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Why is the APA/Harvard Servius?: Editing Servius

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The impetus for the Harvard Edition was dissatisfaction with the format of Thilo's edition of Servius (in which Servius is in Roman type, with words found only in Servius Auctus in italics). This format concealed the fact that the Compiler responsible for the text known as Servius Auctus not only made additions to the text, but also made deletions and changes. The reader wishing to determine the true character of the commentary called Servius Auctus (or Servius Danielis or DS) had his way impeded by the dislocations, conflations, and suppressions of text required by Thilo's format; and even the casual user might come up with strange interpretations if he neglected to ignore italicized words. What must a first-time user of the edition think when he reads Thilo's text on *Aen.* 12.120 (A on the handout) "limus autem est vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes *prope* teguntur pudenda poparum"? This seems to say: "*limus* is a garment with which, from the navel to the feet, the private parts of *popae* are *almost* covered." Even if he recognizes that the italics indicate not emphasis but a supposed addition of Servius Auctus, he would have to wonder at the range of experience of the author of that commentary, if not at the size of ancient pudenda. The risk is not an imagined one. When Funaioli excerpted this passage as fragment 11 of Hyginus, he included *prope* without italics, and without indication that it was only in Servius Auctus. Thus a version was created that never existed in any ancient or medieval MS. The MS of Servius Auctus (F) transmits not *prope teguntur pudenda poparum*, but simply *prope tegebantur*. *Prope* is a scribal error for *popae*, and so a correct reading of the version of Servius Auctus would be *limus autem est vestis qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes popae tegebantur*. This represents a shortening of the text of Servius, with a revealing change of tense. The Christian who (probably in the seventh century) created Servius Auctus knew that in his day popes did not wear the *limus*.

The primary aim of the Harvard Edition was to present an edition in which it would be easy to distinguish exactly what the commentaries of Servius and Servius Auctus contained. The method was to be the presentation of the text in parallel columns when Servius and Servius Auctus had different wording; when there was no important difference between the two, there would be one text printed the full width of the page; when there was text in Servius Auctus but nothing parallel in Servius, the text would occupy the left three-fourths of the page; and when there was text in Servius, but not Servius Auctus, the text would occupy the right three-fourths of the page.

This system permits a clearer recognition of the character of Servius Auctus than was provided by Thilo's edition, but, especially in volume 2 of the Harvard series, it involves its own prejudice, and carries with it difficulties in execution and opportunities for misinterpretation. The prejudice arises because E. K. Rand, who organized the project and decided on the format, was more interested in Servius Auctus, and suffered

from an imperfect understanding of the nature of the commentary. He therefore chose to place Servius Auctus in the left part of the page and Servius in the right whenever there was a substantial difference between the commentaries, and to print the reading of Servius Auctus in the text and relegate the reading of Servius to the apparatus when the differences seemed "minor." The result of the latter policy is that in hundreds of places in volume 2 of the series, even when the editors performed their jobs as they intended, the correct reading of Servius may be found only in the apparatus, while the reading printed in the text is either a medieval error, inherited by the seventh-century Compiler of Servius Auctus, or more often a deliberate editorial change introduced by the Compiler, sometimes even making nonsense of what Servius intended to say. Further, it is precisely in these minor changes that the Compiler most clearly reveals himself - his own authorship; their suppression results in the suppression of much of the evidence needed for a clear understanding of the nature of the compilation known as Servius Auctus.

The choice made in volume 2, therefore, well served neither the user who sought ancient testimony nor the scholar who wished to determine the characteristics of the medieval commentary Servius Auctus. These problems were recognized by the editors of volume 3, and they sought to give equal weight to the testimony of the MSS of both Servius and Servius Auctus by splitting the page for even minor stylistic divergences. This procedure usually serves well the reader interested in comparing the differences between the two commentaries, but the reader whose interest is in perusing testimony of antiquity may occasionally find himself pained, if not misled. Because Rand chose to place Servius Auctus in the left column at places where it diverges from Servius, the reader is often forced to read first what are essentially medieval errors, before he reads the testimony of antiquity in the comment of Servius in the right column. For, though substantive additions found in Servius Auctus normally go back to the D commentary (that is, to the fourth century commentary which the Compiler combined with Servius to form Servius Auctus), minor changes lacking substantive additions are normally attributable to the Compiler, and relative to antiquity are essentially errors. The reader often does not know as he starts to read from left to right whether he is reading Servius or Servius Auctus. Normally the text that starts on the left side of the page is Servius. If the text stops before it gets to the right margin, he discovers that he has been reading Servius Auctus in three out of four circumstances: namely, if he finds a line in the middle of the page, separating the text from comment of Servius in the right margin; or if the text stops three-fourths of the way across the page, and continues without break onto the next line in the left margin; or if the text stops before it reaches three-fourths of the way across the page, but he looks on to a point three-fourths of the way across the page and discovers there a vertical line. But if the text stops before it reaches three-fourths of the way across the page, and there is no vertical line positioned three-fourths of the way across the page, the text contains Servius after all. A text so constructed makes uncommon demands on the attention of the reader. Those demands would have been greatly reduced if Servius had

