

## THE AUTHORITY OF THE CODEX CARRIONIS IN THE MS-TRADITION OF VALERIUS FLACCUS

In recent times, a previously unchallenged and longstanding *communis opinio* concerning the extant manuscript tradition of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* has been shattered by Prof. W.-W. Ehlers in his revelation that the fifteenth-century Laurentianus plut. 39.38, L, written by the Florentine scholar, Niccolò Niccoli, is independent of the much exalted oldest witness, Vaticanus Latinus 3277, V, copied in Fulda in the second quarter of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> With equally silent subservience to the hazardous and now discredited principle, *vetustissimus et optimus*, second place in the tradition had commonly been given to a manuscript of similar age to that of V, namely S, discovered in 1416 at the monastery of St. Gall by three humanist scholars, Poggio Bracciolini, Cencio Rustici and Bartolomeo da Montepulciano, and subsequently lost, except through reconstruction from six extant fifteenth-century apographa, each instantly recognizable from the fact that they contain only 1.1–4.317.<sup>2</sup> Between V and S, however, as Ehlers and others before him have argued, a common exemplar, *a*, must be deduced to exist.<sup>3</sup>

Of great significance to our appreciation of the relationship of L to *a* has been the recent discovery of Politian's *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda*.<sup>4</sup> In his first *Miscellaneorum centuria* (cap. 5) Politian had described an ancient manuscript of the *Argonautica* lent to him by Taddeus Ugoletus of Parma 'e quo', as he states, 'fluxisse opinor et caeteros qui sunt in manibus'. The fact, as we are also told, that this manuscript shared the corruption 'durica' at 2.572 with L was perceived by Ehlers as a sign that Politian had been accurate in his assessment of this manuscript's stemmatic position;<sup>5</sup> certainly it could not have been V, S or *a*, which all exhibit(ed) 'turica'. Conclusive corroboration, however, became available in chapter two of the *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda*, where Politian describes three further significant

<sup>1</sup> W.-W. Ehlers, *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der Argonautica des C. Valerius Flaccus* (Munich, 1970), pp. 44ff.; further information on L may be found in G. Cambier, 'Attribution du Laur. 39.38 à Niccolò Niccoli', *Scriptorium* 19 (1965), 236–43; Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 11–12, 42ff., 83ff.; L. Labardi, 'Congetture del Niccoli e Tradizione Estranea all' Archetipo sui Margini del Laurenziano 39,38 di Valerio Flacco', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 26 (1983), 189–213. The provenance of V was established by P. Lehmann (*Erforschung des Mittelalters*, iii [Stuttgart, 1960], p. 180) and the date by B. Bischoff (ap. Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, p. 19). For further details on V, cf. E. Courtney, *C. Valeri Flacci Argonauticon Libri Octo* (Leipzig, 1970), pp. xff.; Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 18ff., 102ff.; E. L. M. Chatelain, *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* (Paris, 1884/1900), plate CLXV.

<sup>2</sup> The apographa are Matritensis Bibl. Nat. 8514 (X), Vaticanus Latinus 1613 (P; contains only 1.1–4.199), Vat. Ottobonianus 1258 (O), Oxoniensis Reginensis 314 (Q), Malatestianus Caesenas S XII 3 (Mal) and Vaticanus Latinus 1614 (II). The principal literature concerning S and the relationships of its apographa is contained in R. J. Getty, *The Lost St. Gall Ms. of Valerius Flaccus* (Aberdeen, 1934); Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 24ff..

<sup>3</sup> cf. Getty, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 23ff.; Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 32ff.; P. R. Taylor, *Gai Valeri Flacci Argonauticon Liber Quartus Edited with an Introduction and Commentary* (Diss., Birmingham, 1987), pp. 30–2.

<sup>4</sup> Discovered in 1961, this manuscript has been reproduced, transcribed, edited and published by V. Branca and M. Pastore Stocchi (Florence, 1972). The significance of its discovery with respect to the tradition of Valerius Flaccus is discussed in much greater detail by P. L. Schmidt, 'Polizian und die Valerius-Flaccus-Ueberlieferung', *IMU* 19 (1976), 241–56.

<sup>5</sup> *Untersuchungen*, pp. 103–4.

features of his manuscript: firstly the presence of the handwriting of Niccolò Niccoli in the margins, indicating a direct relationship of this manuscript to L;<sup>6</sup> secondly pagination of 25 lines to a page, and thirdly the physical dislocation of one folio, leading to the misplacement of 50 lines, 8.135–86, by 200 lines (i.e. a further four folia) to appear after 8.385, as they are in fact exhibited by both V (a) and L. In Politian's manuscript, therefore, we have not only the immediate exemplar of L but also the origin of the major dislocation common to all the extant tradition before its correction late in the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> This common exemplar of a and L will in the following be signified by the siglum  $\gamma$ .<sup>8</sup> The provenance of  $\gamma$  has been traced back to the north-Italian monastery of Bobbio by Schmidt, who also finds good reason to identify the manuscript with that used by the Paduan scholars, Lovato Lovati (1241–1309) and Albertino Mussato (1262–1329).<sup>9</sup> An important piece of evidence for the circulation of  $\gamma$  in northern Italy in the fourteenth century, however, has so far been overlooked. In his *De originibus rerum*, Guglielmo da Pastrengo († 1363), the Veronese lawyer, includes in the list of pagan and Christian writers known to him the following entry: 'Gaius Florus poeta Iasonis et comitum profectionem in Colchas et velleris aurei et Medee raptum eroico exaravit metro quod opus Argonauticon nominavit'.<sup>10</sup> The inaccuracy in the citation of the poet's name must be put down to error of transcription for the use of the title *Argonauticon*, which survives nowhere in the corpus of Latin literature, whether classical or medieval, except in the manuscript tradition of our poet, leaves the identification with Valerius Flaccus beyond doubt. Further identification of the particular manuscript known to da Pastrengo with  $\gamma$  rather than with any other medieval manuscript is made probable by the close geographical proximity of Verona to Padua, the town in which Lovati and Mussato had used this manuscript a few decades earlier.

The composition of the extant tradition is completed by nine closely related manuscripts of northern-French origin, the oldest dating back to the twelfth or thirteenth century and each containing a selection from a defined collection of

<sup>6</sup> cf. Schmidt, art. cit. (n. 4), 244.

<sup>7</sup> cf. *ibid.*, 241–3.

<sup>8</sup> The physical composition of  $\gamma$  has been ingeniously constructed on the basis of various duplications, transpositions and omissions in its apographa by Ehlers, ap. Schmidt, art. cit. (n. 4), 246 ff. For the nature of the script of this manuscript, see Taylor, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Schmidt, art. cit. (n. 4), 250 ff. He cites (p. 252 n. 2) as authority for his opinion on the use of the *Argonautica* by Lovati and Mussato the article of Guido Billanovich, 'Veterum Vestigia Vatium', *IMU* 1 1958, 178 ff. The reliability of much of the earlier part of this article has however been the subject of great dispute; cf., e.g., W. Ludwig, 'Kannte Lovato Catull?', *RhM* 129 (N.F.) (1986), 329–30. Nevertheless, as regards the evidence that Billanovich provides for the influence of the *Argonautica* on Lovati and Mussato, the following resemblances seem, in my opinion, sufficiently striking as to afford strong indication of imitation: Lovati *Ep.* 3.8 'carmina barbarico passim deformat hiatu', cf. *Arg.* 8.69; Lovati *Ep.* 4.3–4 'sic te socii iactura periculi exagitat', cf. *Arg.* 8.403–4; Lovati *Ep.* 4.41 'cur rosee fraudatrix cruda iuvente', cf. *Arg.* 8.257; Lovati *Ep.* 5.8 'seu sic Parcarum nevit iniqua colus', cf. *Arg.* 6.645 (loose but surely clear verbal imitation); Mussato, *De obsid.* 1.2–3, '... Clio, ... ede virum', cf. *Arg.* 3.15–16. No other classical or post-classical source, as far as I can ascertain by consultation of concordances to Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, Juvenal, Persius, Seneca, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Ausonius, Boethius and Prudentius (I have made no assumptions as to the number of poets known to Lovati and Mussato in this survey in order to examine the question as thoroughly as possible; however, it will be noted that there are unfortunately certain omissions in the list, e.g. Martianus Capella, where no concordance was available to me), may rival the claim of Valerius Flaccus to have provided the inspiration for these lines of the Paduan humanists.

<sup>10</sup> Ven. Marc. lat. x 51 (3503), f. 18v; cited by R. Meneghel, *IMU* 16 (1973), 177–8.

florilegia.<sup>11</sup> The presence of various correct readings in these florilegia, f, against severe corruptions in  $\gamma$  must be interpreted, as Ullman and Courtney before have argued,<sup>12</sup> as evidence of their independence from this manuscript. The recent revelation by F. Coulson of the use of Valerius Flaccus in the 'Vulgate' commentary on Ovid, composed in the mid-thirteenth century at Orleans,<sup>13</sup> moreover, gives extra weight to this argument for the existence of a northern-French tradition as distinct from the Italian tradition.

