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THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION OF MACROBIUS' *SATURNALIA*

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Abstract: In laying the groundwork for a new edition of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, I have extensively checked the reports of the manuscripts in the Teubner edition of James Willis (1963), drawn on the collations of two important manuscripts published by M. J. Carton in 1966, and collated eighteen additional pre-humanist manuscripts wholly or in part (some of these collations are published in working papers #060803, 060804, and 060805). Drawing on the new data, this paper provides a refined understanding of the medieval tradition, including an improved stemma.

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The Medieval Tradition of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*

Modern critical work on the text of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* has advanced, not by a smooth, unidirectional progression, but by taking at least one step back for every two steps forward.

In 1852 Ludwig van Jan published his landmark edition, the first to draw on a broad sampling of the pre-humanist manuscripts and to use the early printed editions systematically. It was a great stride forward. Yet Jan's text was yoked to a critical apparatus that was astoundingly inaccurate (a problem caused in part, but only in part, by his reliance on others to collate the manuscripts for him), and before the end of the century his text had been eclipsed by Franz Eyssenhardt's Teubner edition, which set the clock back three or four centuries by effectively relying on only two manuscripts for the first three books and only one for the last four.

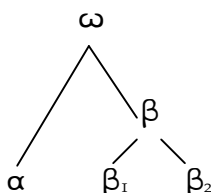
Antonio La Penna made the next large advance in 1953, by systematically surveying many of the manuscripts Jan had used, together with a number of others, and identifying for the first time the three manuscript-families that define the medieval tradition.¹ But because he had based his analyses on test collations only, his conclusions contained not a few errors, large and small: most important was the mistaken judgment that the three families each descended from the archetype independently of the other two. That error was soon corrected by James Willis, who showed that two of the families are derived from a common ancestor that stood between them and the archetype,² and Willis' new Teubner, first published in 1963, clearly offered an improved text.

Yet this edition too was criticized, harshly but justly, for providing a critical apparatus that was neither accurate nor responsible.³ In its treatment of Macrobius' relations to the ancient texts on which he drew, for example, or its approach to the work of other scholars since the Renaissance—constantly using the vague and dismissive *vulgo* to denote anything from the *editio princeps* of 1472 to a conjecture by Jan—it could most generously be called cavalier.⁴ But—as even the harshest of those critics barely suspected—there was still worse news: for most of the manuscripts, and above all for two main witnesses to one of the families, the apparatus failed—on

literally hundreds upon hundreds of occasions—to report errors that are ‘significant’ on any understanding of the term, including major faults such as omissions and transpositions.⁵ The upshot is this: more than a century and a half into the era of modern editorial method, the best available edition gives—in countless places—an inadequate or false idea of the text’s documentary basis, or no idea at all.⁶

In laying the groundwork for a new edition of the *Saturnalia* I have extensively checked Willis’s reports of the manuscripts,⁷ drawn on the collations of two important manuscripts published by M. J. Carton after Willis’ edition appeared, and collated eighteen additional pre-humanist manuscripts wholly or in part.⁸ Basing itself on the new data, the discussion below provides a refined understanding of the medieval tradition.

All the extant manuscripts, it is clear, descend from a single ancestor that for five of the *Saturnalia*’s seven books presented a text which had suffered losses ranging from the serious to the catastrophic.⁹ This archetype was itself written in minuscule (there are no errors pointing to capital script), probably in the late eighth or very early ninth century.¹⁰ As already noted, La Penna first saw that the archetype’s surviving descendants fall into three families, which after Willis’ refinement can be represented thus:¹¹



Though contamination is present, it does not obscure the relations within the three families, as they are represented by the manuscripts on which an editor would be best advised to rely. We can survey each of the families in turn.

α

The relevant manuscripts are these:¹²

N Naples V. B. 10 s. IX med-³/₄ (*Sat.* I.I.I - 7.5.2)

D Oxford Bodl. Auct. T.2.27 s. XI in. (*Sat.* 1.1.1 - 3.4.9)

G Strasbourg BNU 14 s. XI (complete)

P Paris lat. 6371 s. XI (complete)

I set aside one manuscript, Escorial Q_{1.1} (= **T**, s. XV), which Willis used as a witness to **α** while warning that it was ‘mixtae originis, et lectiones aliquas vel veras vel falsas ex contaminatione habens’.¹³ ‘lectiones aliquae’, however, does not do justice to **T**’s character, for not only does it have many errors distinctive of **α**, it also has many errors distinctive of **β**, of **β₁**, and of **β₂**; indeed, it appears to have vacuumed up bad readings from every nook and cranny of the tradition. It is stemmatically worthless and has no good conjectures not also found elsewhere.

Together **NDPG** (or **NPG** after **D** departs in Book 3) share nearly 400 significant errors. These errors not only identify the manuscripts as a closely related family but also suggest (for example) that **α** itself bore traces of correction. This state of affairs, which would in any case be expected, probably explains the following patterns:

2.2.16 censorium risum] censorum risum **N**, censorum risum *cum* i. iudiciorum *ss.* **D**,

censorium iudicium **P**, *recte* **G**

3.15.8 Marcus *post* libro *ponit* **N**, *om.* **P**, *recte* **G**

7.3.18 magistrisve] magistris vel **N**, vel magistris **P**, vel magistris vel **G**.

Now, as Willis rightly remarked, **N** and **P** represent two extremes of scribal behavior.¹⁴ **N**’s scribe was deeply ignorant and as a result capable of writing awful nonsense; at the same time, precisely because he lacked any pretensions to learning, he did not attempt to ‘improve’ the text but aimed to reproduce what was in front of his nose. **P**’s scribe, by contrast, was clearly comfortable enough in Latin that, consciously or not, he repeatedly replaced words with their synonyms, and was learned enough to spot a metrical lapse and insert a stopgap of his own devising.¹⁵ We should be glad to have **D** and still more **G** to serve as a control upon these two extremes, and of course to have **G** as a witness after **N** departs at *Sat.* 7.5.2.¹⁶ All four manuscripts have many errors, including omissions, that do not appear in the others, and it is therefore clear

that none of them can be directly descended from any of the others.¹⁷ But what more can be said about the actual state of their relations?

Concerning **G**, La Penna and M. J. Carton drew firm but contradictory conclusions, the former stating that **G** (his **S**) was independent of **NP**, the latter arguing that **G** and **N** are *gemelli*.¹⁸ Both views cannot be true; in fact neither is correct. Carton reached her judgment by a hasty and superficial process that considered only the errors that **N** and **G** uniquely share, without regard for the patterns of shared errors in the family as a whole (that is, not just **NG** against **P** but also **PG** against **N**, plus the other combinations possible where **D** is extant). In fact, if there is a set a *gemelli* among the four, they are **ND**, not **NG**.¹⁹ Before **D** departs early in Book 3 it shares the following thirty-one errors with **N** against **PG** and (typically) all the other manuscripts:²⁰

1.1.2 voluptatis] –tatibus; 1.1.3 nodis] nobis; 1.2.6 respondi] –dendi (corr. **D**²); 1.2.20 edoctum] et doctum; 1.4.9 nominibus] num-; 1.7.14 Alexandri] alandri; 1.7.14 tyrannide] ter-; 1.7.23 Maronem] marorem; 1.7.25 comparaverit] compaverit (**B**¹); 1.7.30 Siciliensibus] –entibus; 1.9.16 mensium] mensum; 1.13.11 imparis] ut parem **N**, inparem **D**; 1.16.22 senatu] –tum; 1.16.37 mensium] mensum; 1.17.16 eademque] aedemque; 1.17.54 hoc est] he; 1.19.11 superos] super; 1.20.3 quod] quid; 1.23.12 consociatam] conscia tam; 2.1.4 symposio] sym. posio; 2.1.8 repudianda] repudienda **N** (**L**), repunienda **D**; 2.2.4 mos erat] monserat **N**, monstrat **D**; 2.2.8 solito] solio; 2.2.16 censorium] –orum; 2.3.16 M.] margus; 2.4.16 volebat] –abat (corr. **D**²); 2.4.27 venitque] venit venitque; 2.7.10 facit] fecit; 2.8.6 instauranda] –do; 3.2.10 profundus quam amoenus] –dis quam moenus; 3.4.8 qui diligentius] quit illentius **N**, quid illentius **D**.

To put these instances into perspective, **ND** share half again as many errors against **PG** as are shared in the same stretch of text by all the other possible pairs combined.²¹ Still, while I believe that a sibling relationship between these two books most probably explains this set of fact, the possibility cannot be ruled out that they are independent descendants of **α** that proved to be more

conservative in preserving the hyparchetype's errors than the lines of descent represented by **P** and **G**.

La Penna (who did not know **D**) reached his conclusion—that **NP** together form a branch from which **G** is independent—in a similarly hasty and superficial way, citing only two examples, both of which happen to be invalid.²² In fact, none of the three main sources—**N(D)**²³ or **P** or **G**—is more closely related to one of the others than it is to the third; that is to say, the number and kind of errors that **N(D)P** share uniquely against **G** and the rest of the manuscripts (= **β**) are not significantly different from the number and kind of errors that **N(D)G** share against **Pβ**, while the errors shared uniquely by **PG** against **N(D)β** are fewer still, thus:²⁴

N(D)P against **G**: 1.4.24 de futuro] futuro (*corr. P²*); 1.6.6 γνῶθι σεαυτόν (gnot(h)i seauton **Gβ**)] gnothi eauton **ND**, gnothe auton **P**; 1.21.23 iam supra] supra iam; 1.23.16 vitis] vitiis; 1.23.16 futuri] -rum; 1.24.21 omni alia] omnia alia (**M**); 2.3.1 facundissimum] fec- (**R¹F²A¹**, *facc-* **G**); 2.3.5 autem se] autem si; 2.3.9 dixerit] -erat (*corr. P²*); 2.5.5 heri] here; 2.6.3 Galbam] galbuam (*corr. P²*); 2.6.4 testis] -tes; 3.9.10 sive vos] sive (**OLAC**); 3.14.3 adsertionem] adfert-; 3.16.6 superius] sermonis; 5.1.5 non una] nec una (**G²**); 5.5.12 iuventa] inenta (**F**); 5.5.14 comprehensa] compressa; 5.15.6 enumerat] numerat; 5.15.7 oris quem Osinium] oris mosinium **N**, orisque mosinium **P** (*dein* mosinium *del.*); 5.16.12 loci inde descripti] locun dede scripti **N**, iocunde descripti **P** (loci indescripti **G**); 5.20.11 fontibus] frontibus **N**, frondibus **P**; 6.1.36 acrior] agrior; 6.2.3 in pectus] inspectus; 6.2.20 ceu] seu (*corr. N²*); 6.2.30 miretur] mireretur (*corr. P²*); 6.9.5 quem de extis] quae ab aetatis magnitudine de extis; 7.4.12 omnium] -ia.

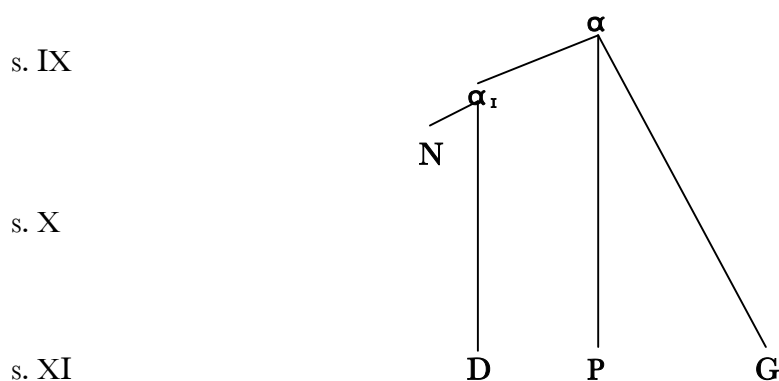
N(D)G against **P**: Praef. 5 mixtura] mixura (*corr. G²*); 1.9.8 redintegratur] -tus; 1.14.5 ante terminum] ante terminum (**A¹**); 1.14.8 corrumperet] arrum-; 1.16.39 mutuatus] mutatus (**B¹Z**); 1.17.29 populus] -los; 1.17.32 φωτί] ΦΩΝΤΙ; 1.21.15 solstitium] vel stitium (*corr. G²*); 1.24.24 haec] et (**B¹V**); 2.2.4 reliqua erat] reliquerat (**MBL**, *corr. G²B²L²*); 2.4.2 Ajax

suus] aiexus **N¹G**, aixsus **N²D**; 2.4.26 et spe] et in spe; 2.5.6 gladiatorum] grad- (vel gladiatorum **G²**); 2.7.16 incessum] incens- (**M**); 2.8.6 capessendas] –do (**P²**); 3.2.3 porriciunto] pro- (-iciunt **NDPG**); 3.5.8 reluctata] observata **N**, obsecrata **G** (retenta **P**);²⁵ 3.11.4 non immerito] non merito; 3.16.11 anni] anni; 4.5.5 Oilei] cilei **NG**, olei **P**; 4.6.13 sanguine *om.*; 5.2.6 mutata] muta; 5.3.1 condit] –dunt; 5.4.9 fert umero] ferunt more **N**, fert ut mos est **G**; 5.12.11 et alibi *om.*; 5.15.2 ac Lacedaemone] aglademone; 5.17.7 paene transcribere] pene trascribere; 5.18.13 Anagnia (2^o)] nagnia (**A**); 5.20.10 solstitia] velstitia; 6.1.17 Ennius in quarto *om.* (Ennius in *** **P**);²⁶ 6.2.10 idem] id est (**A**); 6.2.30 est *om.*; 6.3.3 aerato] rerato; 6.4.13 ait] aut (**R¹A**); 7.1.1 mensis] –sibus (*corr.* **G²**); 7.2.2 sic *om.*; 7.2.7 dicturiunt] icturiunt; 7.4.3 qui quid] quicquid (**A¹**).²⁷

PG against **N(D)**: 1.3.14 esto] est (**V²**); 1.5.11 disseremus] dissereremus (**B¹V¹Z**, *corr.* **P²**); 1.7.2 quas] qua (*corr.* **P²**); 1.12.34 dictatoris] –es (*corr.* **P²G²**); 1.16.2 in menses] menses (*corr.* **P²G²**); 5.21.3 aitque (2^o)] atque; 5.22.14 ecquid *om.* (**A**); 6.1.8 libro] in libro; 6.6.16 o patria] o *om.* (*et patria om.* **P**); 6.9.11 versu] versum; 7.4.4 admonuisse . . . forem] admonuissem . . . fore.

On the most economical explanation of these data, the agreements of **N(D)P** or **N(D)G** or **PG** mostly represent the common legacy of **α** that happens to have been removed by correction from the ancestry of **G** or **P** or **N(D)**, respectively, as each descended independently from **α**, just as we see still more errors being removed in the lists above.²⁸ That the first two lists are longer than the third simply means that process of stripping away **α**'s errors had progressed farther by the time the two eleventh-century manuscripts, **PG**, were written than it had by the time the common ancestor of **ND** was written in the ninth. And that is only what we should expect.

In graphic terms, then, the **α** family can most probably be understood to be constituted as follows:



The remaining manuscripts all descend from a book (= β) that must have been derived from the archetype not long after the archetype itself was written: we can be reasonably confident of this rough chronology because β 's oldest surviving descendant—a set of excerpts from Books 1-3 written at Lorsch in the scriptorium's 'younger style' (Vatican Pal. lat. 886)—must itself date to the early years of the ninth century.²⁹ As I have already noted, it was Willis' main advance over La Penna to recognize the existence of β as the common ancestor of the two other manuscript families that La Penna had identified. By way of demonstration Willis pointed to a number of β 's errors—that is, the errors shared by all the manuscripts save **NDPG**—in Book 1.³⁰ I can add a small selection drawn from *Sat.* 2-3, the other two books where we can trace β 's existence:

2.2.13 Caninius Rebilus] gaius servilius (maius servilius α); 2.5.4-5 Iuliam. venerat ad eum] iulia venerata deum **MBVOLK** (iulia venerata dominum **RFAC**, where the latter error obviously implies and extends the former); 2.7.16 βλέπεις] **ΒΛΕΝΕΙC** (*Gr. om. L*); 3.6.17 sive qui] sive (qui *post* relictī **C**); 3.14.9 M. Cato senatorem] mensenatorem (-sana- **R**); 3.15.8 Papirius *om.*; 3.16.6 ipse *om.*

Though β itself must have had the text of all seven books, we can reconstruct its character for only the first three because one of the two families descended from β preserves those three alone. It is to that family, β_1 , that we can now turn.