been placed on the left, and Servius Auctus (the later commentary) had been placed on the right. Then, whenever text started at the left margin it would be Servius; whenever it started at an indentation of either one-fourth or one-half the page, it would be represented as Servius Auctus, and not Servius.

It would be a double plague on the reader to reverse this early decision in a later volume of the series. Instead, in vol. 5, I have sought to warn the reader immediately by a minimum stratagem whether he was reading Servius or Servius Auctus: namely, whenever the text starting at the left is not Servius but Servius Auctus, I precede the text with a vertical line. To illustrate the procedure with a return to the comment on *Aen.* 12.120, I print the following (**B** on the handout):

limus autem est vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes
 | popae tegebantur. | teguntur pudenda poparum.

The line before *popae* warns the reader that the text which he next reads belongs only to Servius Auctus. The text of Servius starts, as Rand prescribed, in the right half of the page. The differences in the text represent not D and Servius, but Servius Auctus (a medieval commentary) and Servius. *Popae* of Servius Auctus is my emendation of the transmitted reading of F (*prope*) which is merely a scribal slip. Although in many instances it is difficult to tell whether an error in codex F should be attributed rather to the scribal tradition of Servius inherited by the Compiler, or to the Compiler himself, in either of which instances the editor would usually¹ have to print the error as the text of Servius Auctus, in this example it is easy to tell that the slip *prope* belongs to the later scribal tradition of Servius Auctus: *pudenda poparum* would not be corrupted directly to *prope*, but through *popae*, and this shortening of the text of Servius would have been made by the monk who has the characteristic of making such manipulations, namely the person whom I call the Compiler.

Most recently, G. Ramires has published texts of the comments on *Aen.* 7 and 9. Although in his more recent edition, of 7, he has a device (too often mechanically used)² for printing double readings, both of

¹ The main exception is when the editor prints an emendation of an error in Servius found in all the MSS. Then, though it is obvious that Servius Auctus would have shared the error, it would be a plague to split the page, as if the error represented the Compiler's choice, or (horrors!) an ancient D comment.

² Although his device of using half brackets to indicate words in Servius omitted by Servius Auctus, and superscribed words over half bracketed words to indicate double readings of Servius and Servius Auctus, is a formal advance over the format of Thilo and over his own format in editing the comment on *Aen.* 9, the risk is that it is so convenient that it may be overused. So he prints for Servius Auctus or Servius minor scribal slips or deliberate scribal changes that are

his editions, which print the additional comments of Servius Auctus in boldface, have many of the same problems as Thilo's edition, plus some oddities of their own (e.g., a sentence starting with *autem* on 9.146.3). For a comparison, Handout C presents his and my text of the comment on *Aen.* 9.1, where I am the first modern editor to recognize by punctuation that the particle to which Servius referred in lines 4-5 was *atque*, not the whole of 9.1.³ But Ramires' main deficiency arises from misinterpretation of the evidence of some codices, especially some interpolated MSS to which Ramires assigns primacy by giving them the collective siglum α . The result is that time and again Ramires prints as comments of Servius a text that is only attested for Servius Auctus, and the distinction between the two commentaries, which it was the aim of the Harvard Edition to make clear, is further blurred.

His misinterpretation of the value of α illustrates the danger of trying to edit a single book of Servius without familiarity with the MSS for the whole of Servius. In book 9, with which Ramires started, one of the traditions of Servius, Δ , is not extant until 9.272 *honore* (where codex J resumes). Errors and omissions of the other tradition, Γ , therefore have to be supplied by recourse to the tradition of Servius Auctus. In the first two instances in which α , along with Pa, adopted interpolations from Servius Auctus, at 9.54 and 9.88, they are correct to do so (Γ had omissions caused by homoeoteleuton). This created a false impression of the value of α . As I noted in my *Prolegomena* (97f), J. J. Savage, in the 1930s, had

