand very similar to that of the text, and using the same colour of ink, adds corrections and variants only, in item 4 (Somnium Scipionis).
6. A somewhat later hand adds book-titles in small ink capitals, sometimes touched with red, at Phill.1786, fols.4^v, 60^v, 61^r.

Technical description.

Number of leaves: 107 (Phill.1786)+16(Phill.1787), with modern foliation 1-107, 1-16 (the fly-leaves, presumably recent, are not visible on the microfilm). Collation: (Phill.1786), i^[4] (addition, of which the precise make-up is not clear from the microfilm),/ii-viii⁸/ix-xiii⁸,xiv⁸ leaf 8, probably blank, now lost after fol.107 (according to Rose),/(Phill.1787)xv-xvi⁸. Contemporary signatures, thus , in the centre of the lower

margin, in the same ink as the text, quires ii-xvi, A (Phill. 1786, fol.12^v)- P (Phill.1787, fol.16^v), lacking G, which should have been at the end of q.viii on the last leaf of item 1 (Phill. 1786, fol.60^v), and N which would have been on the last leaf of q.xiv, now lost. Parchment. Leaf measurements (from Rose): 85x70mm. in Phill.1786, 90x70mm. in Phill 1787. 1 col. 13 lines in qq. ii-xiv (Phill.1786), 14 lines in qq. xv-xvi (Phill.1787). Ruling impossible to deduce from the microfilm, except that the writing is clearly over the top line.

Script: rounded, caroline minuscule, large for this size of book, by several scribes of the same scriptorium, hard to distinguish. The ink is usually pale. Two possible characteristics of Fleury⁽¹⁾ are to be seen in the hand which writes the last two lines of Phill.1786, fol.10^r: a very angular *ct* ligature (to be seen also elsewhere, e.g. in the hand which writes Phill.1786, fol. 53^vff., though some hands use a rounded form, *ct*), and the abbreviation *—* for est. New works are made to start in new quires. Greek words are written in fine, confident uncials.

1. E. Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta Floriacensia', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 117 (1959), 14-15. T.A.M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule, Oxford 1971, p.xii n.2, has noticed *—* in English manuscripts of the same period.

Decoration: large interlace initials 'in gelblichen Schlingen auf weisser und blauer Grundfüllung' (Rose) at Phill.1786, fol.5^r (D, 10 lines high) and 61^r (Q occupying virtually the whole page; stem formed by the body of a dragon which bites the bowl of the letter), followed by the first words of the texts in ink capitals, with colour. At the beginning of the Somnium Scipionis, however, there are merely two plain 2-line initials, in red (Phill.1787, fols.1^v, 2^r). The original titles at Phill.1786, fol.107^v and Phill.1787, fol.2^r, are in ink capitals, those of Phill.1787, fol.2^r, touched with red. There are occasional larger initials (plain), c. 2 lines high, in the course of the text of item 2, including

letter Q's incorporating human faces at Phill.1786, fols.75^v and 85^v.

2^ofol.:// uerum etiam quod (Phill.1786, fol.6^r), or, after the addition of q.i.://Quid est uia? (Phill.1786, fol.2^r).

History.

1. Written in s.x² or xi¹, in France. Some connection with Fleury might be argued from the script, contents, and textual affinities in the Somnium Scipionis (see pp.100-106), but there is no positive evidence⁽¹⁾.

The manuscript is similar in appearance and general feel to my MS.48, see

1. It cannot be identified in the Fleury catalogue of 1552 (see p.212 n.2).

2. PARIS, Jesuit college of Clermont. The manuscript bears the usual inscription at Phill.1786, fol.1^r, Paraphé au desir de l'arrest du 5 juillet 1763. Mesnil. The manuscript is no.697 in the 1764 catalogue⁽²⁾: Codex membranaceus in-12^o. (foliorum 120.) saeculo 1^o. exaratus, malè compactus et in fine mutilus. Ibi continetur,

1^o. A.M.S. Boetii Tractatus de definitione et diuisione.

2^o. Somnium Scipionis.

This entry shows that the manuscript was then still a single unit, though malè compactus. Other manuscripts from the college of Clermont definitely belonged earlier to Fleury, e.g. the volume now divided up between Oxford, Bodl., MS.Auct. T.2.28 + Berlin (East), Phill.1833 + Phill 1780 + The Hague, Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum 10 B 1.⁽³⁾

2. Catalogus manuscriptorum codicum collegii Claromontani..., Paris 1764, p.269. The catalogue gives the number of leaves as 120. The number of folios of Phill.1786 +

1787 is at present 123, but was 124 before the loss of the last leaf of q.xiv at the end of Phill.1786. However, the catalogue's total of foliorum 120 is possible if we subtract the four additional leaves of q.i. Phill.1786, fols.1-4, may therefore not have been counted in the total (but they must have been joined to this manuscript at an early stage, for Additional hand 6, not later than s.xii, added a title for item 1 at Phill.1786, fol.4^v).