β_1

The relevant manuscripts are these:

M Montpellier Médecine 225	s. IX ^{3/3} (<i>Sat.</i> 1.12.21- 3 fin.) ³¹
B Bamberg Class. 37 (M.V.5)	s. IX ^{3/3} (lacking after <i>Sat.</i> 3.19.5) ³²
V Vatican Reg. lat. 1650	s. IX ^{2/2} (<i>Sat.</i> 1-3) ³³
Z Escorial e.III.18	s. XII/XIII (<i>Sat.</i> 1.1.1-1.19.6) ³⁴
O British Library Cotton Vit. C.III	s. IX ^{3/4} Books 1-3 (f. 86-138) ³⁵
L Vatican lat. 5207	s. X ^{1/4} (<i>Sat.</i> 1-3) ³⁶
K Vatican, Pal. lat. 886	s. IX in. (<i>Sat.</i> 1. 11. 2-1. 11. 43, 2.1.7-2.7.11, 3.13.11- 3.20.8) ³⁷

As we have seen, the first traces of this family (**K**) appear at Lorsch, just east of the Rhine, near the beginning of the ninth century. In the second quarter of the century a book probably descended from **β_r** was written in the Loire valley,³⁸ and the main body of witnesses, **MBVO**, were all written in France in the second half of the century. Of these books, **MBVZ** were used by Willis; **K** had been used earlier by Jan.³⁹ The very interesting manuscript **L** was the discovery of Carton, who published a complete collation in 1966.⁴⁰ **O** was judged by La Penna one of the three most important manuscripts of the family, along with **B** and **V**, though it was ignored by Willis.⁴¹ As we shall see, **O** is in fact an older sibling of **L**: together they provide important help in understanding the family's structure.⁴²

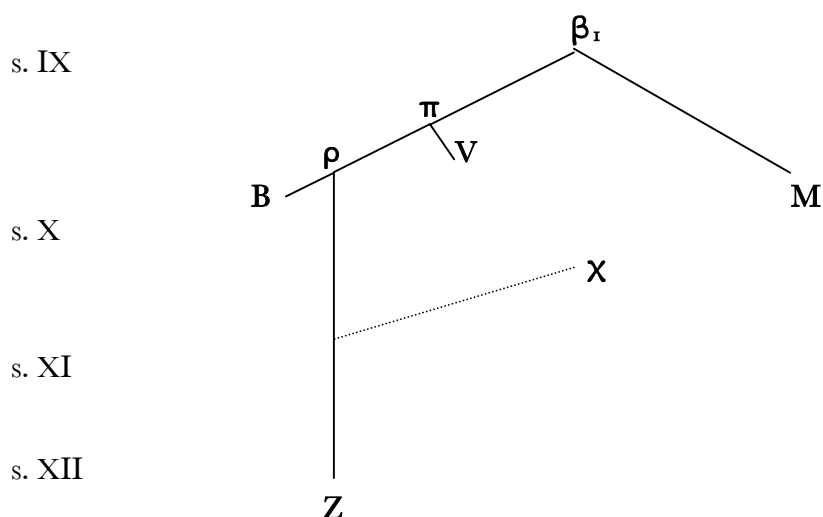
It is clear that none of these manuscripts can have been the source of any of the others. The fact that **M** generally omits the Greek rules it out as a model; **K** and **Z** are similarly ruled out, the former because it is merely a set of excerpts, the latter by its date. As for the rest, consider this sampling of uncorrected omissions that appear in no other manuscript: in **B**, 1.17.22 *terram . . . id est* (see also 3.8.14, where **B** repeats 'dedit. Plautus in Cistellaria qui e nuce nucleos' after *qui e nuce nucleos*'); in **V**, 3.14.9 has . . . dare, 3.15.15 *non dissimulanter . . . Cicero*; in **O**, 1.18.6 *-νε Βάκχε . . . ὁ κισ-* (probably the equivalent of one line in the exemplar), 3.13.12 *lumbos . . .*

ficedulas, 3.18.3-4 nominatur . . . iuglans; in **L**, 1.17.25 Apollini, 2.3.16 ὁμοίωπτωτον, 3.10.1 diu se.

Around 150 errors are shared by all or most of **MBVZOLK** in *Saturnalia* 1-3 against the correct text of **α** and **β₂**, a rate of conjunctive error that is roughly comparable to that of **NDPG**.⁴³ For a sampling of errors shared by **MBVOL** (and **K** where extant) that an early medieval scribe would be unlikely to detect or correct without reference to another manuscript, consider the following:⁴⁴

1.15.22 dies *om.* (*corr.* **V**²), 1.18.12 ἀπίδηλον] APΔHΛON (**P**², APΔIΛON **L**, APANAON **Z**, *Gr. om.* **M**), 1.18.19 ἰαώ (2^o)] AO, 1.18.20 ἰαώ (1^o)] AΩ (*Gr. om.* **M**), 1.18.21 est (2^o) *om.*, 1.18.22 εἴκελος] KEΛON (*Gr. om.* **M**), 1.18.22 κύκλον] KAYKΛON (*Gr. om.* **M**), 1.18.22 ἰδέσθαι] ΔECΘI (*Gr. om.* **M**), 1.21.17 qui diei] diei, 1.22.4 ἡδὲ] HIHΔE (*Gr. om.* **M**), 2.8.8 expers sit] expressit (**N**¹, *corr.* **B**²**V**²), 2.8.14 κατὰ] KA (*Gr. om.* **ML**), 3.2.3 exsecutus est] est exsecutus, 3.2.7 multifariam] -iae **MBV**, -ie **B**²**OL**, 3.2.15 vitula] vitulam, 3.3.11 in iure] inique, 3.13.3 vinum platano] vino platanum, 3.14.15 viro *om.* (*deest* **V**), 3.16.16 ipus it] ipsum sit, 3.17.3 praescripto] praesto, 3.19.1 Sueius] cum eius.

Beyond these errors—and setting **O**, **L**, and **K** to one side for the moment—the basic structure of the family is perfectly clear. First, in *Saturnalia* 1.12.21 - 3.19.5, where both **M** and **B** are extant, **BVZ** or (after *Sat.* 1.19.6) **BV** share another hundred errors that distinguish them from **M**.⁴⁵ Further, Willis noticed two important characteristics of **BVZ**—that **BZ** are more closely related to each other than either is to **V**, and that **B** nonetheless shares with **V** some errors that do not appear in **Z**—and he drew the correct conclusion: **BZ** are indeed *gemelli*, while an ancestor of **Z** lost through correction some of the errors transmitted from **BVZ**'s common ancestor.⁴⁶ So far, then, this is our picture:



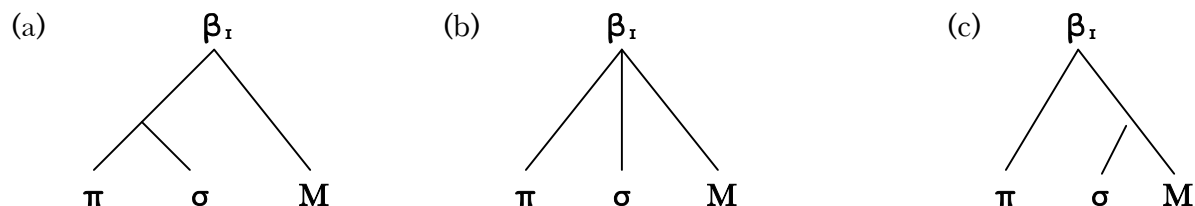
With Willis I leave the source of contamination (χ) indeterminate: **Z** is present so briefly that it is difficult to see any patterns beyond its kinship to **B**; there are, however, no reliable signs of contamination from beyond the β_1 -family or, for that matter, from **M**.⁴⁷

Where, then, do **O** and **L** fit in this picture?⁴⁸ It is clear, first, that they stand apart from **BVZ**: of the one hundred errors noted above that distinguish the latter three manuscripts from **M**, none appears in **O** or **L**.⁴⁹ Further, it is clear that **O** and **L** together are derived from a common ancestor distinct from both **BVZ** and **M**, since they share over 60 errors that appear in no other manuscripts, for example:

1.6.22 duobus] duabus **O¹L**, 1.7.4 si ita] sita **OL**, 1.12.12 cum] cuius **OL**, 1.16.13 comitalibus] comitalibus **OL**, 1.16.10 urgentem] arguentem **OL**, urgentem **M**,⁵⁰ 1.16.35 candidatis] -us **OL**, 1.17.31 βορείους] ΒΡΕΙΟΥC **O**, ΒΡΕΤΟΥC **L** (ΟΥC **BVZ**, *Gr. om.* **M**), 1.17.33 specie (*om. a*) **OL**, 1.18.20 χείματι] ΧΕΙΜΑΠ **OL** (**D**), 1.18.22 περίξ] ΝΕΡΙΞ **O**, ΝΕΡΥΞ **L**,⁵¹ 1.23.3 θεωρεῖσθαι] ΘΕΩΡΕΙCΕΑΙ **OL**, 1.23.5 δαιμόνων] ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩ **OL**, 1.23.7 ἠρώων] ΝΠΩΩΝ **OL** (*ΠΟΩΝ **B¹**, ΠΠΩΩΝ **B²**), 1.23.22 δίνης] ΔΙΝΗC **OL** (ΔΙΝΕC **DBV**), 1.24.25 adprobanteque] adprobante quae **OL**, 2.4.9 forum] foret **O¹L**, 2.4.21 enim *om.* **OL**, 2.7.12 histrio] historio **O¹L¹**, 2.8.7 exercitationes] exertationes **OL**, 3.5.1

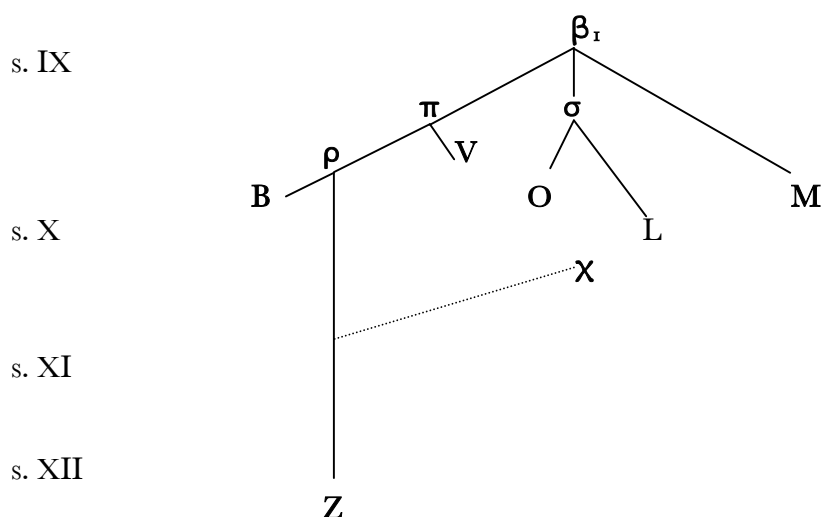
de deorum] de eorum **OL**, 3.8.3 cum virili] cum viri **L**, cum viris **O**, 3.8.13 in duodecimo] duodecimo **OL**, 3.9.14 tutelares] telares **OL**.

Now, if **OL** represent a lost manuscript (= σ) that is independent of π in the stemma above, there are only three options for its derivation:



The expectations aroused by each option are clear. In the case of (a), we should expect **OL** to have both the 60-odd errors inherited from σ and a certain number of errors that $\pi\sigma$ inherited from their common ancestor, against the truth in **M**; in the case of (c) we should expect, similarly, that the errors **OL** inherited from σ would be joined by a certain number of errors inherited from the common ancestor of $\sigma\mathbf{M}$, against the truth in π ; in the case of (b), we should expect **OL** to have only errors transmitted from σ , plus of course their own peculiar errors and whatever background noise might have been generated by coincidence and casual contamination.

If we ask, then, with respect to (a) how many errors **OL** share with **BV(Z)** when **M** is correct, the answer is: five errors, of an exceedingly undistinguished sort.⁵² If we ask with respect to (c) how many errors **OL** share with **M** when **BV(Z)** are correct, the answer is: ten errors, of a scarcely more distinguished sort.⁵³ I cannot persuade myself that this is anything other than background noise in either case. If that is so, then the provisional stemma drawn above can be filled out as follows:



I note that with such a stemma we should expect to find neither many instances in which **VOL** agree in error against the truth in **B(Z)M** nor many instances in which **B(Z)M** agree in error against the truth in **VOL**; and in fact we do not.⁵⁴

As a final indication of **OL**'s independence from both **π** and **M**, consider the following fifteen errors that **OL** share uniquely with the manuscripts of family **β₂**:

1.3.9 sequentes] sequentem, 1.11.6 ex isdem] isdem, 1.11.50 coepta celebritas] celebritas
 coepta, 1.15.21 vis fieri] fieri vis, 1.18.23 sciens] scribens, 1.19.10 in inferiore] inferiore
 (*recte C*), 1.23.18 adargatin] -tim, 1.24.4 philosophandi] -phari (**B²**), 2.7.3 cursus] currus,
 2.7.9 et citius] nec citius, 3.7.7 dimittere] de-, 3.8.2 virili] viri, 3.9.1 ista *om.*, 3.16.9 ut
 minus] ut *om.* (*recte F*), 3.17.6 cenasve] cenae suae **Oβ₂**, cena suae **L**, 3.18.3 nam quia]
 quia.

At first glance these might appear to be instances where an ancestor of **OL** was contaminated by a **β₂** source. But since the passages include a high proportion of omissions (5) and transpositions (2)—the sorts of error more likely to be removed than imported by correction—these are probably errors that both **β₁** and **β₂** inherited from their parent: **β₁** passed them along to **σ**, but they had been stripped away by correctors before the streams of transmission reached **π** and **M**.

There is in fact only one textual circumstance that I find truly puzzling, on any plausible understanding of the family:

I.17.54 si quidem Latonam physici volunt terram videri, cui diu intervenit Iuno, ne numina quae diximus ederentur: hoc est aer, qui tunc umidus adhuc gravisque, obstabat aetheri ne fulgor luminum per umoris aerii densitatem tamquam e cuiusdam partus progressionem fulgeret.

ne fulgeret **VOL**, ne fulgerent **Z**

ne fulgor nefulgeret **B**, ne fulgor refulgeret **MB**²

We seem *prima facie* to be faced with two very different, in fact contradictory, forms of corruption: on the one hand, the text of **VOL** appears to reflect a simple *saut du même au même*—from *ne* to the last syllable of *progressione*, or from *fulg-* to *fulg-*—that was inherited by $\pi\sigma$ from β_1 and then further deformed in **Z**; on the other hand, the text of **B** appears to reflect the omission of a line of text (*luminum . . . progressio* = 63 characters, not counting spaces), which was then tidied up as the reading of **M** and a correcting hand in **B**.⁵⁵ Absent one or another implausible-seeming assumption, involving odd sorts of correction combined with equally odd sorts of contamination, it is very difficult to see how **B**'s text (or **M**'s) could be derived from that of **VOL**, or vice versa; and given the stemmatic position that the overwhelming weight of evidence assigns to **B**, it is equally difficult to see how it could have received the authentic text of β_1 independent of **VOL**. In so far as a stemma is only a theory in graphic form—a structure of ideas meant to organize and explain a set of data—I record this case as the one datum that baffles the theory I have presented, or any other plausible theory I can imagine.

β_2

In the case of family β_1 , then, as in case of family α , three independent lines of descent can be traced from the hyparchetype. That is not the case with our last family. The relevant manuscripts are these:⁵⁶

R	Vatican Reg. lat. 2043	s. X ex./XI in. (lacking after <i>Sat.</i> 7.14.11) ⁵⁷
F	Florence Laur. Plut. 90 sup. 25	s. XII (complete)
A	Cambridge University Library Ff.3.5	s. XII (complete) ⁵⁸
C	Cambridge Corpus Christi College 71	s. XII (complete) ⁵⁹
Q	Bern, Burgerbibl. 514	s. X (<i>Sat.</i> 7) ⁶⁰

RFA were used by Willis, though he came to repent of using **A**.⁶¹ His regret was misplaced, however: **A** provides a valuable control on **R**, especially when its testimony is combined with that of its *gemellus*, **C**, which was used by Gronovius and judged one of the three most important manuscripts of the family by La Penna.⁶² **Q**, the oldest witness to β_2 , contains only Book 7; it was used by Jan but ignored by La Penna and Willis.

Discussion here can be brief, since the relations among this family's manuscripts are more transparent than in the case of the other two. It is clear, first, that none of these books descends directly from any of the others: **R** is certainly the oldest book in the family (save for **Q**) and so could not be derived from any of its kin;⁶³ **F**'s handling of the Greek (see below) shows that it is independent of **RAC**, while it has a number of gross uncorrected errors that appear in no other book;⁶⁴ **A** is distinct from the rest in lacking the end of Book 3 (from 3.18.9 Plautus);⁶⁵ and **C** has many unique, uncorrected omissions.⁶⁶ Together they share roughly 200 errors that define their existence as a family, for example:⁶⁷

1.7.22 in posteros] et in posteros, internundino] in trinundino **FA**², intertrinundino **RA**¹, inter trinundinum **C**,⁶⁸ 1.24.23 patribus] patri, 2.5.7 respondisset] –deret (**L**²), 3.5.5 his *om.*, 3.15.8 flutentur] fluitentur **R**²**FA**, fluitent **C** (*om.* **R**¹),⁶⁹ 3.17.6 vocitati] vocati, 4.4.22 a causa *om.*, 5.3.2 νευρήν μὲν] **NEYPEHN FAC**, **NEYPENN R**, 5.3.12 hic posuit *om.*, 5.5.3 dona . . . subiectisque *om.*, 5.19.21 palici . . . placabiles *om.*, 6.1.43 Lucilius] Lucretius, 6.5.13 sceptrum . . . dextra *om.*, 7.3.14 genere *om.*, 7.4.5 patiuntur . . . varietate *om.*, 7.4.8 omnium disciplinarum] disciplinarum omnium, 7.13.9 simulacra *om.* **RFJQ**, aras **AC**.⁷⁰

Beyond those errors, a clear bifurcation takes place, as **RAC** (joined in Book 7 by **Q**) share roughly another 100 errors that distinguish them from **F**, for example:

1.17.57 infera] inferiora, 1.23.13 sol est] solem **AC**¹, ad solem **R**, 2.2.3 tam *om.*, 2.4.11 audisset inter pueros] inter pueros audisset, 2.4.20 ad se hominem] hominem ad se, 3.1.6 contingat] contingit, 4.6.14 se in sanguine versat] se in .s. versat (se in versat **N**), 5.9.14 miserit] miserat, 5.17.6 infudit] infundit, 7.1.2 reverenda] verecunda, 7.1.15 faciles tamen] facilesque, 7.1.19 digerendo] dicendo, 7.12.7 tanto . . . quanto] quanto . . . tanto.⁷¹

F is further shown to be independent of and superior to the others by its far more faithful handling of the Greek: though **F** joins **RAC** in omitting all the Greek in Book 5 after *Sat.* 5.3.3 (evidently the legacy of **β**₂), it generally reports the Greek thoroughly, whereas the scribe of **RAC**'s common ancestor often copied only the first few words or letters of an extended passage.⁷²

The members of the sub-family formed by **RAC** arose on opposite sides of the English Channel: **R** was written at Mont St. Michel around the turn of the eleventh century; **A** and **C** were written at Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans, respectively, sometime in the twelfth century. It is plain that the two English manuscripts have a common ancestor, for they uniquely share over 400 errors. I cite here only a selection of uncorrected omissions, transpositions, or the like from each book:⁷³

Praef. 4 *post* pollicetur *add.* id est ad utilitatem respicias,⁷⁴ 1.2. 9 illa *om.*, 1.4.26 Romam equitatum] equitatum Romam, 1.5.8 *post* nummum *add.* dixit, 1.6.8 Lucumonem vocitatum] lucii nomine vocatum, 1.7.29 perenne] per omnem lacum, 1.11.40 nonas caprotinas] caprotinas nonas, 1.11.41 librum illum divinum] divinum librum, 1.11.50 facit esse] esse facit, 1.12.27 a viro visa sit] visa sit a viro, 1.14.3 novae ordinationis] ordinationis novae, 1.16.3 fas est, quibusdam fas non est] fas non est, quibusdam fas est, 1.16.10 causa *om.*, 2.1.3 eminentiores estis *om.*, 2.4.31 Graecum epigramma *ante* breve, 2.7.2 Caesare] *add.* augusto, 2.8.2 ut aestimo, in hoc] in hoc ut aestimo, 3.5.1 hostiarum genus] genus

hostiarum, 3.6.8 saxi eiusdem] eiusdem saxi, 3.8.14 Hesperio in Latio] in Latio Hesperio, 3.9.8 populoque Romano] Romanoque populo, 3.17.18 Pantheum dicitur] dicitur Pantheum, 4.6.8 movere pathos] pathos movere, 5.6.11 nubila *om.*, 5.10.7 ora cruor *om.*, 5.13.25 haud nescia] nescia haud (*haud om. NPG*), 6.1.5 memoria veterum] veterum memoria, 6.1.18 quis . . . belli *post* nequa . . . stat, 6.1.35 Lucilius . . . omnes *om.*, 6.4.8 doctissimi hominis] hominis doctissimi, 7.1.17 Atticas *om.* (**H**), 7.3.23 esse omne] omne esse (**H**), 7.4.22 alimonia eius] eius alimonia (**H**), 7.4.29 simul in simplicem sucum] simplicem in sucum (**H**),⁷⁵ 7.9.15 *post* solvendo *add.* dilaqueatus.