unlikely to go back to the Compiler or Servius (as 7.711 *delebit in Hannibal delebit populi Romani exercitum*, where, if the Compiler wrote a *b*, he understood it as a *u*; and the frequent use of *et reliqua* in lemmas and quotations, a use peculiar to codex F among DS codices, and used by the same scribe also in copying the *Scholia Bernensia* on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*). Whatever device is used, proper editing should first attempt to determine the readings chosen by Servius and by the Compiler, and relegate to the apparatus later scribal slips. Although this may not always be possible, to illustrate from my handout, the proper variant in B for *teguntur pudenda poparum* is not *prope tegebantur* but *popae tegebantur*. In Ramires' printed text for D.f, the indication that DS omits *aliquando* is misleading (where Thilo prints, probably correctly, Γ 's *ne aliquando hostis agnosceret*, F Δ had, in what Thilo recognized as a conflation of this reading with Servius on *Aen.* 8.664, *ne posset auferri aut ab hoste cognosci*, which Ramires adopted with the insertion of a half-bracketed *aliquando* after *ne*, a further conflation; in the format of the Harvard Edition, *ne posset auferri aut ab hoste cognosci* would be printed for Servius Auctus, and *ne aliquando hostis agnosceret* for Servius); the exclusion of *et* from the quotation of Horace is debatable; while the claim that Servius Auctus presented *Venientorum* where Servius gave *Veientorum* is clearly wrong; not only is there no version of Servius (this is a D comment interpolated into Pa α), but F's *Venientorum* should be dismissed as a scribal attempt to create something that looked like a Latin word out of the unrecognized proper name. Thilo here prints his own conjecture *Veientanorum*, while attributing *Veiorum* to Masvicius; both recognized that emendation must start with the *difficilior lectio*, *Veientorum*.

³ Cf. Gell. 10.29.

pointed out that “omissions due to homoeoteleuton are regularly supplied in Pa, usually from **DS**.⁴” In some instances we can show that the editor responsible for the supplement was mistaken in believing the apparently omitted text to be genuine Servius. That α , like Pa, belongs basically to the τ family can easily be shown by noting that its basic text, including neutral idiosyncracies, such as the manner of abbreviating lemmas and quotations, follows the vagaries of the τ family, which sometimes takes its basic text from Γ and sometimes from Δ , as explained in my Prolegomena 84-89.

In some instances we have enough internal evidence to make clear that supplements in $F\alpha$ are not Servius, but Servius Auctus. For instance in 9.616.3 (**D.a**), R prints as if Servius an addition to Servius’ comment found in α , *sane “habent” bis subaudiendum* (F has the same, but with the simplex *audiendum*, found also in DS at 8.397, *et ‘tum quoque’ bis audiendum*). This means: “the word *habent* should be understood twice.” Now the gerundive *subaudiendum* or *audiendum*, in the meaning “understand”, occurs 30 times in the corpus, all thirty exclusively in DS. What does Servius use with this meaning? Usually “subaudis,” 74 times, but that form is used only three times (at *Aen.* 2.79.2, 4.293, 8.35.1) in a non-Servian comment by DS. This is a clear distinction in usage between Servius and DS, obscured by Ramires through his mistaken belief in the relationship of α .⁵ Some other places where internal evidence makes it clear that

⁴ I use boldface **DS** when I am referring to the scribal tradition of DS (rather than the text judged to have been used by the seventh-century Compiler). So, on *Aen.* 12.120, *prope* is the **DS** reading, but *popae* the DS text.

⁵ In his dissertation on the text of *Aen.* 9, he originally took α as a representative of Δ . When I argued to him against that, he switched in his published edition to taking α as a completely independent line of transmission (p. XXIII). When he came to edit the text on *Aen.* 7, he found so many conflated readings that he recognized α as contaminated, but preferred to refer to the common source as a *recensio*. Of this “*recensio*” he asked the wrong question (p. XLII): “Si tratta di un gruppo di codici τ contaminati con F? Possible ma improbabile.” Since many of the interpolated readings are also found in codex Pa, which was written around 825, they must be independent of F, which was written close to 850. The latest common source of α is a τ MS, written probably in Tours in the first quarter of the ninth century, possessing marginal and interlinear corrections and interpolations derived from the same independent source of DS readings as were available in Tours to codex Pa and to the common source of codices Tv. The interpolations in α are valuable witnesses to the text of Servius Auctus: so, as indicated above in note 2, the reading of Pa α *Veientorum* is more authoritative than the *facilior lectio* in F. Ramires deserves credit for calling attention to these interpolated readings in α , which possesses many that do not survive in Pa and PbYMWNU, all of which participate to some degree in this line of interpolation. But a correct evaluation of α must start with recognition that the basic text of the group belongs to the τ family. Ramires has it wrong when he says that Pa (which may antedate α) is contaminated from α . Rather Pa α descend from the same τ MS that possessed marginal and interlinear contamination from Servius Auctus and other sources (from Γ when τ ’s basic source was Δ , and from Δ when its basic source was Γ).

