

STATIUS' *SILVAE* IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Statius' *Silvae* owe their preservation to a copy made in Switzerland for Poggio in 1417 by a local scribe. This copy, brought to light by G. Loewe in 1879, was recognized for what it was by A.C. Clark and A. Klotz twenty years later, and since then its descendants have had at best historical interest. To extract much of that from them an editor must endeavour to survey all the extant material, and A. Marastoni in the recent Teubner edition (¹ 1961, ² 1970) claims to have done just that: 'omnes manuscriptos libros veteresque editiones iterum contuli' he says at the opening of his preface, and the reviewers echo his words.¹ In fact he has simply collated the manuscripts described by Klotz in the previous Teubner edition (¹ 1900, ² 1911)² without noticing that Klotz mentions others (ed.² pp. vi, xviii, xix n.1, xxvi n.1, xxxv n.1), let alone looking for others himself. Consequently his list can be trebled.³ Rather than set out the additions all at once, however, I will examine his view of the tradition and introduce them as occasion arises.

For the purpose of this examination I have collated either in the original or from microfilm the following parts of each manuscript: 1 praef.—1.4.122, 2.2.126—2.3.30, 3.1.165—3.3.33, 4.1.20—4.2.31, 5.4.9—end.⁴ I shall give brief descriptions of the new manuscripts but not of those already described by Marastoni. As different hands cannot always be distinguished on microfilm, I shall use the same notation for all corrections: G², for instance, will denote any reading of G other than what the first hand first wrote. When all the hands concerned belong to a span of at most fifty years, the disadvantages of this convention are no greater

¹ A. Ernout, *Rev. de Phil.* 35 (1961), 348; P.J. Enk, *Latomus* 21 (1962), 172. Similarly H. Bardon, *REL* 39 (1961), 345 ('une description . . . des manuscrits'); A.J. Gossage, *CR* 76 (1962), 214 ('all the extant manuscripts'); B. Kytzler, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 567 ('. . . hat Marastoni nun diesen ganzen Komplex sorgfältig durchforscht'); O.A.W. Dilke, *Phoenix* 16 (1962), 132 ('the manuscripts').

² The landmarks in *recensio* before 1900 are Hand's unfinished edition (Leipzig, 1817), which drew together the material used by all the earlier editors, and A. Imhof's dissertation *P. Papinii Statii Ecloga ad Uxorem* (Halle, 1863), which paved the way for all later investigators by making known nine of Klotz's eleven manuscripts and six others besides.

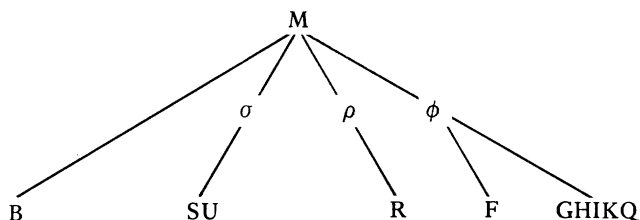
³ According to H. Frère, *édition critique* of *Silvae* (Paris, 1943), p. xvi, 'on cite' about thirty manuscripts; by my reckoning he mentions thirteen. For new information I am indebted, besides my own researches, to lists very kindly supplied by the I.R.H.T. and Professor A. Wasserstein; where these go beyond what I had discovered for myself, I make specific acknowledgement. Parm.

Palat. Parm. 94, which I was told of by the I.R.H.T. and hung great hopes on because part of it dates from 1462, turned out to contain not *Silvae* but the *Achilleid*. Paris. Lat. 8274 fo. 140^v, which I learnt of from the same source, offers only 4.3.18—19 as an illustration of something in Suetonius' life of Domitian; the date of this folio is shown by fos. 60—2 to be no earlier than 1462.

⁴ For three minor manuscripts I made do with less: a microfilm of UHI very kindly lent to me by Josef Delz had nothing of U between 1.3.75 and 5.5.6, nothing of H between 1.4.47 and 5.5.39, and nothing of I between 1.3.55 and 5.5.7. Professor Delz put me further in his debt by lending me complete microfilms of BSFKQC. For microfilms of other manuscripts I am obliged to their custodians, except that I was able to borrow a microfilm of the archetype from the library of Edinburgh University. Of the first four editions only a is not in the Bodleian; I was supplied with a microfilm by the Rylands Library, whose praises I have already had occasion to sing in *Maia* 27 (1975), 232.

than the disadvantages of allotting to G¹ corrections that the same hand may have made from a different source ten years later and to G² others that someone else may have made from the same source at the time.

Poggio's copy is Matritensis 3678 (*olim* M 31), M in the editions. Marastoni discusses ten extant manuscripts descended from it and connects them as follows (p. xc):⁵



I ignore for the moment the supposed relationship of GHIKQ.

First, BSU:

B = Vindob. 140, membr.

S = Vindob. 76, membr.

U = Vat. Urb. Lat. 649, membr.

According to Marastoni (p. xc) these three manuscripts belong to a Florentine recension, because B was bought at Florence for Matthias Corvinus and U written by Florentine scribes at Urbino (actually by one Florentine scribe at Florence). S too for that matter is a product of Florentine calligraphy, and the scribes of all three can be identified: B was written by Anastasio Vespucchi,⁶ S by Sinibaldus C., and U by Nicolaus Riccius; both Sinibaldus C. and Riccius worked for the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano.⁷ Though Marastoni appears to be in two minds whether B is a direct copy of M (cf. p. xxxiv), there is no reason why it should not be. Directly copied in turn from B was a fragment that now forms part of a miscellany:

Ricc. 1106 fos. 57–80 (3.3.154–5.2.124), chart.⁸

The fragment consists of two gatherings written by different hands, and the portion of text contained in each is also contained in separate gatherings of B (fos. 30–49). In B the gatherings are quiniones and have thirty-six lines to the page, a total of 720 each. In Ricc. 1106, however, they are seniones, and though the second distributes its 720 lines evenly over its twenty-four pages, the first has

⁵ The exemplary latinity and lucidity of Klotz's preface are sadly lacking in Marastoni's, and empty phrases like 'ne ab arte praeceptivse discedam' occur more regularly than logical connections; but his stemma is clear enough.

⁶ A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), p.108 n.9.

⁷ Sinibaldus C. signed Laur. Faes. 43 (a. 1461), illustrated by Ullman, *the Origin and*

Development of Humanistic Script (Rome, 1960) plate 64, and wrongly ascribed by Ullman to Antonio Sinibaldi. Dr. de la Mare, who knows over twenty of his products, kindly tells me that S probably dates from about 1470. I am also indebted to Dr. de la Mare for the ascription of U to Riccius.

⁸ Cf. S. Morpurgo, *Indici e Cataloghi* XV.i.2 (Rome, 1893), incorporated in *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana* (Rome, 1900), p. 128.

thirty-one lines to the page and so runs out of text at the top of the last page (fo. 68^v). Evidently simultaneous copies were taken from separate gatherings of B before it was bound.⁹ Further signs that Ricc. 1106 derives from B and not the converse are that B or B ante corr. preserves more readings of M, e.g. 3.3.202 *fuulum*, 3.4.48 *evandi*, 4.3.10 *fectitur*, 4.6.79 *portentem*, and that some corrections in B are misunderstood, e.g. 3.5.48 *meleibia* Ricc. *melēbia* B, 3.5.29 *inductum* Ricc. ut vid. *indictum* B, 4.9.36 *non sala ocsi-* Ricc. *non sal^locsi-* B. As for S and U, they share many errors, but since each has omissions of its own, both must derive from an intermediate copy, which Klotz and Marastoni call σ . Another copy of σ is a manuscript that I shall call T:

T = Ravenn. Class. 312, membr.

Like S, T was written by Sinibaldus C.; the first page bears an undecipherable coat of arms.¹⁰ T omits 1.2.198 with SU and 1.5.49 with neither; it has been corrected from the Aldine of 1502 (e.g. 1.3.9 *visa*), probably by Iohannes Petrus Pascutius Bodianus, whose signature appears at the top of fo. l^r. I can now give substance to σ :

X = Laur. Conv. Sopp. 6 (*olim* S. Spiritus 788), chart.; continet Silvas (fos. 1^r–79^r), Ausonii opuscula (fos. 81^r–139^r), Sidonii carmina (fos. 148^r–217^v)¹¹

The text of *Silvae* is signed ἐγὼ δομῖνικος γέγραφα;¹² a second hand wrote

⁹ For other examples of this procedure see Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973), p. 196 n.1; add Chig. H VII 240, on which see O. Zwielerlein, *Der Terenzkommentar des Donat im codex Chigianus H VII 240* (Berlin, 1970), 7. One imagines that a *chartaceus* will not often have been copied in this way from a *membranaceus*.

¹⁰ Cf. Mazzatinti iv.214–15. Dr. R.D. Sider, who has kindly inspected the coat of arms for me, reports that nothing can be made out. The manuscript has been known for long enough: cf. Vollmer, p. 43 n.2, Sabbadini, *Riv. Fil.* 27 (1899), 400–1, Klotz, p. xxxv n.1.

¹¹ I adopt the older foliation, whose only disadvantage is that it skips a leaf after fo. 90 and another after fo. 199. The newer foliation disguises the loss of fos. 80, 140–7 (fos. 146–7 Sidon. 1.1–2.72), 194 (14.21–15.41), 206 (22.167–218).

I owe my knowledge of X to Professor Wasserstein, who drew up a list of manuscripts in the 1950s when he was writing a commentary on *Silvae* I. For a *πάρεργον* this list is a very comprehensive piece of work, and his discovery of X fills me with admiration, because though the manuscript catalogue of the Fondo Conv. Sopp. of course includes it (microfilm in the Bodleian) the index does not.

In Ausonius it is presumably the source

not only of Urb. Lat. 649 (U in *Silvae*) but also of Magl. VII 315 and Vat. Barb. Lat. 150 (*olim* 1472); see Schenkl, *Ausonii Opuscula* (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* V.2, Berlin, 1883) xxv. Vat. Barb. Lat. 150, written by Cinico, is discussed and illustrated by T. de Marinis, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 5 (1962), 181 + plate xv.

In Sidonius it has the same order and many of the same omissions as T = Laur. 45.23 (s. xii), on which see Luetjohann's edition (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* VIII, Berlin, 1887) xiii–xiv; unlike T, it omits 21.

