

THE MS TRADITION OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES: *ANTE RENATAS IN ITALIA LITTERAS*

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I

In the course of examining MSS of Seneca's Tragedies during the summer of 1970—in particular, MSS not seen by C. E. Stuart—I found several unknown to him; one of these, Vat. Lat. 2829, will be discussed here, in the hope of dispelling many of the uncertainties that surround the transmission of the pre-humanist vulgate (A) text into the renaissance itself. This paper for the most part builds upon the conclusions of Stuart and, most recently, R. H. Philp, and I must refer the reader to Philp for a fuller discussion of the history of the text.¹ To note the MSS under discussion here:

A. *The E-Tradition*

E "Etruscus": Laur. 37.13 (xi-xii). E itself must be distinguished from the E-tradition, which would include no less M and N along with confections, all affording sources for contamination to vulgate MSS.

M Ambros. D 276 inf. (xiv). Copy of E; perhaps *gemellus*.

N Vat. Lat. 1769 (xiv). Copy of E; perhaps *gemellus*.

B. *The Vulgate (A) Tradition*

1. *Pure A Group*

A The last common ancestor of C P S V d below.

P Parisinus 8260 (1230-1260).²

¹ R. H. Philp, "The Manuscript Tradition of Seneca's Tragedies," *CQ* 18 (1968) 150-79. I am most grateful to Dr. Philp for his unstinting suggestions on many of the topics now touched on in this paper.

² Stuart asserted, and Philp I think confirmed, that Treveth's MS was C itself; *contra* Düring, *Zur Überlieferung von Senecas Tragödien* (Lingen 1913) 9-13, and V. Ussani, Jr., ed. *Nicolai Treveti Expositio Herculis Furentis* (Rome 1959) v, that Treveth's text, "contenuto in un manoscritto oggi perduto . . . offre notevole interesse per la storia

- G Exeter, Cathedral Library 3459 (xiii med.); *Octavia* with excerpts from the other plays.
- β The last common ancestor of the vulgate, P G excepted.
- C Cambridge Corpus Christi College 406 (xiii med.).
- τ The textual basis for the *Expositio* composed by Nicholas Treveth in 1315–16.³
- S Escorial 108 T.III.11 (xiv: med., ut vid.).
- d Naples, Bibl. Naz. IV E 1 (xiv ex.).
- V Vat. Lat. 2829 (xiv in.).
- f Padua, Bibl. Antoniana 9 (xiv med.).
2. *Second-Rank A-MSS (contaminati): ψ*
- l Laur. 24. sin. 4 (1371: cum expos. Trev.).
- n Naples, Bibl. Naz. IV D 47 (1376; cum expos. Trev.).
- s Br. Mus. Add. 11987 (ca. 1376: Salutati's MS; dated by Tarrant).
- r Vat. Reg. 1500 (1389).
- a Br. Mus. Arundel 116 (xiv med. ?).
- m Marcianus XII 25 (xiv–xv).
- q Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana B. I. 13 (xiv ex.).
- v Vat. Lat. 2827 (xiv ex.).
- o Naples, Bibl. Oratoriana MCF 1.1 (xiv ex.).
- h Br. Mus. Harley 2481 (1401).
- u Br. Mus. Harley 2461 (1416).
3. *E-A MSS (conflati)*⁴
- K Cambrai 513 = 555 (xiii–xiv med.).⁵
- Q Montecassino 392 P (xiii–xiv).
- e Eton. 110 = Bl. 2. 9 (xiii–xiv).

della tradizione manoscritta dei drammi di Seneca e, se pure in minor misura, anche per la critica del testo.” Beginning with d l n, Treveth's interpolations percolate throughout *recc.*, to be sure, but Stuart's successes vindicate the *Lückentheorie* against analysis based only on readings; if Ussani elsewhere concedes that “tenebre ancora fitte avvolgono la tradizione A,” he is shying at shadows in large measure cast by his own method.

³ Written to the order of Richard de Fournival (ob. 1260): information kindly given me by Professor Richard Rouse.

⁴ To which may be added Par. 6395 (xiv), reported free of *Lacunaausfüllung* but contaminated nonetheless; see Philp (above, note 1) 164 and Stuart (below, note 8), Trinity Add. MS d 63: Stuart thought it “not wholly bad,” and a French hand. It shares the interpolation of l at *Phae.* 520. Viansino's MSS have no place in this tally; for the record, they are Milanese *ψ*: Ambros. A 118 inf. (xiv), G 89 inf. (xiv), H 77 inf. (1380), H 70 sup. (xiv), Trivultianus 809 (xiv), of which all save H 77 show descent from V in their lacunae: H 77 has more A-*Lacunaausfüllung* than any other MS known to me.

⁵ K Q are gemelli, to judge from their constant agreement in Giardina's apparatus, and neither copied from the other (e.g., *Phae.* 264 hab., 279–80 om. K; 264 om., 279–80 hab. Q). They are treated as a unit in the stemmatics of this paper.

H Br. Mus. Harley 2484 (xiv med.; mut.).

L Laur. 37.6 (1368; 1385, Stuart).

b Br. Mus. Burney 250 (1387).

Whatever may be true of the origins of the A-tradition, its best extant representatives (C P S) are independent of E, and both traditions are necessary for the reconstruction of the text. Unluckily, the pre-eminence of E long inhibited efforts to isolate the best specimens of the other tradition, which in practice amounted to the sum of readings not found in E itself: thus the Weidmann edition of Fr. Leo (Berlin 1878), who based A on MSS now seen to be conflations of ψ and E, concluding therefrom that the A-tradition lacked authority even when E was palpably corrupt. Leo nevertheless deserted E for A over six hundred times, a figure that we owe to the diligence of G. Richter, whose 1902 Teubner edition first attempted the isolation of pure A-MSS: his MSS were unfortunately *contaminati* now of no worth.

Between 1907 and 1914 Th. Düring and W. Hoffa developed the *Lückentheorie*, based on the observation that Richter's MSS, freer of E- and ψ -readings than Leo's, *pari passu* manifest more lacunae; the theory predicted that the MSS furthest removed from E, i.e., faithful to A, would manifest the most. The theory was as elegant in the formulation as it was economical in practice: it isolated eight *lacunosi* as pure-A (out of over a hundred MSS examined), with 1 n r selected as best largely because of their dates.⁶ Unfortunately all three proved variously contaminated with *Lacunaausfüllung* at *loci* not on the checklist used. It remained for C. E. Stuart to apply the theory with rigor and success. He had begun, in 1907, to evaluate all the MSS that he could, first against a checklist of "right readings" (e.g., *Thy.* 61 *patruos*; *Phae.* 521 *sericus*) now known to be later interpolations; but he soon put the *Lückentheorie* to use, and out of virtually all the known MSS isolated C P S as the only pure and clearly independent witnesses to A. Gronovius had had his windfall to begin with.⁷

⁶ The ff. are cited by short titles: Düring (1907) = Th. Düring, "Die Überlieferung des interpolierten Textes von Senecas Tragödien," *Hermes* 43 (1907) 113-26 and 579-94; Düring (1912) = "Zur Überlieferung von Senecas Tragödien," *Hermes* 47 (1912) 183-98; Hoffa (1914) = W. Hoffa, "Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien," *Hermes* 49 (1914) 464-75. For their *Nachlass*, see note 8 below.

⁷ Charles Erskine Stuart, "The MSS of the Interpolated (A) Tradition of the Tragedies of Seneca," *CQ* 6 (1912) 1-20. I am grateful to Mr. A. Halcrow, sub-librarian of

Hoffa and Düring agreed with Stuart: "C P S geben A vollständig," but l n r remained in their draft apparatus for a second Weidmann edition, to obscure the disagreements of C P S. "Mit Absicht," wrote Düring, "habe ich n b r (i.e., n l r) höchst selten einzeln ausgeführt. Sie können in der Tat entbehrt werden."⁸ Yet they were not, and a mischievous precedent had been set. Perhaps little ill would have come of it had Hoffa and Düring, or Stuart, survived the Great War.

Düring's report of l n r was appropriated by the 1923 Budé edition of Herrmann; l n were even used *faute de mieux* for the reconstruction of A itself in the 1914 and 1947 Paravia editions of Moricca. But l n were almost tolerable set aside the *recentiores* in the 1965 Paravia edition of Viansino: five are cited regularly, others on occasion, and these along with l n r make his inaccurate report of C P S nearly incomprehensible.⁹ The reader turns with relief to the 1966 Bologna edition of Giardina, where l n r are accompanied only by K Q e, confections not without interest, and redeemed, whatever their origin, by the early dates assigned them; Giardina's fresh collation of C P S is the best available.¹⁰

In sum, no fewer than 11 MSS have within the decade accompanied C P S in the apparatus thanks to the tacit presumption that a contaminated or conflated MS clever enough to obscure its origin in C P S severally considered, if not in A, thereby earns the right to be considered an independent witness to A itself. Stuart resisted this temptation: he had set himself to catalogue and to examine all the MSS he could trace—he in fact examined nearly 300—and was neither inclined, nor

Trinity College, Cambridge, for allowing me to examine Stuart's scholarly effects, this at an unseasonable time: Trinity College Add. MSS b 57, b 67, c 79, and d 63.

⁸ Thus Düring in a note prefatory to the draft apparatus: now in the Göttingen Materialien (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek MS Philol. 142n, IVa).

⁹ Cf. the *censura* by Zwierlein, *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 679–88.

¹⁰ His faults are tallied by Courtney, *CR* 18 (1968) 173–77. The account of e given in this paper differs in many details from that given by Giardina: Giardina understandably keys his to E and A, and consequently *Phae.* 416 *intende* e, 899 *sculturis* e² (in. ras.) may well have been uninteresting to him. At times he is needlessly diffident: *Phae.* 254 *uirum* is clearly the reading of e¹, with *loquamur* a marginal variant e¹ on *sequamur*; 276 *impetens* also stands as a marginal variant e¹, so that the text of e¹ must have had *impotens*. Examples of either sort could be multiplied; the general effect of all this is that e emerges from his apparatus a much less eccentric and willful MS than it in fact is.

free, to be overly taken with the allurements of the first few ψ -MSS he saw. Ambros. G 89 inf. and H 77 inf. and similar did not surprise him; they appalled him, not least because Düring found the two of some merit: and of Cameracensis 513 he found much ill to say, including a tag (which the prudent Giardina does not quote): "*textus execrabilis*."¹¹ It was thus perhaps inevitable that Camer. 513 should now stand in an apparatus; but it has returned with more than the usual seven others in its train.