these interpolations in α are from DS are given in the handouts (D.b-f). Since Ramires prints in spread type most of the extra comment which he prints on the authority of F α alone, or, once, on the authority of α alone, the damage done by this misunderstanding is often remediable, but more serious damage is caused by his choice of variants when α sides with F in variants in the text of Servius. For instance, as presented in E.a, Isidore in the early seventh century excerpted a version of Servius on 9.705 that supports the non-DS version, not only omitting many accretions from the D commentary, and having text that DS omits, but basically following the version of the Servius comment transmitted by Γ . The lack of correspondence of Isidore with the accretions of DS was one of Thilo's arguments that the longer version was not genuine Servius (1 praef. xxxix for this passage). But Pa and α , which are interpolated MSS of the τ family, have forsaken the inherited τ version of Servius for one sentence which probably reached τ in a corrupted and unintelligible state (Q, the purest witness to τ , shows the Δ error *rotunditate*, though τ 's basic text for all of book 9 is Γ ; this may mean that a line was omitted in τ 's ancestor and supplied by Q from Δ , by Pa α from DS). Ramires (E.b) has incorrectly imposed the FPa α version on Servius, as he does with many or most agreements of F α . We see the motivation of the interpolator. Not only α but the many other medieval MSS of Servius that contain interpolations from Servius Auctus, starting with the earliest extant on *Aen.* 9, Pa, resorted to Servius Auctus not to supplement Servius (although they have occasionally done so), but to correct obvious errors or apparent omissions in their inherited text. Consequently most of the DS versions found in α occur in passages where τ inherited an apparently corrupted text. For a fuller explanation of the procedure, see my Prolegomena 97-105.

Another example is in Handout F: in 9.631, where Δ transmits *simul atque cognovit augurium*, and F has incorrectly *simul ut cognovit augurium*, Γ , including τ , has *simul atque augurium*, lacking the apparently needed verb. But Γ is probably correct: understand (after *augurium*) *sonat* or *sonuit* from Vergil's *sonat*; Servius says that by *una* Vergil means that the crash of Jupiter's thunder and the twang of Ascanius' bow were simultaneous. What is certain is that DS's *simul ut* is wrong: Servius never uses *simul ut* for *simul atque* or *simul ac*. The α MSS present a conflation of a DS interpolation and the τ text, *simul ut cognovit augurium simulatque augurium*, a conflation that Ramires adopted in his dissertation. I pointed out to him in 1994 that the α reading was a conflation of DS and Γ , but he then adopted the DS version into his published text because he was unwilling to recognize DS as the source of α 's peculiar readings.

Ramires believes that an interpolator would not have settled for so little. But, to ignore the problems of space that extensive interpolation would entail, if it were the aim of the interpolator to turn Servius into Servius Auctus, we would be calling his MS a MS of Servius Auctus, not Servius. One only has to **look** at medieval MSS to witness selective interpolation.

There are some other misanalyses of the MSS, though with less serious consequences. Ramires reports all the readings of codex G, and supposes that it may be independent of F, although in 1994 I pointed out to him that he should have noticed (what I display in handout **G**) the indisputable proof that codex G is copied from F in the peculiar conflation of comments of Servius Auctus and Tiberius Claudius Donatus (the latter added to F by a later hand who adds non-lemmatized comment referred to the text of Vergil by a *signe de renvoi*, in this case by a theta before his comment and over 9.747 *hoc* in Vergil). Codex G has copied F's DS comment on 9.748, *Is teli par*, embedded in the comment of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on 9.747 [**G.c**, p. 280.12 *Georgii verba sunt Turni . . . (17) regitur*] which surround it in F. Not only has G conflated a comment by a later hand (which could not have been in F's source), but has misinterpreted as an uncial A the squiggle which the later hand made to separate the two comments, thereby turning (280.14 *Georgii*) *versat* into *Aversat*. The trivial improvements which G occasionally makes in F's text simply illustrate the capacities of ninth-century scribes in making minor emendations. The same applies to Ramires' use of codex S, which I had shown in my Prolegomena to be a copy of codex A. S survives beside A in Ramires' apparatus for the same reason that it survives in Thilo's: for both, the collations of their texts is so inaccurate that their reports of S are indeed independent of the reports of A. But Thilo had the excuse that he knew S only through the collations of Hagen. Although in 1994 I pointed out to Ramires many of his errors of collation of A and S in his dissertation, many are still repeated in his printed edition, as is the erroneous assessment of S's relationship.