¹² Two possible Dominici known to Dr. de la Mare are Dominicus Brasichillensis, who signed Laur. 51.7 (*a.* 1456) and Laur. 89 sup. 30, and Dominicus Carrolus, who signed Brux. 14602 (*a.* 1458–72) and Taurin. Bibl. Nat. H III 11; she thinks they may be the same person. I have compared *δομῖνικος* with both and am not eager to identify him with either. Dominicus Brasichillensis however, had connections with Poggio. He translated Poggio *De mirabilibus mundi* into Italian (Magl. XXIV 163, written in a hand like that of Dominicus Carrolus), owned Laur. 90 sup. 31, which comprises six of his works, and bought Vat. Ross. 500 from him in 1454; cf. J. Ruyschaert, *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 213. I am grateful to Dr. de la Mare for this information.

fos. 81–101, a third the remainder. On the last page can be made out in spite of erasure 'Georgii Antonii Vespuccii liber'; Vespucci is known to have owned a manuscript of *Silvae*,¹³ and no doubt this is it. X omits, besides single words, only 1.2.198; it has every error common to STU, and its script accounts for some errors peculiar to one or other, e.g. 1.2.73 *protinus* X lac. U, 3.2.59 *omni* X *enims* \simeq X, 1.1.21 *fumat* X *firmit* T \simeq X. It has been quite heavily corrected, especially at the beginning, but most of the corrections are ignored by STU and must therefore be later, even though they may be by the first hand.¹⁴ Those that are adopted correspond to corrections made in M by a hand of the later fifteenth century, which Klotz and Marastoni call m; they also appear in B. If there are any significant corrections common to BX that are not shared by m, I do not know what they are. Marastoni, who says that B σ continue to emend in concert after m has left off, gives only the feeblest of examples (p. xliii); unless he can do better, the simplest supposition is that B and X took from m such corrections as they share with it. In any event B and X, being in all likelihood direct copies of M, make it reasonably certain that M was in Florence round about 1470, the rough date of both.¹⁵ That is hardly surprising, since Poggio died at Florence in 1459 and M can be identified in the inventory of his books;¹⁶ but 1470 is 11 years nearer to 1494, a date that editors customarily invest with a profound significance.

In that year, or at most five years before, Politian recorded in a copy of the *editio princeps*, now Cors. 50 F 37, readings from 'exemplar . . . quod ex Gallia Poggius Gallica scriptum manu in Italiam attulerat', which he supposed to be the archetype of the Italian manuscripts. Almost all these readings could have come from M, and the few discrepancies scarcely enrich the tradition; but scholars have discussed Politian's manuscript with depressing frequency and at tiresome length. I have no doubt whatever that it was M, as has been argued most recently by A.J. Dunston, *BICS* 14 (1967), 96–101, and M. Pastore Stocchi, *Atti dell'Ist. Veneto* 125 (1966–7), 39–74; Marastoni should have added both these articles to his bibliography in the second edition, the latter especially, since it brings to bear the new evidence of Politian's *Centuria Secunda*.¹⁷ All I will say beyond this

¹³ A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), 119.

¹⁴ The majority could have come from an edition, but not e.g. 1.1.38 *praetendens*, 43 *e tergo*, 1.2.12 *lumina*, 98 *et tibi*, 1.3.94 *arpetius*, 1.4.27 *potus*.

¹⁵ On the date of S see n.7. U cannot be later than 1474, when Fridericus Comes became Fridericus Dux.

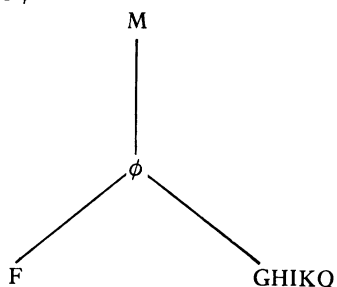
¹⁶ E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus: Leben und Werke* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), p. 421 no. 59, 'astronomicum cum multis aliis in papiro coopertum corio albo'. Cf. B.A. Müller, *BPhW* 37 (1917), 463–4.

¹⁷ Two scholars who remain unconvinced are Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Rome, 1973), pp. 155–61, and G. Lotito, *Atene e Roma* 19 (1974), 29–36. Rizzo maintains that there is no evidence for Poggio's ownership of M (p. 159), when in fact it has long been recognized that he

annotated *Silvae*: see the illustration of the first page at the back of Klotz's edition and cf. Loewe *ap.* W. von Hartel, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis* (Vienna, 1887), pp. 418–19, Klotz, ed., pp. xlviii–xlix and *BPhW* 30 (1910) 925–7, A.J. Dunston, *BICS* 14 (1967), 99–100 n.4, A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), 65 n.11, 73 n.3. If anyone still leans to the view espoused by Marastoni, that Politian collated the exemplar of M, a question put to Phillimore by Garrod, *CR* 26 (1912), 262–3, is worth repeating. 'M . . . was written by a scribe who, to say no worse of him, was no scholar. Politian was the foremost scholar of his age, with the widest knowledge of MSS. If they both had before them the original Constance MS., how comes it that the collation of the great Politian differs only in a few letters, and nowhere in any point of importance [in a

is that Politian's discovery of M is likely to have caused him more excitement than it causes me, because he had hitherto worked almost entirely from the *editio princeps* and Calderinus' edition, which are among its remotest and least reliable descendants.

I turn now to Marastoni's ϕ :



GHIKQ share omissions and undeniably form a group, but Marastoni is the first editor to have suggested a common origin less venerable than M for this group and a manuscript that Klotz and others have regarded as a direct copy of M:

F = Bodl. Barlow 23 (*olim* Auct. F 5 5), membr.

F was written by a scribe who worked first at Rome and then at Florence, but its decoration is Florentine.¹⁸ Marastoni offers a long list of errors shared by F and G (pp. xxix–xxxi), almost all of which are due to the script of M and could have been committed more than once.¹⁹ The few that do not yield to this explanation,²⁰ together with those that do, which may be allowed some cumulative significance, are both outnumbered and outweighed by others such as these:

1.2.108 *patrum* $\hat{=}$ *† atrum* M: *vel atrum* F: *patrum* G

164 *numquamve* MG: *miro quamve* F $\hat{=}$ M

188 *novum* MG: *tronum* F $\hat{=}$ M

1.4.119 *nunc* MG: *canit* F $\hat{=}$ M

3.3.5 *fraude* MG: *grande* F $\hat{=}$ M

If, then, F is not a direct copy of M, it must be an honest copy of a copy either so like M as not to be worth postulating or so like itself that the scribe who in Marastoni's opinion made the other copy of it stands head and shoulders above all other editors of *Silvae*.

footnote he excepts 1.4.86a and 5.5.24–7, the latter of which has been disposed of once and for all by Rizzo pp. 240–1], from the copy given to us by our “ignorantissimus omnium viventium”?’

¹⁸ On the decoration see O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford* ii (Oxford, 1970), 25 no. 247. I owe my information about the scribe to Dr. de la Mare, who tells

me that he also wrote Oxon. Linc. 45 (‘Vespasianus librarius Florentinus fecit scribi Florentiae’ opposite fo. 1^r) and 44, Harl. 3261, and Edinb. Univ. 200, and was not in Florence before the 1450s.

¹⁹ Cf. G. Lotito, *Atene e Roma* 19 (1974), 26–8.

²⁰ 1.2.4 *quacumque*, 168 *ut*, 2.3.51 *ut*, 5.2.3 *-antur*, 5.3.165 *Alciade*.

Both F and ρ ignore the corrections of m and must therefore be earlier (Klotz, pp. xxviii, xxxi).²¹ About ρ I can add only three pieces of information, and at this point only two: the corrections in B that derive from it are in the hand of the Florentine humanist Piero Cennini;²² and its copy R, Reh digeranus 125, may well be Paduan.²³

There remains the densest and thorniest part of Marastoni's stemma, the part occupied by these five manuscripts:

- G = Vallicellianus C 95, chart.
- H = Vat. Reg. Lat. 1976, chart.
- I = Vat. Lat. 3875, membr.
- K = Vat. Lat. 3282, chart.
- Q = Vat. Lat. 3283, membr.

Some of the omissions that unite these manuscripts are shared by the first three printed editions:

- a = ed. Ven. 1472 (*B.M.C.* V 161–2)
- b = ed. Parm. 1473 (*B.M.C.* VII 939)
- c = ed. Rom. 1475 (Hain 14983)

These eight witnesses Marastoni calls the Roman group on the grounds that K has connections with Panormita (p. xii n.1) and both a and c were edited by Domitius Calderinus, who was in Rome at the time (pp. xliii, xc). Unfortunately he offers no evidence for the ascription of a to Calderinus, which has rightly been greeted with indignation,²⁴ and the connections of K with Panormita point more naturally to Naples. More use can be made, however, of the manuscripts. The scribe of I is known: it was written by Pomponius Laetus at Rome in 1470 or thereabouts.²⁵ Furthermore, I is a copy of G, albeit no slavish copy,²⁶ and in the opinion of Josef Delz, shared, he tells me, by Augusto Campana, G too was written by Laetus; he compares its script with that of Ottob. Lat. 1956, which G. Muzzioli, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 2 (1959), 340–4, 348, plate xxix, assigns to the earlier part of his career. The ascription gains importance from the importance of G. Whether or not it is the ancestor of the group, as Klotz maintained (pp. xxii–xxiv), G represents M more faithfully than the other members and at the same time includes among its many annotations and corrections a large number of innovations found elsewhere in the group.

Is it the ancestor of the group? Marastoni agrees with Klotz that not only I but H too was copied from it (pp. xix–xx), evidently before it bore as many corrections as it now does. As for K and Q, Klotz was well aware that some

²¹ I should like to know more about the credentials of 1.1.2 *peractum* in M, which is not in either F or R.

²² A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), 108 n.9.

²³ This is Dr. de la Mare's inference from the illumination and the script, and something else can be said for it: R also contains parts of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, where its

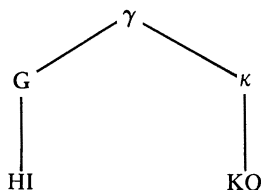
closest relative, A = Arundelianus 133, is without much doubt Paduan (1458–65); cf. *Maia* 27 (1975), 231 n.2.

²⁴ C. Dionisotti, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 11 (1968), 180–3; cf. A.J. Dunston, *BICS* 14 (1967), 101 n.12.

²⁵ J. Ruysschaert, *Miniaturistes 'romains' sous Pie II*, in *Enea Silvio Piccolomini—Papa Pio II* (Siena, 1968), p. 275.

²⁶ e.g. 5.5.31 *nec diurno G nec eburno* I.

readings of M altogether absent from G appear in Q (pp. xxv–xxvi), and these he put down to contamination. Marastoni augments Klotz's list and shows that K shares with Q some readings of this kind (pp. xxi–xxii), but he will not hear of contamination (p. xxv). His stemma, however, looks like this:

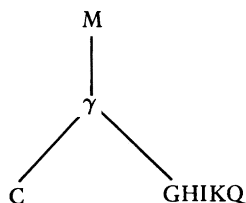


No scribe in the group, he maintains, had access to any source independent of γ , and admittedly, when MKQ agree against G, no contamination need be postulated; but how else can he explain agreements of MQ against GK? Granted that Q is of mixed origin, it becomes more than a mere possibility that KQ owe their agreements with M not to γ but to some other source. Marastoni's stemma is also incompatible with his opinion that a took 1.6.22–3 (om. GKQ) from a superior offshoot of γ (pp. xxv, xlv). If instead KQa all derive from G and a source independent of γ , γ need not exist and G could be a direct copy of M. In his first edition Klotz took this view (p. xxiv), but in his second he pointed out that there is nothing in M to account for a curious error in G, *fladca* for *flaca* at 4.2.66 (p. lxxxii n.3); Marastoni now adds two more arguments of the same kind (p. xxiii).