Given this chaos of MSS, it would hardly seem necessary or desirable to import one more into the discussion. There are, in fact, four single editions which with more or less rigor restrict themselves to C P S, and an editor of the corpus could have done worse than emulate them: Sluiter's *Oedipus* of 1941; Philp's *Medea* of 1964, where d is introduced—with a convincing demonstration of its independent witness to A; Woessler's *Phaedra* of 1965, where l n r are used about as often as in Hoffa and Düring, the express model; and, finally, Tarrant's *Agamemnon* of 1971, where with a welcome austerity and rigor reminiscent of Stuart himself everything but C P S is discarded.¹² But there is no glamour to mere prudence and sobriety; and the virtues proper to Philp and Tarrant are not likely to be emulated until those who cannot learn from example have Necessity for a master.

Vat. Lat. 2829, which I shall call V, a MS long miscatalogued or mislaid, is the demonstrable lineal ancestor of most, if not all, of the *recentiores* discussed by Philp or used by recent editors of the corpus. V also deserves inclusion in an apparatus as an independent witness to A, probably alongside Philp's d; but this fact is incidental. It is enough for us to have the MS which most nearly conforms to Richter's old definition of A, "ante renates in Italia litteras."¹³

V is a parchment MS of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, ca. 15 × 10 inches; 2 columns with 55–59 lines per column; ff. 51, 50 of the text of the tragedies (numbered 1–49, but 42 is repeated). The last leaf contains a short dissertation on tragedy by a somewhat later chancery hand, similar it would appear to that given in Ambros.

¹¹ Stuart (above, note 7); Trinity Add. MS b 67.

¹² Th. Sluiter, *Oedipus* (Groningen 1941); R. H. Philp, *Medea* (diss. Oxon. 1964); W. Woessler, *Phaedra* (Neuwied 1965); R. Tarrant, *Agamemno* (diss. Oxon. 1971).

¹³ The tag appears *inter al.* in the conspectus siglorum of his 1902 Teubner edition.

D 276 inf. (M): inc. V "Tragedia est scripta . . ."; inc. M "Tragedia sunt qui antiqua . . .", des. "imaginem fictis." There is no subscription.

The hand is a smallish angular somewhat irregular Italian gothic, in general without serifs (thus *m n c r t*, which become at times almost indistinguishable), although *s* and *p* are elaborate: *p* has a semi-circular serif at the top of the descender. The letters are slightly higher than wide. Overall, it is not a hand common among the MSS of the tragedies; Br. Mus. Arundel 116 is similar but more angular, Ambros. D 276 is virtually identical, and both are assigned to the fourteenth century. Specimens of this rather characterless and degenerate hand may be found in Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, in particular pl. 68 (Italian, 1301); see also pl. 67 (Italian, 1289), pl. 99 (English, 1345), pl. 69 (Italian, 1308), and pl. 16 (French, 1329). Abbreviations are Italian: 7 without crossbar for *et*, 9 for *con*, *r*-stroke superscript, *q* with tail crossed for *qui*, *q'* for *quod*, 9 for *us* (not a semi-circle as in Thomson pl. 68). All in all, the MS may be safely assigned to Italy a little after 1300: this will accord with the stemmatic position of V between C P of the mid-thirteenth century and the efflorescence of MSS after 1371. Further, V shows no trace of the influence of Treveth, who composed his commentary 1315-16, or of Mussato (ob. 1329).

The MS was not known to Stuart. By some trick of fortune, V does not appear in the list of 308 MSS which he sent to Düring, nor in his own fair notebook: this though Vat. Lat. 2827 and 2828 do. However, on one looseleaf sheet Stuart made the note "Vat. Lat. 2829, ff. 189. Not text."¹⁴ Whatever MS Stuart in fact examined, he did not examine the MS now known as Vat. Lat. 2829, and the entry disappears from later drafts of his list. Since that time, the MS has been mentioned only by Kristeller (*Iter Italicum*, 2.314), who describes it as "recollecta in tragoedias." Given that, and given the observable tendency for the 308 MSS of Stuart's total to become a canonical number, one can only thank the capricious goddess who withheld the MS from Stuart from uncovering it at this or indeed at any time.

¹⁴ The list of 308: Göttingen Materialien (above, note 8), III a, 1-18; the notebook: Stuart (above, note 7), Trinity Add. MS b 63; the loose sheet: Stuart, Trinity Add. MS b 67.

The MS is badly worn, with the lower margin and the last ten or so lines of text water-stained at some early date; a later hand has strengthened the faded passages, but without altering anything. There are a few later scholia, and a few variants and corrections 1 or 2 m., rarely in ras.

In discussing V, it will doubtless be clearer to treat lacunae and kindred errors first, and only then, once its affiliations have thereby been drawn, turn to its readings (Part II).

The verses displaced in C P S are likewise displaced in V: e.g., *H.F.* 123, 577; *Phae.* 68, 414; *Oed.* 583; *Tro.* 226, 274, 407-8; *Ag.* 963; *H.O.* 1400. *Phae.* 359 and 405 stand as in CS; *Oed.* 685 and 686 as in P C² (*Oed.* 686 om. C l m; 686 ante 685 S K Q). The order of the plays in C P S is followed in V. The verses omitted by C P S are omitted by V. A full list of the primitive A-lacunae is accessible in Stuart (1912) 11, and in the *Prolegomena* to Viansino's edition, 36-37; enough to note the basis of subsequent statistics: along with the displacement of *H.F.* 577 and *Phae.* 359-405, omission of *H.F.* 83-89, 124, 125-61, 543, 575-6; *Thy.* 149; *Phae.* 13 (*Ubi* only, sp. rel.), 264, 279-80, 695, 784, 926, 1188b-89a; *Oed.* 69, 430-71, 535b-36a, 664, 769, 890-91, 898, 912; *Med.* 156, 987, 1009-27; *Ag.* 397 *spurius*. This tally of primitive A-lacunae is intact in only five MSS: C P S V Ant. 9 (a copy of V).¹⁵

C P S, but not V, will at times leave a space to mark the loss of a complete verse or verses: thus after *H.F.* 123 a space of one verse in P S d, no space in CV; after *H.F.* 542, a space of one verse C P S, no space d l n (V and Ant. 9 omit both 542 and 543 with no indication of the loss; so also Stuart's Treveth *texts* Soc. 63, Vat. Lat. 1650, Urb. 355); after *H.O.* 745, a space of two verses C S K, no space V Q (745 ends the page in P); *H.O.* 1936, a space of one verse P S K, no space C V l; after *Oct.* 173, a space of 26 verses (the ghost-lacuna: see Leo, *Obs. Crit.* 43-47) P K, a space of 30 verses C S l n, no space G V (after 173, 174-99 twice in r; 233-58 here as well as at their proper place in Q). It is not wholly just to conclude from V's suppression of the truth that it is less sincere than C P S; V is usually artless and may only have seen in the spaces left by his exemplar a pointless waste of

¹⁵ But no space left at any lacuna in Ant. 9; also, *Med.* 1008 *penes fatis* sic V, *penes ul' satis* Ant. 9. See below for its occasional desertion of V in *Phae.*

good parchment: he leaves a space, as do C P S, when the loss is a matter of single words. Thus *Thy.* 275 (*Daulis*) space left in P S V d, no space C n Treveth; *gnati* interpolated in K Q e l Harley 2484: *Phoen.* 660, a space of ca. six letters after *Ine* in C P V, after *numquam* in S; *Phae.* 13, *Ubi* only in C P S V Ant. 9 Neap. IV E 3 (15 follows 12 directly in l, 14 add. l¹ mg.; 13 given *in toto* in d, according to Stuart; so-called 14, an interpolation of Treveth's, added in C Ant. 9 by later hands); *Oed.* 589 (*pestis*) a space of ca. six letters in P C S V, no space in l (*vidi* l², *laphiti* a¹ m, *pestis* a²); *H.O.* 48 (*in me incurrit*) sufficient space in P S V, no space in C K Q, (*nubes* e² in ras., n, recc.); *H.O.* 642 (*enata*) space in S V K, no space in P, (*ultima* V², *abitura* C). In noting the loss of single words, V is as conscientious as S and superior to C. Moreover, V establishes independence of S at *Phoen.* 660 and of P at *H.O.* 642.

V also avoids lacunae peculiar to C or P, thereby establishing independence of C at *Thy.* 516, 611; *Tro.* 878; *Med.* 123; and especially *Ag.* 694; and of single words at *Oed.* 332; *Med.* 957; *Oct.* 161, 845; *H.O.* 1277; independence of P by its retention of e.g., *Phae.* 1210, *Oed.* 367–8; independence of both and affiliation with S, by its retention of *Tro.* 1040 (omitted in C P independently of each other, so it seems). Independence from S cannot be thus inferred: S, scrupulous in noting old lacunae, itself omits no whole verse over and above what was already lost to A, nor single words save apparently at *H.O.* 642, where S V agree.

In sum, then, V stands clearly independent of C, less clearly so of S, by the tests of lacunae, and belongs with S in sub-family ε (Woesler's γ); moreover, although V's mindless or insincere suppression of the evidence at some lacunae promises ill of its readings, it is distinctly more faithful than any of the second-rank A-MSS: n s o a m q v h suppress all such evidence. So also l, with one exception: but note its double interpolation at *Phae.* 13; d seems as faithful as S, but if 13 stands in d¹, d then loses much of its credit, viz., when it concurs with E and probably when it provides a unique reading.