3. See Exh.Cat., R.W. Hunt and others, The survival of ancient literature, Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1975, p.54 no.104.

With the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1764, the manuscripts were sold en bloc to

3. Gerard Meerman (1722-71). After the death of his son Jean Meerman (1753-1815) the manuscripts were auctioned. The manuscript was divided into its two parts during the Meerman period. Rose describes the bindings of the two volumes as 'Neuband (holl.)' (= ? holländisch) and they appear as mss. nos. 646 and 648 in the 1824 sale-catalogue.⁽⁴⁾

4. Bibliotheca Meermanniana, The Hague 1824, vol.IV, p.113. Phill.1786 (no.646) is described as having 104 leaves, but fols.1-4 are definitely present (praecedunt nonnulla de circulo lacteo et quidam uersus).

The two volumes were bought at the sale by

4. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872). Phillipps' group of Meerman manuscripts were sold en bloc by his grandson Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick in 1887⁽⁵⁾ to

5. Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek.

5. See A.N.L. Munby, The dispersal of

the Phillipps library (Phillipps
Studies 5), Cambridge 1960, 22-28.

Unidentified numeral: Phill.1786, fol.1^r, left of top margin,
partially cut away: $\frac{120}{x}$ (date uncertain).

Bibliography.

1. Die Handschriften - Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek
zu Berlin, XII. V. Rose, Verzeichniss der lateinischen
Handschriften, I, Berlin 1893, pp.389-390 no.174 (Phill.1786),
pp.438-9 no.200 (Phill.1787).

MS.151 Formerly TOURS, Bibliothèque municipale, St.Martin's 33.

Lost between c.1840 and 1875.

Bibliography.

The following description is based on various descriptions of the 18th and early 19th centuries, cited by L.Delisle in 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus de la Bibliothèque de Tours ...', Notices et extraits des manuscrits, 31 pt.I (1884), pp.264-6 no.LXXXII (see pp.161-3 for notes on the catalogues). Delisle's sources are:

- a) A catalogue of the manuscripts of St. Martin's made apparently in 1700 and surviving in several manuscript copies, as well as in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca bibliothecarum ..., vol.II, pp.1335-1341. This manuscript, my MS.151, is no.33, Montfaucon II, p.1336 col. II C-D.
- b) The notes on the manuscripts of St. Martin's and St.Gatian's of Tours made by Louis- Georges -Oudart Feudrix de Bréquigny (1714-1795) in 1756-9. Paris, B.N., Bréquigny 35, fol.13^v (for this manuscript).
- c) Notes made by J.L.Chalmel in 1807 at the Bibl. municipale, in a copy of the 1700 catalogue. Tours, Bibl.mun., MS.1296.
- d) A list of the manuscripts in the Bibl. municipale made (or at least checked) by G.Haenel in 1826 and published in 1830, cols. 480-486.
- e) A list of the manuscripts in the Bibl. municipale sent by Chauveau (librarian 1828-1845) to the ministère de l'instruction publique, c.1840. Paris, nouv.acq.franç.,3957.

I have shown on pp 223-6 why I think Delisle's identification of this Tours manuscript as Paris, nouv.acq.lat.454 (my MS.6) is wrong.

Date.

s.ix (Haenel,col.482; Montfaucon, vol.I, p.1336 col.II C-D, describes

it as annorum 800 et supra, nempe tempore Caroli Calvi). Probably written at St.Martin's by Adalbaldu in s.ix¹ (see History, below).

Contents.

1. CICERO, De senectute.
2. CICERO, Somnium Scipionis, probably with the title excerptum de libro tertio de republica Ciceronis (but possibly, following Montfaucon's punctuation, a copy of the Somnium Scipionis followed instead by another excerpt with that title, either a repeated extract from the Somnium Scipionis itself as in Paris lat.5001, fol.28^{r-v}, see p.224, or one of the passages from the real third book of the de re publica quoted by authors such as Lactantius or Augustine).
3. MACROBIUS, Commentary.
Bréquigny: '... à la tête du premier [livre] est un prologue qui finit par cette phrase du premier chapitre des éditions: «de hoc prius ergo pauca dicenda sunt, ut liquido mens operis de quo loquimur innotescat.» Ensuite de quoi, on lit dans le manuscrit: «Explicit prologus;» puis suit le titre: «Macrobii Ambrosii commenta ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis incipit.» This is identical to MS.6, except that the latter reads ergo prius for prius ergo at I.1,3 (Willis 2.8); but Bréquigny may be copying this reading from his printed text, the Gryphius edition of 1556.