That G derives only indirectly from M is confirmed by a manuscript that I shall call C:

C = Senensis H X 42, chart.²⁷

C was written by two hands, the first more accomplished and regular than the second; the second takes over at 3.4.105 and prefixes an incomplete table of contents. Like GKQ, C omits 1.6.22–3, 3.2.10 *vobis*, 13 *ponti*, but it has a fuller version of 3.2.135–6, namely *colloquia inque vicem Euphraten et regia Bactra sacraque* (regia om. GKQ), and it agrees with M against GKQ elsewhere, e.g. 1.1.18 *altius* MC *amplius* GKQ. On the other hand GKQ cannot derive from it, because it omits 4.2.53–4 and 2.2.152–3 *dispendia . . . census*, as well as single words here and there. The following stemma answers to these facts:



One of Marastoni's arguments for the existence of γ was the marginal comment in G at 3.1.141, *in testu erat optatae*, 'quod inexcusabile mendum nemo unquam in M libro invenit' (p. xxiii). C duly reads *optatae*. As C represents M no less

²⁷ Cf. N. Terzaghi, *SIFC* 11 (1903), 420 no.54. C is mentioned by Thielscher, *Philologus* 66 (1907), 95.

faithfully than G and bears very few alterations or annotations, the reconstruction of γ seldom poses any problem.²⁸

To the same group as GHIKQ, defined above all by the omission of 1.6.22–3 and the loss of *regia* from 3.2.135–6, belong five more manuscripts (the symbols are mine):

D = Bodl. d'Orville 181 (S.C. 17059), chart.; desunt sexto senione amisso 4.6.34–5.2.66²⁹

E = Bodl. Add. A 160 (S.C. 30171), chart., scriptus a Ianico Teuario (Tenario?) Iunior³⁰

N = Neap. Borb. IV E 43, chart.; continet Silvas (fos. 1^r–72^r) et Iuvenalem³¹

O = Rom. Angel. 1721, membr.; continet Silvas (fos. 1–80) et Achilleida³²

P = Vat. Lat. 6835 fos. 56–94 (1 praef.–1.5.33), membr., a Nic. Perotto scriptus³³

One of the three watermarks in D seems to be identical with Briquet 7833 (Venice, 1460); the other two, closest to 3373 and 7694, suggest Naples c. 1465–70, but neither is close enough for safety. E has two similar watermarks, both closest again to Briquet 7694; I know nothing about the scribe, and I cannot say whether it was the scribe himself who entered a few readings from a manuscript like X in a hand that uses the Pomponian g. N is tentatively attributed by Iannellius to Parrhasius (1470–1522); I have not seen his hand, but on neither external nor internal grounds should I have expected N to be so late. If the shield on fo. 1^r of O was equipped with a coat of arms, I cannot make it out on the microfilm; the scribe, however, is shown by his hand to have been an associate of Pomponius Laetus, and from the fact that at 1.1.30 he wrote *Pauli* in capitals I am tempted to infer that he was Paulus Aemilius Buccabella. Furthermore, *Silvae* and *Achilleid* are each followed by an epigram signed 'Aemilius',³⁴ and the second

²⁸ At 1.4.29 C has a lacuna where MG have *orsa*. This would be of no consequence but that F omits *orsa*. Holding as I do that F and γ were copied independently from M, I am bound to invoke coincidence, and I have no compunction about doing so, because even with the aid of Marastoni's ϕ coincidence cannot be circumvented in any simple way.

²⁹ D is mentioned by O. Mueller, *Quaestiones Statianae* (Berlin, 1861), pp. 4–5, Imhof, op. cit. (n.2), pp. 3–4, Vollmer, p. 39. It omits 2.6.39–42 *dubiis . . . qualis* and 3.5.102 and repairs at the foot of the page the omission of 1.1.44 (om. EK), 1.2.3, 1.4.86a, 2.2.78.

³⁰ E omits 1.1.44 (om. DK), 1.3.67–8, 4.3.130.

³¹ Cf. the catalogue of C. Iannellius (Naples, 1827) 170. N is mentioned by Imhof, op. cit. (n.2), p. 2 + n.5, Vollmer, p. 39. It omits 1.2.154, 2.7.86, 3.5.50–3 (the last with Q, but through homoeoteleuton), and repairs in the margin the omission of 1.3.106, 2.1.71, 173. After 1.4.130 it adds *sed tamen ut fuso taurorum sanguine centum* (Ovid, *Trist.* 2.75) and

then repeats 130. 1.3.4–59 follow 1.4.8 on fo. 10, which should precede fo. 9.

³² Cf. Mazzatinti xxii.149. With the exception of 1.4.86a, O repairs in the margin all its omissions: 1.1.51, 1.2.12–13, 34, 86–7, 100, 163, 234, 2.2.73, 3.1.123. A different hand or the same one at a later date has added 1.6.22–3 at the foot of the page.

³³ 1.4.9–42 follow 1.5.12 on fos. 92–3, which should precede fo. 86.

³⁴ Because it contains an epigram composed by Paulus Aemilius Buccabella, P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 362 n.51, ascribed to him Vat. Lat. 3272, V of *Aetna*. The hand of O, however, wrote not this manuscript of *Aetna* but another, Vat. Lat. 3255; I have photocopies of both. Nolhac's ascription may be right and mine wrong if V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* (Rome, 1909–12) ii.67–8, is right in ascribing Vat. Lat. 3255 to Laelius Antonius Augustus on the strength of an autograph in Vat. Lat. 5337, which I have not seen; but the date of this autograph is 1500 (ibid. i.209).

Here are the two epigrams in O.

concerns a distinguished Paulus; if this is the most obvious candidate, Pope Paul II, O cannot be later than the date of his death, 26 July 1471. P is a fragment of what seems to have been a complete text and commentary; the interesting dedication, undated but in any event earlier than the death of Bessarion on 18 November 1472, was published by Mercati, *Studi e Testi* xlv (1925), 156–8. Now in his life of Statius in Vat. Lat. 3279 (*Thebaid*), in which he refers to his life of Lucan, printed in the ed. Rom. 1469 (*B.M.C.* IV 9), as written ‘superiore anno’, Pomponius Laetus mentions that Perottus ‘emendat aperitque’ *Silvae*.³⁵ The date of P should therefore be 1470.³⁶ For reasons that I am not competent to assess, Mercati prefers summer 1472 (pp. 74–84); he suggests that Laetus inserted his reference to Perottus’s work on *Silvae* when he was copying in 1472 a draft of 1470. If that is so, he was careless not to alter ‘superiore anno’. It cannot be so if J. Ruysschaert is right in attributing the illumination of Vat. Lat. 3279 to Gioacchino de Gigantibus, who had left Rome for Naples by 28 March 1471.³⁷ Fortunately it makes little difference to the textual history of *Silvae*, at any rate in the present state of knowledge, whether P dates from 1470 or 1472.

In 1 praef.—1.4.122, D and E share many errors, e.g. 1.2.2 *tonanti* (*comanti* MCGKQ), 1.3.3 *ponere* (*noscere* MCGKQ); as each has errors of its own, e.g. 1 praef. 2 *nostris studiis* E (*studiis nostris* MCGKQD), 1.2.45 *premeret* D (*veheret* MCGKQE), they must derive from the same exemplar, which seems to have been a copy of G, since several of their common errors could have been caused by the appearance of G:

- 1.1.52 *achasteus* DE $\hat{=}$ G: *adrasteus* G
- 56 *vi* DE: *vix ex vis* ita ut s littera deleta possit videri G
- 73 *lateus* DE $\hat{=}$ G: *la&us* G
- 1.2.60 *Lemnia repserunt deprenso* DE: *Lemnia deprenso repserunt* G, sed in mg. *Lemnia repserunt*, quae verba parum perspicue in textu leguntur
- 145 *rutulos* DE $\hat{=}$ G: *nitidos* G
- 203 *miade* DE: *tuci&dae* G (*tumidae* voluit G²)
- 1.4.66 *dextrorsum* DE $\hat{=}$ G: *dextro sine* G
- 88 *latea* DE $\hat{=}$ G: *la&a* G

In the other passages that I have collated, however, D and E never agree against

Ingenio quantum haec celeri composta
feruntur,
praecipiti tantum scripta fuere manu.
aspicis errores, veniam concede: vetustas
temporis has mendas, non mea dextra tulit.
praeterea in Silvis cui non errare licebit
cum soleat nostrum fallere campus iter?
Quam cultus Danais et formidatus Achilles,
carus Amynthoridae quam fuit usque suo,
tam mihi grata mei venerandaque numina
Pauli
et constans placida cum pietate fides;
et quantum ingenio formaque excesserat
annos
Aeacides, tantum Paulus et ipse suos.
ergo qui veterem probat et miratur Achillem
viventem Paulum diligat ille meum.

³⁵ Nollac, p. 200 n.4, Mercati, p. 81.

³⁶ Th. Simar, *Musée Belge* 14 (1910), 182–3.

³⁷ Op. cit. (n.25), pp. 275, 269. The statement in the life is not the only difficulty for Mercati: a marginal note on *Theb.* 12.481–4 reads ‘talīs est noster princeps Paulus II pont.’ (Zabughin, ii.25), and who would have copied this after 26 July 1471 without altering ‘est’ to ‘fuit’? I observe too that Mercati has to place in 1473 Perottus’ letter to Francesco Guarnerio, in which he speaks of something that ‘nuper in Marco et Papinio fecimus’ (p. 91); A. Della Torre, *Storia dell’Accademia Platonica di Firenze* (Florence, 1902) p. 15n., makes a better case for 1471 (or rather 1470–1: cf. Mercati, p. 91 n.3), and preconceptions about the date of P do not enter into it.

G². The change apparently takes place towards the end of 2.1; the last agreements against G² that I have found are 168 *ille om.* and 171 *rupis* (*rumpis* G, with *-um-* and not *-ū-*). Thereafter D seems to be a direct copy of G,³⁸ from which the same hand also corrected the previous part. As neither D nor E has any emendations or commentary in the margin, they would both lack interest but for one thing: closely related to E is the *editio princeps*, a.

Editors unacquainted with DE have been puzzled by a, which although full of interpolations found in GKQ and corruptions even more alarming is nevertheless free from some of the omissions that unite GKQ. I have already mentioned Marastoni's view that it repaired these omissions by consulting a superior offshoot of γ; this road is now firmly barred by C. In fact it was printed from a manuscript very much like E that had been corrected from a manuscript more faithful to M, which among extant manuscripts could only have been M itself.³⁹ At the beginning the corrections are numerous enough to cover the editor's tracks, but already by about 1.1.30 they have dwindled almost to nothing;⁴⁰ in several places a manifest corruption is tackled not by recourse to the better manuscript but by conjecture:

- 1.2.63 *profatur* MG: *profati* DE: *profatus* a
 122 *opes animo* MG: *ope animo* DE: *ope atque animo* a
 123 *clymeneaque* MG: *dumenea* DE: *dumeta* a
 1.3.57 *mirer* M: *micet* GDE: *mittet* a
 82 *in* MG: *ut* DE: *ad* a
 1.4.32 *praedae* MGD: *pede* E: *pene* = *poenae* a
 54 *animique in* M: *animique* GDE: *animi quoque* a
 58 *deus* MGD: *decui* (?) E: *decet* a
 3.2.41 *Phoebeum* MG²D: *Phoebum* GE: *Phoebumque* a
 46 *solī* M: *sibi* GDE: *sibi si* a

As this sample shows, few of the conjectures in a pay heed to sense or even grammar: hexameters made up of recognizable words are enough. If the editor himself is to blame, he did well to remain anonymous.