The second-rank A-MSS are best defined by their pattern of *Lacunaausfüllung*: *Phae.* 14 as in C² Treveth; *Med.* 1009, 1010 (*petam* for *perimam tamen*), 1011 as two verses, and 1027 present; Treveth's placement of *Phae.* 359–405 adopted by all but v, with more or less ambiguity

resulting therefrom. Here l differs only in that it interpolates no more than *Med.* 1009 *si posset*.¹⁶ Düring thought l n copies of a lost gemellus of C (γ; here = ε after Philp); yet having granted them independence and authority equal to that of C, he does not cite them regularly: “*sie können in der Tat entbehrt werden.*”¹⁷ This is a curious and

¹⁶ Stuart and Viansino appear to be correct in their report of *Phae.* 13 in C; Giardina errs in giving 14 in *toto* to C¹, as far as I can tell from microfilm: *meander super inequales* is added later by a pen with a nib distinctly narrower than had been used for *Ubi* and the rest of the page. The hand itself is virtually indistinguishable from that of C¹. Stuart and Viansino are likewise correct in their reports of l n for the end of the *Medea*; Giardina perpetuates a mischievous theory of Düring's, and adds a few factual errors of his own. To set matters right: the typical stopgap after *Med.* 1008 consists of 1009, 1010, 1011, 1027 (not 1010, 1011, 1027 as Philp seems to say, p. 156), while of this l manifests only 1009a *si posset*. On the basis of l, Düring asserts that “die HS A den Schluss der *Medea* in der Weise verstümmelt hatte, dass einige Abschreiber mehr als andere lesen konnten” (1907, 119–20). This fantasy is rightly rejected by Philp (*ibid.*) on the grounds that the presence of 1027 confirms mere contamination. Whence, then, do the second-rank A-MSS acquire the verses? Perhaps from the marginalia in l (of which Düring had given an inaccurate and unmeaning transcription): “Multi libri non habent sequentes versus sed in antiquis sunt et est sententia. dicit *Medea*: non est mihi unus satis, quod, si manus mea posset satiari cede una, nullam aliam petisset (supple: nam te solum interfecissem). sed quod petam duos est numerus nimis angustus dolori meo. cui Iason: uade transportata per aera et quacumque parte tu ueheris testare nullos esse deos. quod si essent ipsi te non substinent. Nil deficit secundum scriptum nicholay de treguet.” The verses appear far too distorted for restoration, though it is of interest to note *petam*, which supplants *perimam tamen* in the stopgap version of 1010; and it should be recalled that there is an unmeaning division of 1011 into two verses in the stopgap: an error best understandable if the stopgap derived from a version set as prose. *Res non liquet*; what is more important is the light which these marginalia throw on the workmanship of l, particularly the deference shown even to the lacunae of Treveth (so also at *Ag.* 694). I think it highly likely that the scribe of l had the end of *Med.* in front of him, whether in his copy-text or reference-text, and that he abandoned it after *si posset* either through deference to Treveth, or through fear of copying and himself having to annotate a passage not found nor paraphrased in Treveth's *scriptum*. If the prose added by the corrector is excerpted from one of l's exemplars, then the exemplar had *Med.* 1009–27 (the prose acknowledges 1026), and l itself is of the same group as Laur. Strozzi 134 (xiv) or Laur. 533 (1387), which exhibit little *Lacunaausfüllung* beyond *Med.* 1009–27 and vary their heavily contaminated texts with an occasional burst of fidelity to A or to V. If on the other hand the corrector used a source quite unconnected with the sources of l (as in *antiquis* suggests), then we have no way of knowing whether the exemplar of l enjoyed *Med.* 1009–27 or only the stopgap. Finally, if it assumed for the moment that recasting the prose of the corrector into verse was within the abilities of a clever scribe, then no MS with the stopgap could be earlier than 1371, the date of l: a considerable boon to the dating of many MSS, and no less to the stemmatics of all.

¹⁷ Düring (above, note 8), Göttingen Materialien, IVa; also Düring (above, note 6) 1912, 193.

unconvincing dialectic; Philp, as earlier Stuart, prefers to be scrupulous in collation, cautious in explanation: "all this group have exchanged readings with each other and (to a small extent) with the E-tradition. One or two of them may derive from C, with occasional readings only introduced by collation from elsewhere. The result of all this is that none can finally be banished from the ranks of 'presumptive variant-carriers,'" ¹⁸ He admits the possibility that all may be copies of a single MS (thus Düring, who was thinking only of l n), but qualifies that possibility with his earlier judgment (prudent and wholly correct, as shall be seen) that l n are "each independent of C P S considered separately."

Given C P S, this is true. It seems overly cautious, however, to find the *A-Lacunaausfüllung* in l n r *recc.* insufficient grounds for banishing them from the ranks of trustworthy variant-carriers. Nevertheless, "wenngleich man methodisch einwenden kann, . . . eine HS mit aufgefüllten Lücken im übrigen einen guten Text beiten könne" as Woesler notes; ¹⁹ and, *pace* Woesler, this theoretical objection survived Stuart's confirmation of the *Lückentheorie* by his discovery of C P S.

The *Lückentheorie* will, however, now serve to demonstrate the dependence of l n r *recc.* on V. Even though the generation of fresh lacunae distinguishes C P S one from another, this generation is largely ignored elsewhere; it must be emphasized that the process which generated the A-lacunae did not stop of a sudden as soon as those particular lacunae came to be generated, and even in the face of contamination and conflation in *recc.* arise new lacunae and displacements. That is to say, *Lückentheorie* must mirror in its very analysis scribal workmanship, wherein the workman calls to mind nothing so much as a carpenter with a clawhammer.

A little editorial attention has been paid to derangements peculiar to *recc.*; e.g.: *Tro.* 587 after 581 l n r ψ ; *Oed.* 367-68 om. ψ , quite independent of P it would appear; *Med.* 389b-90a (*omnis . . . Haeret*) om. K Q (Giardina), om. l (Viansino); *Med.* 390 om. ψ (Leo), om. l (Hoffa-Düring, Giardina), om. Ambros. A 118 inf. (Viansino). Something has gone wrong in the vicinity of *Med.* 390, and in fairly respectable

¹⁸ Philp (above, note 1) 163-64.

¹⁹ Woesler (above, note 12) 21.

MSS; it is unfortunate that the editors seem not agreed just what did. As it is, K Q l Ambros. A 118 omit 389b-90a (*omnis . . . Haeret*).

There are at least seven lacunae in V absent from C P S, and one displacement: om. *H.F.* 542-3 (a discreditable bit of tampering on V's part); *Phae.* 758, 1187-92, 1218b-19a (*ereptos . . . manes*); *Med.* 389b-90a (*omnis . . . Haeret*); *Ag.* 963-65, mg. V¹ (as A); *H.O.* 1674a-75b (*introrsus . . . abeat*); and *Tro.* 587 after 581. There are likely more, but I have not collated the MS *in toto*.

Some of these derangements were, as might be expected, short-lived: *H.F.* 542-3 are omitted only in Ant. 9 and in the text of Stuart's three Treveth MSS; *Hipp.* 1187-92 only in Ant.; *Hipp.* 1260-62 in Ant. and in Br. Mus. Burney 250. *H.O.* 1674b-75a recently came to my attention, and I have been unable to trace its further course; *Phae.* 758 I have examined for the second-rank A-MSS listed in the next paragraph, but for few others; consequently it is omitted from statistics.

The lacunae *Phae.* 1218b-19a, *Med.* 389b-90a, along with the displacement of *Tro.* 587, proved tenacious; as usual, the words omitted are otiose and their loss remained for the most part unsuspected until wholesale conflation revealed it. I have to hand the accurate if incomplete evidence of 114 inferior MSS at these three loci: incomplete because some of the ψ -MSS were examined before the importance of these derangements, viz., their likely common origin, prompted me to hunt for them systematically. The MSS in question include the second-rank A-MSS l n s a m q v h Neap. Orator. MCF 1.1 (xiv), Laur. Rinucci 9 (xiv), Laur. 37.9 (xiv ex.), Laur. 37.11 (xvin.: Poggio's autograph); also Laur. Strozzi 134 (xiv) and Laur. Conv. Soppr. 533 (1387), equally pure except for the presence of *Med.* 1009-27; also the conflations used by Giardina or Viansino, or discussed by Philp.²⁰

These 114 MSS are all of them it would appear Italian in origin, and, while they need not tell us anything about the latter tradition in Northern Europe, they will nonetheless allow us to draw a picture of A "ante renatas in Italia litteras" and beyond.

Out of 114 MSS, 92 manifest the derangement of V at one or more, of the three loci: 62 with either or both of the lacunae intact, or what

²⁰ I would like to thank E. L. Britton of the University of Virginia for the scrupulously accurate excerpts which she made for me at critical points in *Tro.* and *Med.* from the Br. Mus. *recc.*, a h u b in particular.

carries equal weight, with either or both of the verses themselves so disturbed as to indicate contamination (thus, e.g., *Med.* 389 and 390 with *Renidet* the first word in both verses, or *Phae.* 1218a and 1219b as separate verses enclosing 1218b–19a as a verse in its own right). The remaining 30 concur only in their displacement of *Tro.* 587. It should be borne in mind that these derangements were not protected by a commentary, and their perpetuation was a matter of mere inertia.²¹

The following table will, I hope, demonstrate that the V-derangements overall, and at any given stage of the tradition, behave quite as do A-derangements. MSS are grouped by relative fidelity to A at the three major lacunae in the order *H.F.* 125–61, *Oed.* 430–71, and *Med.* 1009–27: lacuna=0, *Lacunaausfüllung*=1, with *Med.* 1009, 1010 (*petam*), 1011a, 1011b, 1027 symbolized as “+”, and *Med.* 1009–27 with traces of that configuration symbolized as “2”. Total instances of *Lacunaausfüllung* (a) are shown as a ratio to total opportunities for *Lacunaausfüllung* (b). Instances of obvious contamination are given as (c), for V only. Last, the number of MSS in each group is given, followed by the number of MSS which show at least one V-derangement.