The basis of the extant manuscript tradition of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*, therefore, can, as it is now established, be represented diagrammatically as shown in Fig. 1:

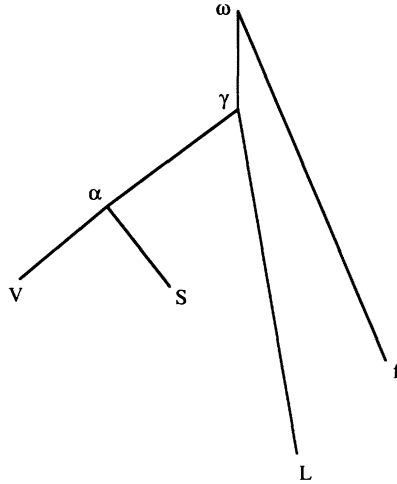


Fig. 1.

More controversial and problematic than the subject of the extant manuscript tradition of the *Argonautica*, however, is the question of the authority of the lost manuscript of Ludovicus Carrio (1547–95), known commonly as C. In 1565 and 1566, the Belgian scholar Carrio published two editions of the *Argonautica* at the Plantinian press of Antwerp. In these editions, he made frequent reference to a certain manuscript, containing only 1.1–8.105, which he had discovered in an unspecified location in his own native country<sup>14</sup> and which he claimed to have been 'ante sexcentos annos conscriptum',<sup>15</sup> a claim which in the preface to the *scholia* of the first

<sup>11</sup> The individual manuscripts and their contents are listed by Ehlers, *Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon Libri Octo* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. xiv–xv; cf. also B. L. Ullman, *CPh* 26 (1931), 21–7; Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 22–3, 107–13.

<sup>12</sup> Ullman, art. cit. (n. 11), 25–6; Courtney, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. xxx–xxxi; where Ullman and Courtney refer to errors that could not be corrected by medieval conjecture, except in the cases of 1.331 ('deficiamus'  $\alpha$ ), 1.579 ('aperte' V), 1.589 ('oenatria' V) and 1.595 ('refringet'  $\alpha$ ), understand  $\gamma$  instead of V. Schmidt (*Gymnasium* 81 [1974], 263) also expresses his belief in the independence of the florilegia from the Italian branch of the tradition.

<sup>13</sup> *CPh* 81 (1986), 58–60.

<sup>14</sup> In the preface to the *castigationes* of the second edition, Carrio writes 'quos [libros manuscriptos] certe in toto hoc nostro Belgio, praeter illum meum, reperire adhuc potui nullos.'

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to the anonymous referee of this article for pointing out that Carrio may not have intended the word 'sexcentos' to be understood in the literal sense of 'six hundred' but in the common transfigurative sense which in modern parlance might be translated as 'hundreds'.

edition, he declares to be supported by 'gravissima multorum iudicia'. The 'multi' intended, however, are not identified and in the absence of any further independent assessment before the manuscript was lost, this claim to medieval origin has subsequently been a constant source of contention. Amongst those who have accepted it have been Heinsius, Eyssenhardt, Giarratano and Schmidt.<sup>16</sup> Far more numerous on the other hand are those scholars who consider that the young Carrio was either mistaken himself or, alternatively, deliberately attempting to deceive others: e.g. Thilo, Schenkl, Krenkel, Kramer and Courtney.<sup>17</sup>

Fresh evidence, however, in the form of a newly discovered medieval catalogue (c. 1049–1160) from the Belgian monastery, Lobbes, has recently shed a useful light upon the issue. Included in this catalogue from Lobbes is one entry (no. 303) recording the presence in the monastery at this time of 'Gaii Valerii Flacci Sethini Balbi argonauticon lib. VIII. Vol. 1', revealing beyond doubt that a manuscript corresponding at least to the stated antiquity and origin of Carrio's 'vetus codex' did once exist.<sup>18</sup> Whether this manuscript may be identified with C cannot, however, as Ehlers warned,<sup>19</sup> be concluded on this evidence alone, since no individual readings are recorded and we cannot be certain that this particular manuscript survived into the sixteenth century. The possibility of this identification must therefore be tested against the textual evidence available.

As a necessary prelude to this examination of textual evidence, however, the accuracy and honesty of Carrio as a collator of C, whatever the origin of this manuscript, must be given serious consideration, since both of these qualities have more than once been called into question.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, concerning the allegation of dishonesty, it has frequently been said of Carrio that he not only indulged in the representation of his own conjectures as readings of his manuscript but also allowed himself either accidentally or deliberately to enhance the reputation of his manuscript by the appropriation of readings from the early editions. I have therefore sought an insight into the approach and methods that Carrio may have taken in his work on Valerius Flaccus through an examination of a comparable piece of the Belgian's scholarship, a collation of the extant Gemblacensis manuscript of Manilius,<sup>21</sup> which Carrio himself has added to the margins of a copy of the 1566 Lugdunensis edition (Oxford Bodl. Linc. 8° F 107)<sup>22</sup> within only a few years of his work on Valerius

I accept, moreover, the referee's scepticism concerning the accuracy of the judgement 'ante sexcentos annos conscriptum', if a literal interpretation was intended, in view of the difficulty encountered even today of identifying a manuscript of the tenth century. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the sixteenth-century Belgian scholar is claiming to be in possession of a manuscript that was many centuries old.

<sup>16</sup> N. Heinsius and F. Eyssenhardt, ap. G. Thilo, *C. Valerii Flacci Sethini Balbi Argonauticon Libri Octo* (Halle, 1863), p. lxx; C. Giarratano, *C. Valerii Flacci Balbi Sethini Argonauticon Libri Octo* (Milan, 1904), p. xxiv; P. L. Schmidt, *Gymnasium* 81 (1974), 263.

<sup>17</sup> Thilo, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. lxx–lxxxv; C. Schenkl, 'Studien zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus', *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Classe. Sitzungsberichte* 68 (1871), 315 ff.; P. Krenkel, *De codicis Valeriani Carriionis auctoritate* (Luckae, 1909); O. Kramer, *C. Valerii Flacci Sethini Balbi Argonauticon* (Stuttgart, 1913), pp. xlviff.; E. Courtney, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. xxviff..

<sup>18</sup> cf. F. Dolbeau, *RecAug* 13 (1978), 33; id., *RecAug* 14 (1979), 227.

<sup>19</sup> Ehlers, 'Valerius-Probleme', *MH* 42 (1985), 339–40.

<sup>20</sup> cf. Schenkl, art. cit. (n. 17), 317 ff.; Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 22 ff., 41; Ehlers, *MH* 42 (1985), 340.

<sup>21</sup> Brux. Bibl. Roy. 10012.

<sup>22</sup> The hand of Carrio is identified by a subsequent owner of Bodl. Linc. 8° F 107, J. C. Geuartius (1593–1666), who has added at the beginning of the text of Bk 1: 'Collatū cum membranaceo codice Gemblacensi manu Lud. Carrionis'. I wish to express my thanks to Prof.

Flaccus<sup>23</sup> and readings from which he later published in his *Antiquarum Lectionum Commentarii* (Antwerp, 1576).

Evident after only a brief perusal of Bodl. Linc. 8° F 107 is the fact that the collation recorded from the Gemblacensis manuscript (henceforth indicated by the siglum G) is the only actual collation entered in the margins. That Carrio had referred to other editions, as in his work on Valerius, so also in his work on Manilius, however, is clear from various statements that he makes in the *Antiquarum Lectionum Commentarii* (henceforth abbreviated to *ALC*):

- 1.7           ‘nimis tenue et vulgare vitium omnes hactenus editiones insedit’ (Comm. III, caput XIV)  
 1.185       ‘mirum ut fit, in tot editionibus, errorem tam vulgarem tam diu latere potuisse’ (Comm. III, caput III)  
 1.770 ff.   ‘nam et eos qui, per magnum bellum, “Troianum”, intelligunt, et illos qui de magno Scipione aut Pompeio poetam loqui volunt, satius erat porcos sacres [*sic*] sinceros, ut comicus est sermo, sibi nummo comparare, eosque Larum matri immolare...’ (Comm. III, caput III)

In his work on Manilius at least, therefore, Carrio sensibly avoids the danger of confusing sources through a multiplicity of collations in too confined a space.