Nevertheless, a seems to have served as copy for the next three editions. Equally anonymous, and with scarcely less reason, is the least important of them,

³⁸ Errors perhaps due to the appearance of G occur in D at 3.2.49 (*pare^c toniis* G *palectioniis* D = G) and in E at 35 (*geminoque bic* G *geminoque vebit* E = G) and 90 (*petentq^g* G *petentque* E).

³⁹ At 1 praef. 23, *iniunxeras* has been added for clarification in the margin of M to the right of *iniunxeras scis* (or whatever the scribe thought he was writing), which ends a line. The scribes of F and X inferred, as anyone might, that *scis* was to be ignored, and it is absent from a. Readings that point to M itself are 1 praef. 8 *Batr-* (*Vatr-* FX), 20 *postero die* (*postera die* E, *postridie* F), 1.1.1 *geminata* (*gemma* EF), 6 *effigere* (*effinxere* EmX).

⁴⁰ The first signs of kinship with γ in general are 1.1.33 *superfulgens* and 37 *laevam*, with DE 40 *laeta* and 52 *acasteus*, with E in particular 1.2.144 *vas* (for *iam*)

and 148 *nec Libycus*; readings from the better manuscript crop up after 1.1.33 at 44 (om. DE), 1.3.9 *tecum*, 1.6.22–3 (om. γ), 3.2.10 *vobis*, 13 *ponti*, 76 *hiems* (all om. γ), and perhaps in other parts of the text that I have not collated. The source of a could admittedly have been copied from M or something similar up to about 1.1.30 and then from a manuscript like E with occasional corrections from M; but it is simpler to suppose that the copying was consistent and the correction at first thorough but then, through lack of time or energy, sporadic.

Two of the omissions in a, 1.3.67–8 and 4.3.130, occur in E, and the muddle in a at 1.2.216–17 (Marastoni, p. xlv n.1) reflects the transposition of 216 and 217 in DE.

the ed. Ven. 1475 (*B.M.C.* VI 702–3). Marastoni nowhere mentions this edition, which indeed largely follows a; but the editor imported here and there readings derived from *ρ*, e.g. 1.1.2 *per auras*, 1.2.95 *ire*, 212 *adiuvat*, 4.2.27 *<spatium>*.⁴¹ A healthier reaction to a had already declared itself in b, the ed. Parm. 1473 of Fr. Puteolanus. His colophon is frank and challenging (though I do not understand the last sentence):

... Correctum per dominum Franciscum Puteolanum et vere ultra impressionem Venetiis factam in iii milibus locis emendatum, scilicet Catullum et Sylvas, ut tu, lector, ambobus exemplaribus experiri poteris: ita quod nullo modo intelligi possunt et caetera.

Odd, then, that he should have used a for copy; but to say nothing of the calculation, what other explanation is there for 1 praef. 13 *habuerint* ab -unt codd., 1.2.27 *mendacis* ab -es codd., 51 *quo* ab *qua* codd., 135 *poenas* ab *pennas* codd., 252 *choris* ab *choo* vel sim. codd., 1.4.30 *currat* ab *curat* codd., 2.3.6 *carmen* ab *causam* QE *causas* cett., 3.2.58 *valet* ab *licet* codd., 125 *per-* ab *prae-* codd., 3.3.23 *gaudere* ab -ete codd.⁴² Furthermore, two readings of b look like misinterpreted corrections of a: 1.1.100 *munere pelleae* a *munere apelleae* Q *munera pelleae* b, 1.2.178 *inque* a *iamque* Mγ *iam* b. That the ed. Rom. 1475 was printed from a corrected copy of a is indicated above all by the omission from both of 1.1.91 *opus*, but the editor, Calderinus, also refers occasionally to 'inemendati codices', by which he means a.⁴³

That said, hardly any descendant of γ differs more widely from a than b does, and Calderinus too shows no attachment of it. What provided Puteolanus with his new readings, as has long been recognized, was a manuscript like Q:

1.1.58 *sed* Qb: *sub* cett.

1.3.89 *frigora* Qb: *litora* cett.

Q itself would account for most of them, conjecture or error for most of the remainder; but the situation may well be less straightforward, because the part of the tradition that Puteolanus and Calderinus drew on includes not just QK but also NOP, and all these manuscripts carry a fair number of corrections. Even if microfilm allowed every correction to be distinguished from the original reading, it would take several pages to illustrate in full the tangled relationships of all these witnesses. Instead I will first give a general idea of how they compare with one another and then comment on a few passages that shed more light than others.

In the sections of text that I have collated, I have listed all innovations in any of QKNOPbc that recur in any other or in G². They are distributed as follows (I must repeat that I have not seen the manuscripts themselves, so that the figures cannot pretend to be completely accurate):

1 praef.—	c	P	b	Q	N	O	G ²	K	O ²	N ²	Q ²	K ²	P ²
1.4.122	126	113	109	100	86	67	67	59	40	29	18	9	4
	P/P ² = 28.25					O/O ² = 1.68							
	Q/Q ² = 5.56					K/K ² = 6.56							
	N/N ² = 2.97												

⁴¹ The explanation of this amazing supplement is that the scribe of M, wishing to indicate that he had copied the gap from his exemplar, wrote *spatium* in the margin. Its incorporation in the text cannot be blamed on the scribe of *ρ*, because it is not in R.

⁴² The case is strengthened if readings of Eab or DEab are added, e.g. 1.2.60 *repserunt deprenso*, 119 *flammiiferas*, 3.2.143 *claudit*.

⁴³ Cf. Imhof, op. cit. (n.2), p. 4, and C. Dionisotti, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 11 (1968), 181.

2.2.126—	Q	b	c	N	O	K	K ²	G ²	O ²	N ²	Q ²
2.3.30 etc.	70	64	58	57	38	31	15	14	11	4	2
	Q/Q ² = 14.00			O/O ² = 3.45							
	N/N ² = 14.25			K/K ² = 2.07							
combined	c	b	Q	N	O	K	G ²	O ²	N ²	K ²	Q ²
	184	173	170	143	105	90	81	51	33	24	20

If the totals for original readings and corrections are combined, the table reads as follows:

Q	c	N	b	O	K	G ²
190	184	176	173	156	114	81

What these figures primarily reveal is the relative unimportance of G² and K⁽²⁾ and the decline of Q²N²O²G².

Another fact about K⁽²⁾ is that only in company with Q⁽²⁾ does it ever agree with any of N⁽²⁾O⁽²⁾P⁽²⁾bc; it therefore comes under no suspicion of indebtedness to b or c. The same cannot be said of N²:

3.2.37 *quotiens patriis acN²: patriis quotiens cett.*

85 *torva acN²: torta cett.*

136 *et om. c, del. N²*

1.3.51 *enormi . . . colosso bN²: enormes . . . colossos cett.*

70 *anienis bN²: aniene in GKNOa: anien in G²Q²: anien iam O²: anieni c*

Two of the three readings here in which N² agrees with c are obvious errors, and the third is probably an error too, since it begins life in a. With b, on the other hand, N² agrees in conjectures, and only its debt to c makes a debt to b the likeliest explanation. I suspect that some of the corrections in GQO also derive from b or c, but as I consider myself inadequately informed about the hands that made them, I say no more.

In some respects N is more faithful to γ than any of its kindred except G:

1.3.92 *genitor MCGN: decor G² DEKQOPN² abc*

Two readings connect it with O:

1.1.17 *fama NO²: forma N²O cett.*

2.3.14 *fessa ON²: tecta N: victa cett.*

The second of these passages illustrates a common type of corruption. The full line is:

caelica tecta subit ibi demum victa labore

First *victa* was corrupted to *tecta* and then *tecta* emended. Other corruptions of this type in the passages that I have collated are:

1.2.230—1 *Iam festa fervet domus utraque pompa
fronde virent postes et fulgent compita flammis
fulgent Mγ: fervent G²D²QO(O²?)Pbc*

1.3.31—2 *sic Chalcida fluctus
expellunt fluvii
fluvii Mγ: fluctus Q (fluctus om.) G²K²*

These two passages show G² drawing on other manuscripts: neither reading can be an emendation.⁴⁴

O⁽²⁾ makes its own supplements:

3.2.13 *ponti* M: om. C, lac. GDEK: *divae* QNbc: *virides* O

5.5.24 *in . . .* Mγ: *meditor* cN²: *memini* O²

25 . . . *nctus* M: lac. γ: *luctus* abcN²: *fletus* O

27 *ly . . .* M: lac. γ: *dolor prohibet* cN²: *mihi furor est* O

It also emends, of which more anon. Perottus emends quite often, intelligently by the standards of his time and intelligently enough by the standards of any time to rank higher as an editor than for instance Vollmer or Marastoni.⁴⁵

Among readings peculiar to P I take the following to be emendations: 1 *praef.* 15 *quamvis timeo ne*, 1.2.189 *raptor erat* (Avantius), 235 *coetu* (Bernartius), 267 *colant*, 276 *longae viridi* (Bentley), 1.3.9 *visa* (ed. Ald. 1502), 16 *genioque*, 39 *(an) te*, 62 *ignarae* (cod. Lipsianus apud Bernartium, Heinsius), 1.4.41 *gemuit*, 60 *pretium*, 62 *hunc alii* (*grandis datur aggredienda facultas*) *ingentem recreate virum*,⁴⁶ 64 *tendentes* (Markland), 85 *quantas* (Markland), 99 *herba cape et*, 103 *spumatum*. In twelve of these fifteen passages (the last two counted as one) something is certainly wrong with the text; Calderinus emends four of them, Vollmer and Marastoni five. Four other readings in P may be conjectural, but they may equally have come in by contamination: 1.1.18 *altius* MCP (*amplius* G etc.), 25 *discit et e* MCG²aP (*discitur et* GDE, *discitur e* KQNOG²bc), 1.2.22 *violis* MP (*molis* C, *mollis* G etc.), 44 *sedisses* MP (*dedisses* CG, *venisses* QNOG²bc, cett. alia). One last fact about P that must be reported, though I do not wish to make anything of it, is three agreements with E in the preface: 2 *nostris studiis*, 10 *erat serum* (D), 14 *enim* omitted.

⁴⁴ Klotz might have been slower to maintain that G + G² was the chief source of HIKQ if he had not misapprehended the origin of *fervent* (p. xxiv): '1.2.231 cum Q exhibeat *et fervent*, nota marginis G quae spectat ad v.230 *fervent* [*fervet* G cett.] perperam in sequentem versum inlata est'. Another objection to Klotz's view is that Q, written in 1463, has readings of G² that were not copied by I, written c. 1470 (cf. Marastoni, p. xxiii).