It is plain, too, that this common ancestor omitted even more of the Greek than the ancestor they share with **R**, the omissions commonly being marked by the abbreviation ‘*GR*’ at the appropriate point in the text.⁷⁶

I should note that **C** gives evidence of very attentive, even aggressive, correction by conjectural emendation in the recent history of its text (more recent, that is, than the common ancestor it shares with **A**): so for example, at *Sat.* 1.4.25 (‘*si vis mihi equitatum dare et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi, diequinti Romae in Capitolio curabo tibi cenam coctam*’), where the archetype’s corruption of ‘*si vis*’ to ‘*si quis*’ rendered the passage unintelligible, **C**’s text has *velit sequi* inserted (parallel to **P**’s independent *sequi volet*) and replaces *tibi* with *ei* for good measure; or at *Sat.* 1.7.3 (*innumeras inter om.* **C**, *innumeras om.* **BVZOLRFA**), where the deletion of *inter* at least makes the passage construable after **β**’s omission of *innumeras*; or at 1.7.14 (*principem] patrem C, om. A*), where *patrem* is improvised to take the place of *principem* omitted in **AC**’s common ancestor. Compare also:

1.7.14 *dissentit . . . receperant om. BVZOLRFAC, deinde receptus non est post in archana templorum add. C*

1.10.2 *inserto] incepto C, incerto A* (where, again, the latter reading is the first stage of corruption)

- 2.3.6 Rebilus, ut quaereretur] ut a revilo quaereret **C** (a rewriting that follows from the preceding omission of *hoc*)
- 2.4.2 scripserat] fecerat **C** (*om.* **R**¹)
- 3.6.1 mirandum] –da **C** and doctrinam] –na **C** (one bad reading compensating for another)
- 5.7.9 Palinuri] Miseni **C** (correcting Macrobius' error)
- 5.13.4 a currente] currente **RFA**, currentis **C** (making **C** the only β_2 MS to offer a—more or less—readable version, cf. also 6.4.7 and 6.9.7 below)
- 5.19.2 vir alias] aurelius **C**, iurelius **A** (where again the latter reading is the first stage of error)
- 5.19.2 historia] historia sit **C** (quite a finicky 'correction')
- 6.4.7 aquai] aquae **C**, aqua **RFA**
- 6.7.4 Vergilius] virgilius qui **C** (in fact preferable to **R**^m's *cum* adopted by Willis)
- 6.8.15 liquido] ad liquidum **C**, liquidum **A** (another improvement on **AC**'s shared legacy)
- 6.9.7 in bidentes] et bidentes datae **C**, et bidentes **RFA**
- 6.9.13 rationi certae in rerum] rationem certam rerum **C** (after the nonsense produced by the omission of *nullus* in **AC**'s common ancestor)
- 7.1.25 coetus nullus] coetusve **C**, coetus **A**
- 7.4.5 habent et *post* saginam *add.* **C** (an attempt to make some sense out of the nonsense produced by β_2 's omission of *patiuntur . . . varietate* immediately following; a similar attempt is reflected in **A**'s *compositam*, for *–ta*)
- 7.16.2 iocum (Jan)] locum **C** (i.e., 'topic', a far from absurd alternative to ω 's meaningless *cum*)
- 7.16.25 fellantes (Meurs)] lactentes **C** (an intelligible alternative to **GFQ**'s *fallentes* or **PA**'s *pallentes*)

It is worth cataloguing these passages not just for the light they might throw on English philology in the eleventh- or twelfth-century, but because the care and intelligence they attest surely accounts for another very significant characteristic of **C**: it is the earliest witness I know for a strikingly high number of readings that Macrobius' modern editors have actually adopted as corrections of the archetype's corruptions. I list these readings here, indicating in parentheses the next earliest witness of which I know:⁷⁷

2.3.10 spectandum **C** (*Guelph. 4619, Monac. Clm 15738*): expect- ω

4.3.4 impositique **C** (*Monac. Clm 15738*): -tisque ω

4.3.6 misericordiam **C** (*Monac. Clm 15738*): om. ω

5.8.6 et **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472 ex Verg.*): atque ω

5.3.14 inclusit **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472 ex Verg.*): -sis ω (-si **R**²)

5.6.13 radice **C** (*ed. Ven. 1513*): -cem ω ⁷⁸

5.13.19 adgressos **C** (*Monac. Clm 15738*): -sus ω

5.15.7 Cosas **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472*): c(h)oras α , (c(h)oros β

5.15.8 quos **C** (*Monac. Clm 15738, ed. Ven. 1472*): quod ω

5.15.9 Cupavo **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472 ex Verg.*): pavo ω

5.15.9 Cygni **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472, cigni P²): cynni *vel* cinni ω*

5.15.11 duodecimo **C** (*ed. Ven. 1472*): undecimo ω (though the error is perhaps Macrobius')

5.17.15 Ulixes **C** (*Ulyxes Monac. Clm 15738*): -is ω

5.22.2 ipsius deae (Eyssenhardt)] ipsius esse **C** (proposed independently by Willis), ipsiusce ω ⁷⁹

7.8.1 absumpserit **C** (*Monac. Clm 15738*): ass- ω

7.14.21 sensus **C** (proposed independently by Jan): sensus unus ω ⁸⁰

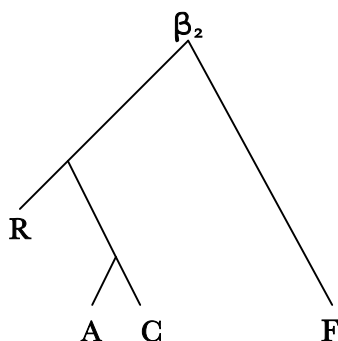
To return, now, to the family of β_2 as a whole, it is clear that the manuscripts' relations can be represented accurately thus:

s. ix

s. x

s. xi

s. xii



If we ask how that picture is affected when the evidence of **Q**, β_2 's oldest surviving descendant, is taken into account for Book 7, the answer is also clear; since I have analyzed the matter in detail elsewhere, I will simply summarize my findings here.⁸¹

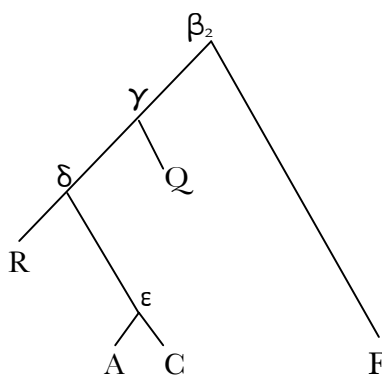
Beyond sharing the errors of **RFAC** in Book 7 that define them as a family, **Q** also shares many of the errors of **RAC** that distinguish them from **F** and shares no significant errors with **F** against the truth in **RAC**:⁸² **Q** therefore clearly belongs on the left side of the stemma above. At the same time, **Q** lacks many of the errors that **RAC** later share. It would appear, then, that **Q** should occupy a position on the stemma between β_2 and **RAC**'s common ancestor, thus:

s. ix

s. x

s. xi

s. xii



This picture is in turn consistent with several instances where a sequence of error can be seen to extend 'beneath' the stemmatic placement posited for **Q**.⁸³

There is, however, one further detail to be filled in: for not only are there a large number of cases in which **R** agrees uniquely in error with **AC** (= ϵ) against the truth in **QF** (that is, **RAC**'s

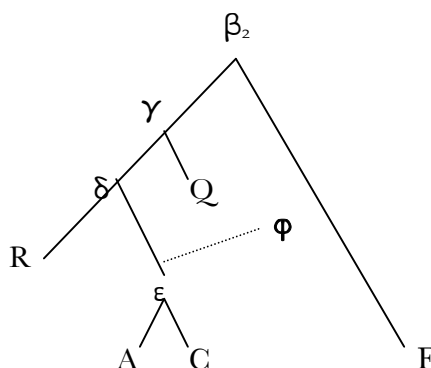
inheritance from δ in the stemma above), there is also a non-trivial number of cases in which R agrees uniquely in error with Q against the truth in ϵF . These are circumstances that the stemma tells us should not arise, since the errors uniquely shared by RQ are presumptively the legacy of γ and so should also appear in ϵ . We can recall, however, that we have seen just these circumstances arise in another case, in our discussion of the manuscripts BVZ in family β_1 : there B and Z were more closely related to each other than either was to V , as here R and ϵ are more closely related to each other than either is to Q ; and yet B and V uniquely shared a certain number of errors that did not appear in Z . In that case the most probable explanation was that correction had stripped away errors passed on by the common ancestor of BVZ before they could reach Z .⁸⁴ There is every reason to think that the same explanation is applicable to this parallel situation: some of the errors that were part of γ 's legacy to RAC were removed by correction before they could reach ϵ , thus:⁸⁵

s. ix

s. x

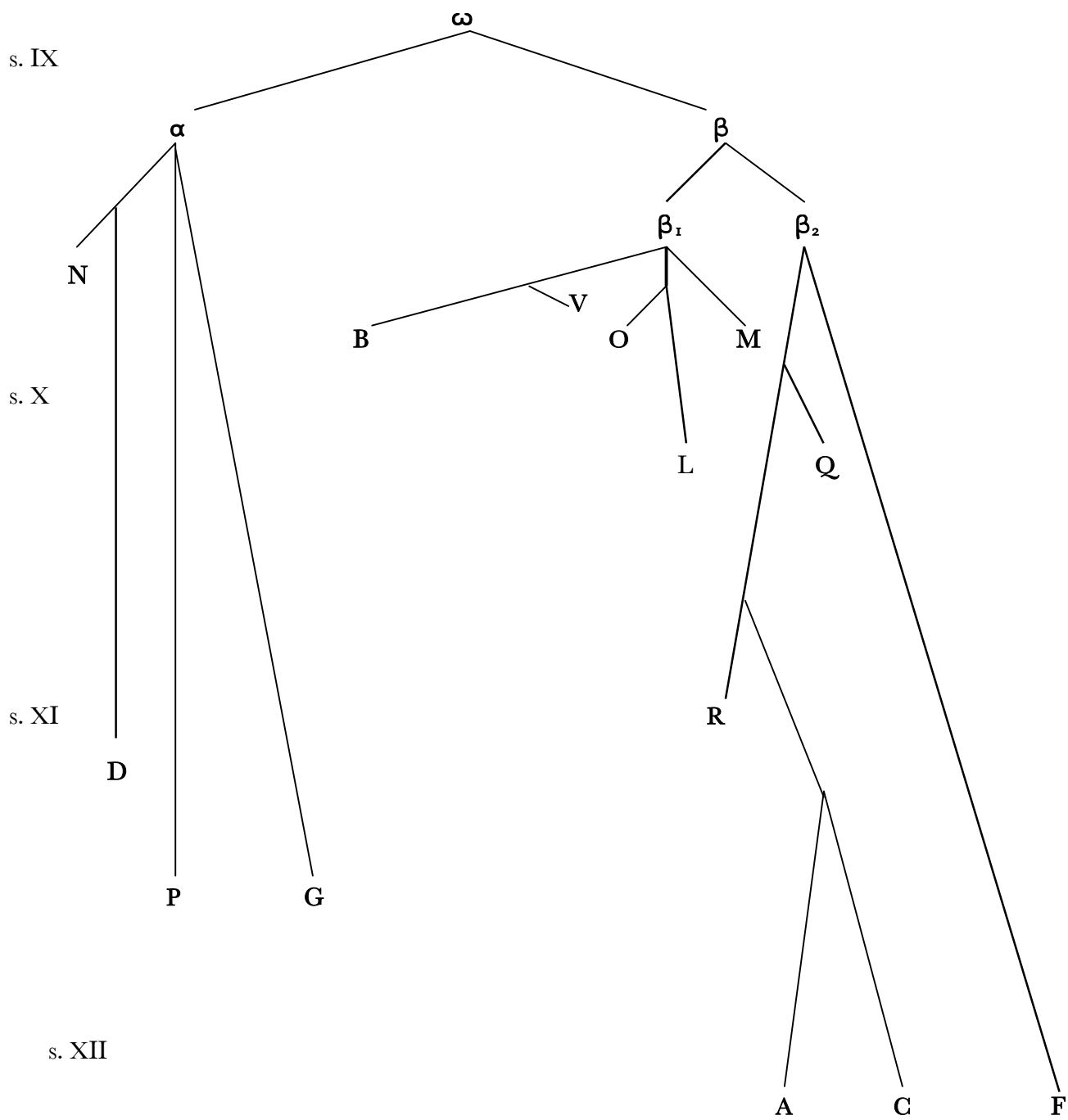
s. xi

s. xii



Whatever the contamination's source, there is of course no reason to suppose that its influence was confined to Book 7: it is only Q 's presence in the book that happens to make it visible.⁸⁶

In summary: the two Escorial manuscripts used by Willis (his T and Z) should be discarded, but five other manuscripts ($GOLC$, and Q in Book 7) can be recruited to fill out our understanding of the early medieval tradition. The understanding of that tradition on which my edition will be based can be represented thus (reconstructed intermediaries and likely paths of contamination are not shown):



Appendix

In this appendix I survey some of the pre-13th century manuscripts that have no role in the paper's main argument. None of these books has been reported in comparable detail before.

I: Leiden Voss. Lat. Q2

Leiden Voss. Lat. Q2 (= **Leid**), a composite codex, contains three folia (31^r-33^v) from a book of s. IX^{2/4} produced in the Benedictine abbey of Ferrières-en-Gâtinais (Loire);⁸⁷ these folia form one of three known links between Macrobius and the circle of Servatus Lupus.⁸⁸ The folia preserve non-continuous segments of *Sat. I*: fol. 31 = I.I.4-I.2.23 (ca. 640 words); fol. 32 = I.4.7-I.4.23 (ca. 690 words); fol. 33 = I.9.14-I.10.9 (ca. 610 words). The gap in the text between fol. 31 and 32 is ca. 1360 words, or 2 folia; between fol. 32 and 33, ca. 5000 words, or 8 folia. The outer edge of fol. 33 was trimmed, causing the loss of 1-5 letters at the end (on recto) or beginning (on verso) of almost every line, along with any corrections entered in the margin.

Determining the text's affiliation is in most respects unproblematic:

it shares all the certainly or probably archetypal errors found in its extant segments of text;⁸⁹

it shares none of the conjunctive errors of **NDPG**;⁹⁰

it shares none of the conjunctive errors of **BV**;⁹¹

it does, however, share all but one of the errors common to **BVOL**, which are also the only shared errors of **OL** that appear in these segments;⁹²

and it shares the one legacy of **β** that appears in these segments, I.4.16 defendat] defendit

LeidBVOLRFAC.

The conclusion suggested by those facts seems clear: **Leid** was a **β_I** manuscript, in fact the earliest extant member of the family save for the excerpts in **K** (which do not overlap with these remnants); within **β_I** it was not closely affiliated with **BV**, but the brevity of its text prevents a more precise identification of its place in the family.

However, its relation to the manuscripts of **β₂** introduces a complication. **Leid** was quite

thoroughly corrected: the errors that appear uniquely in the text of **Leid**'s first hand—a score or so—were all removed,⁹³ and some of the other correction found is quite finicky: for example, at 1.2.6 *pernosce*, the scribe wrote *pernosce* at end of one line, *ndae* at start of next, which a corrector altered to *pernoscen-* / *-dae*.⁹⁴ These facts are significant for this reason: whereas none of **Leid**'s corrected errors appears in **RFAC**, in nearly every case where **Leid**'s error was not corrected, it does appear in **RFAC**⁹⁵—and such cases are in fact the only places where we find **RFAC** agreeing in error in the segments of text represented by **Leid**'s surviving folia. According to the usual stemmatic principles, then, that set of facts should suggest that **RFAC** descend from **Leid**, and from that descent only one of two conclusions could follow: the implications of one would be interesting but no more, while the implications of the other would require a major revision in our understanding of the medieval tradition.