Additions. (from Bréquigny).

1. Corrections. 'Il paraît avoir été revu et corrigé avec soin, et les corrections me paraissent être aussi anciennes que le manuscrit même.'
2. Glosses in the de senectute. 'Il y a des scholies interlinéaires

sur le traité de Senectute, du même âge que le manuscrit, mais ce ne sont que de misérables notes qui décèlent l'ignorance la plus grossière; par exemple, en voici une sur le Panathénaïque d'Isocrate: « liber totus in contemptum mortis est scriptus. » En voici une autre sur le nom de Marcus que portait Cicéron: « Quia mense Martio natus, et sic vocati omnes qui eo mense nascebantur, aut consulatum adipiscebantur. »

Technical details.

More than 40 leaves (this can be deduced from Chalme's statement).
Parchment of good quality (Bréquigny: 'beau velin'). Quarto.
'Parfaitement bien écrit' (Bréquigny).

History.

1. Written in s.ix (see above).

The manuscript was perhaps owned and possibly copied by the famous Adalbaldu of Tours⁽¹⁾. The evidence for this is that in his notes on Adalbaldu's manuscript of the letters of St. Augustine & St. Jerome etc., now Tours, Bibl. mun., 281 + Paris, B.N., nouv.acq.lat.445, Bréquigny remarks that 'ce manuscrit a appartenu à Adalbalde, qui y a marqué son nom de la même façon que dans celui qui renferme le Macrobe in Somnium Scipionis'.⁽²⁾

Delisle thought that Bréquigny must have made a mistake in this cross-reference to a Macrobius; there is no reference to Adalbaldu in Bréquigny's notice⁽³⁾ of my MS.151, nor in my MS.6, the manuscript with which Delisle identified MS.151. Delisle concluded that Bréquigny's cross-reference must be a slip of the pen, and that he was in fact referring to a copy of Orosius⁽⁴⁾, in the main description of which Bréquigny notes that Adalbaldu's name was elaborately written at beginning and end.

If Delisle's identification of St. Martin's 33 as my MS.6 is

wrong, then I see no reason to question Bréquigny's cross-reference to MS.151 as a manuscript of Adalbaldu. We know from the descriptions that MS.151 was a 9th-cent. manuscript, and its location at St.Martin's makes it quite plausible that Adalbaldu could have owned or indeed written it. It is strange, I agree, that Bréquigny should not have mentioned this in his main description of the manuscript, but no stranger than that he should have said 'Macrobius' when he meant 'Orosius'.

1. See Rand, A Survey ..., 1929, I, pp.56-8 and 233; W.Köhler, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen. I, Die Schule von Tours, pt.i, Berlin 1930, 37-9, 45, 67-8, 91, 162.
2. Delisle 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus...', 208, 239, 266 n.1. The manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary which Bréquigny meant (if he meant Macrobius at all), must be MS.151, not the other lost St.Martin's copy also described by Bréquigny (Bréquigny papers, 35, fols.101-2; Delisle, op.cit., 266-7, no.LXXXIII. That copy was much later in date (Delisle quotes an 18th-cent. catalogue which places it in s.xi or s.xii. The map copied by Bréquigny is identical to that in a 12th-cent. German manuscript, Clm.4612, fol.103^v, my MS.93, see).
For the manuscript of St.Augustine's letters, etc., see Delisle, op.cit., 207-11 no.XXXV, and the descriptions of Tours 281 by Collon in Cat.gén., 8vo ser.XXXVII, Tours, pt.i, Paris 1900, pp.207-8, and of Paris nouv.acq.lat 445 by L.Delisle, Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois, Paris 1888, 24-5; also Rand, A Survey ..., 1929, I pp.144-5 no.91, II pl.CXIII.
3. Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus ...', 265-6.
4. Ibid., 236-9, no.LXIII.

What form did Adalbaldu's inscription in MS.151 take? The same as that in his copy of the letters of St. Augustine, etc., if Bréquigny's cross-reference is right. But there is now no inscription in Tours 281 or in Paris nouv.acq.lat.445. As the last leaf, it must somehow have been lost during the partition of the volume. I think that this inscription is the single leaf

with the inscription HIC LIBER ADALBALDI ARTIFICIS which passed through the hands of J. Desnoyers and is now Paris nouv.acq.lat. 405⁽⁵⁾.