⁴⁵ *Emendatio* is not the business of this article, but now that I have touched on the competence of editors I cannot resist saying a word about one passage that falls within the stretches of text that I have collated. 1.2.260–5

at te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit
Parthenope, dulcisque solo tu gloria nostro
reptasti. nitidum consurgat ad aethera
tellus

Euboia et pulchra tumeat Sebethos alumna,
nec sibi sulphureis Lucrinae Naidēs antris
nec Pompeiani placeant magis otia Sarni.
'You were born on the banks of Sebethos,
which should be proud of you, and may the
Lucrine lake and the Sarnus at Pompeii not
appeal more to *themselves*.' So M, followed

by Marastoni and others, while bNO², followed by Markland, read *tibi*. How long will Markland's note fall on deaf ears? 'Vide enim constructionem: *nec Lucrinae Naidēs magis sibi placeant antris sulfureis*: hucusque recte et ordine omnia: iam pergās; *nec otia Pompeiani Sarni*: quid tum? nihil, nisi ἀπὸ κοινοῦ intelligas *magis sibi placeant*. *qua re* sibi placeant? an *sulfureis antris*? hoc enim solum restat; quod vides quam absurdum sit. Mitto quod versu priore dixisse debuit, *nec Lucrinus magis sibi placeat suis nymphis*, quam *Sebetos sua alumna*: non, *nec Lucrinae Naidēs magis sibi placeant sulfureis antris*.' Statius himself provides support for *tibi* in similar contexts at the end of two other poems, 2.2.110–11, quoted by Markland in an intelligible form but not so printed by Marastoni, and 3.1.182–3 (generic critics can doubtless tell us whether the associations of the τόπος are primarily prosphonematic, propemptic, or genethliac); but from *sibi* to *tibi*, from nonsense to sense, is a long jump, and of course anyone who makes it fully deserves a reputation for recklessness.

⁴⁶ N has picked up *grandis* but leaves the rest as it stands.

So much for manuscripts that are independent of the editions. The following manuscripts are copies of editions:

Neap. Orat. membr. 13, written in 1484 by Antonio Sinibaldi; copied from a⁴⁷

Laur. 38.13, membr., written by Bartolomeo Fonizio for Francesco Sassetti; copied from a and corrected from c⁴⁸

Palmensis, membr.; derived from a⁴⁹

Vat. Lat. 3595, membr., written by Parthenius Minutius Paulinus; copied from c⁵⁰

Leid. Voss. O 62, chart.; copied from c⁵¹

Ricc. 712, membr.; copied from the ed. Ven. 1475 and corrected from c or a descendant and some other source as well⁵²

Mus. Brit. Add. 6056, membr.; copied from the ed. Ven. 1475 and corrected in accordance with conjectures made by Politian⁵³

Paris. Lat. 8282 fos. 1–80 (1 praef.–5.3.257), chart.; copied from the ed. Vic. 1481⁵⁴

Rom. Nat. V.E. 1021 (*olim* Capilupianus XIV), chart.; copied with corrections from the ed. Ven. 1490.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Mandarini, *I codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Oratoriana di Napoli* (Naples, 1897), pp. 34–5. The mere description establishes its source, as Hand seems to have seen (p. xxv).

⁴⁸ I owe my information about the scribe to Dr. de la Mare. My assertion about the sources of the manuscript rests partly on a photograph of fo. 1^r that she has shown me, partly on readings cited by Gronovius. Cf. Bandini's catalogue ii (1775), 263.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Elter and Klotz, *BPhW* 25 (1905), 1100–2, and P. Bohigas, *Bibliotecnica* 1 (1944), 86. Dr. Ramón Baltar of Santiago de Compostela greatly obliged me by obtaining permission from the owner, the Marquis of Campo-Franco, for the manuscript to be microfilmed, and the Marquis reported shortly afterwards that the filming had been carried out, but unfortunately I have not received the results. The Marquis kindly pointed out that the manuscript had been inspected by G. Colom and M. Dolç when they were editing *Silvae*. Their edition, with Catalan translation (3 vols., Barcelona, 1957–60), has remained quite unknown; thanks to Dr. Baltar I now own what I should like to think is the only copy on this side of the Pyrenees. One of the few respects in which it differs from Frère's edition is that they give the content of the Palmensis in vol. i, p. 36 n.1, and cite it in their apparatus. Despite several disagreements I regard its derivation from a as certain; no doubt it was transcribed from a corrected copy of a.

⁵⁰ Cf. Nohac, *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 6 (1886), 142–5. Selected passages were inspected for Heinsius by O. Falconerius

(cf. *Syll.* V.532–7), whose reports, entered in the margin of Heinsius's letter, lie behind all published readings; the autograph is in Diez B Sant. 81 in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, and I have consulted a copy made by Burman in Bodl. d'Orville 191. The only reading that does not appear in c is 1.2.41 *licuit* (b), which I dare say is not the reading of the first hand.

⁵¹ Readings are given in the edition of Amar and Lemaire (Paris, 1825), and besides many passed on by c to later editions they include 1.2.83 *urgendum* (*urgendem* c, *urgentem* cett. codd. et edd.). I should add that the 'ed. Rom.' cited by Amar and Lemaire is not the original edition of 1475 but the reprint of c. 1481–2, which has the same subscription (*B.M.C.* vii.1145–6).

⁵² e.g. 1.2.103 *finis erat*, 1.3.5 *aestu*, 94 *argetius* (X²), 3.5.32 *doleres*. Cf. *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi* (Florence, 1810), p. 18.

⁵³ 'Florentine MS. of c. 1480–90; same scribe as Laur. Strozzi 94' (Dr. de la Mare). A few of the conjectures may have nothing to do with Politian, e.g. 1.4.62 *bic antiqua vides*, 3.4.97 *bic*, 5.3.132 *verus*, 5.5.84 (*solebam*). The manuscript is mentioned by Vollmer, p. 39 n.1.

⁵⁴ Readings are given by Amar and Lemaire (cf. n.51), and Professor Wasserstein has kindly lent me his photographs of the manuscript, which has a redeeming interest that I shall mention in a moment. The ed. Vic. 1481 is a conflation of abc, and no other edition resembles it; one distinctive reading is 1 praef. 24 *cclxxvii*.

⁵⁵ Cf. Tullia Gasparrini Leporace, 'I manoscritti Capilupiani della Biblioteca

Two excerpts seem also to derive from editions:

Neap. Vindob. 57 (*olim* Vindob. 3160) fo. 214^v (5 praef.), chart.; derived from c⁵⁶

Vat. Lat. 5390 fos. 18^v–21^r (1.1), chart.; derived at least in part from the ed. Ven. 1499.⁵⁷

Besides identified manuscripts the older editors used these:

Lipsianus: cited by its owner in *Syll.* ii.28–9 (1598) and by Bernartius in his commentary (Antwerp, 1599); Bernartius describes it as ‘non perveterem quidem, de vetere tamen, ut apparet, exscriptum nec infimae iotae’ (p. 3). Except that according to Bernartius it read *ignarae* at 1.3.62, all readings that I have checked could have come from the ed. Ven. 1475. It is safe to say that it was a descendant either of this or of *p*.

Senensis: collated by Scaliger in a copy of the ed. Antw. 1595, now Gött. Philol. 146; Leid. Hist. 91 is a transcript made by Fr. Junius in another copy of the same edition, and Bodl. d’Orville 191 contains a transcript of this. The manuscript was not identical with C but read e.g. 1.1.2 *per auras* (R, ed. Ven. 1475), 38 *praetendens* (X²), 56 *exesaque*, 1.2.131 *si curvo in litore*, 149 *fossus*. Heinsius satisfied himself ‘membranas istas Senenses locis compluribus a mala manu fuisse interpolatas’ (*Syll.* v.535–6).

cod. Piccarti: of doubtful existence; Gebhardus, *Creputandia* iii. 27, reports a few emendations by Piccartus in the first four poems, including 1.2.91 ‘leg. *durasse* ex Ms.’ (*superesse* QNPc), 153 ‘Ms. *sancita*’ (unattested), 263 ‘Ms. *Selenis*’ (unattested).

codd. Barthii: anyone who takes Barthius’ assertions about manuscripts seriously can find references to two of his own in his *Adversaria* (Frankfurt, 1624), 728, 1185–6, 1306, 1436–8. Readings supposedly noted from a cod. Merseburgensis by Barthius are said by Hand to appear in the margins of a printed edition at Zwickau (p. xlix).

cod. Rhodii, chartaceus: cited by Gronovius in his edition (Amsterdam, 1653) and presumably collated at Padua in 1640–1: cf. *Syll.* iii.96. It agrees everywhere with D⁵⁸ and was rightly identified with it by O. Mueller, *Quaestiones Statianae* (Berlin, 1861), p. 5. Rhodius, who came from Copenhagen, left his library upon his death in 1659 to his son-in-law Thomas Bang,⁵⁹ whose own library was auctioned at Copenhagen in 1662;⁶⁰ D was bought for d’Orville by Havercamp in 1726 from ‘amico meo Hafniensi’.⁶¹

cod. Drakenborchii: ‘cuius lectiones ad duo priora carmina ipse ille notavit in libro Gottingensi . . . et ad reliquorum loca complura in Observat. Miscell. Vol. II’ (Hand, p. xxvii). The readings noted in Gött. Philol. 151 (ed. Paris. 1600),

Nazionale Centrale di Roma’, *Guida storica e bibliografica degli archivi e delle biblioteche d’Italia* 5 (1939), 34. Readings from book 5 are given in Queck’s edition (Leipzig, 1854). The source is established by a number of misprints, e.g. 1 praef. 23 *iniungeras*.

⁵⁶ Cf. F. Skutsch, *Jahrb. für class. Phil.* 39 (1893), 483.

⁵⁷ 67 *famosusque . . . servat*, 85 *traderis orsus* (Avantius). The excerpt was discovered by Reitzenstein, who collated it for Skutsch; cf. op. cit., p. 469 n.1. Skutsch did not realize that it was just an excerpt; at least I presume, since fo. 21^v is blank, that the text does not continue after the inserted ‘cahier’

(fo. 22) spoken of by Nohac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 374 n.202. The manuscript was first brought to my attention by Professor Wasserstein.

⁵⁸ At 4.1 tit. Gronovius has transposed the readings of D and S.

⁵⁹ Cf. C. Bruun, *Johan Rode* (Copenhagen, 1893), pp. 80–4.

⁶⁰ Cf. E.C. Werlauff, *Historiske Efterretninger om det store Kongelige Bibliotek i Kjøbenhavn* (Copenhagen, 1844), p. 33 n.k.

⁶¹ Bodl. d’Orville 486, fo. 63; cf. Gaisford’s catalogue of the d’Orvillian (Oxford, 1806), p. 6.

which also appear in Bodl. d'Orville 327 (the same ed.),⁶² are all without exception taken from the Aldine of 1502.⁶³ In *Obs. Misc.* ii (1733), 217–38, two editors who sign themselves A and B cite readings not *ad loca complura* but in nine places; B's seven readings come from D, while A gives two conjectures of a 'vir doctus' from the margin of 'codicis quem habeo', 1.2.54 *quo* or *quis*, 2.6.93 *sed et ista iuvant*.