²¹ The commentary of Treveth, on the other hand, served as brake on *Lacunaausfüllung* for A-lacunae: thus the scribe of I impugns *Ag.* 694 on the stated ground that the verse was not to be found in Treveth; for the same reason, I think, I omits *Oed.* 686 and whatever had followed *Med.* 1008 in his exemplar. Moreover, *H.F.* 83–89, 125–61, and *Oed.* 430–71 are sometimes impugned or even deleted by the commentators of *recc.*, with the typical comment “hi versus non sunt in antiquis, et uidentur superflui,” with Treveth or Guarino of Verona (ob. 1460) the occasional authorities: so Harley 2485, copied from Guarino’s own MS in 1461 by John Gunthorpe (see A. F. Pollard, “Fifteenth Century Clerks of Parliament,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 15 (1938) 152–55; see also Düring (1912) 594). This incipient *Lückentheorie* may also be seen in Commelinus’ excerpts of the Palatini in Scriverius’ edition of 1621: Commelinus had Arundel 116 or something like it to hand, and saw that its age, its lacunae, and its readings were indissolubly joined, but this insight was not put to the test until Stuart.

It must be assumed that, as a rule, the V-derangements percolate into the vulgate by vertical transmission, without independent generation (the imperfect homoeomeson of *Phae.* 1218–19 and *Med.* 389–90 should have bothered few scribes more careful than that of V: but cf. *Phae.* 1210 om. P e v independently, and *Oed.* 367–68 om. P ψ independently) and without contamination (but cf. *Tro.* 587 post 581 add. 2m. e Ambros. D 276). As far as other contamination from V is concerned, it should be kept in mind that at one time V was very likely the only A-MS in circulation in Italy, and that, in any case, the mindlessness of the scribe of V, working with the interpolations of A, produced a reading text of distinguished badness. It is no wonder that the gemelli of V all resorted to E; on the other hand, there was less reason for the owner of the Truscus to track down V.

	For V			For A			MSS, V-MSS	
	a/ b		c	a/ b				
(ooo)	13/24	54%	2	34/188	18%	9,	7	
(110)	2/ 3	67%	1	17/ 28	61%	1,	1	
(oo+)	9/34	26%	0	52/348	15%	13,	13	
(01+)	3/ 8	38%	0	40/ 92	43%	4,	4	
(10+)	1/ 4	25%	0	29/ 51	57%	2,	1	
(11+)	1/ 4	25%	1	37/ 52	71%	2,	2	
(002)	12/26	46%	2	91/206	44%	9,	9	
(012)	23/40	58%	8	264/376	70%	15,	13	
(102)	1/ 1	100%	0	21/ 27	78%	1,	0	
(112)	19/33	58%	6	242/327	74%	12,	10	
(001)	8/18	44%	0	97/189	51%	7,	6	
(011)	23/37	62%	2	309/414	75%	16,	12	
(111)	43/58	74%	6	533/623	86%	23,	14	
	158/290	54%	28	1766/2921	60%	114,	92	

It will be seen that, overall, V-derangements came to be corrected if anything somewhat less thoroughly than those of A; moreover, fidelity with respect to V becomes a constant function of fidelity with respect to A as the vulgate tradition becomes more contaminated with the E-tradition. The purest (ooo) MSS, however, show an abnormally high proportion of V-*Lacunaausfüllung* to A-*Lacunaausfüllung* because of the presence of Treveth-MSS, derived from C, which I did not attempt to exclude beforehand, wherein absence of derangements bespeaks mere fidelity to C; since in the more contaminated families the proportions of A- and V-*Lacunaausfüllung* tend rather to coincide, if not actually show greater retention of V-derangements, it can be inferred that the influence of Treveth (or of any non-V source) on the development of the vulgate *text* was minimal, however many readings percolated into its tradition from his commentary: Treveth's C-text was rarely copied as such.

There is additional evidence with respect to the second-rank A-MSS. *Phae.* 758 has been examined in eleven such (oo+) MSS, and eight have the V-lacuna (l o a m v Laur. 37.9, Laur. 37.11, Laur. Rinucci 9; add. l² m² v² a² mg.: *suspicians* v² engendered the corrupt and doubtless contaminated *susciapiens* of q and *suspiciēs* of h), with only s giving the correct version (editions are silent on n here, which likely has the verse if its gemellus s does; but editions are silent on l, too). In inferior groups, it is the MSS most free from A-*Lacunaausfüllung*

which likewise preserve the V-lacuna here: Strozzii 134 among (001), Conv. Soppr. among (002), Harley 2461 among (01 +). However, the lacuna was noticed early, and of the few conflation I have been able to examine for it, fewer still show any trace of it; inclusion of *Phae.* 758 into the overall statistics for V-derangements might well balance the weight of *Tro.* 587, not often altered to the EA norm, and give rates of *V-Lacunaausfüllung* as high as those for A-.

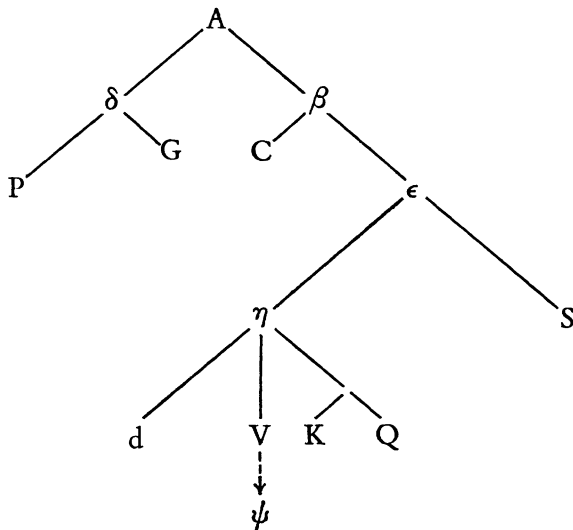
To return to the second-rank A-MSS: all manifest at least one V-derangement; of the nine MSS where all four (*Phae.* 758 included) have been checked, it is MSS suffering the least A-*Lacunaausfüllung* that manifest all four (l a m q Laur. 37.9; so also, Conv. Soppr. 533 in its group).

In conclusion, then, we must regard V as ancestral to the later vulgate tradition in Italy, and this not merely because there are many positive indications in many MSS that V is their ancestor. The derangements of V broadcast in later MSS behave, whether viewed in sum or at any given stage in the development of the vulgate, precisely as do the derangements of A itself; and this is merely to say that, with respect to the sum of the vulgate MSS, the derangements of V stood in their last common ancestor alongside the derangements of A itself.²²

Consequently, any vulgate MS which happens not to manifest any of the V-derangements may not on those sole grounds be presumed independent of V, any more than a MS may be presumed independent of A because in any given instance the presumed A-lacuna is not to be found therein: on such grounds Eton. 110 or Harley 2484 could be made to appear quite independent of A. Before a vulgate MS be accepted as independent of V, it must manifest a positive indication thereof: e.g., the omission of *Ag.* 694, as in Malatesta II 20.1, Vat. Reg. 1952, Marcian XII 223, Vat. Lat. 1704, Laur. 91.30, alone of the 114 MSS examined; so also, the derangement of *Phae.* 1075b in KQ establishes affiliation with S, even in the face of their omission of *Med.* 389b-90a.

²² It is a matter of editorial indifference whether *recc.* descend from V or d or f; see below, note 23. In any event, it is worth noting that V² is often brought into line with d¹ (or *vice versa*), and S² with K Q e (e.g., *Phae.* 520); so also, the corrector of Ant. 9 (itself a copy of V) adds both *Phae.* 1075b mg. before 1074, and 1079-80: a concatenation found only in K Q. In sum, S V d K Q Ant. 9 (and e ?) remained within easy reach of each other after copying.

On the evidence of the lacunae, then, V is the last common ancestor of the vulgate tradition, KQ and a few Treveth MSS excepted, and the conflation e yet of uncertain origin. For the moment, the derangements of C P S V K Q d favor the following stemma, with the vulgate descending solely from V:²³



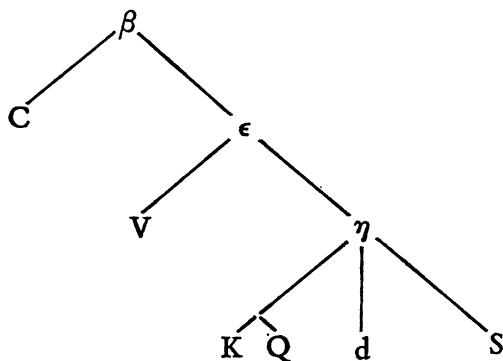
The critical derangements are: (1) *Oed.* 686 om. C¹, 685 post 686 S K Q, 686 post 685 C² P V; (2) *Phae.* 1075b ante 1074 S K Q, suo loco cett.; (3) *Med.* 389b–90a om. V K Q, hab. cett.; (4) *Tro.* 1040 hab. S V K Q, om. C P; (5) *Tro.* 587 post 581; post 586 C P S; bis K Q; (6) *Phae.* 475 *leti* bis S V. In subsequent explanation it will be assumed that there was no contamination with each other.

It is impossible that S be copied from V (1, 3, 5) or V from S (1, 5), or that K Q be copied from either: if K Q from S, then (3) occurred independently; if K Q from V, then (1, 2) occurred independently. It is apparent from (2) that S K Q share an ancestor independent of C, from (3) that V K Q d likewise do, from (6) that S V do: in sum, that S V K Q d do, as (4) confirms. Call this ancestor (likely a gemellus

²³ Stemma after Philp (above, note 1) 171. His suggestion that some psi-MSS may derive from δ is here discarded.

of C) ϵ : with the same configuration as S, save that *Oed.* 686 stands in the margin as in C: presumably S was copied directly and faithfully from ϵ , though S misplaces *Oed.* 686 in its text. But such a MS could not be the immediate ancestor of both V and K Q, given (1) and (3); posit an intermediate, η , with the same derangements as ϵ save that *Med.* 389b–90a are now lost, and *Tro.* 587 transposed to follow 581; *Oed.* 686 still stands in the margin. From such an exemplar, K Q acquire their derangement at *Phae.* 1075; independent of S, they misplace *Oed.* 686; they conflate the placement of *Tro.* 587 given them by η with that of the E-tradition; the derangement of *Phae.* 475 disappears in conflation, but the lacuna *Med.* 389b–90a survives. Copying η with no outside help, V replaces *Oed.* 686 correctly and discards *Phae.* 1075b, but otherwise perpetuates the derangements of η ; he now adds one of his own, and omits *Phae.* 1218b–19a (present in K Q, if Giardina's apparatus may be trusted).²⁴

This stemma accounts for the facts, although it is inelegant to have S and K Q make the same misplacement of *Oed.* 686 quite independently, a verse which, moreover, must spend a rather long time in the margin. Still, C bears witness that *Oed.* 686 was in some wise displaced in β itself. But the alternate stemma is inferior:



²⁴ If *Phae.* 1218b–19a is omitted by d as well as by V, then the lacuna has its origin in η not V: for d cannot be a copy of V (post *H.F.* 123 sp. rel. S d), nor d of V (*Phae.* 13 E d); but d would not for all of that have any wide claim to the ancestry of *recc.*: *Phae.* 13 E d, but *Phae.* 14 is prevalent in *recc.* as exemplified by its interpolation into l. If *Phae.* 1218b–19a is in fact a novelty of V, V still remains ancestor to *recc.*, the initial derangement of *Tro.* 587 and *Med.* 389–90 in η notwithstanding: for the lacuna at

The far more retentive S is now three removes from β while V is but two; it is now a lacuna, *Med.* 389b–90a, that must occur independently for no good reason, in K Q, d and V; and it is *Tro.* 587 that must now stand in the margin of ϵ and η , although there is no sign in C that anything was amiss here in β .