The only remaining material that has been recorded in the margins of Bodl. Linc. 8° F 107 in addition to the collation taken from G is a handful of alternative readings which can only be assumed to be the personal conjectures of the collator himself. These conjectures are distinguished from the readings of the manuscript by the presence of a preceding ‘vel’ symbol, †.<sup>24</sup> Readings of the manuscript are labelled ‘v.’ or ‘v.c.’. Occasionally an erroneous labelling as ‘v.’ has been corrected by Carrio himself to ‘vel’.<sup>25</sup> On three occasions, however, it appears that this revision has been overlooked, thus causing a conjecture to be misrepresented as a reading of the manuscript.<sup>26</sup> None of these readings, however, is published in the *ALC*; for none does Carrio seek any glory: it may therefore be concluded that this misrepresentation is the result of error and not ‘fraus’.<sup>27</sup>

M. D. Reeve of Cambridge for informing me of the existence of this collation and to Prof. G. P. Goold of Yale for lending me a photographic reproduction of Brux. 10012 itself. For the purpose of the following investigation, I have examined Carrio’s work on Book 1 alone, considering this a sufficiently large proportion of the total material to be considered representative.

<sup>23</sup> It appears that Carrio completed his collation before 1569 on the evidence of the following information provided by Geuartius on a page added to Bodl. Linc. 8° F 107 after the dedication: ‘Veteri codici Membranaceo, in quo rubrica enotatum (?) erat, Liber S<sup>4</sup> petri Gemblacensis, adscriptum erat: “Hunc librum D. Iacobus Susius utendum recepit (?) Mechlinię a D. Ludovico Carrione, I.C. An. 1569”’. This and two other notes mentioned at the same time by Geuartius are no longer visible in Brux. 10012; I suspect that they were excised with the bottom of f. 99.

<sup>24</sup> An exception occurs at 1.800, where the ‘vel’ symbol follows the reading ‘Augustus’.

<sup>25</sup> On these occasions, the ‘vel’ symbol is placed over the original ‘v.’ and therefore often follows the collated reading.

<sup>26</sup>	Carrio	G	Printed edition
1.143	quae nexusque habilis	quem nexus habilis	Quā nexus habilisque
1.460	ut	et	et
1.519	minuitve	minuitq.	minuitq;

<sup>27</sup> On two occasions, similarly, readings of G appear in Carrio’s collation under the label ‘vel’: 1.144 vel ‘rapacia’ Carrio *rap acia printed ed.*; 1.800 ‘Augustus’ vel Carrio *Augustos printed ed.* Both of these readings, however, correct trivial errors of the printed edition and are thus no doubt genuine, independent corrections of the collator.

On five occasions (out of approximately 270 notes) a label has been omitted altogether.<sup>28</sup> If other collations had been present in the same margins, this omission could have proved a source, although minor, of confusion. As it is, however, in the one instance where a conjecture could later have been mistaken for a reading of the manuscript, the reading is clearly distinguished as a conjecture by its separation from the preceding reading, collated against a word earlier in the same line, by the intervening label 'v.'. <sup>29</sup> The remaining four unlabelled manuscript readings, therefore, are now distinguishable from conjectures by a process of elimination: no conjectures have been left unlabelled unless clearly separated from a collation in the same line. Evidence that Carrio was not confused, moreover, is the fact that all four readings are mentioned in the *ALC* and all four are either specifically attributed by Carrio to G or introduced by such terms as it was customary for Carrio to use in the citation of manuscript readings.<sup>30</sup> The evidence of Carrio's work on Manilius in the matter of labelling, therefore, again shows that he did not expose himself to undue danger of inaccuracy.

In accuracy of transcription, likewise, Carrio's collation of the Gemblacensis manuscript provides little cause for concern. A total of four mechanical errors and two other errors, the cause of which is not obvious, is in fact exhibited. Of the former group, two were no doubt caused by a simple misreading of the exemplar,<sup>31</sup> the remaining two being mere slips of the pen.<sup>32</sup> The errors of the latter group, on the other hand, may at least be classed as unconscious and devoid of an intent to deceive since, if they do not corrupt, they make no obvious improvement to the reading of the text: cf.

	Carrio	G	Printed ed.
1.221	dant	dat*	dat
1.814	rapto (?) <sup>33</sup>	rapti*	raptim

Taking into consideration the strenuous nature of the task of collation and the

<sup>28</sup> 1.7 hunc; 1.10 canenda; 1.78 se quisque satis novisse putabant; 1.155 fluctusque natantes; 1.271 fulgens. I discount two examples where the unlabelled marginal note is clearly no more than a spontaneous correction of a trivial error in the printed edition:

1.59           percepta *pr. ed.*: praecepta G Carrio  
1.275       atqui *pr. ed.*: at qui G Carrio

<sup>29</sup> 1.271 augusto v. fulgens

<sup>30</sup> 1.7ff. ...scribendum itaque, poscente sententia, versu primo: *Hunc mihi tu Caesar patriae princepsq. paterque et mox, iubente libro Gemblacensi: viresque facis ad tanta canenda.* 1.75ff. ...eamque liber Gemblacensis in nobis probaret. in quo est: ...*se quisque satis novisse putabant.* 1.155 ...scribe: -*fluctusque natantes.* cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence, 1952), pp. 70-1, who reports the findings of H. Blass with respect to the work of both Carrio and the contemporary scholar, Modius, on the extant Censorinus tradition. According to Blass, it is the practice of both scholars to introduce manuscript readings with a variety of terms, including *scribe, emenda, malim* etc. Whereas Modius is guilty of the occasional error in the attribution of a reading to a source, moreover, 'Quanto a notizie positive il Carrio sarebbe in sè più credibile del Modio, perchè, se questi si sbaglia di rado, il Carrio non si sbaglia mai' (p. 71).

<sup>31</sup> 1.271 augusto G: augusto Carrio; 1.795 claudu G: claudi Carrio (i.e. claudii, cf. p. 457 para. 2).

<sup>32</sup> 1.361 tunc Carrio: tum G [it appears that Carrio intended to correct an identical error four lines below at 1.365, where G exhibits tunc and the printed edition tum; tum in 1.361 was underlined accidentally]; 1.877 affetus Carrio: affectus G [Carrio was primarily concerned with the prefix, which appeared as 'ef-' in the printed edition].

<sup>33</sup> I confess that I cannot be sure that this is what Carrio has written, since the last letter is virtually obscured by a second-hand correction to 'rapti'.

inevitability for all but the most painstaking of committing some errors, the relatively small number that Carrio has made here can indeed be viewed with equanimity.

Impressive, moreover, is the accuracy with which Carrio records the variant readings exhibited by his manuscript. Ignoring all scribal additions that belong to the category of the gloss, Carrio collates every example of a textual variant, preserving moreover the order in which the readings originally appeared. Thus, the supralinear variant 'servet' above 'fervet' (1.358) is recorded by Carrio as 'fervet vel servet' and the supralinear 'i' over the 'u' of 'refugit' (1.548) as 'refugit vel refigit'.

In reproduction of the orthography of the exemplar, on the other hand, Carrio shows no inclination to strive after accuracy: 'sydera' (1.376), for example, is recorded in the more common form of 'sidera', 'decii' (1.789) written as 'deci' and 'ericeos' (1.884) corrected to 'erichtheos'. Such complacent disregard for the finer details of the historical context of the manuscript, however, is no more than we ought to have expected from a scholar of the sixteenth century, ignorant of the precise nature of the science that was later to be developed under the name of textual criticism. No account ought therefore to be taken of the argument raised by Schenkl<sup>34</sup> that the orthography of C as it is recorded in Carrio's editions of the *Argonautica* precludes the possibility of the transcription of this manuscript in the medieval period.

Before leaving the question of the integrity and reliability of Carrio as a collator, it will be profitable to relate the conclusions of the above examination of his work on Manilius to his work on C with supporting evidence taken from this latter work itself. Evidence in fact exists within Carrio's work on the *Argonautica* to cast doubt on the argument of those who consider that readings of other early editions have by error entered into Carrio's account of C through a combination of inaccurate labelling of the variants collated and inaccessibility of sources for the purpose of verification.<sup>35</sup> In the preface to the *castigationes* of the second edition, however, Carrio not only makes reference to renewed consultation of his manuscript but also indicates that he collated his manuscript a second time:

sumsi iterum hanc molestiam, ut eundem auctorē perlegerem, et cum veteri illo codice meo, quē ante annos sexcentos conscriptum multa sunt quae declarent, diligenter conferrem. quod dum sedulo facio, etsi non ita multa meliori iudicio, meliori certe ocio, vix credas quam multa nunc sustulerim, nunc addiderim: et dum non pauca, quod in recognoscendo fieri solet, muto, quam omnia pene nova fecerim: ut illud certe, vereor ne nimis de me ipso arroganter, vere tamen, dicere possim; hunc Poetam mille amplius locis tum mutilatū, tum deformatum, mea unius nunc opera sic esse purgatū, ut ex errorum illorum multitudine vix decem invenias reliquos: atque omnes tamen huiusmodi, ut sine librorū manuscriptorum ope corrigendi ne spes quidem sit.