I come next to the exegesis and emendation of *Silvae* in the fifteenth century. Perottus' commentary I have already mentioned, and Calderinus', the outcome of his lectures c. 1470–3,⁶⁴ is widely available in c and sundry editions derived from it. According to Politian it was Calderinus who first lectured on *Silvae*.⁶⁵ Politian himself devoted his first lectures to them in 1480–1,⁶⁶ and a rough commentary survives in Magl. VII 973;⁶⁷ the other evidence of his work on *Silvae* is too well known to need repeating.⁶⁸

A. Wasserstein, who restored Magl. VII 973 to its author in CQ 47 (1953), 73, and *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), 83–9, also found in the margins of Parisinus 8282 a commentary that he thought might go back to antiquity (CQ *ibid.* 75–8).⁶⁹ In fact it corresponds closely to marginal notes in Bodl. Auct. N inf. 1 6 (ed. Flor. 1480), which are in the hand of none other than Pomponius Laetus.⁷⁰ In compiling these notes he had access to a manuscript that he calls 'antiquus':

3.1.16 in antiquo est *dicasit*, aliter *ditavit*

5.2.48 in antiquo erat *venivea*

Of extant manuscripts G alone has these readings; either G itself or its source could be the *antiquus* referred to. Other readings that seem to derive from a manuscript are 4.1.23 *vel ast's* (Laetus himself does not abbreviate in this way) and 5.2.149 *toraca* (*tributa* vel *tribracta* vel *vibrata* edd. ante Avantium). Otherwise his readings fall into three categories: corrections of misprints (the ed. Flor. 1480 is very badly printed),⁷¹ importations from Calderinus' edition or some other derived from it (e.g. 1.3.16 *concessa* for *artemque*), and conjectures. Some of the readings in all these categories could equally well have been taken from a manuscript, but there is no reason to suppose that they were. The conjectures include several ascribed by Klotz, Phillimore, or Marastoni, to more recent editors, and several for which Laetus can dispute priority with Politian:

1.1.22 *huic* (Havet)

1.2.62 *manusque* (Morellus)

⁶² To judge from a note by d'Orville on the flyleaf, they are in the hand of Drakenborch himself.

⁶³ 'Cod. Drakenborch. *Aristeus*' at 1.1.52 according to Hand, but the note on *Adrastaeus* in Bodl. d'Orville 327 reads simply *-teus*.

⁶⁴ Cf. A.J. Dunston, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 11 (1968), 74–5.

⁶⁵ Cf. Marastoni, p. lxxxiv.

⁶⁶ I. del Lungo, *Florentia* (Florence, 1897), pp. 176–7; Pastore Stocchi, *op. cit.* (p. 205), p. 40 n.3.

⁶⁷ My colleague Nigel Wilson tells me that it will shortly be published by a pupil of A. Perosa.

⁶⁸ I am not convinced that he had much

to do with the annotations in Flor. Nat. B 4 13 (ed. Flor. 1480), attributed to Antonio Benivieni (1443–1502) by Olga Zorzi Pugliese, *La bibliofilia* 72 (1970), 37–52. Incidentally, Benivieni owned a 'Statius in papiro', almost certainly *Silvae*, in 1487 (*ibid.* 44).

⁶⁹ In my opinion, though not in Wasserstein's, the same hand wrote both text and commentary.

⁷⁰ I owe the attribution to Dr. de la Mare.

⁷¹ It is a conflation of a and the ed. Ven. 1475, with more than its share of misprints. Bartolomeo Fonzo was involved in its production; cf. E. Nesi, *Il diario della Stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, 1903), pp. 46–7 no. LII.

1.2.180	<i>ea</i> (Baehrens)	4.5.22	<i>bic</i> (Heinsius)
1.3.42	<i>invitant</i> (ω apud Phill.)	4.6.19	<i>habitura</i> (Avantius)
84	<i>lanuviaeque</i> (cf. <i>lavinaeque</i> Klotz)	39	<i>pedem</i> (Pol.)
2.1.76	<i>bic</i> (Krohn)	5.1.84	<i>pondus</i> (Avantius)
2.5.28	<i>et</i> (ed. Ald.)	5.2.40	<i>suspecta</i> (Pol.)
3 praef.	6 <i>penetrable</i> (Pol.)	75	<i>modos</i> (Behotius)
3.1.149	<i>limon</i> (Pol.)	5.3.109	<i>vacas pro vacans</i> ut vid. ex annot. (Baehrens)
3.3.180	<i>litore</i> (Pol.)	132	<i>verus</i> (Schottius)
3.4.97	<i>bic</i> (Barthius)	137	<i>Euboica</i> (Phillimore)
4.2.23	<i>ambitus</i> (Polster)	277	<i>Ennae</i> (Gronovius)

Some of Laetus' emendations recur in O², e.g. 2.2.143 *vivite* (Markland), 147 *longe placidissima cuius* (cf. *longe pulcherrima cuius* ed. Ald.), 4.2.32 *ambitus*, and one even in O, 4.6.19 *habitura*; O too has an ample commentary in the margin, which I unfortunately cannot read with any ease on the microfilm,⁷² and so does N, at any rate up to 3.1.92 and on 4.9.1–5.2.75.

Ampler still and even less decipherable is the commentary in the margin of the Capilupianus, and this manuscript contains almost all Laetus' emendations⁷³ and several more besides.⁷⁴ In fact it forms a bridge between Laetus and a scholar who is known to have lectured on *Silvae* at Rome in 1498, Antonius Amiterninus. Notes taken at his lectures are preserved in a copy of the ed. Ven. 1494 at Leipzig,⁷⁵ and he has won a place in modern editions by his transposition of 2.2.147–55, in which he anticipated Gronovius. The Capilupianus has the following note on these lines: 'haec carmina recte praecedunt illa carmina quatuor quae incipiunt *Discite securi etc.*, ut finis *Silvae sit Seculaeque et priscae titulos praecedite famae*'. It would not surprise me if some conjectures that occur in the margins of more than one printed edition went back to Amiterninus' lectures. At 1.3.32, for instance, Phillimore reports *reflui* from the margins of two editions in the Bodleian, and the Capilupianus has it.

For all I know there are annotated copies of the later edd. Ven. beside which the four used by Phillimore sink into insignificance. At the moment, however, these hold the field, and so I will say more about them. He designates them as follows:

- κ = ed. Romae Kal. Sext. 1475 (uno involucro cum Catullo Propertio Tibullo 1486)
- λ = aliud eiusdem ed. exemplar (una cum Horatio)
- μ = aliud eiusdem ed. exemplar (una cum Thebaide et Achilleide)
- ξ = ed. Brixienensis 1490

⁷² Any inquiry into Laetus' work on *Silvae* would also have to take account of 'le poche glosse a penna, di mano del Leto, sparse nell' esemplare corsiniano delle "Selve" di Stazio, edite nel 1475 dal Calderini', mentioned by Zabughin, op. cit. (n.34) i.263.

⁷³ At 1.4.64 *damnantis* is actually in the text.

⁷⁴ e.g. 1.2.244 *tinxit* (Guyet).

⁷⁵ Cf. Hand, pp. xlvii–xlviii; 'annota-

tiones incipiunt a v.91 carm. 3 libri primi, et non tantum multas bonas explicationes continent, sed etiam lectiones e codicibus scriptis, ut videtur, depromptas'. Of the two copies mentioned in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft xxxv (1909), 216 no. 3861, it is presumably the one in the Universitätsbibliothek. I cannot find anything more informative about Amiterninus than A. Dragonetti, *Le vite degli illustri Aquilani* (Aquila, 1847), pp. 39–42.

Locating the volumes from these designations costs a day's labour, because there could hardly be more mistakes in so small a compass. Read instead:

κ = Auct. N 4 29 (ed. Ven. 1490, una cum Horatio)

λ = Auct. N inf. 2 27 (5) (ed. sine loco et anno,⁷⁶ una cum Catullo Tibullo Propertio Persio)

μ = Auct. P 5 15 (ed. Ven. 1483)

ξ = Auct. O 1 6 (ed. Ven. 1490)

The readings entered in κ and μ are of no importance: those in κ derive either directly or indirectly from Avantius's edition (Ven. 1499 per Petrum Bergomensensem),⁷⁷ those in μ, which stop at 3.2.47, from the family of a.⁷⁸ The annotator of λ adds to Calderinus' discussion of CAUDACUS on the penultimate leaf the following reference: 'vide commentarium Syllii in secunda cartha ex ~~seri~~ (sic) dictatis ab ipso Domitio'. From this and the note on *Silv.* 1.1.28 reported by Phillimore it appears that he had attended Calderinus' lectures on Silius and *Silvae*.⁷⁹ To publish all his notes here would take up too much space, especially since about half of them could have been taken from other editions. The most interesting are these:

1.1.10	<i>al decurrit . . . Idae</i>	2.6.42	<i>missa</i> (Senensis, Pol., Capilup.)
20	<i>al tantus raptō</i> (Pol.)	3.5.80	<i>dionaea . . . columba</i> (Pol.)
28	see Phillimore	5.2.24	<i>emeritos</i> (Capilup.)
38	<i>praetendens</i> (X ² , Capilup., Senensis)	5.3.77	<i>supremos</i>
		88	<i>fissa</i> (Laetus, Avantus)
1.2.189	<i>raptor erat</i> (P, Avantius)	5.3.155	<i>Leucade</i> ('non nulli' apud Cald., Pol.)
252	<i>choro</i> (Avantius)		
1.3.32	<i>reflui</i> (Capilup.)	5.5.14	<i>ferto</i> (Pol)
89	<i>Antia</i>	53	<i>a durus</i> (Pol.)
1.4.62	<i>ait i</i>	67	<i>delicias</i> (Avantius)
2.1.64	<i>abque</i> (ut vid.)	85	<i>exercere</i> (Avantius)
	<i>ipso . . . poste</i>		

Whether any of these emendations are the annotator's own property I hesitate to say. As for ξ, at first sight three hands or more appear to have annotated it, but closer inspection reveals common features, so that the differences are probably no more than differences in time. The notes consist of readings taken from the Aldine of 1502 or some later edition (e.g. 5.5.68 *linguaque simul*); illustrative quotations, above all from the elder Pliny; disagreements with Calderinus and Politian (e.g. 1 praef. 7 'allucinaris Domiti de Culice', 5.5.46 'Pol. *domus*; ego

⁷⁶ Ven. c. 1481–2 (B.M.C. vii.1145–6).

⁷⁷ Avantius' epilogue is dated mcccclxxxviii, but an x must have fallen out, because some of his alterations correct misprints peculiar to the ed. Ven. 1494, e.g. 1.1.64 *continuis*, 1.2.79 *summam*, 92 *firmitateque*, 227 *mic thyrsos*. Cf. Hand, p. xxxv.

⁷⁸ e.g. *per auras* (ed. Ven. 1475), 1.2.225 *ingressi* (*ingressa a*, ed. Ven. 1475, ed. Flor. 1480), 1.3.63 *damnat* (*damnet caedem*), 3.1.97 *suaderet* (ed. Flor. 1480), 138 *divis* (ed. Flor. 1480). Until recently I wondered

whether these readings might be found together in a precursor of the ed. Flor. 1480, published c. 1475–6 (Reichling, no. 334, Goff, S–699); but I have now examined the copy at Harvard, and it turns out to be the ed. Ven. 1475 (I see too late that Goff has entered a correction to this effect in his new edition).