Unfortunately, d cannot be placed in the stemma with perfect precision: I have not examined the MS, and must largely argue from excerpts made by Stuart for *H.F.* and Philp for *Med.* Only a few of d's lacunae were reported: sp. rel. after *H.F.* 123 (S d) but not after 542; *Thy.* 275, *Daulis* om. sp. rel. (P S V d); *Med.* 389b–90a om., 1009–27 om. It is thus independent of V and C both, and for the moment, given its lacuna at *Med.* 389, is best considered a gemellus of V. Stuart thought d a gemellus of S in the *H.F.*, but found fewer S d agreements in later plays and supposed that d had used a different exemplar.²⁵ However, ϵ would have originated many peculiarities: the ranges thereof surviving into S V d severally considered will differ, yet overlap, after the manner of three circles: ideally, S V, S d, and V d should occur equally often against the third, but in no predictable pattern; there is no way of telling how often S V d (against C P) should occur. In what follows, then, it is the agreement of two against one that is of interest: the concurrences of C P are for the moment irrelevant inasmuch as C P were not under the control of ϵ , but are cited merely to show the *bona fides* of V d.

First, there is concurrence of S V d at *H.F.* 704 *pigno* (corr. S² V² d²) and perhaps at 24 *ortu* E² S² V² d; also at *Med.* 86, 254, 368, 524, 592, 638, 751.

There are striking concurrences between S and d in *H.F.*, especially: 19 *querimus* S d; 73 *ceruix* S¹ d¹; 181 *dura* S K d e C¹, *dure* E P Q V;

Phae. 1218b–19a is if anything slightly more widespread in *recc.* than the one at *Med.* 389b–90a (41 instances of lacuna or obvious *Lacunaausfüllung* to 36): to the extent that K Q d η shared the ancestry of *recc.*, to that extent should lacunae or obvious *Lacunaausfüllung* at *Med.* 389b–90a be more numerous than at *Phae.* 1218b–19a, and they are not.

²⁵ Cf. Stuart (above, note 7), Trinity Add. MS b 57, "This is a good example of difficulty in classifying Seneca MSS. Here we have this MS quite unquestionably copied from the same MS as Escor. for the *H.F.* The mistakes corrected by both put this beyond a doubt, yet even in *H.F.* we have the contradiction in 24 . . . in *Tro.* for example a notable agreement 759, disagreement 105. *Phae.* 13 and 520 are also troublesome . . . but *Octavia* is apparently decisive against both MSS having used *one* and the same archetype."

285 *fecisti* P S K Q e d, *stetisti* E C V; 559 *colos* E S² K Q e, *colus* C P S¹ V, *col.s* d; 664; 710 *quam* S¹ d¹ e; *Thy.* 355 *caro* C P S d, *claro* V K Q e; *Med.* 48 *peractus* C¹ P¹ S¹ d, *per artus* E S² V?; 389 *reuidet* S d; 608 *memoris sacre* S d, *n. sacra* V Ant. 9 (*sacрати* V² C).

Concurrence of V d is about as common for *Med.*, at least: 55 *linquatur* C V¹ d; 169 *terra* E P V d; 342 *claustra* E P V d; 385 *recusat* P V d; 500 *sunt* E P V d; 585 *uinctos* C P V d; 788 *plena* P V d; 791 *frenos* P V¹ d; also *Phae.* 520 *celerius* C V d, *cessis* S, *fessos si* S⁺ K Q e; the further concurrence of P or C attests the purity of what V d offer us here. However, there are also notable instances where V d concur against C P S: *Tro.* 105 *utrumque* V d K Q e l¹ n r, *unumque* C P S; *Med.* 389b–90a om; 492 *minus* V² d, *mitius* C P S V¹; 949 *euulsi* V d e², *auulsi* C P S l n r m.

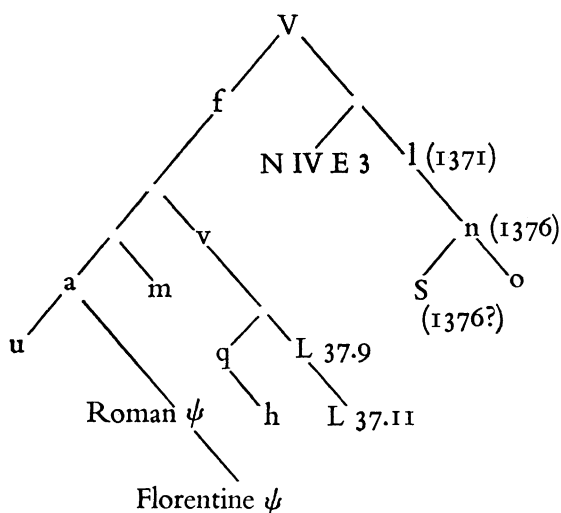
S V¹ often concur with C P against d: moreover, V² d (not V¹) have been influenced by Treveth: *H.F.* 24 *ortu* E² S² V² d Trev.; 92, 355, 453 *mater mater* C P S V¹, *mater matri* V² n² r Trev., *matri mater* d, *matri* l; 523 *est est* C P S V¹, *en est* Trev., *est en* V² ut vid., d. Here, S V¹ are clearly more faithful to A than is d¹; so also often in the *Medea*: 355 *quis* C P S V l r m, *quid* E d e¹; 377 *yphis* C¹ P S d¹, *hyphis* V, *typhis* C² d² l n r m; 382 *ethneosi* C S, *othneasi* V, *ethneos* d l n r; 437 *est* om. C P S V, hab. E d l r m; 492 *mitius* C S V¹, *minus* V² d; 612 *fnem* C P S V, *funem* E d l n r m.

Overall, V would seem somewhat more faithful to A than is d, but there is nothing in the above excerpts in such conflict that V d should not be considered gemelli. Perhaps d is V's nephew.²⁶

In considering the stemma supported in part by the above readings, it should I think be kept in mind that Philp made his excerpts for the *Medea*, and Stuart his for the other plays, to suggest, at the very least, the connection of S and d. Doubtless a better case might be made for the affinity of V d in *Med.* and *H.F.* were both MSS examined with that possibility in mind; as it is, the stemmatic position now given to V d is easily reconciled with, and indeed supported by, the earlier evidence for S d, and this I fancy a vindication of the new stemma.

²⁶ Tarrant judges it a nephew. He kindly sent me his own collation of V for *Ag.* and conclusions therefrom, which served as a welcome check on my own work; and I am much in his debt for his candid and helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

In establishing *d* an independent witness to *A*, Philp thoroughly discredited the *bona fides* of *l n r*, though he could not as things stood show their dependence on an extant MS. I should only like to add that the second-rank *A*-MSS which he discussed are somewhat less homogenous than is usually thought. In *Medea*, for example, *m* agrees with *C P S V* against *l n* at 86, 117 twice, 218, 267, 276, 312 twice, 335, 608 *sacre*, 731, 791, 913, 923, with *l n* to be found in the company of *E K Q e* Harley 2484 for the most part. There is no instance of *C P S V l* against *m recc.* It is quite possible that a MS of the type of *m* is in fact ancestral to *l n s*; *m* itself is too late, but the family of which it is a sample and best-known representative is fairly large. Br. Mus. Arundel 116 might be examined with this possibility in mind; the MS (collated only for *Phaedra*) is there a gemellus to *m*, and distinctly early: its commentary was written in apparent ignorance of Treveth's.²⁷ In any event, the group of *l n s* is distinguished by contamination one layer thicker than *m a q v* display. Moreover, *m* a concur in the omission of *Phae.* 217 (so also Harley 2461); I suggest the following stemma for these *recc.*; see above for the evidence of *Phae.* 13 and 758.