Internal evidence, likewise, may be adduced to refute the argument that Carrio *deliberately* appropriated readings from the early editions in order to enhance the appearance of C. If Carrio had in fact been guilty of the charge, then it is hard to believe that he would have then wasted his effort by listing the very sources of the appropriation and thus revealing that his manuscript had at this point nothing new to offer; cf., e.g. (I quote from the 1566 edition):

1.117           Hunc quoque. Omnes libri, praeter Parisiensem et veterem codicem, hic vitiosi sunt, legentes *Nunc quoque* pro *hunc quoque*.

<sup>34</sup> Schenkl, art. cit. (n. 17), p. 317.

<sup>35</sup> cf. Ehlers, *MH* 42 (1985), 340.

- 3.207 ingentes donec. Ita Paris et Bonon. reliqui cum vet. cod. *ingentes donat*,  
optime, nocte enim *magis atque magis*, ut inquit Poeta:  
Clarescunt sonitus, armorumque ingruit horror.
- 4.242 Bononien. cum vetust. cod. *e sociis electus*
- 1.735 *Phlegetontis operti*. Sic legendum coniecit Turnebus, cuius  
coniecturam vet. cod. meus probat.

It is likewise inconceivable that Carrio would have wasted his time appropriating readings which he did not like and which he chose not to use in his text. However, examples of his preference for readings not attributed to C are very frequent: cf., e.g.,

- 4.675 vel fallor C *B-1498 Sab.*: vel fallar *Carr.*
- 7.165 queis C *B-1498 V-1500*: quin *Carr.*
- 7.357 ponit C *B-1474 B-1498*: promit *Carr.*

Internal evidence, moreover, is also available to refute the accusation that Carrio indulged in the representation of his own conjectures as readings of his manuscript. The accusation is of course based on supposition, since in the absence of an independent copy of C it is impossible to prove any such deception. Moreover, on at least one occasion, Carrio records a reading from his 'vetus codex', not attested by any other source, without being aware that this reading is correct:

- 6.638<sup>36</sup> Arinae Nolumque γ: Arinem Nolumque *recc. edd. ante Carrionem Carr.*<sup>1</sup>: Arinem Olbumque *Carr.*<sup>2</sup>: Arinen Olbumque\* C

On what basis could this reading be the result of conjecture? In addition, many readings attested only by C are rejected or even ridiculed by Carrio, rendering it impossible that he could be their author: (quoting again from the edition of 1566)

- 4.187 *monitus subiere Timanti*. Haec scriptura placet, tametsi vet. cod. habeat,  
*monitis rediere tumentes*: inepte, ni fallor.
- 1.141 Atracia. Vetust. cod. *extracta*, male. Nam Hippodamia etiam Ovidio  
Atracis et Atracia appellatur.

With this evidence for the honesty and reliability in Carrio's practice of collation, therefore, it is now possible to proceed to the main issue of this article, the textual evidence for the independence and authority of C. The prevailing opinion of those who have denied the authority of C has been that this manuscript was a descendant of V, belonging to the fifteenth or sixteenth century and transcribed by a semi-learned scholar who with 'infrenata coniectandi libido'<sup>37</sup> and with the aid of various manuscripts and early editions<sup>38</sup> 'corrected' the text.<sup>39</sup> With respect to descent, however, it is, as Prof. Ehlers illustrated, impossible to consider V to have been the sole exemplar of C, since C contains the authentically Valerian lines absent from this ninth-century manuscript.<sup>40</sup> Ehlers likewise indicated that C could not be descended

<sup>36</sup> The siglum *Carr.*<sup>1</sup> indicates the reading adopted by Carrio in the text of the 1565-edition, *Carr.*<sup>2</sup> the reading adopted in the text of the 1566-edition.

<sup>37</sup> Thilo, op. cit. (n. 16), p. lxxvii.

<sup>38</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. lxxxiii–iv; Schenkl, art. cit. (n. 17), 317–20; Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 16ff.

<sup>39</sup> cf. Thilo, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. lxxiff.; Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 9ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Untersuchungen*, p. 86. Although Carrio actually makes no reference to his manuscript at any of the lines omitted by V (i.e. 1.45; 2.565A; 7.579–80), Ehlers' argument nevertheless stands *ex silentio*, since Carrio shows sufficient consciousness of other such omissions both in his own manuscript (e.g. 2.136; 5.542; 6.195–6; 8.106ff.) and in the rest of the tradition (e.g. 1.830; 3.77; 7.633) for us to be confident that he would also have acknowledged these particular omissions,

directly from the *recentiores*,<sup>41</sup> since it does not exhibit either of the two errors that unite these manuscripts, the omission of 5.592 and the dislocation of 7.317–20. Furthermore, the collation that I myself have undertaken of C against the remaining extant, full-length manuscripts, namely L and its closest apographa DMBUA,<sup>42</sup> revealed that there are in fact no recorded agreements in error between these manuscripts with the possible exception of

3.36            scyllaceon LDMBUAC: scyllaceon V

which does not however deserve any consideration, since, with both forms of this name being attested (cf. Mela 2.68), it is equally probable that LDMBUAC preserve the reading of the tradition against an error of V.<sup>43</sup> The independence of C from L and its apographa thus suggested, moreover, is confirmed by a second collation of C against those places where V and L exhibit a reading corrupted to a different degree or in a different manner. This collation indeed reveals a number of occasions where C exhibits a greater resemblance to a reading in V than to a reading in L:

7.84            Tiberine\* tuos C: liberi netues V: liberi metues L  
5.239          quaecumque C: quecumque V: quemcumque\* L  
5.254          refusis\* C: refosis V: refosis L

A necessary conclusion of these combined facts, therefore, is that there is no evidence to support the claim that C is dependent on V or any other extant manuscript.

With respect to contamination, on the other hand, the evidence that has been laid against C is considerably more profuse and therefore requires fuller treatment. Indeed, many examples have been cited where C shares errors with the following manuscripts: V, L, M, P, T, G<sup>olis</sup>Reg, Chis, E and R;<sup>44</sup> numerous such agreements, moreover, are cited between C and many early editions published before 1565. Significant however are three facts, firstly the paucity of the evidence for contamination from the manuscripts themselves, secondly the inaccuracy with which the evidence from the early editions (and occasionally the manuscripts) has been cited

if they had been present. It is very unlikely, moreover, that in the period in which he was working he would have known or perceived the advantage of covering up certain errors whilst revealing others. It would be inappropriate therefore to charge him with engineering the facts.

<sup>41</sup> These manuscripts are listed by Ehlers in *Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. x–xiv.

<sup>42</sup> A list of errors introduced to the tradition by L has been compiled by Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 79–81. Missing from this list (although reported in his edition [cf. previous note]) are the following: 1.38 timendis L: timendus V; 1.96 Macedumque L: macetumque V; 1.371 Caphareu L: Caphereu V. Ehlers also overlooks the first-hand correction of L at 2.569 to 'erepta quae' and at 6.413 misrepresents V, which reads 'biuges' and not 'biuges'.

<sup>43</sup> The resemblance of C ('ad fremitus') to L<sup>ac1</sup> ('ad fretus'; 'adflatus') at 6.441 is likewise of no significance, since the independent witness of V is absent (*om.* 6.439–76). If V had exhibited 'ad fletus', then there would be reason to suspect that C was contaminated from L. V too however may have exhibited 'ad fretus', in which case it could be concluded that the error in all was derived from a common source earlier in the tradition.

<sup>44</sup> cf. Thilo, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv; Schenkl, *art. cit.* (n. 17), 317ff.; Krenkel, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 24ff.; Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 87, 98–9. I discount the few examples where C apparently agrees in error with Bu alone (of which only 'caelata' (1.420) is of any significance), since there is no guarantee against an equally probable possibility that Burman himself confused the sources of his collations. Agreements with Ha alone (the collation recorded in Leiden, BPL 760 B 10) can also be ignored, firstly since there is clear evidence that this collation was compiled in several stages and secondly since there is no means of establishing a *terminus ante quem* for the date of any (cf. Taylor, *op. cit.* [n. 3], Appendix 2). It is not inconceivable therefore that some of the readings recorded are extracted from or inspired by those exhibited in Carrio's editions.

and thirdly that each correctly cited instance of an agreement in error between C and a second witness need not, as previously, be attributed to contamination but may receive an alternative and equally plausible explanation of its cause. Each of these facts will in the following discussion be illustrated independently.