Delisle identified this leaf as a relic of the lost Orosius; but this is wrong, for the following reasons:

- a) The Orosius is described by Bréquigny as a small quarto, written in two columns. The leaf which is now Nouv.acq.lat.405 was ruled for writing, although Adalbaldu used it later for his inscription. Enough of the leaf survives to show that it was ruled for one column of script only, not two.

The number of lines and the measurements of the writing area match those of Tours 281 + Paris nouv.acq.lat.445.

- b) Nouv.acq.lat.405 contains a later 9th-cent. addition (partly in Tironian notes) on the words Ephod and Teraphim. This is not relevant to the text of Orosius⁽⁶⁾. However, one of the letters contained in Tours 281 (fols.212^v-216^v) is Jerome's Epistola XXIX, Ad Marcellam, de Ephod et Theraphim.⁽⁷⁾

Paris nouv.acq.lat.405 is therefore the lost colophon of Tours 281 + Paris nouv.acq.lat.445. Adalbaldu's Orosius, like his copy of the de senectute and Macrobius in MS.151, is entirely lost.

5. J. Desnoyers & L. Delisle, 'Note sur un monogramme d'un prêtre artiste, du IX^e siècle, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus, 4th ser., 14 (1886), 376-381, with pl. The colophon is set in a series of concentric circles, with a monogram. The ruling can be seen to greater advantage on the blank verso of the leaf. Desnoyers acquired several other Tours manuscripts, see Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus ...', p.348.
6. Neither word is mentioned in the exhaustive indices in the edition of C. Zangemeister (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum V), Vienna 1882.
7. PL 22, cols.435-441.

Strictly speaking, the words hic (est) liber Adalaldi

artificis mean that the books belonged to Adalbaldu, not that he actually wrote them; but the proud use of the word artificis and the elaborate form of the inscriptions do suggest that this is a scribe signing his own work. On the other hand, Bréquigny thought that the quires of the Orosius had been shared out among several scribes. The question remains open.

Another difficulty is that the manuscripts which bear the name of Adalbaldu need not all relate to the same man. Two monks of that name appear in the list of the monks of St. Martin's drawn up during the abbacy of Fridugisus (804-834) which appears in the Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli⁽⁸⁾. However, the three manuscripts which we have been discussing must all be by the same man, for we have Bréquigny's evidence that the inscriptions were of the same wording and shape, and the one surviving inscription, Nouv.acq.lat.405, is certainly distinctive.

A copy of the Martinellus now at Quedlinburg, Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek, 79, bears the colophon ego indignus Adalbaldu hunc libellum ex iussione domino meo Fredegiso manu propria scripsi⁽⁹⁾. The date of this Adalbaldu and his relationship to the manuscript are unambiguous: he wrote the book in the reign of Fridugisus. How does it compare with the one extant manuscript of our group, the copy of Augustine etc. which I have now defined as Tours 281 + Paris nouv.acq.lat. 445 + Paris nouv.acq.lat.405? Is indignus Adalbaldu the same man as Adalbaldu artifex? The script of the Quedlinburg manuscript is much more careful than that of the other manuscript, but the consensus⁽¹⁰⁾ seems to be that they could have been written by the same man.

MS.151 may then have been written by a scribe who flourished at St. Martin's of Tours in the first third of the century. This is the same place and period which produced the oldest surviving manuscript of Macrobius' Commentary, my MS.4⁽¹¹⁾.

8. Ed. P.Piper, M.G.H., Berlin 1884, p.13, col.(14) line 19 and col. (16) line 33, see also the second copy of the list, p.77 col. (235) line 26 and p.78 col. (238) line 25. The significance of the

list in relation to Adalbaldu is discussed by E.K. Rand & G. Howe, 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours', Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, I (1917, for 1915-16), 33.