His efforts are not without merit. He cites readings of a large number of later MSS, many of which I had indicated in my Prolegomena (156-158) to be worth inspecting, chiefly for **DS** readings. Although there are lapses of editorial judgment - note for example his acceptance of small r's *tam malum* for *malum* in 9.184.7 (handout **H**), which would imply, despite the first half of Servius' sentence, that everyone agrees that the gods tolerate some degree of evil; and his change of *propter quod* (antecedent *genus*) to *propterea quod* in 141.2, noted in Handout **D.b** - he was correct to call attention to α 's extra readings, which provide testimony to the text of Servius Auctus, and which, correctly evaluated, derive from an early ninth-century MS of the Tours family of Servius which had occasional marginal and interlinear additions and corrections from a MS of Servius Auctus, as well as conjectural emendations. The closest descendant of this Tours MS is codex Pa, written around 825 in Tours. But since the interpolations were often written in the margins, its various descendants were free to accept or ignore them. And for later codices, such as the α MSS, there was opportunity for further accretions, either in the original exemplar shared by Pa α or in successive copies. The result is that Pa and the several α MSS, as well as the contaminated codices PbY of the γ family, and all the MSS of the σ family, each independently can transmit more or less **DS** text than

the other descendants. But since our main witness to Servius Auctus, codex F, was written around 850, while Pa, the earliest descendant of this lost, interpolated Tours MS was written around 825, it is obvious that this strain of contamination is valuable as an independent witness, not as Ramires thought, to the text of Servius, but as I established in my 1975 Prolegomena (97-105), to the text of Servius Auctus.

So Ramires' editions do not suffice. What is needed is an edition that disentangles the various medieval accretions to restore, so far as the evidence allows, both the version composed in the early fifth century by Servius and the version compiled probably in the seventh century by the Compiler. Both Servius and the D commentary are not only important evidence for ancient interpretation of Vergil, but main source materials for the texts of quoted ancient authors, many now lost, and for many aspects of ancient culture, including language, grammar, myth, history, pagan religion, and Roman law. Servius and Servius Auctus deserve texts which are not only accurate but allow the correct attribution for the source of their evidence.

DEFINITIONS

Servius – commentary on Vergil composed ca. 409 A.D. by Servius, the main grammaticus teaching in Rome. It is the largest extant, ancient commentary on a pagan author.

Servius Auctus = Servius Danielis = DS = DServius = Expanded Servius – medieval commentary put together perhaps in seventh-century England by fusing together in a characteristic way Servius and a fourth-century commentary, referred to as D to avoid prejudgment on whether that commentary was the otherwise lost commentary of Aelius Donatus.

D commentary - the fourth-century commentary fused onto Servius in DS.

D comment – non-Servius ancient comment in DS.

The Compiler – my term for the author of DS. Although Servius and D may have already existed side by side in the margins of a MS of Vergil, the Compiler fused them together with connectives, such as *autem*, *vero*, *sane*, *ergo*, and *vel*, filled in apparent ellipses in both Servius and D (sometimes incorrectly), changed some types of personal verbs to impersonals, moved many verbs to the ends of sentences (matching Anglo-Saxon style), and made other changes to render the comments more comprehensible. Particularly in the beginning of books, where the quantity of comment is plentiful, the Compiler also abbreviated or deleted Servius, evidently to have room to add D comment without overflowing the margins of a MS of Vergil.

Prolegomena – C. E. Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius 5 - The Manuscripts* (*University of California Publications: Classical Studies*, vol. 11, Berkeley 1975)

F – main MS of Servius Auctus for Aen. 3-12; dated to the mid-ninth century, it contains DS in both outer and inner margins of a text of Vergil (a in Mynors' apparatus).

G – a partial copy of F, copying into the outer margin of a text of Vergil (e in Mynors' apparatus) only what was in the left margin of F, and ignoring what is in F's right margin.

Δ - one of two main traditions of (non-expanded) Servius. Ten quires of its lost hyparchetype (δ) never survived into the ninth century, and there Δ leaves no descendants. Its pure descendants, L and J, have suffered further losses.

L – Leidensis B.P. L. 52, written ca. 800 in Corbie, our earliest extant codex of Servius, and an immediate copy of the codex (δ) through which Δ survives.