The first, less consequential option is this: the familial relation between **Leid** and **BVOL** is only apparent; instead, **Leid**, as **RFAC**'s ancestor, can be thought of as standing in the place of—even, perhaps, as being— β_2 . That is to say, **Leid** and **BVOL** share the errors they share not because they are all descended from β_1 but because they are all descended from β , and those errors do not appear in **RFAC** simply because they were all removed by correction from **Leid**. We would then regret all the more that we have only three of the latter's folia, but nothing would really be changed. The more consequential alternative is this: **Leid** and **BVOL** are indeed all descendants of β_1 —save that we now can no longer talk of β_1 and β_2 ; rather, β_2 ceases to be an independent witness to one half of the tradition and instead becomes a sub-branch of the same family as **LeidBVOL** (and **M**); and that family is no longer β_1 but, in effect, β itself.

Other considerations aside, however, the latter scenario faces an insurmountable obstacle, in the form of this question: if **RFAC**, which contain all seven books, belong to the same family as **MBVOL**, which contain only the first three, how ever did they come to have Books 4-7? To that question there are only three possible answers: from an α -source; or from **Leid** itself, which for

this purpose must be assumed to have been distinct from **MBVOL** in having all seven books; or from an otherwise unknown source, which for this purpose must be assumed to be independent of both α and β . The first answer is simply impossible, since (*inter alia*) α has, while **RFAC** lack, many errors in Books 4-7 that can be called ‘uncorrectable’: that is, they could not be detected or corrected without recourse to yet another manuscript.⁹⁶ The other two answers are based on assumptions that are arbitrary and implausible on their face.

The question, then, comes down to this: is **Leid** the functional equivalent of β_2 , the ancestor of **RFAC**, or is the set of facts above that first suggested such a relationship misleading? I think the latter alternative is more likely, though certainty is impossible. The uncorrected errors of **Leid** that recur in **RFAC** are mostly archetypal errors that we should expect to find in any case, whereas the shared non-archetypal errors are neither numerous nor impressive: I.2.8 digestaque] digesta **PLeidRFAC**, I.9.15 Quirinum] –nium **LeidBRFAC**. The second of these errors is trivial, while the first could be the result of coincidence or contamination, as its presence in the certainly unrelated manuscript **P** shows. On the other hand, there are also two cases where an archetypal error seems to have been corrected uniquely in **Leid** among the early manuscripts, with the correction subsequently reappearing in β_2 : I.9.18 aede **RFAC**: sede **Leid¹NDPGBVZOL**, I.10.6 profestum **RF**: profectum **Leid¹NDPGBVZOLAC**. In the first case, the correction was made with an expunction point under *s* (note, however, that there appear to be points under *d* and *e* also); in the second, *profectum* was crossed out with a series of diagonal strokes, and a reference sign (·/) was placed above it, pointing to a marginal correction (but that correction—presumably *profestum*—has been lost where the margin has been trimmed).⁹⁷ These two readings might make still worthy of consideration the possibility that **Leid**, as corrected, spawned **RFAC**. But there are other ways by which the latter manuscripts could have acquired the good readings, and the evidence is, on balance, too slender to support the burden it would have to bear. It is best to regard **Leid** as an early and, regrettably, mostly lost member of β_1 .

2: **R** and Its Descendants

No fewer than four extant manuscripts are derived from **R**, one of the chief witnesses to the family β_2 . These are: **J** = Vatican lat. 3417 (*Sat.* 1-4, 7); **W** = Florence Laur. Plut. 51.8 (complete); **H** = British Library Harleianus 3859 (complete);⁹⁸ **I** = Paris lat. 7412 (f. 80^r-89^v: *Sat.* 7.1.1-7.16.21).⁹⁹ I will briefly demonstrate in turn each manuscript's relation to **R**.¹⁰⁰

J contains the text of *Saturnalia* 1-4 on fol. 1^r-90^v, with *Sat.* 4.6.24 ending on the fifth line of fol. 90^v. There follows immediately, in a different, somewhat later hand, a text that the new scribe identifies, in a marginal note, as 'De s(an)c(t)o Nicholao lectio nona', concerning some of the saint's miracles; under that marginal label 'a late fifteenth century hand . . . indicates that there is lacking here about one book of Macrobius'.¹⁰¹ The new text ends on fol. 92^r, with fol. 92^v left blank; the text of *Saturnalia* 7 then fills fol. 93^r-129^v, in a hand contemporary with but different from the hand of fol. 1-90.¹⁰² It is plain that the text of Book 7 has been copied directly from **Q**, the earliest extant witness to the β_2 -family.¹⁰³ It is equally plain that the text of Books 1-4 has been copied directly from **R**: of the more than 500 uncorrected errors in **R**'s text of Book 1, **J** lacks only ten, all of them trivial, and it lacks none of **R**'s uncorrected errors in Books 2-4.¹⁰⁴ There are also many other eccentricities of **J** that are explained by the fact that **R** was its exemplar: for example, at 4.6.20, where **R** omits *exclamando dicimus ita hic aliqua*, a corrector wrote *exclamando dicimus* and *ita hic aliqua* on two separate lines in the margin, with insertion-points entered above only the first phrase; **J**'s scribe accordingly copied *exclamando dicimus* but omitted *ita hic aliqua*. Finally—and to anticipate my discussion of **WH** slightly—it is also fairly clear that **J** was the first of these manuscripts to be copied from **R**, since it sometimes follows the error of **R**'s first hand, where **WH** reflect **R**'s corrected text:¹⁰⁵

1.2.16 perblande] blande **R**¹**J**¹ (*recte WH*), 1.3.14 suprema (1^o)] supra **R**¹**J**¹ (*recte WH*),
 1.4.15 Liberalium (2^o) om. **R**¹**J**¹ (*recte WH*), 1.4.25 me sequi] esequi **J**¹, ese qui **R**¹ (*recte WH*),
 1.11.42 incelebres] inlecebres **BR**¹**J**¹ (*recte WH*), 1.12.16 Fulvius] fluvius **B**¹**R**¹**J**¹

(*recte* **WH**), 2.7.10 lepidae] lapide **NLR¹J¹** (*recte* **WH**), 3.12.10 numquamne *om.* **R¹J¹**
 (*recte* **WH**), 4.4.19 rhetoras] -ris **R¹J¹** (-res **R²J²WH**), 4.6.13 rhetoras] -ris **R¹J** (-res
R²WH).¹⁰⁶

To turn now to **W**: whereas La Penna counted this manuscript among the three most important witnesses to the β_2 -family, Willis tersely dismissed it in the preface to his edition as a copy of **R**; and though Willis was criticized for simply asserting what he should have demonstrated, he was almost certainly correct.¹⁰⁷ **W** refuses to follow **R** in uncorrected error on a few more occasions than **J**—eighteen times in Book I, against **J**'s ten¹⁰⁸—but none of these errors would be beyond a reasonably intelligent scribe's ability to remedy on his own. Certainly none of them entails the sort of textual deformation—omissions, transpositions, and the like—that would require comparison with another manuscript to remedy and so might justify the suspicion that **W** was copied not from **R** itself but from a corrected copy of **R**. For the record, however, I note that in Book 7 (where **J** no longer follows **R**) **W** lacks another five of **R**'s uncorrected readings, at least three of which would require a fair degree of attention or knowledge if a scribe was to notice or correct them *suo ingenio* rather than through comparison with another manuscript: 7.6.4 a vini potu] a vino potu **RFJQH**, avido potu **A¹** (*recte* **CW**, *non liquet* **I**),¹⁰⁹ 7.10.1 πολιοκροτάφους] ΙΤΟΛΙΟ- **RFJQ**, ΙΤΟΑΙΟ- **H**, ΙΤΟΛΛΟ **I**, ΙΤΟΜΟ- **AC** (*recte* **W**), 7.11.8 relinquit] reliquit **RFACQI**, reliquid **J** (*recte* **WH**).

The case of **H** resembles that of **W**: like the latter book, **H** lacks more of **R**'s uncorrected errors in Book I than does **J**—thirty-four this time (overlapping with **W** ten times, with **J** twice, and with both **J** and **W** once)—with another eight divergences in Book 7 (here overlapping with **W** three times);¹¹⁰ but in none of these, again, is there the sort of error that a moderately learned scribe could not address on his own. There is, however, one eccentricity that both guarantees a close kinship between the two manuscripts and suggests that **H** was not copied directly from **R**.¹¹¹ At 3.5.9 alioquin, where **R** reads *alioqui*, a hand noted in the margin *alioqui et alioquin d(icitu)r*

sub uno sensu, with three points placed over both *alioqui* in the text and the marginal gloss; the scribe of **H** wrote *alioqui et alioqui et alioquin d(icitu)r sub uno sensu*. The error confirms the latter book's dependence on the former; but the first *et* in **H**, which does not appear in **R** (and which was subsequently erased in **H**), suggests that the gloss already stood in **H**'s exemplar, and that **H**'s scribe, after writing the initial *alioqui*, was already looking ahead to *et alioquin*. It seems likely, then, that **H** was copied not from **R** but from a lightly corrected copy of **R**, though little is at stake where **H**'s actual utility is concerned.

There is also a puzzle presented by the constitution of **H** that I should record, though I cannot fully explain it.¹¹² The text of *Sat. 6* ends on the seventh line of fol. 146^v; the rest of the folium is left blank, as are the three folia following (two unnumbered, one numbered 146a), bringing to an end the gathering that began with fol. 138. The text of *Sat. 7* then begins on fol. 147^r, the first page of a new gathering, in what appears to be a contemporary but slightly smaller hand that uses abbreviations which appear nowhere else in the manuscript;¹¹³ and it is clear that the text at the start of Book 7 no longer follows that of **R** but is very closely affiliated with two other β_2 -manuscripts, **A** and (especially) **C**.¹¹⁴ This affiliation continues for just over six folia, to the top of fol. 153^r, where **H**'s text resumes its close kinship to **R**'s, which it continues to follow until the end of the book; the change appears to coincide with a change of scribes at 7.5.16 *illi soli non adsentior*.¹¹⁵ It seems reasonably clear that the shift of affiliation at the start of the new gathering is due to a decision to copy the text there independently from, and perhaps simultaneously with, the text in the earlier gatherings. Why the affiliation should suddenly change in the middle of the gathering, producing a hybrid text for the book as a whole, is a more difficult question to answer.

Finally, and briefly, **I**. This singleton of Book 7 clearly descends from **R** after correction: e.g., 7.3.16 *Socrates cum]* *Socrates* **RW¹I**, 7.4.4 *cum om.* **R¹JQ**, *si* **R²WH²I**, 7.4.11 *hinc]* *hoc* **RW¹I**, 7.4.14 *καθηλεκτική]* *ΚΑΘΦΑΚΤΙΚΗ* **RWI**, 7.4.24 *morborum]* *membrorum* **RWI** (*om.* **ACH**), 7.5.4 *sensa]* *senensa* **R²W¹I** (*sesens* **R¹**), 7.5.28 *nec]* *ne* **RWHI**, 7.5.31 *qua]* *quae* **RWHI**,

7.9.6 raptantur] –tuntur **RWHI**, 7.10.5 δυσκρασίαν] ΔCC- **RWHI**, 7.10.10 qui aut] quia ut **R²A¹J²C¹WI** (quia ut **R¹J¹Q**, quia aut **A²C²**, *recte* **H**), 7.10.11 crebro] in cerebro **RWHI** (in crebro **JC¹Q**). However, it is equally clear that **I** was copied, not directly from **R**, but from a corrected intermediary, since it lacks a number of **R**'s uncorrected errors:, e.g., 7.4.32 sedandam] sedanda **RW**, 7.5.7 utrumque falsum] utrumque falsam **RW** (utramque falsam **AHI**, utramque falsa **C**), 7.5.12 faciliorem] facilior est **RW¹**, 7.5.29 adpetentiam] ad penitentiam **RA¹W¹H** (appetentia **W²**), 7.6.2 ψυχρὸν] ΥΓΧΡΟΝ **RW**, 7.8.3 se digestionis] sedi digestionis **RW¹**, 7.9.9 excusare] excursare **RFQ**, 7.9.13 et dolore] ex dolore **RJ²W**, 7.11.9 virtute] –tis **RWH**, 7.9.26 opertu] -tum **RWH**, 7.9.27 disertissimus] diserti sumus **RW²H**. The manuscript is in any case negligible.

3: **A**, **C**, Vatican Ottob. lat. 1935 + Vatican lat. 6944 and Vatican Borg. lat. 326

Vatican Ottob. lat. 1935 (= **Vol**), dating to s. XII/XIII, contains the *Saturnalia*, down to 7.12.21 hiantium, on fol. 5^r-63^v; ¹¹⁶ the rest of Book 7 is preserved as fol. 79^r-83^r in Vatican lat. 6944. The book is clearly and closely related to **A**: like **A**, it lacks the end of Book 3, from from 3.18.9 Plautus; ¹¹⁷ like **A**, it contains the so-called *Florilegium Macrobianum*, a collection of nine brief texts or excerpts, between Books 6 and 7; ¹¹⁸ and though **Vol** contains very little marginal annotation, what little it has tends to match the marginal notations in **A**—primarily words or phrases signaling the topics under discussion—sporadically throughout and consistently in Book 7. ¹¹⁹ To define the relationship more closely, I have collated the two manuscripts against each other in Books 1 and 7, just under half the text.

First, of the roughly 250 errors that **A** and **C** share against all the other manuscripts in Books 1 and 7, **Vol** shares all but two. ¹²⁰ Furthermore, **A** and **Vol** uniquely share more than 200 other errors in the same books, including nearly forty omissions that a scribe would be unable to detect or correct *suo ingenio*. ¹²¹ Plainly, either the two manuscripts are twins or one is derived from the other. The descent of **A** from **Vol** is ruled out, however, not just because it is fairly clearly the

older manuscript, but also because **Vol** has another score of omissions, and a dozen or so other ‘uncorrectable’ errors, that are not found in **A**.¹²² That **Vol** is **A**’s descendant, not its twin, is made likely by this fact: whereas **A** and **Vol** share forty omissions that distinguish them from all the other manuscripts, and **Vol** has nearly twenty further omissions that distinguish it from **A**, only a single omission found in **A** is not also found in **Vol**, and that a fairly trivial one (7.5.24 *de*). **Vol**’s descent from **A** is further corroborated by the following detail. At 7.1.14, the correct text is:

nonne si quis aut inter Phaeacas aut apud Poenos sermones de sapientia erutos convivalibus
fabulis miscuisset, et gratiam illis coetibus aptam perderet et in se risum plane iustum
moveret? ergo prima eius observatio erit aestimare convivas.

Vol omits the underlined words: since the omission is not due to *saut de même au même*, it is most likely due to a scribe’s failure to copy one line from an ancestor of **Vol**; and that ancestor should be **A**, where the lost words occupy exactly one line.¹²³

It is clear, however, that **Vol** does not reflect the uncorrected text of **A**. Unlike **Vol**, which shows very little correction, **A** was corrected at least twice: for example, at 1.5.13 *tantus*, where **A**’s first hand wrote *quantas*, someone else changed the word to *quantus*, which was then deleted by yet another reader (the state of **A** is misreported by Willis); or again, at 1.6.19 *consultabatur*, **A**’s scribe wrote *consulabatur*, over which one hand wrote *tle* (i.e., *consulebatur*, the reading of **C**) while another hand wrote *lt* (i.e., the correct *consultabatur*). It seems plain that—as in the case of (e.g.) **J**’s relation to **R** discussed in section 2—**Vol** provides a snapshot of **A**’s text between two stages of correction: on the one hand, just over 100 errors that **A**’s scribe initially committed were corrected and do not appear in **Vol**; on the other hand, 75 of the errors that **A** and **Vol** uniquely share were ultimately corrected in **A**.¹²⁴

Finally, to the question, ‘Is **Vol** a direct copy of **A**?’, my answer would be, ‘I suspect not’. In Books 1 and 7 there are thirty-one uncorrected errors of **A** that do not appear in **Vol** (these include the two shared errors of **AC** and the omission of *de* at 7.5.24 already noted). Many of these

would not be difficult for a scribe to detect and correct without reference to another manuscript (e.g., 1.13.6 censebantur] censa- **A**, 1.13.21 refert] rerefert **A**, 1.21.14 signo] singno **A**), but this is less clearly true of some others (1.15.11 diem] idem **A**, 7.11.8 relinquit] reliquit **A**, 7.16.13 subsistit] substitit **A**, 7.16.24 qui vitro] quitro **A**).¹²⁵ There are, furthermore, these two details: at 1.4.9 si singulari numero dixeris, **Vol** uniquely has *singulari numero si dixeris*, which suggests an exemplar in which *si* had been omitted (easily done before *singulari*) and then misplaced in an omits the underlined text, a loss of twenty-nine characters (not counting spaces, and assuming the likely abbreviation of *accipiunt(ur)*) due to the omission of a line in the exemplar. **A**, however, has *si* securely in place at 1.4.9, and a line of ca. 30 characters is more characteristic of **Vol**'s own format than it is of **A**'s, where 22-24 characters to the line is the norm. I suggest, then, that **Vol** was copied from a copy of **A** that was as lightly corrected as **Vol** itself. But however that might be, it is clear that **Vol** offers nothing substantially different from **A** except more error (and even less Greek): it can safely be ignored.