9. Reproduced by Köhler (see above, n.1), plates for vol.I, Berlin 1930, i, 31b. See also Rand, A Survey ..., vol.I pp.142-3 no.88, II pls. CVIII-CIX.
 10. Köhler (see above n.1), 37; Rand, A Survey, 57-8. See these works also for the other manuscripts which bear the name Adalbaldu.
 11. See ch. II (pp. 38-62) and the description of Ms. 4, pp. 160-201.
2. Tours, the collegiate church of St. Martin. The manuscript is no.33 in the earliest catalogue cited by Delisle, that of 1700. After being seen and described there by Bréquigny in 1756-9, it was transferred with the St.Martin's collection after the revolution to
 3. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale. Chalmel describes the condition of the manuscript in 1807: 'Il est à regretter qu'il ait été mouillé par je ne sais quelle liqueur, qui en a gâté une quarantaine de feuillets, dont trente environ ont de petites déchirures. Le tout quoique imbibé, n'en est pas moins lisible.' Bréquigny does not mention this damage, and talks of 'beau vélin', so it is likely that the manuscript had suffered recently, perhaps after the revolution. Chalmel observes elsewhere that 150 out of 272 St.Martin's manuscripts were in a similar state of decay⁽¹²⁾.

12. Delisle, 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus ...', 157 n.1-158.

In 1826 the manuscripts were examined by Haenel. In his introduction to the Tours section of his Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum, 1830, col.481, he remarks that Codicem Ciceronis de senectute, eiusdem somnium Scipionis, excerptum ex libro III. de republica Ciceronis (vid. Montfaucon Biblioth. Bibliothecarum Tom. II pag.1336) frustra quaesivi. Nevertheless, he prints the

following entry in col.482, which must refer to our manuscript: Cicero de senectute et Macrobius in somnium Scipionis; saec.IX. membr.4. (provient de S.Martin). It is possible that Haenel is simply printing the entry as part of a list which had been supplied to him, even though he had not found the manuscript itself. But a more likely explanation is that Haenel has misunderstood Montfaucon's confusing punctuation; in Montfaucon's entry for St. Martin's 33, he starts a new paragraph after Excerptum de libro tertio de Republica Ciceronis, although it is quite clear from his numbering system that he is only describing a single manuscript. In col.481, Haenel quotes Montfaucon only to the end of the first paragraph, and does not mention the Macrobius; since he was searching for a manuscript of the De senectute accompanied by the Somnium Scipionis but not by Macrobius' Commentary, he failed to identify Montfaucon's entry with St.Martin's 33, although in fact he listed that manuscript in col.482.

Finally the manuscript was listed by the librarian Chauveau, probably shortly before 1840.

We do not know precisely when or how my MS.151 disappeared. Perhaps it was abstracted by Guglielmo Libri. The Bibliothèque municipale suffered terrible losses even after the time of Chauveau's list and probably not just at Libri's hands. Delisle cites the case of the 37 legal manuscripts described by Haenel, of which Chauveau listed nine and of which four now survive⁽¹³⁾. The Orosius (see n.4 above) is another example of a manuscript listed by Chauveau but which has now vanished; these two manuscripts of Adalbaldu, Orosius and MS.151, had disappeared by 1875, the date of the first proper published catalogue of the Bibliothèque Municipale⁽¹⁴⁾.

13. 'Notice sur les manuscrits disparus ...', 160, 350-351.

14. A. Dorange, Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours, Tours 1875.

Text.

The alliance of Macrobius' Commentary with Cicero's de senectute marks MS.151 as a member of the ϕ group. If it really was a manuscript of Adalboldus, it would have earlier than any extant member of the group. The presence of the Somnium Scipionis and of the identical titles at the beginning of the Commentary suggest that it was closest to MS.6 (that is if not identical with it!). For its potential relationship with the surviving Tours manuscript, my MS.4, see pp. 57-59.

There is still a chance that readings from MS.151 may survive, entered by Bréquigny in his own copies of printed texts:

'J'ai collationnée environ le tiers du traité de 'Senectute de ce manuscrit sur l'édition de Robert Estienne (1543, in -8°)', et j'ai marqué les variantes à la marge de mon exemplaire. J'ai aussi collationné le Somnium Scipionis entier sur le texte qui se trouve dans l'édition de Macrobe (Lugd. 1556, in -8°), et j'ai marqué les variantes à la marge de mon exemplaire. Enfin, j'ai collationné les sept premiers chapitres du commentaire de Macrobe sur le texte de cette même édition, et j'en ai aussi marqué les variantes à la marge de mon exemplaire ...

J'ai trouvé, dans ce que j'ai conféré, peu de leçons nouvelles de quelque considération, et j'ai remarqué, par rapport à Macrobe, que les meilleures corrections que fournissait le manuscrit pour le texte de l'édition de 1556 ont été faites dans l'édition de Plantin de 1597.'

But I do not know the fate of Bréquigny's printed books (his papers went to the Bibliothèque Nationale).

1. The De senectute appears after the De officiis in vol. IX of the 1543 Paris edition of Cicero's complete works (Adams no.1643).
2. Printed by Sebastianus Gryphius (Adams no.68).

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