J - Metensis 292, ninth-century pure (but not immediate) descendant of δ.

Γ – the other main tradition of (non-expanded) Servius. Inherited basically by families γ and σ, sometimes inherited basically by family τ (though all three families are contaminated), and always inherited by families θ and τ when Δ does not survive because δ was missing a quire.

θ – family represented by codices A (ninth-century) and O (eleventh century). Codex S is a copy of A, valuable only where A does not survive. This family basically descends from Δ where Δ survives, but with extensive contamination from Γ; where Δ does not survive, θ's basic text is Γ.

τ – Tours family, represented by many codices, including Q and Pa (both of the first half of the ninth century), and the later MSS which Ramires calls collectively α. The basic text of this family is Γ where Δ does not survive, sometimes Δ and sometimes Γ when Δ does survive. When τ's basic text is Δ, Q, the least adulterated representative of the family, writes lemmas in majuscule script; when τ's basic text is Γ (as it is for all of *Aen.* 9), Q writes lemmas in minuscule script, with an initial capital. Pa and the α MSS descend from a (now lost) τ MS which had interlinear and marginal corrections and interpolations derived from an early (now lost) MS of Servius Auctus.

γ – family represented by EPbY. PbY have in text or margin many DS readings derived from the common source of Paα.

σ – family represented by WNU. They all, especially W, have many DS readings derived from the common source of Paα.

α – Ramires' symbol for the collective testimony of codices Pc (saec. XI), Le (saec. IX/X), and the bifolium r (saec. XI).

Basic text – the text transmitted by direct (not necessarily immediate) descent through the body of exemplars. Almost all extant ninth century codices of Servius (except J) have marginal and interlinear corrections representing contamination from a divergent source. When such a MS is copied, the new exemplar will be to some degree contaminated, but certain types of things are rarely copied from the corrector rather than from the body of the text: they include format (Δ put the lemmas all in majuscules, Γ did not), Greek (the scribes usually did not know Greek, and so these scribes generally stayed with the Greek of the base text, even copying letter forms), and neutral material, such as the manner of abbreviating lemmas and quotations. Therefore the first rule in determining basic text is **LOOK AT THE MSS**.

TEXTS

A. Thilo's text of Servius on *Aen.* 12.120

limus autem est vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes *prope* teguntur pudenda poparum.

B. My text of DS and Servius on *Aen.* 12.120

limus autem est vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes

| popae tegebantur.

| teguntur pudenda poparum.

C.

a. Ramires' text for *Aen.* 9.1

I. ATQVE EA DIVERSA PENITVS DVM P. G. in hoc libro mutatio est rerum omnium: nam et personae et loca alia sunt et aliud negotium incipitur. ab Aenea enim transit ad Turnum, a Tuscia ad Ardeam, a petitione auxiliorum ad bellum; quem transitum quidam culpant, nescientes Vergilium prudenter iunxisse superioribus negotiis sequentia per illam particulam *atque ea d. p. d. parte geruntur.* 5 scilicet dum offeruntur arma, dum dantur auxilia. "**dum**" enim cum sit coniunctio, hic tamen adverbii vim obtinet: Terentius *mea nihil refert, dum potiar modo.* sane formatus est iste liber ad illud Homeri, ubi dicit per noctem egressos esse Diomedem et Ulixen, cum capto Dolone castra penetrarunt: nam partem maximam et oeconomiae et negotiorum exinde habet. DIVERSA PENITVS ualde 10 diversa, id est longius remota, uel apud Pallanteum uel in Etruria: unde paulo post dicit *nec satis extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes Lydorumque manum.*

b. My text for *Aen.* 9.1

I. ATQVE EA DIVERSA PENITVS DVM P<ARTE> G<ERVNTVR> in hoc libro mutatio est rerum omnium: nam et personae et loca alia sunt et aliud negotium incipitur; ab Aenea enim transit ad Turnum, a Tuscia ad Ardeam, a petitione auxiliorum ad bellum. quem transitum quidam culpant, nescientes Vergilium prudenter iunxisse superioribus negotiis sequentia per illam particulam, *atque.* EA D<IVERSA> PENITVS DVM PARTE GERVNTVR scilicet dum offeruntur arma, dum dantur auxilia.

| *dum* enim, cum sit coniunctio, hic tamen adverbii vim obtinet: Terentius (Eu. 320) *mea nihil refert, dum potiar modo.* |

sane formatus est iste liber ad illud Homeri (Il. X) ubi dicit per noctem egressos esse Diomedem et Ulixem cum capto Dolone castra penetrarunt: nam partem maximam et oeconomiae et negotiorum exinde habet.