As testimony to the first fact, I have endeavoured to ensure that *all* the evidence accurately cited by those who believe that C is the product of contamination is discussed below, making only a few, I hope logical, exceptions: for example, I discount the suggestion of contamination where the reading in question is correct, since as Krenkel himself admitted, 'Apparet consensum imprimis in veris lectionibus saepe casu exoriri potuisse';<sup>45</sup> likewise I discount evidence which must now be termed obsolete, i.e. that which is based on the pre-1970, inaccurate assessment of the tradition, which portrays V and S, without L, as the sole independent witnesses to the tradition and therefore considers all readings and lines not attested by V the product of conjecture.<sup>46</sup>

The evidence that has been inaccurately cited, however, is considerable in quantity. Three major causes of this inaccuracy may be discerned:

(a) firstly, many agreements cited are inaccurately collated; I list these non-existent agreements below, enclosing the source that has been erroneously collated in square brackets and adding the reading actually exhibited by this witness in curved brackets:

- 7.373 blandique pavens vocem venus osquam  $\gamma$ : vocemque Venus blandisque paventem C [Balbus] (blandeque pavens vocem Venus atque; the origin of the error was correctly discerned by Kramer)<sup>47</sup>
- 7.478 quantum  $\gamma$ : quando C [B-1498] (quantum)
- 6.638 notat  $\gamma$ : necat C [V-1523] (notat)
- 7.546 aula  $\gamma$ : ausa Carr. [B-1498] (aula)
- 3.34 veloce procnesson  $\gamma$ : veloce Procneson\*: Proconnesos Mas. in comm. [C] (velo Proconesson)
- 7.174 sed cingula C [V-1523] (quod cingula)
- 7.176 opus et  $\gamma$ : opus est C [Mas.] (opus et; the error, I suspect, is due to a misinterpretation of the explanatory remark in Maserius' commentary, 'sed me ipsa. Opus est me, inquit Venus....')
- 6.291 eam  $\gamma$ : viam C [V-1523] (etiam)
- 6.113 in  $\gamma$ : ad C [V-1523] (in)
- 6.583 sisteret  $\gamma$ : sterneret C [V-1523] (sisteret)
- 5.648 possint  $\gamma$ : poscant [C<sup>a</sup>] V-1523 (possint)
- [5.269] hunc qui V edd. ante Carr.: hunc quoque B-1519 C (I have been unable to trace this reference; the error first appears in Schenkl)<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 17. He incorrectly cites the following as agreements in error:

- 1.678 pascit  $\gamma$ : pascet\* C<sup>b</sup> B-1519 Eng. Col. Gryph.
- 7.165 sacro  $\gamma$ : sacris\* C B-1498
- 7.501 si meritis noctis immemor  $\gamma$ : si meriti sim noctis et immemor\* C: sim meriti noctisque nec immemor edd. ante Carr.

<sup>46</sup> The following agreements cited by Krenkel belong to this category:

- 1.34 clusus  $\alpha$ : clausus C B-1519 (also L)
- 2.464 flectus  $\alpha$ : fluctus C edd. ante Carr. (also L)
- 7.579-80 om. V exh. C edd. ante Carr. (also L)
- 1.227 minsas ambige  $\alpha$ : Minyas ambage C edd. ante Carr. (also L)
- 2.376 disertisque V: desertasque C edd. ante Carr. (also L)
- 3.25 prima  $\alpha$ : primas C edd. ante Carr. (also L)
- 5.680 accipere V: accipite C B-1474 F-1481 F-1503 (also L)

<sup>47</sup> Kramer, op. cit. (n. 17), p. lxx.

<sup>48</sup> Schenkl, art. cit. (n. 17), 319.

- 6.115 Vanus  $\omega$ : Varuus [Mas.]: Varus C (Varnus)  
 5.596 iaxarten [ $\omega$ ]: laxarten *edd. ante Carrionem*: Laxasten C (laxarten)  
 7.127 semels V: semel L: semel sese L<sup>1</sup>: sese semel C [B-1498] (sese simul)  
 3.555 pueris perfusa  $\omega$ : pueri spes fusa (\*?) C [Balbus] (puero spes fusa)  
 4.27 in amnes  $\gamma$ : inanes C [M<sup>2</sup>] (no correction visible)  
 2.291 pube  $\omega$ : puppe Carr.<sup>2</sup> [C] Sab. (Carrio does not report the reading of C)

(b) further inaccuracy has been caused by a lack of respect for the customary practice of sixteenth-century scholars in the citation of variants; the conclusion reached by H. Blass, on the evidence of Carrio's work on the extant tradition of Censorinus and that also of the contemporary scholar, Franciscus Modius (1556–97), is that both men 'sogliono citare varianti riportando prima un tratto spesso assai lungo della vulgata, contrapponendogli poi il testo emendato *ad antiquum codicem*.... regolarmente essi, senza nulla dire, riportano la seconda volta nella lezione del codice solo la parola o le parole che a essi importano, che essi intendono emendare; per il resto, per tutto ciò che a loro pare inferiore alla vulgata o indifferente, essi correggono tacitamente il ms. *ad fidem vulgatae*';<sup>49</sup> this practice can in fact be witnessed in operation in Carrio's work on the Valerian tradition where other sources cited are available:

- 6.65 *datis Achimeniae*. Ita Lugd. et Argentor. vetust. Paris *Datis Achimeniae*. Maserius *Dathin Achimeniae*, ut et vet. cod., recte.

Lugd. (= *Gryph.*) and Argentor. (= *Eng.*) in fact exhibit 'Datis Achaemeniae'. Clearly Carrio is concerned to illustrate 'Dathin'.

- 6.554 *Et zachorum et phal.* utrumque Paris. cum Lugd. et Argent. *et zacorum et Palcen peditem pedes haurit Amastrum*. alii *Amastim*. vet. cod. ut excusum est.

Lugd. and Argentor. both exhibit 'Amustim' (and 'Zacorum et Palchem', the words with which it must be assumed that Carrio is principally concerned).

Excluded from the list of agreements on account of this argument are:

- 4.307 omni  $\omega$ : omnis [C] *F-1503 Mas. B-1519 V-1523 Eng. Col. Gryph.* (Carrio: Haec legenda sunt, ut vet. cod.: *liber congerit ictus. Desuper averso sonat omnis vulnere vertex, inclinis ceditque malis.*)  
 5.84 additamque  $\gamma$ : addictamque M<sup>2</sup>: addictasque [C] | pharentes  $\gamma$ : ferentes [C] *B-1474 F-1503 P-1512* (Carrio is merely concerned to illustrate the order of the lines exhibited by his text: 'ne quis vero sit qui libri calamo exarati ordinem expectet...eum subiiciam...')  
 6.65 achaemoniae  $\gamma$ : Achimeniae [C] *Mas.* (see above)  
 7.244 arida  $\omega$ : ardua [C] *F-1503 V-1523* (Carrio: Bono. *ardua menti*. Maserius legit *arida mens est*, quam lectionem omnes libri vulgati servant. vet. cod. ardua amanti. No Bolognese edition in fact exhibits 'ardua'. It must therefore be concluded that Carrio is merely illustrating the variants on 'menti')  
 7.635 atto  $\gamma$ : exstimulat [C] *edd. ante Carr.* (Carrio: *Qualis ubi exstimulat*. Comparatio haec diverse legitur in vulgatis, *qualis ubi exstimulat maestae Phrygia agmina matris Ira, vel exectos lacerat Bellona comatos*. vet. c. *Qualis ubi exstimulat maestae Phrygas annua matris Ira, vel*

<sup>49</sup> Pasquali, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 71.

*exsectos lacerat Bellona comatos.* All that is clear from this statement is that C exhibits against the vulgate text 'Phrygas', 'annua' and 'exsectos')

(c) a final source of inaccuracy lies in the ingenuous acceptance of the authority of C<sup>a</sup> (i.e. the reading reported in the edition of 1565) alone. Carrio himself, however, indicates in the preface to the *castigationes* of the 1566 edition that the reason for the appearance of this second edition so soon after the first is the degree of inaccuracy in the first: 'factum est et nimia librariorum festinatione, et eius cui [scholia] describenda dederam, negligentia, ut pro veteribus erroribus sublatis, novi succrescerent, et veteres non omnino omnes tollerentur. quod cum graviter et inique ferrem, tamen illud mihi accidit longe gravius, quod non nulli ex hac librariorum sive festinatione sive incuria occasionem calumniae nacti, in me et meum nomen temere sunt inventi.' Kramer, in the preface to his own edition of the *Argonautica*,<sup>50</sup> supplies evidence of various examples where this greater accuracy of collation in the edition of 1566 against that of 1565 can be seen to be true. Further corroboration of the sincerity of Carrio's statement, moreover, is evident in the pattern of divergence from C<sup>a</sup> to C<sup>b</sup> (i.e. the reading of C as recorded by Carrio in the notes of 1566) in relationship to the reading of  $\gamma$ :

- 1.152 nunc\*  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: num C<sup>a</sup> *Sab. Mas. Parrh.*
- 2.157 saevire\*  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: servire C<sup>a</sup> *B-1474 B-1498*
- 3.433 vocat\*  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: novat C<sup>a</sup> *B-1519 Eng. Col. Gryph.*
- 5.370 habet  $\gamma$ : hebet\* C<sup>a</sup> *Sab. Mas. B-1519 Eng. Col. Gryph.*
- 5.409 per om.  $\gamma$ : exh.\* C<sup>a</sup> *B-1498 V-1500 Mas.*
- 5.559 tota\*  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: tuta C<sup>a</sup> *edd. ante Carr.*

The trend of divergence towards agreement with  $\gamma$  cannot be attributed to the intellect of the editor. It is impossible that Carrio could have discerned the reading of  $\gamma$ , sometimes correct and sometimes incorrect, from the evidence available to him, since the early editions are more or less equally distributed in number between those agreeing and those disagreeing with  $\gamma$  and thus provide no means of distinguishing between the reading derived from the tradition and that reached by conjecture. The divergence of C<sup>b</sup> towards agreement with  $\gamma$  must therefore be due to greater accuracy of collation in the second edition.