²⁷ Written by Francesco Ceccharelli (?; Lucharelli, Br. Mus. Catalogue) of Gubbio, at that time subject to Florence, who composed the commentary for Johannis Botticelli

A largely Florentine family of fourteen *contaminati* dependent on a (itself Florentine), including Ambros. G 89 inf. (xiv), A 118 inf. (xiv med. ?), Riccardi. 527 (Boccaccio's MS: before 1375),²⁸ and Br. Mus. Burney 250 (1387), deserves inclusion because of the critical attention they have severally received. To trace the thread from its source: a itself possesses the stopgap ending for the *Medea*, the V-derangements and readings, along with a few readings of its own (along with m, and at times q v: all later MSS) e.g., *Phae.* 783 *fauni*; *Oed.* 589 *lafiti*. This assemblage descends largely uncorrected into Stuart's so-called Roman MSS: Vat. Ottoboni 1749, Casanatense 1063, and Angelica 225, along with perhaps eight others, of which u (Br. Mus. Harley 2461) is best known to me; here, *Oed.* 430-71 is added, and a few other lacunae are filled. Both Cas. 1063 and Ott. 1749 create a lacuna at *H.F.* 577, and from one or the other of these descend the *contaminati* in question. These MSS in general omit *H.F.* 577-79-80, or replace it ineptly; *lafiti* and *fauni* survive from a, as do peculiarities of *Med.* 1010 and 1011 even after 1012-26 have been interpolated from the E-tradition; so also the V-derangements. Moreover, most MSS of the family incorporate Treveth's paraphrase as a spurious verse after *Phae.* 344a (*Tunc cum amor Inducit bestias*) and interpolate *Phae.* 264 after 265. No single MS of the family manifests all of these characteristics, for the MSS have severally undergone more or less contamination with K Q e Harley 2484 and similar, and aberrations within eyeshot, of a lacuna (e.g., *Phae.* 783 *fauni*) were corrected the more quickly. In general, the MSS of the group were the work of intelligent men, and any single MS of the group (*dulcibus uitiiis*!) must present a most attractive appearance: thus Viansino (*Prolegomena*, 88), of Ambros. A 118 inf., "qui primo obtutu adfinitatis uinculis quibusdam cum Parisino (sc. 8260) coniunctus mihi esset uisus, contuli ad

"quod pluribus nimis uidebantur difficiles seu obscure." In general, the family of a seems provincial: the illumination of m q is crude imitation of the Florentine fashion at the end of the century; a descendant of a is still lodged at Gubbio (Archivio Storico II F 3, xv in.: a "Florentine" MS in its lacunae, however). Vat. Pal. 1674 apparently contains the commentary found in a; a itself came to the Arundel collection from the Palatinate: from the Pirckheimer library in Nuremberg. See the *argumenta* given in Gronovius, ed. 1662.

²⁸ Owned by Boccaccio (ob. 1375): cf. A. Mazza, "S. Spirito e la Biblioteca del Boccaccio" *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 9 (1966) 62-72. It is uncertain whether the marginalia are in fact Boccaccio's.

uerbum, neque nihil omnino bonae frugis percepi, siquidem vera interim servat."

The placement of the outright conflations Eton. 110 and Harley 2484 remains uncertain. There is no evidence from lacunae for the A-origin of Eton.; it may be worth noting that Eton. suffered correction from a degraded descendent of V: *Tro.* 587 post 581 e²; *Med.* 390 *renitet* e² in ras. along with the many ψ -readings in ras. e². There is a little evidence from lacunae for Harley 2484: *H.F.* 272 *est* om. H¹ l Triv. 809; *Phae.* 1054 om. H¹ s Orat. MCF 2.5¹ (at least); *Tro.* 194 om. H l o Triv. 809; *Tro.* 587 post 581 V H l Triv. 809, (moreover, the commentator of H knows the placement after 586 only from Treveth); *Med.* 505 om. V¹ H¹. H is running copy of no one MS, but rather a true (if precocious) edition: quite apart from the question of its readings, its choruses in general are divided as in E; most A-lacunae are apparently absent, i.e., filled correctly (thus but rarely in ψ , e.g. at *Thy.* 149, *Oed.* 769, *Phae.* 695); *Phae.* 67-68, 414-15, in the order of E; so also *Oed.* 583-84; *Tro.* 226 both as in A and as in E; and the sequence *H.F.* 82, 123, 83 . . . 89 in H may represent the interpolation of 123 into the pure E-sequence: the new verse is put in as soon as possible, a procedure that, *mutatis mutandis*, would likewise account for the sequence 82, 83 . . . 89, 123 in the A-vulgate. However, *H.F.* 577 stands as in A; *Phae.* 264, *Med.* 987, *Ag.* 397 *sp.* om. (judicious omissions, but A-lacunae nevertheless); the order of plays follows A, with *Oed.* and *Phoen.* interchanged.²⁹

²⁹ Br. Mus. Harley 2484, memb., xiv *med.* (xiii, catalogue), *mut. in. et fine.* Its commentary acknowledges that of Treveth (fl. 1316) largely to disagree; Laur. 37.6 (L), memb., 1368, appears to be a copy of H, or in any event inferior: *Phae.* 13 in text of H, with 14 as variant, and a defense of 13 in the commentary; *Phae.* 14 in the text of L, with 13 now as variant, but the defense of 13 remains in the commentary. So also, *Phae.* 605 stands in H merely as the gloss it likely is, but in L as a separate verse, with the explanation "alibi habetur *me nolle* pro *glosa* et non pro parte versus." Thus H alone; E C P S V give 604-5 as one verse. Both H and L exhibit the widest known range of conflation with E, if that is what it is: in *Phae.* H sides with E against A 40% of the time: 155 instances, of 384 possible, where E and A are clearly distinct; *contra*, e sides with E but 23% of the time: 88 instances, 19 of which are not shared with H and consequently demonstrate e's independence thereof.

The scribe of H may justly be called an editor: if his MS is in fact a conflation, it is much to his credit that he chose not to copy *Phae.* 14, 264, 605, 1079-80 and *Ag.* 397 into his text, even if available to him from E or from Treveth: to that extent he is an editor freer with his text than, say, Giardina, whose retention of 264 in the text, of conjectural accretions on 14 in the apparatus, drew the fire of Courtney (above, note 10).

II

The readings to be found in V agree, for the most part, with those of C; collation of V for the *Phaedra* also uncovered a number of novelties which percolate into *recc.*, to be gradually displaced with the reading of E or of Treveth.

The scribe of V was not a careful man; P C S d become no better themselves for the failings of V, but V has left us explicit testimony to scribal inadvertence. The scribe of V runs the last act of *H.F.* into the first of *Thy.* without a break (subsequent rubrics are inserted flush right, against the second column; there is normal space, and normal rubrics, in S); after *Thy.* 345, the scribe for no apparent reason

The commentary on 13 gives us H at its best:

"*ellisos fluuius est qui ex niuibz provenit ut infra patebit carmine quinto. ilico dicit ellisos leuis per glacies quod in ortu suo agiliter labitur. labitur piger per agros quod ibi uelocitatem quam habet in ortu amittit; et hec lectura placet. Carmen non patitur ut dicatur inequales super.*"

L expands the last comment: "*super inequales carmen non patitur inequales nisi dicatur inequales super.*" The commentator has also added numerous variants from Treveth in the margin (over a hundred for *Phae.*), but this is the only awareness of A shown; moreover, the A-Treveth readings did not displace any E-readings: there are no E-readings in the margin, only those of A-Treveth. It may be concluded that the text of H is still pure of its kind; in contrast, later MSS of the family conflate the marginalia with the EA text, and E-variants are often found in the margin: thus to a small extent even L.

There are numerous unique readings in H L, which have won the MSS some attention (Peiper and Richter, *ed.* 1867, where the MS is described only as the *Londinensis*; Leo, *Obs. Crit.* 42-47; most recently Philp 159, who entertains the possibility that H L may be independent of E, if conflation, and perhaps ascend to a primitive A-source in any case). Thus for *Phae.* 69 *post* 70, 141 *nosce*, 148 *profundo et ferre*, 191 *prauo*, 213 *modico cohercet et se*, 348 *terga* (K Q e H), 423 *faues*, 439 *quid* (C H), 497 *colonis*, 513 *diffundit*, 562 *euersa*, 591 *nam honesta*, 641 *intimus*, 675 *atris et aether*, 727 *intentans*, 867 *a uita*, 1118 *quod uoluit quisquam potest*, 1120 *sed*, 1208 *sum om.*, 1239 *uia est nobis*, 1260 *nodos* (S² K Q e⁺ H), 1279 *phedram* (e H). But rewriting and trivialization accounts for much here: Hoffa (1914) 582, saw in his L only one real good: "Wie so oft, bestätigen hier L durch eine Conjectur die Corruptel des Archetypus," as at *H.F.* 453 *igneos serpentum oculos F e r e n s remisso pectore ac placido intuens*. Occasionally, though, there is I think something of merit in H: thus perhaps at *Phae.* 148, 497 (not = *colummis*), 675, 1208, 1239; perhaps also in its editorial choice between E and A, in that it may well have used an E-MS quite free of the errors proper to E but masked by its uniqueness. There is, moreover, the curious version of *Phae.* 783 given by H L: *lasciue nemorum montiuage dee (montiuage in ras. of montiuagi H)* which appears beyond the not inconsiderable powers of conjecture visible in H; remarkably, C appears to acknowledge this version: C gives 783-84 as in A, *Lasciue nemorum dee Montiuagiue panes*, each verse on its own line; above *dee* stands the double-slash sign of insertion, and *panes* (as *meander super inequales* at 13) is outsized.

repeats *H.F.* 1234—*Thy.* 105, again with no break between *H.F.* and *Thy.*, and this is the height of V's fidelity to its exemplar.³⁰ There are 31 more or less important differences between the two versions (call them V1 and V2), of which *H.F.* 1304 *nedum* V2; *Thy.* 52 *scelera funera* sic V1; 72 an unmeaning tall *s* before *ripas* V2; 76 *quisque* V2; 94 *uiolenta* V2; 96 *minaris angres* V2 may stand representative. Thirteen times the difference entails concurrence now with one tradition now with another: *H.F.* 1238 C S V1, E P V2; 1278 C P S V1, E V2; 1281 *agedum* E Q² e l n r, *age dum* V1, *agendum* C P V2 K Q¹, *agendg* S; 1304 *herculeos* C P S V1, *hercules* V2, *herculus* e; 1318 E² C P S V1, E¹ V2; 1344 *terra* E C P S V1, *terta* ut vid. V2, *tecta* Treveth; *Thy.* 27 C¹ P V1¹ Q, E C² V1² V2 K e Trev.; 37 C P S V1, E V2; 61 *patrios* E C P S V1 Q² e², *patruos* V2 Q¹ e¹; 77 *feroxs* sic V1, *ferox* e², *feros* C P V2 K Q e¹; 96 *ferosx* sic V1, *ferox* E P S V2 K Q e, *feros* C l² n; 104 P C² S V1 K Q e, E¹ C¹ V2; 105 E P C V1, S V2 K e. No real pattern emerges; for V2 reverts to E about as often as it degenerates to ψ , and a pattern of interpolation would require a scribe more or less aware of what he was doing. There is however a lesson in V's performance: given the ease with which V can slip the leash of its tradition, the arguments for the "contamination" of C P become less convincing: V in its foolish purity enjoys "E-readings" denied even to Harley 2484, most thorough of conflations. What is more, the readings of the MSS throughout differ by no more than a letter; a letter meant little to V, and not much more I suspect to E C P S K Q e: something to keep in mind in what follows.