Vatican **Borg**. lat. 326 (= **Borg**) contains the text of Book 7 only, written in a hand of s.XII on fol. 83^r-99^v.¹²⁶ Like **Vol**, it shares the errors that demonstrate **AC**'s descent from a common hyparchetype; it also has some of the errors that **A** and **Vol** otherwise uniquely share.¹²⁷ But it has a much smaller proportion of these than **Vol**, and it has another characteristic that distinguishes it from the latter manuscript: it also shares some—but not all—of the ‘uncorrectable’ errors that are otherwise unique to **C** in Book 7.¹²⁸ Since the relevant errors involved in both cases are not likely to have entered **Borg**'s ancestry by contamination, and since **Borg** is not obviously closer kin to **A** than it is to **C**, I infer that the seemingly distinctive errors of **A** and **C** found in **Borg** are actually the legacy of their common ancestor, **ε**, some of which were removed by correction as **ε**'s text descended to **A**, while others were removed by correction as **ε**'s text descended to **C**.¹²⁹

It hardly matters, however, because **Borg** is an exceedingly poor witness, whatever its relation to **A** and **C**. Not only does it have many further errors of its own, including omissions and

transpositions,¹³⁰ but it repeatedly reveals the gross meddling of a scribe or reader who exuberantly rewrote the text. To give only three examples: in place of ‘. . . dum per frigus suum calorem vincit elementi. nec hoc praetereo, quod ex fructibus arborum illi sunt frigidiores, quorum sucus imitatur vini saporem’ at 7.6.12-3 we find ‘dum per frigus calorem vincit. arborum etiam fructus frigidiores sunt qui vini imitantur saporem’; for ‘sphaeralem [sc. motum] dico, quo movetur caelum, quo sidera, quo cetera moventur elementa. terrenis animalibus illi sex praecipue familiares sunt, sed non numquam adhibetur et septimus’ at 7.9.4 we find ‘id est orbicularis, quo omnia caelestia corpora rotantur, animalia vero terrena sex familiariter moventur, non numquam septimo’; and for ‘Ni molestus tibi sum, Dysari, patere plus nimio ex discendi cupidine garrientem, et dicas quaeso cur edulia satis calida facilius comprimimus ore quam manu sustinemus’ at 7.12.22 we find ‘quaero rursum, ni molestus tibi sim, cur cibos calidos facilius ore sustinetur et premitur quam manu teneatur’. **Borg**, like **Vol**, can safely be ignored.

4: **M** and Paris lat. 16676

Paris lat. 16676 (= **X**: s. XII) contains Books 1-2 and 7 on fol. 1^r-47^v. La Penna assigned the text of Books 1-2 to what we now call the **β₂**-family, and in this he was largely correct.¹³¹ Presumably because he judged the book worthless, he did not attempt to establish a more precise affiliation; but the more precise affiliation that can be established shows that the book is not quite worthless. Beyond having the errors that distinguish **β₂** as a family, **X** has none of the conjunctive errors of **BV** or of **OL**. However, from 1.12.21, where **M** now begins, down through 2.4.12, **X** shares forty-seven of **M**'s singular uncorrected errors (that is, just under half);¹³² it also omits the Greek where **M** omits it and includes it where **M** includes it.¹³³ The two manuscripts are plainly related, though it is not clear to me whether **X** should be regarded as an independent offspring of the same hyparchetype (compare the case **B** and **Z**) or a descendant of **M** from whose ancestry many of **M**'s distinctive errors were removed by correction. In either case, **X** should be worth using in **M**'s stead where the latter is lacking in the first half of Book 1.

La Penna also judged that in Book 7 **X** is related to **F**, and here too he was correct.¹³⁴ The basis of La Penna's judgment was the fact that the subscription in **X**—'Macrobiani Theodosii v.c. et illust(ri)s Convivior(um) Tercii [sic] diei explicit. In Egesippo'—is the same as that in **F**, where the phrase 'In Egesippo' (on a new line, as in **X**) stands before **F**'s version of the *Florilegium Macrobianum*.¹³⁵ To this can be added the following facts: **X** shares only one of the fifty errors that distinguish **RACQ** from **F** in Book 7, and that a fairly trivial slip easily attributable to coincidence (7.14.4 ultro] ultra); by contrast, though **F** has remarkably few unique errors in this book, **X** shares most of them, including all the omissions;¹³⁶ furthermore, at the beginning of 7.1.17, where the archetype had the incorrect *nam sicut*, **FX** uniquely share the good correction *nam si ut* (in stemmatic terms, of course, an 'error'). It is clear that **F** cannot be derived from **X**, for a number of reasons: for example, in the long quotation from Eupolis at 7.5.9, **X** has slightly more of the Greek than **RAC**, but less than **F**, which (with **Q**) has it all; at 7.13.25 Nausicaam Alcinoi, **X**'s *nausica nalcinori* is plainly built on the (essentially correct) reading, *nausica analcinoi*, that **F** shares with **Q**; and at 7.15.18 **F** has the complete text ('sed et hoc in propatulo est, quia quibus aeger est pulmo accenduntur in maximam sitim, quod non eveniret nisi esset pulmo receptaculum potus') where **X** omits *aeger est . . . eveniret nisi*—and it happens that in **F** the first word that **X** omits, *aeger*, is at the end of a line, directly above *esset*, the word with which **X**'s text resumes. It seems clear that **X** is derived from **F**, probably directly. Whereas **X** is worth citing in Book 1, until **M**'s text begins, it is negligible in Book 7.

5: Montpellier Médecine 224

Montpellier Médecine 224 (= **Mont**) is a 12th-century book that was owned by the Collège de l'Oratoire de Troyes and by the French historian and antiquarian Claude Fauchet (1530-1601) before it arrived in Montpellier; it has not previously been reported. It contains a complete text of the *Saturnalia* save for the apparent loss of one folium at the end (from 7.16.33 *subsistit emanat* = ca. 925 words). But though it is complete, it is not all of one piece: it is clear virtually from a glance

that the text of Books 1-3 offers the same Greek text as manuscripts of the β_1 -family (save **M**), whereas the text of Books 4-7 shuns the Greek in the manner of the β_2 -family. Closer inspection of the text confirms these affiliations.

To take Books 1-3 first: correction in **Mont**'s ancestry has, not surprisingly, removed a number of the errors that its 9th-century antecedents inherited from β_1 , but many still remain.¹³⁷ More specifically, though it shows no affinity with either **OL** or **M**, it shares most of the errors that unite **BV** (and **Z** where its 12th-century portion is extant);¹³⁸ on the other hand, it shares none of the errors that distinguish **BZ** from **V**, and only one of the singular errors (so far as I have noticed) found in **B**.¹³⁹ For direct evidence that **Mont** is most closely affiliated with **V**, consider the following: at 1.5.8 'milli passum' dixit pro 'mille passibus' et 'milli nummum' pro 'mille nummis', **Mont** joins **V**, alone of the β_1 -family, in failing to omit *passibus . . . mille*, and in reading *passus* for *passibus* and *nummos* for *nummis*; at 2.4.31 νῆ τὴν σὴν τύχην, Σεβαστέ' εἰ πλέον εἶχον, πλέον ἐδίδουν, where **B** and **V** both include a Latin translation ('non secundum fatum tum auguste si plus haberem plus darem'), **B** places the gloss before the Greek while **Mont** joins **V** in placing it after; and though **V** has notably few distinctive uncorrected errors, **Mont** tends to share those that it has.¹⁴⁰ As for whether **Mont** is a direct descendant of **V** or the descendant of a twin, the correction in **Mont**'s background prevents a clear-cut answer; but I suspect that **Mont** stands in the same relation to **V** that **Z** does to **B**. It is in any case no more useful.¹⁴¹

It is plain that at least one of **Mont**'s ancestors was corrected against a β_2 -manuscript in Books 1-3,¹⁴² and as already noted, that family was the source of **Mont**'s text in Books 4-7. The line of descent within the family is clear: **Mont** has most of the errors that distinguish **RAC** (and, in Book 7, **Q**) from **F**; it has none of the conjunctive errors of the two English books, **A** and **C**; in Book 7 it shares the errors that distinguish **RQ** from both **AC** and **F**,¹⁴³ but it shares none of **Q**'s singular errors; and in all four books it shares (or, in a few cases, extends) many of the distinctive errors found in **R**.¹⁴⁴ Yet **Mont** is far from displaying all of **R**'s uncorrected errors, and it might

well be **R**'s twin rather than its descendant.¹⁴⁵ In any case, the state of **Mont**'s text—for example, the fact that at 4.6.5 it has a quotation from Homer (*Il.* 22.410-11) found in no other **β**₂-manuscript—suggests a background of contamination and correction a good deal more complex than that found in **R**'s other close kin discussed in section 2 of this Appendix.

Notes

- ¹ A. La Penna, 'Studi sulla tradizione dei Saturnali di Macrobio', *ASNP* 22 (1953), 225-252, at 226-35. I cite this study hereafter as La Penna 1953; other works repeatedly cited include: B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1998) = Bischoff 1998; M. J. Carton, *Three Unstudied Manuscripts of Macrobius's 'Saturnalia'* (Diss. St. Louis University 1966) = Carton 1966; J. Willis, 'De codicibus aliquot manuscriptis Macrobiani *Saturnalia* continentibus', *RhM* 100 (1957), 152-64 = Willis 1957; J. Willis (ed.), *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Saturnalia* (Leipzig 1963; 1994³) = Willis 1963; J. Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism* (Urbana 1972) = Willis 1972.
- ² Willis 1957, 153-57; Willis' correction was accepted by La Penna in his review of Willis' edition (*RFIC* 92 (1964), 453-4). For an overview see also the summary by P. K. Marshall in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford 1983), 233-5, with remarks by B. C. Barker-Benfield on the manuscripts, *ibid.*, 222-4.
- ³ See esp. the reviews by La Penna ((n. 2), 452-61), P. K. Marshall (*CR* 14 (1964), 169-71), and S. Timpanaro (*Gnomon* 36 (1964), 785-91).
- ⁴ Timpanaro, (n. 3), 790, was more direct, attributing the shortcomings 'a una forma di orgoglioso isolamento. . . Willis ama atteggiarsi come un piccolo Housman'.
- ⁵ The worst offenses involve the manuscripts **R** and **A**, discussed below in the section on family **β**₂; even La Penna, the only reviewer who knew the manuscripts at first hand, had scarcely an inkling (cf. (n. 2), 455). I can attest that after spending over a year of his life detecting and correcting Willis' dismal lapses, a scholar will experience a suite of strong emotions—admiration not among them—on revisiting Willis 1972, 36-42, where the author impresses on future editors, earnestly and at length, the necessity of providing full reports of the manuscripts they cite. Nor is the edition of the *Saturnalia* an aberration: cf. Barker-Benfield's characterization of Willis' edition of the *Commentary* as 'resting on a narrow, ill-chosen, and ill-collated manuscript base' ((n. 2), 224).
- ⁶ For a gross but still relatively minor example, see n. 15 below.
- ⁷ More precisely: I have checked every report of a shared error in Willis' apparatus and a generous sampling of reported singular errors; I have also recollated the manuscripts **R** and **A**.

- ⁸ I have attempted a census of all pre-13th-century witnesses (including, as a precaution, those on the border between s. XII and s. XIII), and have examined by microfilm or digital imagery all those not used by Willis except Troyes 514 (see n. 12 below), Oxford Bodl. Lat. class. b.3 (fragments of Books 1-2 from s. XII ex. / s. XIII), and Madrid Bibl. Nac. 7825 (Books 1-3, described in the National Library's published catalog as s. XIII in. and as s. XV in L. Rubio Fernández, *Catálogo de los manuscritos clásicos latinos existentes en España* (Madrid 1984), 327 no. 373). For details see esp. nn. 32, 71, 86, and the Appendix.
- ⁹ The two complete books occupy 132 pages (Book 1) and 106 pages (Book 5) in the Teubner edition; the rest range from a mere 23 pages (Book 4) to 66 (Book 7). If the damaged books were each originally as long as Book 5, the equivalent of more than 300 pages has been lost.
- ¹⁰ A date no later than early s. IX is implied for β_1 by the date of **K** (n. 29), and β_1 is at least one copy removed from the archetype. A much-condensed version of *Sat.* 1.12-15 produced before 703 (probably in Ireland) opens a small window on the pre-archetypal transmission of the text, though the epitome is too severely redacted to throw any light on the present paper's concerns: see A. Arweiler, 'Zu Text und Überlieferung einer gekürzten Fassung von Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1,12,2-1, 15,20', *ZPE* 131 (2000), 45-57. Similarly uninformative is another early fragment of the *Saturnalia*, Paris lat. 6370, written s. IX^{1/3}, probably at Tours: a very important witness for the *Commentary*, the manuscript also has one surviving leaf of the *Saturnalia* (*Praef.* 1-6 *commitemus* [sic]), which shares the trivial error *promisce* (for *-cue*) with **NDPG** (*Praef.* 3) but lacks their more striking substitution of *indigeste* for *indistincte* (*Praef.* 3) and fails to follow **NDG**¹ in writing *mixura* for *mixture* (*Praef.* 6) or **P** in omitting *omnis* (*Praef.* 2; it happens that no striking errors of β occur in this opening segment).
- ¹¹ I adopt the sigla α , β_1 , and β_2 from N. Marinone (ed.), *I Saturnali di Macrobio Teodosio* (Turin 1977²), 60.
- ¹² I have not examined Troyes cod. 514, a late twelfth-century manuscript that La Penna judged a descendant of **P** (La Penna 1953, 230, noting that it often omits the Greek) and that Barker-Benfield calls its 'twin' ((n. 2), 222).
- ¹³ Willis 1957, 155; on **T** see also Willis 1972, 21-22.

- ¹⁴ Willis 1963, viii, 1972, 54-5, with examples.
- ¹⁵ Thus 5.13.12 *stupet om. NG, tunc P*; it is probably owing to the same sort of learning that **P** alone has *Aen.* 7.699 at 5.8.3, making good a loss that was plainly archetypal. Given the freewheeling approach of **P**'s scribe, Willis remarked (1963, viii), 'ita fit ut soli **P** cautius fidendum'—although he repeatedly ignored this principle in practice, following **P** against the archetypal reading (even, in a couple of places, against both the archetype and Vergil) without warrant: e.g., 3.4.7 *Labeo P: Labeo libro ω*, 5.1.17 *usus est Antonius P: est usus Antonius ω*, 5.6.4 *tenet P: latus ω*, *Verg.*, 5.10.2 *capitis P: capiti ω*, *Verg.*, 5.13.31 *id est P: hoc est ω*, 6.7.2 *gestit interrogare Servium P: Servium gestit interrogare ω*, 6.7.5 *humani generis P: generis humani ω*, 7.12.31 *quam P: ac ω*, 7.16.34 *testis P: auctor ω* (*CQ*'s reader points out that at 5.1.17 and 6.7.2 rhythmical considerations join stemmatic considerations in supporting **ω** against **P**). In the last of these places the note in the apparatus reverses the true state of affairs; in the rest there is no note at all.
- ¹⁶ **G**'s value as a control was seen by La Penna 1953, 229.
- ¹⁷ It is clear, in particular, that none of the later manuscripts is derived from **N**, which has many unique, gross, and uncorrected errors, including omissions: e.g., 1.4.2 *crastini . . . die*, 1.18.3 *Bacchicas . . . colunt* (after which **N** joins **DPG** in omitting the words *unde . . . celebratur*), 2.1.11 *incertae . . . iocorum*, 2.11.6 *sunt . . . ornamentorum*, 5.14.6 *mecum . . . Arcadia*, 6.1.22 *idem . . . terram*, 7.3.11 *ut si . . . doloris*.
- ¹⁸ La Penna 1953, 229, Carton 1966, 142-9.
- ¹⁹ The particularly close kinship of **ND** was noted by Willis 1963, viii.
- ²⁰ In the few places where the error appears in one or two **β** manuscripts, by coincidence or contamination, the sigla are given in parentheses.
- ²¹ I.e., **NG** against **DP** (6), **PG** against **ND** (9), **NP** against **DG** (2), **DP** against **NG** (3), **DG** against **NP** (1).
- ²² La Penna 1953, 229, 'S [= **G**] pare indipendente del ramo NP: per esempio, a 1, 3, 8 è immune da una lacuna di NP, che omettono *mediam noctem - et post*; a 1, 17, 10 ha la lezione giusta *pestem* contro *testem*, errore di NP; ecc.': in fact the lacuna noted occurs only in **P**, and **G** shares the error *testem*, *p*

having been written over the original *t* by a corrector.

²³ **ND** are here taken to represent the text of their probable common ancestor; (**D**) = '**D** while it is present'.

²⁴ Again, in the few cases where one or two **β** manuscripts happen to share the error, their sigla are given in parentheses.

²⁵ **P**'s reading evidently reflects a freelance attempt to provide some sense, in reaction to the nonsense bequeathed by **α**.

²⁶ An erasure of 2-3 letters follows *Ennius in* in **P**.

²⁷ I take it that the omissions at 4.6.14, 5.12.11, and 7.2.2 were made good by comparison with a **β** manuscript, though the first two would not be beyond the reach of a scribe or reader familiar with Vergil and with Macrobius' habits, respectively; cf. n. 15, on **P**'s supplement at 5.8.3.

²⁸ Note that of the 133 errors that **G** shares with **NDP** in Book I, no fewer than 51 were removed by correction; that **G** was corrected against a **β** manuscript is made plain by, e.g., 1.3.13 mane *om.* **NDPG** (*corr.* **G**²), 1.3.13 post inferioribus *add. locis* **G**²**β**, 1.6.7 habitus *om.* **NDPG** (*corr.* **G**²), 1.11.48 significare *om.* **NDPG** (*corr.* **G**²), 1.11.49 et . . . pararentur *om.* **NDPG** (*add.* **G**^m), 1.15.16 vocant *om.* **NDPG** (*corr.* **G**²), 1.21.15 angustaque] naturaque **NDPG** (*corr.* **G**², angustaeque **P**², where **P**'s corrector relied on his own wits to produce a reading that at least is construable in context). That an ancestor of **G** was similarly corrected against a **β**-manuscript is implied by, e.g., 1.21.23 iam supra] supra iam **NDP** and 3.9.10 sive vos] sive **NDP**.