Evidence of contamination which must be discounted on the basis of this argument comprises:

- 3.433 vocat  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: novat C<sup>a</sup> *B-1519*
- 3.152 zelen LC<sup>b</sup>: zelyn C<sup>a</sup> *Mas. B-1519*
- 4.580 excidit  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: exciit C<sup>a</sup> *B-1519*
- 4.104 rabidi  $\gamma$ : rapidi C<sup>a</sup> *Mas.*
- 5.437 ipsa  $\gamma$ : ipse C<sup>a</sup> *V-1523*
- 7.296 obruit  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: obstruit C<sup>a</sup> *Sab. Mas.*
- 1.152 nunc  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: num C<sup>a</sup> *Sab. Mas.*
- 2.157 daxis  $\gamma$ : dabis C<sup>a</sup> *B-1474 B-1498*
- 2.586 nomine  $\gamma$ : numine C<sup>a</sup> *Gryph.*
- 4.272 arte  $\gamma$ C<sup>b</sup>: astu C<sup>a</sup> *B-1498*
- 5.559 tota  $\gamma$ : tuta C<sup>a</sup> *B-1474 B-1498*
- 5.608 habenae  $\gamma$ : harenae C<sup>a</sup> *edd.*
- 7.629 clamore  $\gamma$ : clamorque C<sup>a</sup> *Sab. [not V-1523 as Krenkel states]*<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Kramer, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. lii–liii.

<sup>51</sup> Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 27.

Finally I discount from the argument of contamination from the early editions the example on which Krenkel rests his case for the appropriation of readings from Pius' edition of 1519:

6.129 Mycael  $\gamma$ : Mycaeles *Pius in comm.*: Micelae C

There is, in my opinion, insufficient resemblance between the two sources to speak of an agreement.

The remaining material cited as evidence of contamination will most efficiently be arranged in accordance with the alternative explanation that can be offered.

Firstly, there are many cases where the confusion of variants cited is, either for paleographical, psychological or other reasons, so common that the agreement of C with the witness in question may justifiably be attributed to coincidence:

- 1.117 nunc  $\gamma$ : hunc C *Mas*.
- 1.285 discendere  $\gamma$ : descendere CP *B-1474 Eng. Col. Gryph.*: discedere\* [cf. 4.645 descendere  $\gamma$ : discedere\*]
- 3.5 dant  $\gamma$ : dat C *F-1503* [cf. 4.643 instat  $\gamma$ : instant\*]
- 6.189 aeaeum  $\gamma$ : Aethaeum C *Gryph.* [cf. 7.119, 5.277 aeais  $\gamma$ : aet(h)eis C]
- 3.10 clite\*  $\gamma$ : dite M: ditem C\*
- 3.732 flumina\*  $\gamma$ : flamina C *B-1474* [cf. *Th.L.L.* 6.1, p. 859, 1.62]
- 6.433 seris\*  $\gamma$ : seris M: saevis C [cf. 5.260 seri\*  $\gamma$ : saevi C]
- 7.119 aeais  $\gamma$ : aetaeis M: aeteis C [cf. 6.189 aeaeum\*  $\gamma$ : aethaeum C]
- 4.601 Thermodon\*  $\gamma$ : Thermodoon CM<sup>2</sup> [cf. 5.121 Thermodoon  $\gamma$ ]
- 4.451 nusquam V: numquam L<sup>ac1</sup>C

The second category belongs to those cases where there is at least the possibility that the variant shared by C and the witness(es) in question is correct and therefore that it was received by C through the tradition and by the remaining witness(es) through accurate conjecture:

- 2.253 miserere tene  $\gamma$ : miserae retine C *Mas*. [*sic etiam edd. usque ad Thilonem*; paleographically this reading is close to the corruption of  $\gamma$ ; the sense is also very reasonable: 'check (i.e. by fleeing) rather (i.e. instead of asking questions; cf. 251) the sword of a wretched girl']
- 2.159 virgata  $\gamma$ : ingrata C *B-1474*
- 6.559 lecta  $\gamma$ : laeta C *edd. ante Carr.* [cf. *Verg. G.* 2.144; *A.* 3.220]
- 6.247 linquuntur  $\gamma$ : liquuntur C *F-1503* [*sic etiam Langen, Giarratano*; the use of the ablative of cause with 'liquuntur', 'his tender cheeks are streaming on account of the wound', is no bolder than, for example, 'sonat omni vulnere vertex' (4.307)]
- 3.362 neque magis  $\gamma$ : neque magnis CM<sup>2</sup>: nec quae magis\* ['But thereafter, neither day nor night, cruel with great cares, releases the Minyae from the awful picture of the slain']
- 1.82 aethere...imbre  $\gamma$ : aethera...imbre CM<sup>2</sup>: aethere...imbrem V<sup>2</sup> [either 'aethere' or 'imbre' must be made accusative; in favour of 'aethera' is the fact that the accusative adjective, 'caeruleum', is a common epithet of the sky; the concept of 'shaking the sky with a storm', moreover, seems to me to be more logical than that of 'brandishing a storm in the sky']

Thirdly, there are certain cases in which the errors recorded may be understood either as logical 'corrections' of corruptions exhibited by  $\gamma$ , derived from an earlier

stage in the tradition common to both  $\gamma$  and C, or as an attempt to ease a grammatical or other difficulty of the correct reading.

- 5.591 iunctis  $\gamma$ : unctis *Pius in comm.* C: cunctis\* [cf. 5.590–1: ‘croceos sic illius omnis odores/ iactat eques’]
- 3.207 donec  $\gamma$ : donat *Pius in comm.* C: resonat (\*) [a verbal form indicating production is needed]
- 5.55 labentibus\*  $\gamma$ : lambentibus C *Mas. in comm.* [cf. Verg. *A.* 2.683–4]
- 4.374 messonidaes  $\gamma$ : Messenides C *Mas. in comm.*: Messeides\* [the area of Messenia would naturally be more familiar to the correctors than the two rarely mentioned fountains, known each as ‘Messeis’]
- 4.698 phoebi  $\gamma$ : Rhebi C *Sab. F-1503 V-1523*: Rhebae\* [cf. Ap. Rh. 2.349; the error in the termination of the name may have been influenced by Ap. Rh. 2.789 or the form of the word recorded in  $\gamma$ ; the reading of C, however, represents an intermediate stage between the correct reading and the corruption of  $\gamma$  and may therefore be considered the product of corruption and not conjecture]
- 4.242 o  $\gamma$ : e C *edd. ante Carr.*: a\* [‘e’ is a reasonable but weaker variant]
- 5.364 sedere  $\gamma$ : dedere C *Balbus*: edere\* [isolated in its own clause ‘dedere’ provides not unreasonable sense and is an obvious improvement on the totally incomprehensible ‘sedere’; it is not until one reads beyond this subordinate clause dependent on ‘quando’ (363) that it becomes clear that ‘dedere’ actually gives the opposite sense to that required; it is not improbable therefore that the correction could be made independently by more than one careless corrector]
- 7.345 poteratque L: poterasque C *Mas.*: pater atque\* [the emendation to the 2nd person singular form of the verb was probably influenced by ‘tibi’ (7.344)]
- 7.357 ponti L: ponit C *B-1474 B-1498*: monti\* [a simple correction, not particularly sensible, probably prompted nevertheless by the presence earlier in the line of the conjunction ‘-que’, interpreted by the correctors as the introduction to a third clause requiring a third verb]
- 1.535 hic mihi  $\gamma$ : haec mihi C *B-1474 B-1498*: hinc\* *Balbus* [‘hic’ was corrected to ‘haec’ in order to agree with ‘facultas’ (1.534)]
- 2.271 ut pater nivea  $\gamma$ : ut pater et nivea C *B-1498 V-1500* [a conjunction is needed – utque pater nivea\*]
- 2.369 qui\*  $\gamma$ : quem C *B-1474 B-1498 V-1500 Mas.* [either variant is possible; ‘quem’ is easier]
- 3.120 remota\*  $\gamma$ : remotae C *B-1498* [‘corrected’ under the influence of the preceding ‘dapes’]
- 4.595 alter\*  $\gamma$ : ater C *Parrh.* [cf. ater... Cocytos, Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.17–18; the reference to ‘alter Acheron’ is obscure]
- 4.675 vel fallit  $\gamma$ : vel fallor C *B-1498 Sab. Eng. Gryph.* [the correctors of C and the editions cited have resorted in this difficult place to a familiar expression which at least produces reasonable, if clumsy, sense and satisfies the demands of the metre]
- 4.645 defigere  $\gamma$ : diffugere C *Pius in comm.*: deficere\* [‘defigere’ obviously provides the opposite sense to that required; ‘diffugere’, on the other hand, provides reasonable sense and would readily be suggested by ‘ferre fugam’ earlier in the sentence]