⁷⁹ Professor Delz thinks he may be Petrus Marsus, because the note refers to his commentary (ed. pr. Ven. 1483) and the hand could be his.

defendam *domans'*); striking coincidences with λ (e.g. 1.1.28 see Phillimore, 1.3.32 *reflui*, 63 *donat*,⁸⁰ 89 *Antia*, 2.1.49 *nollent*); and other conjectures (e.g. 1.3.42 *pigros invitant*, 43 *suspensa*).⁸¹

Some elucidations and emendations were published by Iohannes Britannicus in a letter to Dominicus Bonominus and Gabriel Ciminus prefixed to his commentary on Juvenal (ed. pr. Brix. 1501). Fuller notes from his hand may survive in the margins of a printed edition somewhere, and perhaps his ideas also came into circulation through lectures. The text from which he starts is that of the ed. Ven. c. 1481–2, 1483, or 1490 (1.5.32 *filis*). Unless he had access to a manuscript, some of his restorations are palmary: 2.1.145 *flesset*, 164 *exosus*, 3.4.70 *corpus*, 4.2.20 *stupet*, 5.1.147 *vineta*. Others are certainly emendations, and they are still largely overlooked; *nimum* at 5.5.68, for instance, is printed even by Marastoni but attributed to Markland, and *Terenti* at 4.1.38 is attributed by editors who mention it to Turnebus.

Lastly, and not strictly in the fifteenth century, Parrhasius. He gave a course of lectures on *Silvae* early in his career at Naples, another c. 1501–3 at Milan, and another in 1514 at Rome.⁸² What survives, besides the notes published by Stephanus in *Iani Parrhasii liber de rebus per epistolam quaesitis* (1567), pp. 82–120, 179–80, is an annotated edition of book 1, part of Neap. XIII B 32,⁸³ a manuscript commentary, Neap. V D 14;⁸⁴ and a preface to the last course, part of Neap. V D 15.⁸⁵ I have not seen any of these except the published *liber*, but the lectures, like Amiterninus', may have left their mark in scattered copies of editions: in the commentary he reads *Antia* at 1.3.89 (λξ).⁸⁶ On pp. 89–96 of the *liber* is an undated criticism of Amiterninus.

The study both of *Silvae* and of humanistic scholarship surely has more to gain from an investigation of all these commentaries than from further argument about Politian's collation.

I shall conclude with a summary of what is known and what is not known about the diffusion of *Silvae* in the fifteenth century. This can best be cast as a summary of what is known and what is not known about M. Sections (12) and (13) I include because either may hold some clue to the ownership of M in the fifty years after Poggio's death.

(1) Poggio made copies of Valerius Flaccus and Asconius in 1416 for dispatch to Bruni and Niccoli; cf. T. Tonelli, *Poggii Epistolae* (Florence, 1832), i.29. Niccoli still had both in 1427 (ibid. 209), Asconius (+ Valerius Flaccus?) in December 1429 (ibid. 294–5, 303).

(2) An unpractised scribe made copies of Silius, Manilius, and *Silvae*, which Poggio sent to Fr. Barbaro in 1418 to be copied and forwarded to Niccoli; cf. Clark, *CR* 13 (1899), 125. Niccoli had *Silvae* (+ Silius and Manilius?) in December 1429 (Tonelli, i.303).

(3) Poggio may have recovered all these texts by September 1430 (ibid. 321); cf. Garrod, *Manili Astronomicon Liber II* (Oxford, 1911), p. xxxvi.

⁸⁰ Also in the Capilupianus.

⁸¹ One reading recurs in the margin of Ricc. 712, 1.3.5 *aestu*.

⁸² F. lo Parco, *Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Vasto, 1899), pp. 13, 19, 101, 120, 134, 147.

⁸³ M. Welsh, *Class. et Med.* 28 (1967), 300 + n.38.

⁸⁴ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* 1 (1963),

400. Cf. A. Abbamondi, *Le Selve di P. Papinio Stazio ed un commento inedito di Giano Aulo Parrasio* (Naples, 1906), especially pp. 48–52.

⁸⁵ Lo Parco, op. cit. (n.82) pp. 101, 177–8.

⁸⁶ Abbamondi, op. cit. (n.84) p. 80.

(4) Poggio's estate (Florence, 1459) included 'Sirius ytalicus in papirio' (Walser 421 no. 57, wrongly made part of the same manuscript as 'Servius in papirio') and 'Astronomicon cum multis aliis in papiro' (ibid., no. 59), i.e. Manilius (<+ *Silvae*?) (<+ Valerius Flaccus and Asconius??).⁸⁷

(5) Valerius Flaccus and Asconius are now in Matr. 8514 (*olim* X 81), preceded by Sigebertus Gemblacensis; Manilius (1.83—) and *Silvae* are in M; Silius is lost. Manilius is in separate gatherings, but *Silvae* were once preceded by something else, presumably Silius; cf. Thielscher, *Philologus* 66 (1907), 87—91, Goold, *Rb. Mus.* 99 (1956), 9—10.

(6) Both Matritenses have annotations by Niccoli; on M cf. A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), p. 65 n.11, and Clark's photographs of Asconius can be inspected in the Bodleian (MS. facs. e 24).

(7) Valerius Flaccus has annotations by Ludovicus Regius; cf. A. Fairbank, *Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting* 47 (1966), 8.

(8) Politian, *Centuria Secunda* 49.4 (ed. V. Branca and M. Pastore Stocchi, Florence, 1972), speaks of 'poggianus liber, quem viderat etiam ante nos . . . Domitius'. That the *poggianus liber* was M, in other words that Politian saw M, I have maintained on p. 205. That Calderinus saw it cannot be inferred from his edition.⁸⁸

(9) There is a way of connecting (7) and (8). Ludovicus Regius worked in close association with Agostino Maffei; cf. Ruysschaert, *La bibliofilia* 60 (1958), 333—4. Calderinus dedicated his commentary to Agostino Maffei. Agostino Maffei entertained Politian at Rome in 1484 and showed him *libros veteres*; cf. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* i (Florence, 1905), 153 + n.71. If Agostino Maffei had owned M since the 1470s, he could have told Politian in 1484 that he had shown it to Calderinus. Ruysschaert, op. cit., pp. 313—14, follows the fortunes of Agostino Maffei's library and concludes that it was probably dispersed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century; this squares with (12) and (13).

One obstacle, to say nothing of the uncertainty that would still hang over the ownership of M between 1459 and whenever Maffei came by it, is that Politian might have been expected to mention M in the *Centuria Prima* if he had seen it before 1489; cf. Pastore Stocchi, op. cit. (p. 205) 63, whom I was following when I said on p. 205 that he saw it during 1489—94. Pastore Stocchi suggests, ibid., that Politian's warrant for the statement quoted was notes of Calderinus' that he might have happened upon.

(10) On fo. 26^r of Matr. 8514 the speeches expounded by Asconius are listed 'von jünngerer Hand s. XV' according to W. von Hartel, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis* (Vienna, 1887) 454.⁸⁹

(11) On fo. 1^r of M a hand dated by Madan to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century⁹⁰ has written 'Manilii Astronomicon et Statii Papinii Sylvae

⁸⁷ Cf. B.A. Müller, *BPhW* 37 (1917), 463—4.

⁸⁸ Others who claim to know more about Calderinus' work on *Silvae* than his edition reveals are Avantius, who says in his preface and epilogue that most of his corrections were not unknown to 'Domitius meus' (they both came from Verona) but were ignored or botched by the printer, and whoever was

the authority for the note in Bodl. Auct. N inf. 2 27 that he 'saw' the additional verse *cederet atque tibi servatos viveret annos* after 1.1.28.

⁸⁹ Cf. R. Ellis, *Noctes Manilianae* (Oxford, 1891), p. 232 n.1: 'a later xvth century hand'.

⁹⁰ Cf. Garrod, *Manili Astronomicon liber II* (Oxford, 1911), p. xxxv.

et Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem et Valerii Flacci nonnulla'. The two Matritenses are of a size that would allow them to be bound together.⁹¹

(12) Kiessling and Schoell, ed. of Asconius (Berlin, 1875), p. xxxiv, offer a tantalizing piece of information. Lorenzo Pignoria, who died at Padua in 1631, owned a manuscript that had exactly the same subscription as Matr. 8514; cf. his work *Le origini di Padova* (Padua, 1625), pp. 110–11. His library passed to the Venetian Domenico Molino, and the manuscript appears in the catalogue of it dedicated to this gentleman by Tomasini (Padua, 1632), 26 no. 12, as 'fragmenta Asconii Pediani & C. Valerii Flacci ex editione Poggii'; the catalogue records no manuscript of Manilius or *Silvae*. If Tomasini inferred the contents hastily from the subscription, which I suppose is conceivable, the manuscript could have been the two Matritenses in the state indicated in (4) and (11). Equally it need have contained no more than Valerius Flaccus; cf. the subscription of Vat. Lat. 1613, quoted by W.-W. Ehlers, *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften der Argonautica des C. Valerius Flaccus* (Zetemata 52, Munich, 1970) 15.

(13) Both manuscripts came to the Biblioteca Nacional from a Conde de Miranda, not yet dated; cf. Thielscher, pp. 103–4. Some manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional that belonged to him were written in the seventeenth century: see nos. 878, 1502, 2046, 2954, in the *Inventario general de manuscritos*. The bearers of the title in the seventeenth century are listed in *Grosses Universal-Lexicon* lxiv (Leipzig, 1750), 358; I notice that the father of the 7th Conde spent nine years in Naples at the end of the sixteenth century, but if there is anything in (12), this will not be relevant.

(14) Further information about the history of the various parts must be elicited from copies.

(a) For Valerius Flaccus only one copy of Matr. 8514 is known, Vat. Lat. 1613; cf. Ehlers 26. Dr. de la Mare puts it in Florence c. 1420–35. The dearth of copies is explained by the incompleteness of the text: Niccoli had a complete text, much copied (L = Laur. 39.38).

(b) At least twenty-eight manuscripts of Asconius descend from Matr. 8514; cf. Clark's edition (O.C.T., 1907), pp. xx–xxii, and add Bonon. 2785, Vat. Barb. 131, Holk. 392, and Mus. Brit. Add. 24894. Only one of these is dated (Ambros. I 91 sup., a. 1475), but as two of what Clark considers the better manuscripts, Harl. 5238 and Bodl. Canon. Misc. 217, contain works by Gasparino Barzizza,⁹² whom Clark shows to have had a copy at his disposal in 1420 (p. xv), it seems that the diffusion of the text followed immediately on its discovery. Which of the manuscripts may be direct copies I have no idea;⁹³ but the subscription of Flor. Soc. Columb. 59 (*olim* B 7), quoted by Kiessling and Schoell, p. xxix n.3, could well attest a stage in the history of the two Matritenses for which I gave evidence above in (4) and (11): 'Hoc fragmentum Q. Asconii Pediani repertum est in monasterio Sancti Galli prope Constantiam XX milibus passuum a Poggio Florentino una cum parte C. Valerii Flacci et Balbi Setini Argonauticon et M. Manilii Astronomicon et Statii Silvarum libri. quod sumpsimus ex exemplari dicti Poggii sua manu transcripto'.