I have collated a number of later MSS against V for the *Phaëdra*. C S V *recc.* behave quite as they did in *H.F.* and *Med.* Here, though, the peculiarities of V could be observed for their own sake; some (like *Thy.* 61 *patruos*) have already been reported from other MSS, and one or two may even be right. Still, the rule of one against many applies, and V alone, or even with E, will not give A; and, as Stuart observed of C P S themselves, the discovery of stemmatically significant MSS will not much improve the text: editors have long since

³⁰ In contrast the scribe of L, repeating *H.O.* 1554–85, generated only three such variations, and immediately corrects two (this even though 1568 *resonante* of the repetition was a true variant, of whose authority he was obviously unaware); 1579 *autumno* L¹, *autumpno* L² alone remains to witness that scribe Franciscus was remarkably faithful to his exemplar and, Sabbadini *Scoperte* 1.165 notwithstanding, an Italian.

combed the *recentiores* where E is noticeably corrupt, and the signal merits of C P S, or of V, will have been known from elsewhere.³¹

Throughout what follows, MSS not cited stand in disagreement with V; in the checklist, MSS not collated by me first-hand or in microfilm are starred.

- E* C P* S V* f K* Q* e l n* r s a m q v
 o (Vat. Reg. 1952; xiv. Group 000; Treveth)
 2 (Malatest. II 20.1; xiv. Group 000; Treveth)
 T* (Trivultianus 809; xiv. Group 000; Treveth)
 3 (Laur. Conv. Soppr. 533; 1387. Group 002; generally pure)
 4 (Laur. Strozzi 134; xiv. Group 001; generally pure)
 9 (Laur. 37.9; xiv. Group 00+; generally pure)
 h (Harley 2481; 1401. Group 00+; but heavily contaminated)
 u (Harley 2461; 1416. Group 01+; moderately pure for age)
 b (Burney 250; 1387. Group 111; ψ conflated with E or e)
 H (Harley 2484; xiv med. Group 111; E-A conflation)
 ψ (The remaining 17 Br. Mus. MSS, along with Trinity College, Dublin, 928; all xv. Mostly group 111, and all heavily contaminated throughout)

First, to give notable instances of C (P) S V against E *recc.* with Br. Mus. *recc.* not cited merely totalled, e.g. (5 Br.).

19	<i>regibus</i>	C P S V f l n s ¹ m ¹ o 2 T 3 ¹ 4 9 (1 Br.)
64	<i>ui sontes</i>	C ¹ S V f m ¹
	<i>uisontes</i>	C ² P Q l ¹ u
270	<i>peior</i>	C P S V f K Q l n s
282	<i>uocat</i>	C P S V f ¹ l ⁺ n a ¹ o T 4 u (1 Br.)
350	<i>amant</i>	C ¹ P S V f r 9 ¹
382	<i>nigrantur</i>	C P S V f e ² r a m q v 3 ¹ 4 ¹ u (5 Br.)
475	<i>uacua</i> (\neq EP)	C S V K Q ¹ e r (1 Br.)
607	<i>aure</i>	C P S V ¹ f [?] l n a ⁺ o 2 T 3 9 ¹ (1 Br.)
766	<i>melius</i> (\neq EP)	C ¹ S V f r ¹ a q v u (3 Br.)
792	<i>noctum</i> (\neq EP)	C ¹ S ¹ V f a q u ¹
843	<i>mensus</i>	C [?] P S V f a q 3 ¹ u ¹ (2 Br.)
899	<i>asperis</i> (\neq EP)	C ¹ ? S V ¹ f e ¹ ? r a ¹ m 3 ¹ 4 u (2 Br.)
912	<i>uinctum</i>	C P S V f e ¹ l s m q v 3 u (4 Br.)
919	<i>turbidus</i>	C ¹ P S V f r ¹ 3 4 ¹
965	<i>acti</i>	C P S V f K e ¹ r ¹ l ¹ a ¹ ? u ¹

³¹ Stuart (above, note 7) 1912, 20.

1030	<i>phil(ē/en)t</i>	C S ¹ V f K v ¹
1228	<i>maneāt bis</i>	C P S V f n a ¹ q v 4 ² (3 Br.)

with C² l o 2 T in agreement with Treveth, and o 2 T in agreement with him throughout; 475, 766, 792, and 899 adequately serve to group V with C S against P.³² To give a few of the many instances of E C P S V against *recc.*:

111	<i>gesa</i>	E C P V s a u (against l n T H: data incomplete)
351	<i>luce</i>	E C P S V f K Q ¹ e ¹ l ¹ 3 ¹
384	<i>domus</i> om.	E C P S V f n a m ¹ q v o 2 T? 4 u H (3 Br.)
765	<i>despoliat</i>	E C P V f K Q e a m q v o 2 3 ¹ u (2 Br.)
896	<i>hic</i> semel	E C P S v f e ¹ o 2 h b ¹ H (7 Br.): <i>hic hic</i> cett.
1027	<i>sale</i>	E C P S V f Q ² e ² r a ¹ m q v 3 ⁺ 4 u (2 Br.)

Over both tallies, a m emerge rather more faithful to C P S V than do l n s; surprisingly, r shows no affinities with l, with which it has usually been joined: r is one of the few MSS to preserve the reading of A at 350, 475, 919, and overall seems to have consulted fairly good MSS, thereby avoiding readings found in l K Q e H Treveth, e.g.:

64	<i>insontes</i>	C ⁺ e ² r ¹ l ² n s a m ² q v o 2 T 4 9 b (6 Br.)
373	<i>cedis</i>	l n a ² m ⁺ v ² o 2 T 3 ⁺ 9 u ² (3 Br.)
460	<i>agit</i>	l ¹ mg., l ² text K Q ¹
509	<i>leue</i>	l ² K Q e q? o 4 H (5 Br.)
524	<i>sed aethera</i>	l K Q e u ² b H (5 Br.)
765	<i>expoliat</i>	l s 3 ² 9 (1 Br.)
774	<i>confidat</i>	l s K Q ¹ e ¹ 3 Avanti (2 Br.)
1001	<i>currum</i>	l K Q e 9 u ⁺ H (4 Br.)
1033	<i>terram</i>	l ¹ f Q e ¹ u ¹ b H (9 Br.)
1164	<i>dire</i>	l o 4 ¹ 9 u H (4 Br.)

It should be recalled that l H share several lacunae; enough merely to note the company l keeps.

In the above tallies, the fidelity of V to A is obvious enough: only f approaches it. But f deserts C P S V twice, at 475 and 1033, and it is of some interest I think that only at 475 do C P S V stand with not a single second-rank A-MS: f, which is much corrected, may be the watershed of the several later traditions.

³² The instances of E V concurrence are few and insignificant: *Phae.* 250, 254 (E V²), 446?; 451 *descripsit* E V f e H, *describit* C P S cett.; 498 *sufficit* E V f K m, *suffigit* C P S cett.; 601, 607, 897.

The interpolations of Treveth are altogether absent from V: thus above at 270, 382, 384, 919; so also at 13, 408, 941, 942, 971, 1110; in *H.F.*, where Ussani's scrupulous edition of the *Expositio* allows for a surer picture, at 8, 35, 180, 237, 274, 295, 296, 408, 684, 826, to give only the more convincing; I have found no instance of V concurring with Treveth against C S.

Likewise, S V avoid significant errors of C, some of which survive into Treveth: *Phae.* 93, 116, 137, 387 bis, 401, 464, 587, 931, 1138; *H.F.* 60, 354, 449, 561, 590, 656, 659, 909, 916, 947, 951, 1018. And there are striking indications of V's affinity with S and against C:

- Phae.* 349 *gemitum* P S V f a¹ v¹ 3 u; *gemuit* C l² 4⁺; alii alia (*garantum* T)
 475 *leti* bis S V.
 943 *trina dena* S, *trina tena* V a¹ (*te na* sic), v, *trina trina* r¹, *terna*
 E K Q 4¹ b (8 Br.), *trina* C l n o 2 cett.
 1082 *inde* S Q f l⁺ a m q v 3, *iñ* V, ui l, *mente* cett.
H.F. 561 *bella cum peteret* S V d n, alii alia
 567 *inuios* S¹ V; *inuus* S² cett.
 813 *perquam* S¹ V; *postquam* S² cett.

But there are about as many instances of C V against S: *Phae.* 6, 20, 22, 127, 197, 239, 244, 354, 397, 408, 540, 562, 666, 795, 819, 882, 1127; *H.F.* 285, 361, 579, 598, 639, 664, 735. The following are noteworthy, if less striking than the S V agreements given above:

- Phae.* 27 *symion* C V v, *simion* S K Q, alii alia.
 65 *equis* C¹ V f v¹, *quisquis* C², *quicquis* S.
 103 *uocat* S K Q² (1 Br.), *uocant* e² 9 (1 Br.), *uacat* Q¹ H¹ 3,
uacant E P C V e¹ cett.
 319 *zmaragdus* E C, 7 *maragdus* sic V f a¹ 4 u, *sm-* cett.
 520 *celerius* C V d f n⁺ e⁺ r a m v 9 u (7 Br.), *cessis* S, *fessos* si
 S⁺ K Q e¹ (1 Br.), *celer* si l s (2 Br.), *sericus* a⁺ m⁺ q o 2
 T H⁺ (3 Br.), alii alia.
 624 *actuum* C¹, *acutum* V, *actutum* S, *actutum* E P C².
 666 *at* E C P V Q e, *ante* S K.
 757 *uincens* C¹ V f e¹ a¹? v q¹? T 9¹ u¹ (3 Br.), *uinces* cett.
H.F. 166 *beatas* E C S K e, *beatus* C⁺ P, *beatas* uel *beatus* sic V.
 171 *uoluit* C S K Q, *tollit* E C⁺ P, *uoluit inani* uel *tollit* sic V.
 204 *seruo* C¹ V, *senio* cett.
 777 *lethea* C V² l Treveth, *lethela* V¹, *lethen* cett.
 937 *num* E C V, *non* P S¹, *nunc* S² K Q e, in. ras. d.