²⁹ On the provenance of Vatican Pal. lat. 886, B. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Munich 1974), 35, 42, 114-15. The dating is based upon the fact that the scribe uses the suspension *t*' not only for *-tus*, which continued to be the norm, but still occasionally for *-tur*, alongside the suspension *-t̄* that increasingly became the norm after 800: K. Tohill, 'Excerpts from Macrobius in codex Vaticanus Palatinus Latinus 886', *Manuscripta* 22 (1978), 104-108, places the manuscript in or before 820, following E. K. Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for *-tur*', *Speculum* 2 (1927), 52-65.

³⁰ Willis 1957, 157.

- ³¹ 'Frankreich, IX Jh., ca. 3. Drittel': Bischoff 1998, 2:204. Paris lat. 16676 (s. XII) is a sibling or descendant of **M** and will be cited in my edition in place of **M** where the latter is lacking in Book 1: see Appendix section 4.
- ³² 'Umkreis von Reims, IX Jh., 3. Drittel': Bischoff 1998, 1:47. Among the other pre-13th cent. witnesses, Naples V.B.12 (s. XII) was believed by La Penna to be very closely related to **B** (1953, 228), and that is certainly correct (among the errors they uniquely share note, e.g., 1.7.17 tibi *om.*, 1.7.34 Compitalibus] cum Compitalibus, 1.7.34 pro capitibus capitibus] c. p. c., 1.7.35 consul pulso] compulso (corr. **B**²), 1.11.22 dominisque] dominis, 1.17.29 reperta] repente, 1.24.4 cum ipse . . . est philosophandi *om.* (corr. in both); the Neapolitan book was owned by Janus Parrhasius and contains his corrections, along with extensive earlier correction. We can now add the excerpts of the *Saturnalia* in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, which M. J. Muñoz Jiménez has shown to be closely affiliated with **B** ('La tradición manuscrita de Macrobio y los *Saturnalia Excerpta* del *Florilegium Gallicum*', *RHT* n.s. 3 (2008), 89-103, at 92-93: to the evidence adduced there add the omission of *facit* at line 128 = *Sat.* 2.7.11, shared uniquely by the *Florilegium*, **B**, and Naples V.B.12); note also that according to the text given on p. 101 (line 123), the *Florilegium* had the reading *caedes* at 2.7.9 (Laberius) that Willis prints as the conjecture of Schneidewin (actually, Sanadon).
- ³³ From the area around Soissons: date and origin according to Bernhard Bischoff, cited in E. Pellegrin, *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane* vol. 2, part 1 (Paris 1978), 337-8. **V** has a twin or descendant in Books 1-3 of Montpellier Médecine 224: see Appendix section 5.
- ³⁴ The hand is s. XII/XIII to 1.17.6, thereafter s. XV. Used by Willis down to 1.17.6, **Z** is still more closely related to **B** than **V**, and stemmatically negligible, especially with the added testimony of **OL**. I will not use it in my edition.
- ³⁵ 'Nördliches Frankreich (?), IX Jh., ca. 3. Viertel', Bischoff 1998, 2:109. Bischoff notes that fol. 133-8 (= *Sat.* 3.13.9-3.20.8) were added in s.XI 1/4, though the character of the text does not change.
- ³⁶ 'Portions of the text through the first ten folia have been lost by mutilation, apparently through a triangular tear at the lower right corner. . . . These mutilated portions of the text have been supplied for the most part on interpagination in a late fifteenth century hand' (Carton 1966, 7).

- ³⁷ On the date and provenance, see n. 29.
- ³⁸ Leiden Voss. Lat. Q2, fol. 31^r-33^v: on the affiliation of this book see Appendix section 1.
- ³⁹ A partial collation of **K** was published by Tohill (n. 29), who apparently was unaware of Jan.
- ⁴⁰ Carton 1966, 99-138. Carton concluded that **L** is a *gemellus* of **B** (ibid. 150-9), but her discussion of **L**'s affiliation is as unsatisfactory as her discussion of **G**'s (cf. at n. 18), for much the same reasons.
- ⁴¹ La Penna 1953, 227-8. La Penna's low valuation of **M**—because it is missing before *Sat.* 1.11.2, because it has some 'errori grossolani' (hardly a distinguishing feature!), and because alone of this family it usually omits the Greek—was unjustified: its stemmatic value easily compensates for its faults.
- ⁴² Complete collations of **O** and **K** are available in a paper ('A Collation of British Library Cotton Vit. C.III and Vatican Palatinus latinus 886') on the website 'Princeton / Stanford Working Papers in Classics' (<http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/>).
- ⁴³ That is, β_1 -manuscripts share around 150 errors in the space of 216 Teubner pages; α -manuscripts share around 380 in the space of 462 pages. The β_1 -manuscripts share another ten errors against α in reporting Greek that the β_2 -manuscripts omit.
- ⁴⁴ I include here only errors found after **M** begins at 1.12.21. For errors shared by **BVOL** before that point, see, e.g., 1.6.14 *matrimisque om.*, 1.10.3 *et Pomponium om. (corr. L²)*, 1.10.20 *esse persuasum] persuasum esse*, 1.11.1 *in om.*, 1.11.13 *respondit] non respondit*, 1.12.16-17 *vocasse. sunt qui hunc mensem om.*; all such errors are also found in Paris lat. 16676, which in this part of its text is a descendant or twin of **M** (see Appendix section 4).
- ⁴⁵ The close relationship of **B** and **V** was remarked by La Penna, 1953, 227. See, for example, the following: 1.19.12 *huius modi] eius modi*, 1.20.16 *Cypriorum rege] rege Cypriorum*, 2.1.10 *visa est] digna est (corr. V²)*, 2.3.4 *maior est] malorum B, maiorem V (corr. B²V²)*, 2.3.12 *post πρόσβευσον add. si obtinueris et pro nobis intercede*, 2.3.16 *ὁμοιόπτωτον] simile factum ΟΜΟΙΟΠΟΙΗΤΟΝ*, 2.4.11 *melius est] mallet*, 2.4.11 *porcum . . . filium] porcus . . . filius*, 2.4.31 *non secundum fatum tuum auguste si plus haberem plus darem add. ante Graeca B, post Graeca V (sim. F^m)*, 3.4.6 *meritos aris] merito sacris (corr. B²V²)*, 3.4.13 *vocari eos om. (corr. B²)*, 3.6.6 *secuti sunt] sunt secuti*, 3.13.11 *flamen Martialis] martialis flamen*.

- ⁴⁶ Willis 1972, 19-20, whence I have adapted the stemma just below. Cf. also at n. 84 below, on **RACQ** in *Sat.* 7.
- ⁴⁷ Contrast **B**, which imports via correction a striking number of errors otherwise peculiar to **M**, e.g.: 1.15.6 aut] ut **MB**², 1.15.12 die] diem **MB**², 1.17.47 cognominatur] -tus **MB**², 1.17.54 fulgeret] refulg-**MB**² (nefulgeret **B**), 2.4.28 nummis] nummus **MB**², 2.8.3 πέψει] passi **MB**², 2.8.6 remissionibus] -oribus **MB**², 3.2.16 vitulam] -la **MB**², 3.4.5 pingues] -is **MB**², 3.7.2 imperatori] imperii **MB**², 3.7.6 sacrum esset] sacratum esset **MB**², 3.9.10 ollis] ullis **MB**², 3.10.6 argute] arguit te **M**, arguit **B**², 3.11.2 Cererin'] cereri in **MB**², 3.13.12 ex farina] et farina **MB**^m, 3.14.8 vindicare] indicare **MB**², 3.14.8 flutentur] fluent **MB**², 3.16.10 maris sui] marinis suis **MB**², 3.17.17 sponsione] -nem **MB**².
- ⁴⁸ Given the brevity of its extracts I do not attempt to place **K**, beyond saying that it seems to me to stand outside the sub-group **BVZ** (*pace* Tohill (n. 29), 105, who attempts to link **K** closely to **B**). I will not use **K** in my edition.
- ⁴⁹ In another thirty places before **M** begins at *Sat.* 1.12.21, **BVZ** agree in error against **OL**, where the presumption must be strong that **M** lacked these errors also, as they are lacking in Paris lat. 16676 (cf. n. 44 and Appendix section 4).
- ⁵⁰ **OL**'s error is evidently a 'correction' of the *urgentem* also found in **M**.
- ⁵¹ Both readings are closer to the archetype than the **NEPIE** of **BVZF**, the only other **β**-manuscripts to preserve the Greek.
- ⁵² 1.16.8 quotiens] quoties, 1.24.9 cum] eum (corr. **B**², *non liquet O*), 1.24.17 destituetur] dis- (corr. **B**²), 2.3.5 consolatu (corr. **B**²), 2.8.5 aurienda (corr. **B**²).
- ⁵³ 1.15.14 ἡμέραν] HMEPAM **MOL** (**R**, *corr. O*²), 2.2.17 fierem] feriem **MOLK**, 2.5.1 quisquam] quisque **MOLK**, 2.2.5 Cassii] cassi **MOLK**, 2.7.4 porro] porri **MOLK**, 3.13.11 Catulus] catullus **MB**²**OLK**, 3.1.3 sic] sit **M**¹**OL** (*del. M*², *om. B*¹), 3.13.3 suas] suos **M**¹**OL** (**P**¹), 3.14.9 dat] datur **MOLK**, 3.20.3 prodigiaque] p- quae **MOL** (*deest B*).
- ⁵⁴ For the former I believe there is only 1.7.37 suos] suo **VOLR**¹**FA**¹, 1.8.3 cuiusquam] cuiusque **NDPGVOLRFA** (*haud scio an recte*), 1.21.12 sublimem] -men **DVOLRFC**, 1.22.8 nexus] nexu **VOL**, 2.3.10 transiit] transit **VOLRFA**, 2.6.5 Lucius] lucilius **VOLRFAJC**, 2.6.5 ego] ergo **VO**¹**L**,

3.5.1 haruspices] horu- **VO¹L**, 3.8. 12 definitionem] diff- **VOL**; for the latter only 1.18.10 ornatu] – tus **M¹B¹Z¹**, 1.22.1 *post* conspectui *add.* DE INVO **B²VOLRFA** (DE INVVO **MB¹**). With the readings at 1.7.37, 1.21.12, 2.3.10, and 2.6.5, where **VOL** agree with **β₂**, compare the discussion immediately following.

- ⁵⁵ As was suggested to me by C. E. Murgia. A book with a format like **M**'s typically has ca. 60 characters (plus spaces) to the line. On the relation between **M** and **B²**, see n. 47.
- ⁵⁶ I exclude here Vatican lat. 3417 (**J**), Florence Laur. Plut. 51.8 (**W**), and British Library Harleianus 3859 (**H**), and Paris lat. 7412 (**I**), four manuscripts derived from **R**, which are discussed in Appendix section 2; and Montpellier Médecine 224, another 12th-century descendant or (perhaps more likely) twin of **R** in Books 4-7, discussed in Appendix section 5. On the very slender possibility that remnants of **β₂** are preserved in Leiden Voss. Lat. Q2, see Appendix section 1.
- ⁵⁷ From Mont St. Michel, ca. 990-1015: J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel* (Oxford 1970), 232. Since **R** is lacking after 7.14.11 *animum in(ducere)*, I will use one of its copies, Florence Laur. Plut. 51.8 (= **W**), as a stand-in; on this manuscript, see Appendix section 2.
- ⁵⁸ From Bury St. Edmunds: N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London 1964²), 17 (my thanks to J. S. Ringrose, deputy curator of manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, for this reference and other information concerning this manuscript).
- ⁵⁹ Attributed to St. Albans by R. W. Hunt: handwritten annotation inserted at p. 150 in the Parker Library's copy of M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge* vol. 1 (Cambridge 1912), cf. Ker (n. 58), 165. R. M. Thomson (*Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066-1235* vol. 1 (Woodbridge 1982)) assigns the manuscript (p. 28) to a group of books made during (or shortly before or after) the abbacy of Ralph Guibuin (1146-51) and dates it to 'Saec. XII med. or 3/4' (p. 83); he also notes (p. 49) that 'the hands in which it is written are not found in other St Albans books, although they are reminiscent of Style II'.
- ⁶⁰ Dated to s. X by H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Bern 1875), 432, and omitted from Bischoff 1998; my thanks to Dr. Patrick Andrist and Dr. Martin Germann of the Burgerbibliothek for confirming a 10th-century date for fol. 1-113.

- ⁶¹ Willis 1963, ix: ‘**A** vero neque doctus neque honestus homo scripsit—quam mala fide scripserit videbis lib. 6.7.9 [viz., the interpolation of *laborare videmus*]—unde si quis post me Macrobius ediderit, hortor hunc libro omnino contemnat’; cf. Willis 1972, 123. In fact **A**’s ‘misbehavior’ is no worse than the freewheeling approach of **P** (cf. n. 15), the manuscript that Willis prized above all the rest (1963, ix).
- ⁶² La Penna 1953, 235.
- ⁶³ Nor can it be derived from **Q** in Book 7, in view of (e.g.) the following uncorrected omissions in **Q** absent from **R** (but found in **J**, a manuscript that unquestionably does take its text of Book 7 from **Q**): 7.1.16 *exerceat*, 7.3.9 *genere*, 7.10.7 *umoris*, 7.11.8 *membrorum*, 7.12.36 *dulces*, 7.13.4 *calorem*, 7.14.22 *qui potest . . . melius est*.
- ⁶⁴ E.g., from Book 1 alone: 1.2.12 *faciam*] *facito*, 1.7.6 *vel* (1^o) *om.*, 1.7.37 *eumque*] *huncque*, 1.10.5 *gererentur*] *agerentur*, 1.12.28 *quod om.*, 1.15.20 *putantes*] *arbitrantes*, 1.16.36 *etiam om.*, 1.17.35 *augendoque*] *gignendoque*, 1.17.38 *idem Homerus om.*, 1.17.57 *calore et umore*] *umore et calore*, 1.22.4 *unde . . . ait om.* I also suspect, on the basis of the hand, that **F** is the youngest of the four manuscripts.
- ⁶⁵ The text of Book 4 begins immediately after 3.18.9 *non relinquemus* on fol. 66^r, a loss of ca. 900 words, or probably one folium (**A** typically has ca. 700 words to the folium, while **C** typically has 1000-1100). Note the complementary disturbance that appears in **A**’s twin, **C**: precisely the same segment that is missing in **A**—3.18.9 *Plautus in* – 3.20.8 *discessio est*—follows 3.17.18 *monstruosae* in **C**, after which 3.17.18 *magnitudinis* – 3.18.9 *non relinquemus* are found, written in the same hand. Evidently a folium came loose in **A** and **C**’s common ancestor, was incorrectly reinserted before **C** (or a predecessor) was copied, and had been lost entirely by the time **A** (or a predecessor) was copied.
- ⁶⁶ These include: 1.7.3 *innumeras inter* (*innumeras om. BVZOLRFA*), 1.8.6 *enim*, 1.9.11 *Etymorum* (*spat. relict.*), 1.11.6 *tibi*, 1.12.7 *illae*, 1.17.22 *Ἀσφαλίωνα*, 1.23.8 *quam*, 1.24.25 *animi*, 3.4.6 *Maro*, 3.20.3 *fructus*, 3.20.3 *portenta*, 5.1.20 *infra*, 5.8.8 *arma*, 5.13.5 *quid*, 5.13.27 *relinquo*, 5.13.36 *alio loco*, 6.1.8 *cum*, 6.1.9 *Ennius in primo . . . prospexit stellis fulgentibus aptum*, 6.2.14 *Lucretius ait . . . saecula ferarum*, 6.4.15 *ingens*, 6.6.6 *corpora . . . leto*] *–ra tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit in ras., deinde tela – leto om. (spat. 28-30 litt. relict.)*, 6.6.11 *laborem pro in eos impende*, 7.1.6 *solet*, 7.2.1 *semper*,

7.3.8 –dere . . . scomma fuit. Note also the many good corrections (in stemmatic terms, ‘errors’) that appear uniquely in **C**, discussed below.

- ⁶⁷ This number suggests either that β_2 was more carefully copied than α or β_1 (cf. n. 43 above), or that more of its errors had been removed by correction by the time its main extant witnesses for *Sat.* 1-6 were written in ss. XI-XII. It happens that when **RFAC** are joined in Book 7 by **Q**, the number of shared errors, viewed proportionally, rises quite noticeably (62 errors shared by **RFACQ** in the 66 pages of Book 7 vs. 49 errors shared by **RFAC** in the 132 pages of Book 1).
- ⁶⁸ Where *intertrinundino* is the reading of β_2 , and the readings of **C** and **FA**² are attempts to render it construable.
- ⁶⁹ **C**’s reading represents a normalization, since deponent forms occur only with the root *flut*-.
- ⁷⁰ Where **AC**’s common ancestor bequeathed them an attempt to make good β_2 ’s lack; a similar attempt is found in Vat. lat. 3417 (= **J**, in Book 7 a copy of **Q**; see Appendix section 2), where a reader wrote *aram* in the margin. Note also two places where β_2 extended an error already found in β : 1.17.42 ad progenerandum] ad progenerandarum **MBVOL**, progenerandarum **RFAC**; 2.5.4-5 Iuliam. venerat ad eum] iulia venerata deum **MBVOLK**, iulia venerata dominum **RFAC**.
- ⁷¹ Brussels Bibl. Roy. 10058 (fol. 33-43 in the composite codex 10057-62), a manuscript of s. XII/XIII containing only Book 7, also belongs to the group **RAC**, though extensive correction and contamination in its ancestry hinders more precise affiliation. Because of the loss of (probably) three folia in an ancestor it lacks 7.1.13 ita in omni – 7.4.1 et Praetextatus (ca. 2450 words).
- ⁷² There are over seventy such places in Book 1 alone. La Penna (1953, 232-3) took an unaccountably dim view of **F**: believing that it was copied from the same hyparchetype as **A**—which is certainly not the case—he dismissed it as a ‘codice misto’. But that label could be justified only by evidence that **F** was extensively contaminated from an α - or β_1 -source in Books 1-3 or from an α -source in Books 4-7: there is no such evidence. Nor can I see that either script or placement support La Penna’s statement that the Greek passages in **F** are ‘spesso aggiunti da altra mano di poco posteriore’ (ibid., 232).
- ⁷³ For a complete record see ‘A Collation of Cambridge Corpus Christi College 71 (Macrobius Saturnalia)’, published on the website mentioned in n. 42. The close relation was noted by La Penna,

1953, 232. On Vatican Ottob. lat. 1935 + Vatican lat. 6944, a descendant of **A** dating to s. XII/XIII, see Appendix section 3.