(c) According to H. Blass, *Jabrb. für class. Phil.* Supp. 8 (1875–6), 161–250,

⁹¹ Cf. Hartel, op. cit., pp. 418, 454 n.1.

⁹² So does Luc. 1756, which was no more than a name to Clark; and the subscription of another 'melior', Pistor. Fabr. 319 (Clark, p. xxi), is very similar to that in

Harl. 5238.

⁹³ Dr. de la Mare tells me, however, that Laur. 54.29 was written by the scribe of Vat. Lat. 1613; cf. under (a).

manuscripts of Silius fall into two families: the best representatives of what must be the earlier are Oxon. Reg. 314, Laur. Gadd. 91 sup. 35, and Vat. Lat. 1652; of the later, Laur. Aed. 196 (G.A. and A. Vespucci) and Laur. 37.16 (Gherardo del Ciriagio, 1457). Blass does not prove, however, that the latter family actually is a family: as far as his evidence goes (pp. 223–6), the Vespuccis and Gherardo could have made independent copies of M.

From the correspondence of Fr. Filelfo it emerges that a manuscript of Silius supposedly written 'manu germani librarii' and brought to Italy by Bartolomeo da Montepulciano had passed from him to the father of Antonio Barbadori and from him to his son, who lent it to Carlo Aretino; Aretino died in 1453, and in 1464 Filelfo writes to Antonio Barbadori for news of it. Cf. Blass, pp. 168–71. Clark, *CR* 13 (1899), 127–8 and 15 (1901), 166, suggested that this manuscript was copied for Bartolomeo from the same exemplar as M and gave rise to the earlier family. If so, Filelfo was mistaken in regarding it as the source of all the Italian manuscripts; cf. Thielscher, *Philol.* 66 (1907), 105. If on the other hand it was M, Silius must have been detached from *Silvae* and Manilius before Bartolomeo's death in 1429 (so Thielscher *ibid.*), and it may not have been the Silius in Poggio's estate.

Laur. Aed. 196 and Laur. 37.16 are not the only descendants of M c. 1450–75: Blass showed that Laur. 37.17 often agrees with them (Dr. de la Mare tells me on the authority of Professor Delz that it was written by Bartolomeo Fonzio for Fr. Sasseti, that is c. 1472–5), and Pomponius Laetus seems to have drawn on the later 'family' for his edition of 1471 (cf. Blass, pp. 186, 224 n.56). For the attribution of Laur. Aed. 196 to the Vespuccis see A.C. de la Mare, *The Handwriting of Italian Humanists* I.i (Oxford, 1973), 128 no. 37.

Poggio had corrected M up to book 13: cf. Clark, *CR* 13 (1899), 125. Some readings in which the later 'family' differs from the earlier may therefore be due, if the earlier does not derive from M, to Poggio; if it does, to a later corrector.

(d) In Manilius M has four known descendants: Vat. Urb. Lat. 667 and 668, Holk. 331, and (from roughly 2.684 to the end) Voss. Lat. 0 3. On the last, written in 1470 for Theodericus Ruthenberger (or perhaps by him), cf. Thielscher, pp. 128–9. The other three, written before M lost 1.1–82, all contain Serenus Sammonicus. I know of no evidence beyond this that they all derive from an intermediate copy, and I do not regard it as sufficient; equally I cannot say for certain that any of them is a direct copy of M. The Urbinates are both Florentine: 667 was written for Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro, who died in 1473,⁹⁴ and 668 by Sinibaldus C., probably in the early 1470s.⁹⁵ Holk. 331, on the other hand, can be attributed to Michael Laurentii, who wrote and signed at Rome Vat. Ottob. Lat. 2020 in 1465, Vat. Lat. 1818 and Mus. Brit. Add. 16533 in 1468, and Mus. Brit. Harl. 4916 in 1469.⁹⁶

In addition, several manuscripts of s.xv have readings from M superimposed on a text not immediately related. Their archetype is Ven. Marc. Lat. XII 69, copied at Basel from Bruxell. (Cusanus) 10699 (s.xii) and corrected, I have no doubt, from M itself.⁹⁷ The earliest dated member of this mixed family is Caesen.

⁹⁴ A. Marucchi, *Studi e Testi* 237 (1964), 76 no. 100.

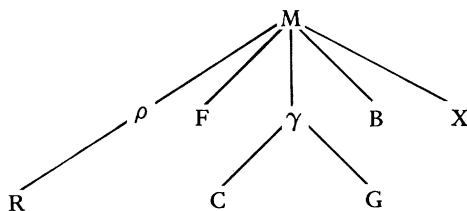
⁹⁵ This information comes from Dr. de la Mare.

⁹⁶ Again I owe this information to Dr. de la Mare, who also attributes to him Mus. Brit. Add. 24894 (Asconius) and Burn. 206.

⁹⁷ Cf. Thielscher, *Rb. Mus.* 62 (1907), 46–53, 485–6; Garrod, *op. cit.* (n.90), p. lviii; Housman, ed.² (Cambridge, 1937), V.xvi. On the presence of the Cusanus at Basel see Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* II (Florence, 1914), pp. 20–1. Did it come from Speier?

25.5 (a. 1457), but the watermark in Bodl. Auct. F 4 34 is slightly earlier (Briquet 11769, Ferrara/Modena 1454–5). Of the other thirteen members known to me,⁹⁸ seven are certainly later. Three members of the family contain Serenus Sammonicus.

(e) Back for the last time to *Silvae*.



FBX are Florentine, all later than 1450; ρ looks likely to have been Florentine; nothing is yet established about γ except that it had been written by 1463, the date of its descendant Q.

On present evidence, then, all the copies of Manilius and *Silvae*, with the possible exception of Holk. 331, could have been made in Florence after Poggio finally settled there in 1453, and it can hardly be an accident that the tradition of Silius was rejuvenated in Florence at about the same time. I do not pretend that this conclusion is revolutionary. O. Mueller, *Quaestiones Statianae* (Berlin, 1861), p. 4, pointed out that when Angelo Decembrio composed his *Politia Litteraria*, dedicated to Pius II in 1462, Statius was still the author of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* alone;⁹⁹ and more recent scholars have surmised that Poggio did nothing with his manuscript before 1453.¹⁰⁰

The new text stirred most interest, however, at Rome and perhaps at the poet's

'M. Manilii Strononicon liber primus sic incipit et est in bibliotheca Spirensi' Parm. 283, fo. 37^v; cf. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* 2 (1967), 46.

Some of the annotations in M that bring it into line with the other branch of the tradition are in the hand of Niccoli (I have consulted Housman's photographs in Cambridge University Library, 899 a 400). If the Marcianus was their source, therefore, not only must it antedate Niccoli's death (1437), but M can hardly have been back in Poggio's possession by 1430, a possibility I mentioned in (3), because the Council of Basel did not begin until 1431. After 1431 Poggio could most easily have recovered M during his stay in Florence from summer 1434 to April 1436; cf. Walser, p. 164.

⁹⁸ Besides those mentioned by Thielscher, *Philologus* 66 (1907), 126–9, Garrod, p. lv, Housman, p. xvii, I have come across Paris. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 483, membr. (a. 1461), on which see L. Delisle, *Nouvelles acquisitions 1875–1891* ii (Paris, 1891),

391, and Matr. 4252 (*olim* M 175), on which see E. Pellegrin, *Bull. d'Inf. de l'I.R.H.T.* 2 (1953), 9.

I take the opportunity of mentioning that despite Garrod, p. xlv, the manuscript collated by Is. Vossius in Bod. Auct. 0 5 17 (ed. Bonon. 1474) is Leid. Voss. Lat. 0 18; 2.716–17 are omitted not by the manuscript but by the edition. A volume of greater interest in the Bodleian is Auct. S 6 12, the very copy of his first edition that Scaliger submitted with corrections to the printer of his second.

⁹⁹ According to Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (ed.² Padua, 1971), p. 165, Decembrio composed the work 'verso il 1447'. L.F. Smith, *Manuscripta* 10 (1966), 94, suggests for no very good reason that Fr. Patricius modelled poems on *Silvae* in the 1450s; he seems unaware that the text was only just beginning to circulate.

¹⁰⁰ G. Lotito, *Atene e Roma* 19 (1974), 31; cf. Frère, *édition critique* (Paris, 1943), p. xlix.

birthplace, Naples;¹⁰¹ copies proliferated, and the Roman family dominated the editions until the nineteenth century. Who took it to Rome, who first grappled with its imperfections, remains to be discovered. The manuscripts that have most to reveal are G and Q, G through the person of its scribe and the primitiveness of its uncorrected text, Q because already in 1463 there is not a page of it that does not bear the marks of scholarly endeavour.¹⁰² Any information that may lurk in the correspondence or other productions of contemporary scholars will have to be unearthed by experts on the period.

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POSTSCRIPT. Dr. de la Mare very kindly inspected X and one of its copies for me on a recent visit to Florence (May 1975). The watermarks in X are the same throughout *Silvae* and nearest to Briquet 5908 (Rome, 1457–61, Naples, 1457–68, Florence, 1462, Venzone, 1462); many of the corrections are by Vespucci himself. Magl. VII.315 (cf. n.11) was written like U by Nicolaus Riccius, probably in the mid 1470s. I have acknowledged in footnotes several contributions of Dr. de la Mare's, but I should like to thank her for her helpful interest in the whole article.

Zabughin's 'esemplare corsiniano' of c (cf. n.72) I have now examined myself (March 1976). It has nothing to do with Leto.

¹⁰¹ I have nothing to add about K (except that the letter to Panormita on fo. 91^r seems to be unpublished). EOPc include 'Neapolitani' in the title, and E draws attention in the margin to passages from which it appears that Statius was born at Naples. Someone has written 'Neapolitanus fuit Statius' in the margin of M itself at 3.5.78 and a note to the same effect on 3 praef. 26.

¹⁰² Marastoni does not mention that Nollhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 241, followed by V. Cian, *Giorn. Stor. della Lett. Ital.* 31 (1898), 67, attributed Q to Bernardo Bembo, who was in Venice or at any rate no further away than Padua when it was written (cf. Cian, pp. 71–5). The attribution is rightly con-

tested by Delz, *Ital. Med. e Uman.* 9 (1966), 429. Professor Delz tells me that the decoration strikes him as Roman, which is confirmed by what I have learnt from Dr. de la Mare about the scribe: he wrote Lond. V. & A. L.1769–1952 at Rome in 1465 and Phillippicus 829 (lot 467 at Sotheby's on 25 Nov. 1969) at Rome in 1460.

The date 'xx decemb. 1463' appears at the end, and according to Nollhac 'tout au bas du frontispice, on distingue: 26 oct. 1462' (no mention of this in Marastoni, p. xiii n.1). The foot of the page seems to have been trimmed, but even from microfilm I am fairly confident that 1462 should be 1463.