- 7.145 penates\*  $\gamma$ : parentes CChis [the error would readily have been induced by both similarity in word-shape and the recurrence of the subject of Medea's father in the immediate context; cf. 7.140, 144, 147ff.]
- 4.300 effecta\*  $\gamma$ : effeta CM<sup>2</sup> B-1519 V-1523 Parrh. [since Pollux's blow was not entirely wasted, it is not immediately apparent why his hope should be considered frustrated ('nec...effecta'); however, on reflection it is clear that his intention was specifically to score a hit to Amycus' face and that in this respect he was disappointed; although 'effecta' therefore must be the correct variant, it is easy to imagine that it could be misinterpreted and emended in the manner exhibited by several independent witnesses]
- 5.75 callirhoan  $\gamma$ : Callirhoen CM<sup>2</sup>: Callichoron\* [cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.629: et...Callirhoe noviens errantibus undis]
- 1.342 ut deque  $\gamma$ : ut dent CGolisReg [this emendation is by far the closest of those offered to the corruption of  $\gamma$  and the sense provided is as suitable to the context as the emendation presently accepted ('video'): preparations for the voyage are drawing to a close and the shore rings with the lamentations of the heroes' parents; Aeson grieves that his old age prevents him from accompanying the voyage but finds consolation in the glory of the voyage and in the fact that his son is not merely a member but actually the leader of the crew: 'but your father's entreaties have prevailed and his prayers been heard by the great gods, that they might put such a number of princes on the sea and you, as their leader' (341–3). For this usage of 'do' compare: [Aries] dabit in praedas animos, Man. 4.508; [Arcitenens] pectora clara dabit bello, id. 4.561]
- 1.130 hic sperata  $\gamma$ : hic insperato CP<sup>e</sup> [two syllables are required to complete the hexameter; 'insperato' involves merely a slight and commonplace alteration, i.e. that of a prefix and termination, and produces very reasonable sense: 'In this part, Thetis is conveyed on the unexpected back of a Tyrrhenian fish into the bridal chamber of Peleus']
- 1.42 audis\*  $\gamma$ : audisti CR *Pius in comm.* [the perfect tense is more logical than the present but unnecessary]
- 1.751 aeolus arvis\*  $\gamma$ : aeolus antris CT [the reference to Aeolus, the god of the winds famous in the context of his cave, would have been sufficient to induce this error or correction independently in any number of manuscripts]
- 4.722 glaciantibus  $\gamma$ : glacialibus CT<sup>1</sup> [either word is appropriate to the context; whereas one scribe may have decided that he preferred the variant, another may unconsciously have committed the error through carelessness of transcription]
- 5.41 relinquo\*  $\gamma$ : relinquer CT ['relinquer' provides an easier and ostensibly more sensible text than 'relinquo'; how can Jason suppose that *he* is abandoning his friends, who have died through no fault of his own? On the other hand, Jason could understandably consider himself abandoned by his friends at the impulse of fate]
- 5.502 petivit\*  $\gamma$ : petivi CT<sup>2</sup> [this error cannot be justified on any grounds of sense; it is possible however to suppose that the error was induced independently in both witnesses by the influence of 'adi' earlier in the same line and the delay in the indication of the change of subject to 'quis' (5.503)]

- 1.767 per lacrimas\*  $\gamma$ : perlacri(y)mans C<sup>b</sup>EChis *B-1498 V-1500* [the correctors believed that it was necessary to restore a verb to the sentence]
- 1.771 aevum rudis\*  $\gamma$ : aevi rudis CET *Pius in comm. B-1498* [the genitive after 'rudis' was more familiar to the correctors than the accusative of respect]

Lastly I list the cases where the contamination suggested may alternatively be construed as independent descent to C directly through the tradition.

- 2.362 terror L: tertor V: tortor C

Considering the nature of the error exhibited by V and the simplicity with which it could be corrected by the intelligent scribe of L, Niccolò Niccoli, it is not improbable that *tertor* was the reading exhibited by  $\gamma$  and that Niccoli corrected the error before transcription. That Niccolò Niccoli allowed himself to emend in this manner may be seen from 4.719. Here, V exhibits *fluusque* against L's *fluviusque* before correction and *flavusque* after correction. Since the form that could most easily generate each of these readings is *fluuusque*, differing from each by only one letter, it is far from improbable that even the first of Niccolò Niccoli's readings is a correction. If such a process is, as suspected, true also in this case, then C received the original error ( $r \rightarrow t$ ) from an earlier stage of the tradition independently of V.

- 3.595 procurrit\*  $\alpha$ L<sup>1</sup>: procumbit L<sup>ac1</sup>C

The probability of contamination here is weak for two reasons, firstly since the same source that exhibited the error also exhibited what is obviously the correct reading and secondly since this pre-correction error would constitute the sole fruit of collation with L. How then did the error arrive in C? The solution to this problem may, I believe, be found in the work of Labardi.<sup>52</sup> Labardi, indeed, drawing on the evidence of a correspondence in the critical signs found in the margins of V and L and of the presence in L of some signs even where a corruption no longer exists, concludes that emendatory activity must have been carried out at an early stage of the tradition common to both, i.e. in  $\gamma$  or before. It is possible therefore to postulate that the error 'procumbit' was present in a common ancestor of both L and C and that this error was corrected by  $\gamma$  to 'procurrit'; the correction was adopted by  $\alpha$  and hence passed into V; L however initially missed the correction and copied the error; in the process of correction the emendation in  $\gamma$  was noticed and recorded in the margin.

- 7.127 semels V: semel L: semel sese L<sup>1</sup>: sese semel CM: semet sic\*

From the three readings recorded by V L and L<sup>1</sup> it is a reasonable inference that the common exemplar of these witnesses,  $\gamma$ , exhibited the corruption 'semels'. Since the 'correction' adopted by the intelligent scribe of L is not only incomprehensible but also unmetrical, however, it is not likely that it is the product of his own conjecture but rather that it is copied from the margins of his exemplar (cf. above). One cannot ignore the possibility therefore that 'semel sese' was present early in the tradition and was the reading in front of the scribes of both C and M. Unable to restore the sense, they both independently took the initiative of at least restoring the metre by transposing the two corrupt words.

- 3.539 pecula V: <sup>r</sup>pecula V<sup>1</sup>: percula  $\alpha$ L (=  $\gamma$ ): pocula C: fercula\*

<sup>52</sup> L. Labardi, *IMU* 26 (1983), 201 ff.

Positive indication of the independence of C from the extant tradition, on the other hand, is inherent in two examples previously cited by Ehlers.<sup>54</sup> In these examples, C exhibits readings firmly rooted in the tradition, which it could only have acquired by descent/contamination from V or L, of which we have seen there is no valid evidence, or directly through an independent channel of the tradition:

- it is hardly possible to attribute the line present in C to the emendatory zeal of its scribe in view of the clear corruption of the metre in the third foot (dēdērāt ūsusque).<sup>55</sup> Only a minor emendation however is required both to restore the metre and to complete the lacuna in a very reasonable fashion:

17-2

credibility to the argument that the line is the original composition of the poet. Its authenticity, moreover, is in my opinion corroborated by the recurrence of the same initial syllable in both 633 and 634, which may be considered responsible for the loss of 633 in  $\gamma$ <sup>57</sup> and which can hardly be attributed to a chance by-product of a medieval scribe's emendation. C, therefore, can with confidence be declared independent of V, L and all their descendants.