⁷⁴ On this interpolation cf. n. 143.

⁷⁵ On the relation of **H** (= Brit. Lib. Harl. 3859) to **AC** in 7.1.1-5.14, see Appendix section 2.

⁷⁶ This abbreviation, which appears in none of the other manuscripts, was also applied in a freelance fashion by **C**'s scribe (or by the scribe of another manuscript standing between **C** and **AC**'s common ancestor), who inserted it inappropriately in several places where he supposed that Greek had stood: e.g., 5.13.16 *post* imposuit, 5.13.19 *post* differentiam, 5.13.21 *post* perducit, 5.13.26 *post* comparare, 5.13.30 *post* remansit.

⁷⁷ Guelph. 4619 (*olim* Gudianus 312, s. XIII) and Monac. clm 15738 (*olim* Salisburg. 38) are Jan's **G** and **S**, respectively; the latter was written in Florence by Bartolomeo Fonzio in the 1460s (Barker-Benfield, (n. 2), 223 n. 3, A. C. de la Mare, 'New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence', in A. Garzelli (ed.), *Miniatura Fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440-1525* vol. 1 (Florence 1985), p. 488; I thank *CQ*'s reader for the latter reference). I have not collated these manuscripts completely but have checked them against Jan's reports.

⁷⁸ But to read *radice*, with Jan and Willis, is probably to correct the author: the archetype's *radicem* is the reading found also in Servius and most of Vergil's ancient and medieval manuscripts.

⁷⁹ The archetype's reading is preferred here by Timpanaro, (n. 3), 791, and Marinone, (n. 11), 75.

⁸⁰ Cf. also 5.18.5 Cocalo *ed. Basil. 1535*, Cocalo **C**: cot- ω, 7.14.2 offensa] offensu **C** '*olim volu*' Willis, and the following places where **C** is joined by one or two other manuscripts in a conjectural reading that is either correct or worthy of consideration: Praef. 8 proprii **O²A^vC**: propria ω, 3.13.14 faciant **P²C**: faciam ω, 5.2.15 repulsam **FC**: -sa ω, 5.10.7 saepe peragrans **R²C**: *om.* ω, 5.11.28 et immobiles **R²C**: etiam mobiles ω, 5.12.5 infandum **RC**: infantum ω, 5.13.38 sero **FC**: servo ω, 7.14.10 manare **A²C**: -ere ω. Note also the readings that the correcting hand in **C** produced: 7.5.3 audere **C²** (*ed. Ven. 1472*): audire ω, 7.5.11 mutis **C²** (*Bern. 404, ed. Ven. 1513*): multis ω.

⁸¹ 'A Neglected Witness to Macrobius' *Saturnalia*', in R. Ferri, M. Seo, and K. Volk, eds., *Callida Musa: Papers on Latin Literature in Honor of R. Elaine Fantham* = *MD* 61 (forthcoming); a complete

collation of **Q** is published in ‘Four Manuscripts of Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*’ on the website cited in n. 42.

⁸² At 7.13.17 *me in omni] mei nomini* **FQ**¹, *mei nominis* **R**, *recte* **Q**²**AC**, I take *mei nomini* to be the reading of **β**₂, while **R**’s *mei nominis* is a misfired attempt at correction.

⁸³ In the study just cited (n. 81), I note: 7.4.14 *καθελεκτική]* **ΚΑΘΕΑΚΤΙΚΗ NPGFQ**, **ΚΑΘΦΑΚΤΙΚΗ R**, **ΚΑΕΦΑΚΤΙΚΗ AC**, where **F** and **Q** join the **α**-manuscripts in what is essentially the right reading (apart from the perpetual confusion of **Λ** and **A**), while the common ancestor of **RAC** introduced a Latin **F** for Greek **E** and **AC**’s ancestor swapped a (lunate) **E** for **Θ**; 7.9.16 *corporei] corpore* **R**¹**Q**, in *corpore* **R**²**AC** and 7.11.3 *faciat] facit* **Q**, *fecit* **RAC**, in both of which **Q** plainly reflects the first stage of an error (in the former case joined by **R**¹) that is subsequently extended; and 7.13.25 *Nausicaam Alcinoi] nausica an al cinoi* **Q**, *nausica analcinoi* **F**, *nausicam analcinoi* **R**, *nausicam alcinoi* **AC**, where again **QF** have a text that is essentially correct, save for eccentricities of word-division, while **R**’s *nausicam* builds upon *nausica* to produce the case that is needed in context and **AC**’s reading removes the apparently superfluous syllable from the start of Alcinous’ name.

⁸⁴ See the stemma at n. 46 above.

⁸⁵ The character of this source of correction is unclear: in general **AC** do not show significant contamination from an **α** or **β**₁ source, yet the true reading *me in omni* at 7.13.17 (n. 82 above) cannot have reached **AC** from a **β**₂ manuscript. If the source of correction was derived from **β**₂, we cannot know whether that source stood in the same line as **F** or in a stream of transmission that has left no other trace.

⁸⁶ Another manuscript that contains only Book 7, Bern Burgerbibliothek 404 (fol. 1^r-8^v + 49^v-53^v: s. XII/XIII), is also among **γ**’s progeny, sharing 35 of the 42 errors that distinguish **RACQ** from **F** and another 26 of the errors shared by **RQ** (these include all the ‘uncorrectables’: e.g., 7.1.2 *huius sit] huius*, 7.2.3 *ut prius tibi] prius tibi*, 7.4.4 *cum om.*); it does not show any marked affinity with either **RAC** or **Q**. Used sporadically by Jan, it can be regarded as an independent, and negligible, witness to **γ**.

⁸⁷ So the Leiden University Library catalogue, reflecting the judgment of B. Bischoff: see *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* vol. 2 (1998), p.56; cf. also K. A. de Meyier,

Codices Vossiani Latini vol. 2 (Leiden 1973-84), p. 9. On fol. 32^r, line 5 and the beginning of line 6 (I.4.8 –mitti . . . enuntiatione) are written in a different hand, which Bischoff associated with Fulda.

- ⁸⁸ The other two are Paris. lat. 6370, in which the text of *Comm.* is annotated in Lupus' hand, and **M** (unfortunately not extant before I.12.21), written a bit later than **Leid** 'in a hand reminiscent of Heiric of Auxerre's (though not his)' (B. C. Barker-Benfield, quoted by P. K. Marshall, (n. 2), 234). **Leid**'s association with Lupus is consistent with the curious intervention of a hand reminiscent of Fulda remarked in the preceding note.
- ⁸⁹ Sigla in parentheses indicate MSS that have the correct reading, presumably as a result of conjecture: I.1.6 absumperat] assumperat (**P²G²VAC**, assumserat **Leid**¹), I.2.2 Roma] Romana (**D**²), I.2.8 tam] tum (**NG²R**), I.4.14 Feralium] ferial- (**J**²), I.4.14 Feraliorum] ferial-, I.4.19 faxit] factum sit, I.4.22 edigi, I.9.16 Quirinum] –nium (**VRFC**¹), I.10.6 Liciniam] luciniam (lucianum **Leid**¹). Note also I.4.22 Atellana] –lania (though the latter reading is unobjectionable and probably wrongly rejected by Willis).
- ⁹⁰ I.1.7 lectoris] –ri, I.2.1 Iano] iaio, I.2.10 adspirare] sperare, I.9.16 ingressus] gressus, I.10.8 obligato] allig-; cf. also I.10.5 adicit] adiecit **NDPGO²RA**¹, where **Leid** has the correct reading.
- ⁹¹ I.1.5 permenides, I.2.1 commodo] quo modo, I.4.16 inermes] –mos (**P**), I.4.16 inermos] –mes, I.9.15 patultium, I.9.16 patultium (**R**), I.9.18 protam] totam, I.10.4 iudicariis triduo] iudicariis in triduo
- ⁹² In place of the missing **M** I cite here its descendant or twin, Paris lat. 16676 (= **X**); note that all these errors were removed from **Leid** by correction (see further in the text below): I.2.9 solstitiali die] solstitialis dies **Leid**¹**XBVOLR**² (stitalis dies **R**¹), I.9.15 Consivium] concivium **Leid**¹**XB**¹**V**, conivium **O**¹, consivium **L** (where the state of **OL** points to a corrected reading in their common ancestor), I.9.18 exustas] exutas **Leid**¹**XBVOL**, I.10.3 et Pomponium *om.* **Leid**¹**XBVOL**¹ (what appears to be an insertion sign occurs at the appropriate point in **Leid**, but the correction has been lost with the trimmed margin), I.10.3 fecere] facere **NLeid**¹**XBVOL** (*fort. recte*), I.10.4 defenderant] –erent **Leid**¹**XBVOL**. The exception is I.4.14 *dici* **GXBVOLRC**, where **Leid** has the correct *dici*.
- ⁹³ These are: I.1.5 coetus] –tos, I.1.5 adprehenderit] adprae-, I.2.1 iniucundum] inioc-, I.2.2 requiro] requoro, I.2.2 eique] eaque, I.2.6 voluissem equidem] voluisse me quidem, I.2.6 essent] esset, I.2.6 meditando] –tanti, I.4.8 eruere] erupere, I.4.9 singulari] figurantur, I.4.9 condicionis] –tionis, I.4.9 si

singulari] singulari, 1.4.11 viridiorum] vidiorum, 1.4.14 significaret] –cabat, 1.4.17 adserenda] ads*renda, 1.4.17 respuendus] –dos, 1.4.17 furtim] –tum, 1.4.18 quo] co, 1.4.20 diequinte] –to, 1.9.14 fugientem] figi-, 1.9.16 deorum] –rem, 1.10.1 Saturnalibus] –alios, 1.10.6 Liciniam] lucianum ('corrected' to the archetypal error *lucinium* shared by all the other manuscripts). Cf. also 1.4.19 occisit] occidit **Leid**¹**F**, where the error—replacing the rare with the common form—is surely coincidental; **Leid** does not, e.g., have **F**'s *furtim* (for *furtum*) also at 1.4.19. The restoration of the rare form in **Leid** shows that the correction was made against another MS; the apparent restoration of the omitted words *et Pomponium* at 1.10.3 (preceding note) shows that it was not a MS closely related to **LeidXBVOL** (1.1.7 colloquii] –qui **Leid**²**ND** is suggestive, but no more, since that change did not require comparison with another manuscript).

⁹⁴ Cf. also 1.1.7 dicta, where **Leid**¹ wrote *dic* at end of one line, *ta* at start of next, which a corrector later altered to *di-* *-cta*; and 1.9.16 eius, where **Leid**¹ wrote *e* at end of one line (now partially lost where the edge was trimmed) and *ius* at start of next, which a corrector later altered to *eius* all on the second line.

⁹⁵ The exceptions are 1.1.6 absumperat, 1.2.8 tam, and 1.9.16 Quirinum, cf. n. 89 above. In none of these cases would it be difficult for an attentive and intelligent reader to arrive at the right reading.

⁹⁶ E.g., 5.2.11 Didonis *om.*, 5.11.15 est *om.*, 5.11.21 adiecit *om.*, 5.16.7 quid quaeque] quidque, 5.19.3 etiam *om.* **NP**, *post doctissimus G*, 6.1.9 et in tertio . . . aptum *om.*, 6.2.1 quasi . . . cognoscas *om.*, 6.3.6 non . . . liquatae *om.*, 6.8.13 versu . . . non *om.*, 6.8.21 non ad eos *om.*, 7.1.14 coetibus . . . risum *om.*

⁹⁷ Note that if *profestum* was found in the common ancestor of **RFAC**, it was supplanted in turn by *profectum* in **AC**'s common ancestor.

⁹⁸ La Penna 1953, 241, reported that **H** comprises only *Sat.* 1.2.15 - 5.20.10 on fol. 45-130, though the complete text is present on fol. 42-168; presumably he was provided a defective microfilm.

⁹⁹ All four MSS are usually dated to s. XII, but see n. 106 below.

¹⁰⁰ This discussion is based on a complete collation of **J**, collations of **W** and **H** for Books 1 and 7 (a bit under half the text, a sample sufficient for the present purpose), and collation of **I**: the collations of **JWH** can be found in 'Four Manuscripts of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*' on the website mentioned at n. 42 (I have also collated **H** against **R** in Book 3). A partial collation of **J** for Book 7 was published by M. J.

Carton 'Vat. Lat. 3417 and Its Relationship to the Text of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* vii', *TAPA* 96 (1965), 25-30. For another close kin of **R** see the discussion of Montpellier Médecine 224 in section 5 below.

¹⁰¹ Carton, (n. 100), 26. In my digital image of the manuscript I can make out only 'hic deest . . .', but I have no reason to doubt Carton's report.

¹⁰² Carton *ibid.* thought the same scribe wrote both Books 1-4 and Book 7, but the hand in the latter is slightly larger and consistently uses (e.g.) an abbreviation for *est* (≠) and a form of suspension stroke (for *-u(m), n(on), m(en)*, etc.) distinct from those used by the scribe of Books 1-4.

¹⁰³ I show that **J** is derived from **Q** in an appendix to the study cited in n. 81.

¹⁰⁴ **J** fails to follow **R** in these errors: 1.2.8 nota] nata **RWH**¹, 1.5.11 lecto relationibus] lector elationibus **RW**¹, lectore lationibus **H**¹ (ex dilecto rationalibus **H**², cf. velut ex dilectu **C**, ex lecto rationalibus **A**), 1.7.22 navia lusu] navi a lusu **V¹RF**, navim a lusu **J(?)W**, navim lusu **H**² (*recte* **H**¹; it is not at all clear in **J** that the suspension stroke over *navi* is in the first hand), 1.10.2 opinio] opimo **R** (*recte* **JWH**), 1.11.28 magnanimitate] magnimitate **R**, magninimitate **W**, 1.11.42 clari] dari **RW** (*recte* **JH**), 1.13.18 veritos] voritos **RH**¹ (*recte* **JW**), 1.17.26 eminus] emimus **RW**¹ (*recte* **JH**), 1.17.52 Πύθων] ΠΥΘΩΤ **J**, ΠΥΘΩΝ **RW**¹ (*recte* **H**), 1.21.3 in inferioribus] infer- **RWH**¹.

¹⁰⁵ I take no account of **I** in this discussion, since it is clear (below) that its relation to **R** is more attenuated than that of the other three.

¹⁰⁶ There are, further, several cases where both **J** and **W** reflect **R**'s uncorrected text while **H** follows **R** as corrected (1.13.10 ἐμβολίμους] EMBOΛICMOC PL²**R**¹**JW**, -ICMOYC MV²O²**R**²**FH** (- ICMOIC **CW**^m, *om.* A), 2.4.2 scripserat] *om.* **R**¹**J**¹**W**¹, *recte* **H**, 3.5.6 eximios] -ias **R**¹**J**¹**W**¹, *recte* **H**), and several where **R** was evidently not corrected until after all three manuscripts were written (1.1.1 feriatum] celebratum **R**¹**JWH**¹, 1.3.14 suprema (2^o)] supra **R**¹**J**¹**WH**, 3.16.5 nunc] modo **R**¹**JWH**; at 3.9.11 faxitis] faxistis **R**¹**JW**¹**H**, the correct reading is written in **R**'s margin without a reference sign calling attention to it. The only significant counter-example I have found is 7.2.11 longa narratio] narratio longa **R**¹**W**, where **W** reflects **R**'s uncorrected text, **J** the corrected text (**H** for the moment follows a different source, see below): it may be that **W**'s scribe simply overlooked **R**'s correction, which is not signaled by the paired superscript dots normally used in the MS. If the chronological sequence

suggested here is correct, and if **H** was ‘written about 1100’ (M. D. Reeve, ‘The Transmission of Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris*’, *Aevum* 74 (2000), 319, on the text of Vegetius that precedes Macrobius), then **J** and **W** should be dated to s. XI rather than s. XII (cf. n. 99).

- ¹⁰⁷ La Penna 1953, 235, Willis 1963, viii; the criticism was registered by J. J. M. Curry in his review of the Teubner edition (*AJP* 88 (1967), 238). La Penna (1953, 247-9) identified as descendants of **W** another five manuscripts in Florence, dating to s. XIII and s. XV. The manuscript came to belong to Pietro de’ Medici (fol. 127^v); in *Sat.* 1-3 the Greek passages were added in the margin in the hand of Ambrogio Traversari (d. 1439: G. Pomaro, ‘L’attività di Ambrogio Traversari in codici fiorentini’, *Interpres* 2 (1979), 105-15), thus supplementing the defective testimony inherited from **R**.
- ¹⁰⁸ **J** and **W** overlap in two cases here: 1.10.2 opinio] opimo **R** (*recte* **JWH**), 1.13.18 veritos] voritos **RH**¹ (*recte* **JW**).
- ¹⁰⁹ Where note that **W** is joined by **C**, a manuscript with extensive conjectural emendation in its background, cf. at n. 77 above.
- ¹¹⁰ I refer here to the behavior of **H** after *Sat.* 7.5.14: for the distinction, see further below.
- ¹¹¹ My thanks to *CQ*’s reader for pointing out the full significance of this case.
- ¹¹² My thanks to Dr. Justin Clegg, curator in the British Library’s Department of Manuscripts, for helpfully responding to my question concerning **H**’s make-up.
- ¹¹³ I note especially the ‘H’-symbol for *enim* and an abbreviation for *quia* comprising a *q* with a *v* on its side, its point touching the *q*’s shaft; there are also distinctive abbreviations for *quod* and *quidem*.
- ¹¹⁴ E.g., 7.1.16 ineptus] impetus, 7.1.17 Atticas *om.*, 7.2.3 ut prius tibi] prius, 7.3.7 dictum] dictum est, 7.3.18 et ante uxore *add.*, 7.3.23 esse omne] omne esse, 7.4.22 alimonia eius] eius alimonia; see further the collation published in the paper cited at n. 74.
- ¹¹⁵ The last distinctive reading of **AC** shared by **H** is 7.5.14 ventrem] ventre **ACHW**² (**W**’s correcting hand otherwise shows a marked affinity with **C**); the distinctive abbreviation of *quia* occurs for the last time in the same section (use of the other abbreviations noted ceases earlier). I thank *CQ*’s reader for pointing out the change in hands, which is particularly noticeable (e.g.) in the way the two scribes write *quod* and *quid* at the start of a sentence.