The evidence of *H.F.* 166 and 171 is particularly striking: V even follows the precedence given the variants by C.

At relatively few places P V concur against C S: *Phae.* 20 *fete* E P V u, *fere* cett.; 263 *sique* P V n⁺, *sisteque* S, *siste* cett.; 380 *nil* C S K Q e u b (6 Br.), *nihil* E P V cett.; 750 *locus* P V f K Q 4 (1 Br.), *lutus* vel *lucus* m q u¹, *lotus* cett.; 1063 *trepidantis* P V f l¹ 3, *trepitantis* C S, alii alia; 1074 *aut* P V f K Q b, *haut* C e l² m o 2 u (1 Br.), *hau* S, *haud* cett.; also *H.F.* 280 *uento* P V, *vetito* C S Treveth (*nulla* sic V). Here, only *Phae.* 263, 349, 1074, and *H.F.* 280 seem to carry much weight; overall, independent confusion in either C S or P V might have been enough to bring P V together.

V emerges from these tallies as a rather protean MS, siding however a little more often I think with C than with S. To that extent the evidence of readings supplements the evidence of lacunae, wherein V stood much closer to S, and indeed was barely independent of it (*Phoen.* 660); in consequence, the readings of V should have concurred more often with S than they do, and in fact Tarrant, collating V for *Ag.*, did find V there closer to S than to C. But I think that the fact that V often concurs with C merely attests that V is therein probably faithful to ε, and that S is probably not; the fact that V concurs with S merely attests their common parentage, already amply attested by lacunae, in ε. Consequently, apparent oscillation between S and C, whether viewed in detail (e.g., *Phae.* 475 S V but 520 C V) or in plays overall, should be considered an optical illusion, the more understandable to be sure if ε, last common ancestor of S V d, like its gemellus C possessed a full if disconcerting treasury of variants, ambiguities, and blunders in text and margin both, and handed down random faery gifts to each of its luckless descendants.

To conclude with a selection from the readings apparently original to V, some of which percolate rather far into *recc.* before disappearing:

<i>Phae.</i> 38	<i>sonant</i>	V f v (2 Br.)
88	<i>imminuere</i>	V f ¹ corr. f ²
109	<i>praesidere</i>	V s a ¹ q o u (1 Br.)
151	<i>facinus</i> om.	V f, <i>nefas</i> l
165	<i>imperii</i>	V f, <i>impetum</i> r, sp. rel. v ¹ ?
198	<i>scl'</i>	C
	<i>sceleret</i>	V f ¹ ?
	<i>celeret</i>	e ² in ras.

	<i>celerem</i>	$f^2 m^2 v^2 u^2$ (2 Br.)
	<i>scelere</i>	$n r v^1 q T$ (5 Br.)
	<i>celos et</i>	$K Q e^1 l 3 9 b$ (5 Br.)
	<i>scilice ?</i>	a^1
	<i>s(c)ilicet</i>	$E P S e^+ r^+ s a^2 4^2 h H^1$ (5 Br.)
208	<i>tacta</i>	$V f n a^1 m q v^1 u$ (1 Br.)
	<i>tecta/recta</i>	cett.
213	<i>medico</i>	$V f^1 l a^1 ? u$
282	<i>rectas</i>	$V^1 f^2 ? r l^1 n a^1 m^1 q$
321	<i>releuauit</i>	$V f$
	<i>relegauit</i>	$a^1 m q v u b$ (2 Br.)
	<i>religauit</i>	a^2 cett.
337	<i>lauare</i>	$V f n a q v u$ (5 Br.; Oratorianus MCF 1.1)
	<i>laniare</i>	m
	<i>(re) leuare</i>	cett.
384	<i>Seu</i>	$V f n^1 m^1 ? v^1 3^1$
	<i>Sen</i>	$e^1 a^1 v^2$ (<i>seuen</i> sic v)
	<i>Ceu</i>	u (1 Br.)
	<i>S3 en</i>	$e^2 a^2 m^2 3^2 9$
416	<i>inuerte</i>	$V f s 3^1 h$ Avanti (1 Br.)
	<i>inuente</i>	v^1
	<i>intende</i>	e
	<i>inmicte</i>	$l^+ n$
	<i>innecte</i>	cett.
468	<i>reparet</i>	$V a n^2 o 4$ (4 Br.)
494	<i>atque inter</i>	$V f l n r s a m q v ? o 2 T 3 9 u h b$ (13 Br.)
505	<i>aluei</i>	$V f Q^2 r s a m v T 3^1 4 9 u$ (4 Br.)
518	<i>Et impetus</i>	$V f l n s a m^1 q v^1 T 3 4 9 u$
588	<i>tenet</i>	$V f$ (sp. rel. $r^1 ?$)
	<i>temet</i>	cett.
697	<i>maius om.</i>	$V l^2 3^2$ (3 Br.; Vat. Lat. 1769)
831	<i>pari</i>	$V f a^1 m^1 q$ (2 Br.)
832	<i>nil</i>	$V f K Q a^1 q u$ (3 Br.)
887	<i>abortas</i>	$V f r^2 4^1 9 u^2 H$ (4 Br.)
916	<i>herens</i>	$V f l r^1 ? 3$
917	<i>morsque</i>	$V f 3^1 4 ?$ (Vat. Reg. 1874)
	<i>mosque</i>	$K Q e a v^2$ (1 Br.)
	<i>moxque</i>	$m q v^1$ (2 Br.; Oratorianus MCF 2.5)
1009	<i>celi om.</i>	$V f r$
1060	<i>preceptans</i>	$V f n$
	<i>precipitans</i>	$K Q e l r^2 a m q v 4 h u b H$ (13 Br.)

1067	<i>Iam</i>	V f r ¹
1198	<i>Corque</i>	V f l ¹ n a m q v ² ? 3 u (1 Br.)
	<i>Morsque</i>	r l ⁺ s a ⁺ v ¹ 9 (1 Br.)
1234	<i>rogantem</i>	V f l ¹

Still other readings survive no further than f: 176 *tuis*, 217 *uertere*, 350 *murmurare*, 385 *senis*, 624 *acutum*, 664 *fulgens*, 694 *dante*, 718 *generis* (specious, but cp. *Thy.* 52 *scelera funera* V1), 925 *soluere* . . . *ordini*, 944 *minus*, 1056 *ornatu*, 1169 *feti*, 1267 *est om.*, 1277 *regi* (also r¹?).

The relative fidelity of r to V is rather surprising: only the placement of *Tro.* 587 had served to link the two. But here r manifests some very rare aberrations of V: 165, 198, 494, 588, 916, 1009, 1067; it is not possible to say whether it used f, or V itself. Second-rank A-MSS behave as expected, with a m q v more faithful to V overall, but l along with n will sometimes preserve an aberration corrected in a m q v, e. g., 151, 697, 916, 1243. Much less faithful are s 3 4 9 h; however, u along with two of the Br. (Add. 14811, xv, and Add. 17381, 1475?) preserve a few aberrations well into the renaissance.

Of the conflations, H shows virtually no agreement with V; it is quite otherwise with e and V: see above 384, 917; also:

88	<i>paruū</i>	V
	<i>peruū</i>	f e ¹ l
252	<i>haut</i>	V ¹ e ² l m q ¹ 9 (3 Br.)
277	<i>aere</i>	V f ¹ e u
283	<i>pars</i>	V f ¹ e ¹ a ¹ (m ¹ : <i>pa-</i> , sp. rel.) u
336	<i>cerulis</i>	V e ¹ (1 Br.: <i>cereis</i> f, -ul-sscr. f ¹)
452	<i>enim</i>	V f e ¹ mg.
568	<i>iungens</i>	V f e ¹
590	<i>edideram</i>	V f e ¹
651	<i>cum</i>	V f e H ⁺ (1 Br.)
674	<i>secretum</i>	V f e ¹ (<i>serenū</i> in ras., <i>se²e.um</i> e ¹) 3 ¹ 4 ¹
884	<i>uix</i>	V f e q ¹ u
1142	<i>diem</i>	V f e ² mg.

To which may be added *H.F.* 874 *primaq3* P e, *prima q3 que* V, *prima que* cett.; *Thy.* 61 *patruos* V² Q¹ e¹, and perhaps *Thy.* 355 *claro* V K Q e l n (*caro* E C P S T). Such readings as *Phae.* 590 *edideram* or 674 *secretum* are not likely to have arisen independently; moreover, 452 *enim* and 1142 *diem* are cited in e as true variants. Thereby other items, of themselves trifling, take on added weight; the sum of the evidence indicates that e used V (not f: cp. 252, 336) as the base of its conflation. James dated e

to the thirteenth century, Stuart to perhaps as late as 1330-40: this is the range possible for V itself; moreover, e is Italian, not English as James and Stuart both thought: script and abbreviations are Italian, with much confusion of *s* and *x*, for example: (*Phae.* 884 above, and *Thy.* 77 *feroxs* sic V, *ferox* e²), and a flyleaf entry places the MS in Vicetia (Vinantia, James; wrongly) in 1391.

To conclude: given V, the task of the editor is much simplified. As far as the reconstruction of A is concerned, only one out of S V d need be used. For, as a rule, E P should give A, whatever β may have; if E P disagree, then P C should give A; if P C disagree, *then* S or V or d may be cited, only to settle the question. Between S and V there is little to choose, save that the rôle of V in the stemma is more significant; d appears erratic, and K Q, although of independent A-ancestry, are useless for the purpose because of their E-contamination. If a specimen of conflation is to be included, the intelligence of H might recommend it over e; moreover, H is the most thorough conflation known. But as for ψ , l n r a m q v no less than the rest, *non uota non ars ulla corruptos leuant*.³³

³³ I would like to express my thanks to the College of William and Mary, whose generosity permitted me to examine firsthand some of the MSS discussed, and to Indiana University for a grant which has defrayed the expense of microfilming many others.