DIVERSA PENITVS valde diversa, id est longius remota,

| vel apud Pallanteum vel in Etruria; |

unde paulo post (10) dicit *nec satis, extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes Lydorumque manum.*

D. Clear interpolations from DS printed as Servius in Ramires' edition (in spread type)

a. On Aen. 9.616.3

616. ET TVNICAE MANICAS tunicae uestrae habent manicas quod etiam Cicero uituperat, dicens *manicatis et talaribus tunicis*: nam colobiis utebantur antiqui. sane "habent" bis subaudiendum. ET HABENT REDIMICVLA

Subaudiendum or *audiendum* in meaning "understand" never used by Servius; used 30 times by DS. Servius uses *subaudis* 74 times.

b. On Aen. 9.141.2

141. PENITVS MODO NON GENVS OMNE PEROSOS F. modo omne genus femineum non eos penitus perosos decebat, propterea quod antea perierunt. locutus est autem figurate:

Servius' *modo ... decebat* paraphrases and rearranges Vergil's Aen. 9.141 *penitus modo non genus omne perosos / femineum*. To this F α add *propter quod ante (antea α) perierunt*, which is not part of the paraphrase, but an explanatory filler, probably composed by the Compiler. R. prints it, erroneously changing *propter quod* (antecedent *genus*) to *propterea quod*; the Compiler does not mean that the Trojans should hate women "because they died before," but because a woman was the cause of their destruction (*propter quod genus*).

c. On Aen 9.155.2

155. QVOS DISTVLIT HECTOR bene solius Hectoris facta est commemoratio, ut ostendatur perisse eum, qui potuit esse terrori; et satis Hectori dedit, quasi plus esset differre, quam uincere: per quod uult Aenean nihil fortiter in bello fecisse Troiano.

Et satis ... vincere interrupts the connection between Servius' two sentences. Servius says that Turnus' apparent praise of Hector ("who **really could be** a source of terror" – *qui potuit esse terrori*, with emphatic *potuit*) is meant as belittlement of Aeneas (*per quod uult Aenean nihil fortiter in bello fecisse Troiano*). D, however, seems to have taken Turnus' words as genuine praise of Hector.

d. On Aen 9.300.8

300. PER QVOD PATER ANTE SOLEBAT alii uolunt ideo *ante*, quia absens est Aeneas; sed iurare possumus etiam per absentis filii caput. alii ad causam religionis trahunt, quae praecepit, ut filii imitentur in omnibus rebus suos parentes; ut nunc quasi imitatio sit iuris iurandi, ut dicat Ascanius "iuro per caput meum", sicut praesens pater per suum caput iurare consueuerat quotiens fidem suam confirmare cupiebat. alii uolunt ideo dictum *ante*, quia pontificibus per liberos iurare non licebat, sed per deos tantummodo, ut sit *ante* antequam pontifex esset Aeneas. ergo *ante* aut temporis est aut ordinis.

The D addition, despite the *ergo*, is, relative to Servius' comment, a non-sequitur.

e. On *Aen* 7.1.7

LITORIBVS NOSTRIS hoc est Italicis, ut non eadem arboribus
 pendet uindemia nostris, non, ut Donatus ait, in comparationem Oceani
 i nauigabilibus. AENEIA NVTRIX hanc alii Aeneae, alii Creusae, alii Ascanii

The Compiler has tried to rescue an apparently incomprehensible explanation which Servius attributes to Donatus, that in 7.1, "You too, nurse of Aeneas, Caieta, by dying have given eternal fame to our shores," the *nostris* of *litoribus nostris* means "navigable." But the insertion "in comparison to the Ocean," does not work, since, unlike rivers and even the Ocean, shores cannot be literally navigated, especially when, as Donatus says in his comment on Ter. *Eum.* 320, *litoribus* stands for *terra*. The motive of mitigating a claimed mistake of Donatus cannot be Servius', who is only too happy to denigrate Donatus. Γ omitted *non ut ...nauigabilibus*, as did the latest shared exemplar of Paα, so α supplied the words from DS, while the margin of Pa supplied it from Δ, which correctly omits *in comparationem Oceani*.