Further definition of the independence of C, moreover, is furnished by certain errors, which being non-sensical could not have been reached by conjecture but which are nevertheless significantly closer to the correct form of the word than the errors exhibited by  $\gamma$ :

- 5.484        oste  $\gamma$  (hoste M): forte C: sorte\*  
6.69        sydonya caes-  $\gamma$ : Fidon iaces- C: Sydon iaces-\*

These errors of C clearly cannot be derived from the readings of  $\gamma$ . The paleographical shape of both is too close to the correct reading to be attributed to the incidental coincidence of a non-sensical conjecture. On the contrary, they must either be accurate representations of or corruptions of a form of the word that pre-dates that exhibited by the exemplar of the extant tradition, i.e.  $\gamma$ . C, therefore, must also be independent of  $\gamma$ . This conclusion is indeed supported by the presence in C alone of a number of good readings, which a medieval scribe/scholar was probably incapable of conjecturing.<sup>58</sup> Of such readings I believe the following deserve particular consideration:

- 3.106        Olenii C: Ochenii  $\gamma$   
3.341        festina C: fortuna  $\gamma$   
6.217        Phaleri C: parenti  $\gamma$   
6.638        Arinen Olbumque C: Arinae nolbumque  $\gamma$ : Arinem Nolbumque *recc.*

Further confirmation, moreover, is inherent in the matter of provenance. On the one hand, the provenance of  $\gamma$  has been traced back to the northern-Italian monastery of Bobbio. C, on the other hand, was not only uncovered in Belgium but also shows affinities with the independent florilegia of northern-French origin, with which it shares the following correct readings:<sup>59</sup> 1.330 raucos, 1.331 polumque, 7.229 redit itque, 7.513 totiens dulces C, dulces totiens f.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> I attribute the loss of line 7.633 to the error *saut du même au même*; cf. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1974), p. 204.

<sup>58</sup> For the quality of emendation achieved by the scribe of C, cf. below, p. 470.

<sup>59</sup> Significantly C shares no corruptions with these witnesses. It would not be possible, therefore, to argue contamination from this source.

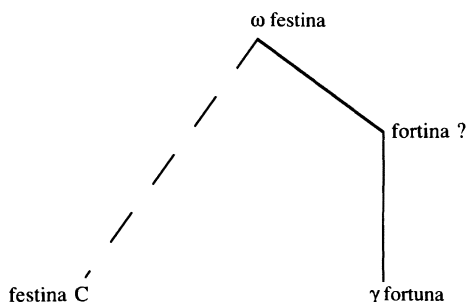
<sup>60</sup> The precise relationship of f to C cannot be discerned conclusively from the meagre evidence provided by the former and the second-hand account given of the latter. Even the evidence of content, that is to say the presence in some of the florilegia of lines occurring after the point of mutilation in C (8.105), does not in itself rule out the possibility that C could be the parent of the florilegia, since, as Prof. Ehlers has recently pointed out (*MH* 42 [1985], 341 n. 37), the existence of 8.408 ff. in the florilegia could be attributed to the loss of lines 8.106 ff. from C after copies had been made and before it was discovered in the sixteenth century. There is however evidence to suggest that the exemplar of the florilegia was incorrectly bound, for the extracts from the first book are presented in an incorrect order (76 ff., 39, 248 ff.). Since there is no indication of any such dislocation in C and in the absence of any textual evidence indicating the dependence of the florilegia on C, I am inclined to believe that they are independent of C, but transcribed from a common exemplar.

C and  $\gamma$ , however, clearly descend from a common ancestor. This is demonstrated by the presence in both C and  $\gamma$  of many common errors: e.g.

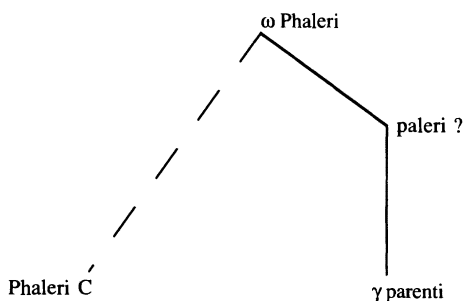
- 4.141 Nonagria C $\gamma$   
 4.187 monitis C $\gamma$   
 4.274 ferro C $\gamma$

Agreement of C and  $\gamma$  therefore reproduces the reading of the archetype to the tradition, which may properly be titled  $\omega$ . The position of this archetype is in all probability separated from  $\gamma$  by at least one intermediate stage, judging by the gravity of certain non-sensical errors exhibited in  $\gamma$  against correct readings in C: e.g.

3.341



6.217

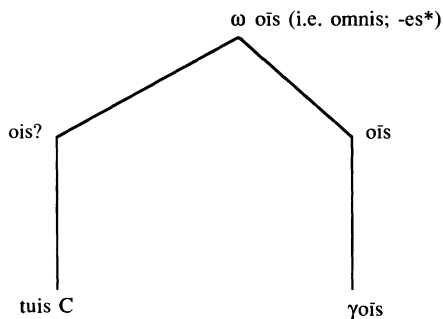


In both these cases, it seems improbable that either inability to comprehend or the paleographical shape of the correct reading would have caused a scribe to whom this reading was presented to commit the degree of error exhibited by  $\gamma$ . To assume that C and  $\gamma$  were direct apographa of the same exemplar however would be to suggest that the scribe of C could have derived the correct reading from the intermediate form that was sufficiently corrupt to cause the error exhibited by  $\gamma$ . It seems highly unlikely, however, that a medieval scribe would have had either the sensitivity or ability to reconstruct in the first example the poetic usage of an adjective in place of an adverb and in the second a name mentioned only twice previously in the *Argonautica* and not altogether familiar from its occurrence in other works.

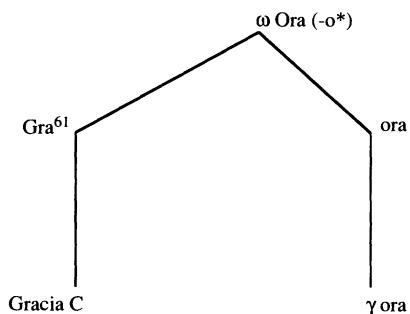
The relationship of C to  $\omega$ , on the other hand, is somewhat more difficult to discern since only a selection of errors from C have been recorded and these are on the whole either trivial or such that bear the mark of the corrector – one could hardly expect an editor unaware of the science of textual criticism to record errors which did not form

a recognizable word. Probably here too, however, an intermediate stage ought to be assumed, in order to account for the following errors/conjectures:

5.552



4.173



By asserting the independence of C from the extant tradition and its hyparchetype, however, it is not my intention to exaggerate its worth. It is impossible to ignore the extent and crudity of scribal activity evident in the text offered by C. To such a correcting pen, for example, must be attributed the following readings:

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| 1.356 | crestus γ: cristatus C: Peresius*                       |
| 2.283 | furtis γ: bustis C: furiis*                             |
| 2.599 | hic prima pia sollemnia* γ: celeres hic prima piacula C |
| 3.566 | stridore* γ: de trude C                                 |
| 4.175 | dura sic pergere mente γ: duras insurgere mentes C      |
| 4.287 | notata et γ: notat ipse C: rotat Aet⟨na⟩*               |
| 5.651 | aolidae γ: Bystonidae C: Aloidae*                       |

Various glosses, moreover, have also been incorporated into the text:<sup>62</sup>

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| 3.534 | sic blanda* γ: sic voce C                 |
| 1.144 | hic Peleus hic* γ: hac Peleus hac parte C |
| 4.128 | tumidis* γ: motis C                       |

However, even a corrupt tradition will retain seeds of truth where all others have failed. This is true of C, according to my calculation, in at least 40 places and this figure has been reached merely by reckoning those places where none of the *recentiores* or early editions anticipated the correct reading by emendation. If such places where C shares correct readings with the *recentiores* and the early editions were

<sup>61</sup> cf. Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 52.

<sup>62</sup> cf. Krenkel, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 14–16.

also to be taken into account, then the figure would be considerably greater, approximately, I believe, 130. It is no longer appropriate, therefore, to class C in the category of the *eliminandi*. There is ample justification, indeed, for giving C in the future as much consideration for its merits as it has in the past been given for its defects.

In conclusion, let us return to the point from which we proceeded, the possibility of the identification of C with the manuscript recorded in the medieval catalogue of Lobbes. We have seen the evidence that C is not only independent of the extant tradition but also of the Italian exemplar of this tradition. We have witnessed the close relationship of C to the florilegia of northern-French origin. We have witnessed above all no sign of dishonesty or deception in the scholar through whose work alone C is known to us. All these facts point to one conclusion, that there is no longer any reason to deny that C is, as Carrio stated, a medieval manuscript of Belgian origin. The absence of any recorded readings from the manuscript at Lobbes, therefore, need no longer prove an obstacle to a firm identification of C (or at least a close and contemporaneous relative of C) with the manuscript recorded at Lobbes in the eleventh/twelfth century.

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