- ¹¹⁶ Pellegrin, (n. 33), vol. 2, 702-3; the hand seems to fall within the upper part of the date-range. The folia are numbered 5-63, with the twenty-fourth folium unnumbered.
- ¹¹⁷ See n. 65 above.
- ¹¹⁸ The *Florilegium* also occurs after Book 7 in **F**, and in Paris nouv. acq. 1907-IV (fol. 16bis^r, 19^r), which contains fragments of Books 5 (f.4^r-9^v) and 6 (f.14^r-16^v, 17^r-18^v, 20^v-21^v) from a book plainly belonging to the β_2 -family: see B. Munk Olsen, 'Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux', *RHT* 10 (1980), 120-2 (where the description overlooks the fragments of Book 5).
- ¹¹⁹ More superficially, note that both books have the relatively uncommon two-column format, though **Vol**, which is ruled for 46 lines per column with ca. 30-32 characters to the line (spaces not included), has more text per page than **A**, which is ruled for 36 lines per column with ca. 22-24 characters to the line.
- ¹²⁰ These are 1.22.4 demissio] demisso, 7.7.4 insidat] insidiat.
- ¹²¹ E.g., 1.5.9 unum mille . . . 1.5.10 hisne tam *om.*, 1.5.10 comitiis . . . 1.5.11 plura de hoc *om.*, 1.5.11 quem plerique . . . lucis in *om.*, 1.7.35 urbe *om.*, 1.9.8 reditur *om.*, 1.9.16 autem *om.*, 1.17.4 una Iunone . . . pro variis *om.*, 1.17.54 ederentur . . . aetheri *om.*, 1.21.1 cuius partem . . . hemispherium *om.*, 7.9.14 non suo . . . nescit dolorem *om.* Note also 1.1.2 sed erit] sed in hoc libro erit, 1.4.17 verba quae] adverbiose **A²Vol** (adverbiose **A¹**), 1.13.12 ex singulis quibus] ex quibus singulis quibus, 7.5.17 scimus autem similibus similia nutriri *post* dic quaeso . . . nutriuntur (nutriantur ω), 7.14.10 permanent nullo] nullo permanent **A**, ullo permanent **Vol**. Some of these errors also appear in Vat. Borg. lat. 326: see below.
- ¹²² E.g., 1.2.5 post inter *om.*, 1.4.11 -piuntur, genetivum in in um faciunt ut vi- *om.*, 1.10.6 Liciniam . . . kalendarum *om.*, 1.11.10 inter servos . . . invenies *om.*, 1.12.18 dicit . . . 1.12.19 Maiam *om.*, 7.1.14 ergo prima . . . erit *om.*, 7.5.23 et ad sumenda . . . provocante *om.*, 7.7.7 esst mediocri . . . frigus *om.*, 7.10.13 vox acuta . . . 7.10.14 in eunuchis *om.*, 7.12.29 congruens erat nec oleum concreescere *om.* Note also Praef. 6 varia libamenta] lib- var-, 1.2.2 tunc *post* dicta sunt, 1.3.1 ita exorsus est, 1.4.10 sollennis diei] diei soll- , 1.3.14 diei novissimum] nov- diei, 1.4.16 alterum etsi sola sed] alterumque si sola si.
- ¹²³ Cf. also, e.g., 1.24.12 absterrentur] exterterentur **A**, exterentur **Vol**, where the latter error evidently

presumes the former; similarly 1.16.8 uti natalium] ut in atanalium **A**, ut in anatanalium **Vol**.

¹²⁴ There are also a number of errors introduced into **A** by correction that do not appear in **Vol**: 1.2.3 sermonemque] sermonem **P²A²C**, 1.2.7 Latiaris] latialis **A²C**, 1.4.6 tertia] tertio **A²C²**, 1.4.14 sepulchra] -chris **A²**, 1.4.18 Etruria] et etruria **A²**, 1.16.7 sunt praetera] sunt *del.* **A²**, 1.16.18 dilectum] de- **A²**, 1.16.18 ac militem] ad m- **A²**, 1.17.13 quam] quia **A²C²**, 1.17.59 confecisset] fecisset **A²**, 1.20.2 revirescant] -cunt **A²**, 1.21.26 deposcit] depascit **A²**, 1.24.15 vidit] invidit **A²**, 7.6.16 naturam sunt] sunt natura **A²**, 7.10.10 vitiositatis] viscositatis **A²**, 7.12.2 salita] sallita **R¹FA²CQ**, 7.12.5 fluxum] fluxa **A²**, 7.12.27 denseretur] densaretur **A²**, 7.12.31 quaesiverunt] quaesierunt **A²H**, 7.13.27 in detergendo] in tergendo *ex inde tergendo* **A²**, 7.15.1 vindicandos] iudicandos **A²**, 7.16.2 comparans] comparas **A²**, 7.16.9 edit] edat **A²**, 7.16.27 partus] partui **A²**.

¹²⁵ In this last instance note that **A**'s error was evidently derived from an exemplar that had a text written like **C**'s, in which *qui* is represented by a capital *Q* with an *i* in the center.

¹²⁶ Pellegrin, (n. 33), vol. 1, 231-3; the text begins with the words *Practextatus solet*, omitting 'primis mensis . . . minutioribus'.

¹²⁷ These are: 7.4.24 morborum *om.*, 7.5.16 fabricata *om.*, 7.9.14 non suo . . . nescit dolorem *om.*, 7.13.11 ut et] ut, 7.14.10 permanent nullo coagulo] nullo permanent coagulo, 7.15.13 poeta dixit] poeta (dixit *ante* poeta **C**). Note also cases where **Borg** reflects and extends an error of **AVol**: e.g., 7.15.3 Erasistratus *bis*] erasis tractus *bis* **AVol**, erasis tractator *et* erasi tractatus **Borg**.

¹²⁸ These are: 7.2.5 opima] a prima, 7.2.16 enim *om.*, 7.4.3 sit faciliior] faciliior sit, 7.4.3 una censoria sit] censoria sit una, 7.5.10 captis] capitis, 7.6.1 de *om.*, 7.6.21 et *om.*, 7.7.9 quod egeritur et quasi infirmum effluit] et quasi infirmum quod effluit **C**, et quasi infirmum quod effluit et egeritur **Borg**, 7.13.2 in aperto] imperato, 7.13.7 sibi *om.* (his **A**), 7.15.10 polenta] corpulenta (poculenta **A**), 7.15.14 se habeatur] habeatur, 7.16.7 et similia *om.*, 7.16.12 terra et imbre] terra imbre.

¹²⁹ For corroboration of this view, see, e.g., the state of **C** at 7.15.13 (n. 127), where *dixit* was evidently misplaced in the attempt to correct the omission in **ε**.

¹³⁰ E.g., 7.1.14 habuit *om.*, 7.6.13 suum *om.*, 7.7.11 quod cito admonentur generationis] quod cito generant, 7.7.14 ebrietatem aut tardam fieri faciat] aut tarde moveat ebrietatem, 7.9.3 accedit priusum .

. . . aut sursum *om.*, 7.12.15 remouentes in quantum fieri potest a vino aeris contagionem] in quantum possunt remouentes a vino contagionem aeris, 7.12.22 et ille *om.*, 7.12.32 et incolumi . . . undis coactum *om.*, 7.12.33 frusta quaedam . . . 7.12.34 dulci liquore *om.*, 7.15.16 detegendasque *om.*, 7.15.18 vivendi *om.*, 7.16.32 carnes *om.*

¹³¹ La Penna 1953, 244. Note, however, that after 2.4.12 **X**'s text consistently shares the features of **RAC**: 2.4.31 *post C in* CEBACTE *Gr. om.*, 2.4.31 σήν *om.*, 2.4.31 ΤΥΧΗΝΝ, 2.7.6 cena] –nam **RAC**, scenam **X**, 2.7.13 οὐ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς] *Gr. om. post* ΣΥ ΜΑΚΡΟ-, 2.7.16 *Gr. post* ΜΑΙ- *om.*, 2.7.18 *Gr. post* ΣΥΡΙ- *om.*, 2.7.19 *Gr. post* ΧΑΡΙC- *om.*, 2.8.2 Menippea] menippea, 2.8.3 τραγήματα] ΤΡΑΓΗΝΑΤΑ **RAC**, ΤΡΑΓΕΝΑΤΑ **X**, 2.8.4 ignitabulum] incitabulum, 2.8.7 adversum] –sus, 2.8.16 multos homines] homines multos, 2.8.16 *post* CY- *Gr. om.* Compare the shifting allegiance of **H** in Book 7, noted in section 2 above ad fin.

¹³² E.g., 1.12.35 appelletur] –aretur, 1.12.38 mensesque ita] menses itaque, 1.13.10 appellitabant] appellabant, 1.16.8 Segetiam Tutilinam] segetiam seu etiam Tutilinam, 1.16.11 vindicavit] vindicaret, 1.17.14 tamquam ΑΠΕΛΛΩΝΑ *om.*, 1.17.45 Naxios] maxios **M**, maximos **X**, 1.17.54 ne fulgor . . . progressionem fulgeret] ne fulgor refulgeret (**B**²), 1.17.65 ΑΔΕΛΦΟC] ΔΕΛΟC, 1.18.2 celebrant] –tur, 1.23.7 hoc est ΜΕΡΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΥ *om.*, 2.3.5 cum umeris] cum umimeris **M**, cum in humeris **X**.

¹³³ On the basis of **X**'s Greek La Penna (ibid.) actually suspected that ‘esso derivi da fonte molta antica appartenente al gruppo’, but this is surely incorrect; both instances he cites as evidence of **X**'s distinctively correct text (1.17.5 ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕΙΝ vs. ΕΡΜΙΝΕΥΕΙΝ and 1.17.9 ΤΑ ΖΩΑ vs. ΖΩΑ) are found in **M**.

¹³⁴ La Penna 1953, 244 n.1.

¹³⁵ On the *Florilegium* see n. 118.

¹³⁶ These errors are: 7.5.1 indignum] dignum, 7.5.28 virtuti *om.*, 7.8.7 qua] quia, 7.9.16 nulli] nullo, 7.10.4 si ergo] ergo, 7.11.8 timentes] timent (falsely ascribed to **A**¹ by Willis), 7.12.33 quaedam *om.*, 7.12.35 inde] unde, 7.13.17 censu] censui, 7.15.9 finis (2^o) *om.* **F**'s singular errors not shared by **X** are few and largely orthographical: 7.1.5 relegatus] religatus, 7.12.9 dicta] dixta, 7.12.17 vacuefacit] –fecit (also found in **P**), 7.14.20 rotunda] rutunda

- ¹³⁷ E.g., I praef. 13 profectae] –to, I.4.1 indicatum] –to, I.5.10 sexagenarios] –io, I.10.3 et Pomponium *om.*, I.10.4 defenderant] –erent, I.11.1 in *om.*, I.11.13 respondit] non respondit, I.13.21 sint] sunt, I.14.12 maiorem] –res, I.18.21 est (2^o) *om.*, I.21.17 qui dici] dici, I.23.8 σοφοὶ *om.*, 2.5.3 moderaretur] –eretur, 2.2.5 quo] quoquo, 3.2.3 exsecutus est] est exsecutus, 3.12.2 polluerent] polluerent, 3.2.15 vitula] vitulam, 3.13.3 vinum platanō] vino platanum, 3.14.15 viro *om.*
- ¹³⁸ E.g., praef. 9 accedunt] accendunt, I.4.3 huius modi] eiusmodi, I.4.22 venit ecce] ecce venit, I.5.1 revocare] vocare, I.6.29 Corneliae gentis] gentis Corneliae, I.8.3 esse voluerunt] voluerunt esse, I.9.18 portam] totam, I.11.36 conservatione] conversatione, I.12.26 sit *om.*, I.13.15 diem eius] eius diem, I.16.36 dies lustricus] lustricus dies, I.17.7 cognominatum scribit] scribit cognominatum, 2.4.11 melius est] mallet, 2.4.11 porcum . . . filium] porcus . . . filius, 2.6.2 cum *om.*, 3.4.13 vocari eos *om.*, 3.6.6 secuti sunt] sunt secuti, 3.13.11 flamen Martialis] martialis flamen, 3.18.11 Sueius] suetius.
- ¹³⁹ I.7.34 pro capitibus capitibus] capitibus pro capitibus. By contrast, when **VZ** share an error against **B** (whether **B** is correct or has a different error), the error appears in **Mont**: e.g., Praef. 11 nisi sicubi] ni sicubi **NPBLβ₂** (niscicūbinos **O**), ne sicubi **VZMont**, I.12.38 supra iam diximus] iam supra diximus **B**, iam diximus supra **VZMont**, I.15.6 sic] at sic **VZMont**, I.16.38 noster gravis] inter graves **BZ²**, noster inter graves **VZMont**.
- ¹⁴⁰ E.g., I.11.41 librum illum divinum] illum librum divinum, I.14.3 trecentis] tricenis, I.14.4 quia luna] qui luna **V**, qui lunam **Mont**, I.17.45 Naxios] naxos, I.21.23 meare] remeare, I.22.3 corporum] se corporum, I.24.23 patribus] patrias **MBOL**, patris **VMont**, 2.2.8 nescio quid] nescio inquit **B**, nescio inquit quid **V**, nescio inquit quid **Mont**, 2.3.16 dixisset] duxisset, 2.4.12 mel gentium] meligentium, 2.4.18 res novare] res novas re **V**, res novas **Mont**, 2.7.7 maiore] maiora, 3.1.5 inferorum] inferiorum, 3.2.5 salsos] altos, 3.2.17 vacat] vacet, 3.7.2 Tarquitii] tra-, 3.9.2 dei] dici.
- ¹⁴¹ That several of **V**'s singular uncorrected omissions are absent from **Mont**—I.16.30 fari, I.17.50 id est σήπειν, I.23.7 id est καιομένου, 3.14.15 non dissimulanter . . . idem Cicero—might suggest but certainly does not prove that the latter descended independently from a common source.
- ¹⁴² E.g. 2.5.4-5 Iuliam. venerat ad eum **α**: iulia venerata deum **β₁**, iulia venerata dominum **β₂Mont**, 3.15.8

flutentur] flu **LK**, flui **B¹V**, fluant **MB²**, flute videantur **O**, fluitentur **R²FAMont**.

- ¹⁴³ On **AC**, cf. at n. 74 above. Note that at Praef. 4 *et boni consulas oportet* **Mont** has the marginal gloss *id est ad utilitatem respicias*, the same words that stand in the text of **AC** just before *et boni consulas oportet* (not reported for **A** in Willis' apparatus): evidently the gloss already stood in the margin of **δ**, the common ancestor of **RAC** and **Mont**, before being interpolated in **ε**.
- ¹⁴⁴ E.g., 4.2.3 *videri om.*, 4.4.4 *id est] idem (om. P, followed by Willis)*, 5.1.18 *secutus ducem] ducem secutus*, 5.2.16 *supplex vitam] vitam supplex*, 5.7.10 *Misenus] misellus*, 5.11.11 *Hyades sunt] sunt hiades*, 5.13.5 *at hic . . . quid ait om.*, 5.13.6 *in hoc om.*, 5.13.25 *seseque] sese*, 5.13.39 *importunitas] oportet*, 5.14.1 *heroicum] homericum*, 5.14.4 *miscant] micant*, 5.18.15 *quodam Pelasgo] Pelasgo quodam*, 6.1.1 *hic Praetextatus om. (corr. Mont²)*, 6.1.22 *consequitur] cum sequitur*, 6.2.11 *perturbati] probati*, 6.5.2 *invicta] invita*, 7.2.11 *longa narratio] narratio longa*, 7.2.12 *audebat] debebat R, debeat Mont*, 7.2.13 *adde] addere*, 7.3.8 *possent] possint*, 7.4.14 *καθηλεκτική] ΚΑΘΦΑΚΤΙΚΗ R, ΚΘΦΑΚΤΙΚΗ Mont*, 7.5.7 *utrumque falsum] utrumque falsam RMont (utramque falsam A, utramque falsa C)*, 7.5.31 *qua] quae*, 7.9.6 *raptantur] raptuntur R, rapiuntur Mont*, 7.12.18 *magis magisque] magis et magis RMont², magis Mont*, 7.13.11 *vobis erit] erit vobis*, 7.13.18 *mari] mare*, 7.13.25 *Nausicaam Alcinoi] nausicam analcinoi (cett. varia)*.
- ¹⁴⁵ Note 5.13.34 *addit ardorem et inter hostium] addit et inter hostium ardorem R, ardorem addit et inter hostium Mont*, where both errors appear to be botched jobs of reinserting an interlinear *ardorem*, and neither seems likely to have given rise to the other. Cf. also 6.1.50 *manat] mactat R, mantat Mont*, where the latter reading looks more like the original error, **R**'s an attempt at correction.