f. On *Aen* 7.188.7-10

188. SVCCINCTVS TRABEA toga est augurum de cocco et purpura. ANCILE
 GEREBAT scutum breue, regnante Numa e caelo huius modi scutum lapsum est, et
 data responsa sunt, illic fore summam imperii, ubi illud esset, quod ne
 'aliquando' posset auferri aut ab hoste cognosci, per Mamurium fabrum multa
 5 **Romani** similia fecerunt: cui et diem consecrarunt, quo pellem uirgis ferunt ad
 artis similitudinem. dicimus autem "hoc ancile" et "haec ancilia", "anciliorum"
 uero usurpauit Horatius dicens *anciliorum* et *nominis et togae oblitus, septem*
fuerunt paria, quae imperium Romanum tenent: acus Ma-
tris deum, quadriga fictilis, Venientorum, cineres Ore-
 stis, sceptrum Priami, uelum Ilionae, palladium, ancilia. 10

D's discussion of the seven guarantees [*pignora* Preller, not *paria*] of Rome's imperium intrudes in line 7 after Servius had switched from discussing the history of the *ancilia* to the form of the word, as belonging to the third declension.

E.

a. Isid. *Orig.* 18.8, excerpted from Servius in early seventh century.

8 Vnde et eos Hispani et Galli tautanos vocant. Falarica est ^{Isid. d.}
 telum ingens torno factum, habens ferrum cubitale et rotundi- ^{ix 702}
 tatem de plumbo in modum sphaerae. In ipsa summitate
 dicitur etiam et ignem habere adfixum. Hoc autem telo
 pugnatur de turribus, quas dici manifestum est. Iuuenalis
 (6, 589):

Consulis ante falas delphinorumque columnas.

A falis igitur dicta est falarica, sicut a muro muralis. Sane
 falaricam Lucanus dicit nervis mitti tortilibus et quadam
 machina (6, 198):

Vt nunc (tortilibus) vibrata falarica nervis.

Vergilius vero ait Turnum manu falaricae iaculasse (*Aen.*
 9 9, 705). Pila sunt arma iaculorum atque telorum a torquendo,

b. Ramires' text of Servius on *Aen.* 9.705

705. FALARICA VENIT de hoc telo legitur quia est ingens, torno factum, habens

ferrum cubitale, supra quod est ueluti quaedam sphaera cuius pondus etiam plumbo augetur. dicitur etiam ignem habere adfixum, **stuppa circumdatum et pice oblitum, incensumque aut uulnere hostem aut igne consumit.** hoc autem telo pugnatur de turribus, quas falas dici manifestum est: **unde et in circo falae dicuntur diuisiones inter euripum et metas, quod ibi constructis ad tempus turribus, his telis pugna edi solebat;** Iuuenalis *consulit ante falas delphinorumque columnas.* ergo a falis dicta est falarica, sicut a muro muralis. sane falaricam Lucanus dixit neruis mitti tortilibus et quadam machina, ut *hunc aut tortilibus uibrata falarica neruis obruat* Vergilius uero ait Turnum manu iaculari potuisse: unde apparet aut a Lucano ad auxesin illius qui occidendus fuerat esse dictum, aut a Vergilio ad laudem Turni, qui talem hastam manu iaculatus est.

c. My text of Servius on *Aen.* 9.705

705. FALARICA VENIT de hoc telo legitur quia est ingens, torno factum, habens ferrum cubitale

supra quod ueluti quaedam sphaera, cuius pondus etiam plumbo augetur. dicitur enim ignem habere adfixum, stuppa circumdatum et pice oblitum, incensumque aut uulnere hostem aut igne consumit.

et rotunditatem de plumbo in modum sphaerae. in ipsa summitate dicitur etiam ignem habere adfixum.

hoc autem telo pugnatur de turribus, quas falas dici manifestum est:

unde et in circo falae dicuntur divisiones inter euripum et metas, quod ibi constructis ad tempus turribus, his telis pugna edi solebat:

Iuuenalis (VI 590) *consulit ante falas delphinorumque columnas.*

hinc falarica hasta dicitur sicut alia muralis.

ergo a falis dicta est falarica, sicut a muro muralis. sane falaricam Lucanus dicit neruis mitti tortilibus et quadam machina, ut (VI 198) *hunc aut tortilibus uibrata falarica neruis obruat.* Vergilius uero ait Turnum manu iaculari potuisse: unde apparet aut a Lucano ad auxesin illius qui occidendus fuerat esse dictum, aut a Vergilio ad laudem Turni, qui talem hastam manu iaculatus est.

F. Ramires' text on *Aen.* 9.631

sed quod dextra caeli nobis sinistra sunt. SONAT VNA FATIFER ARCUS simul ut cognovit augurium.

Δ has ~~simul~~ simul atque cognovit augurium.

F has simul ut cognovit augurium.

Γ has simul atque augurium.

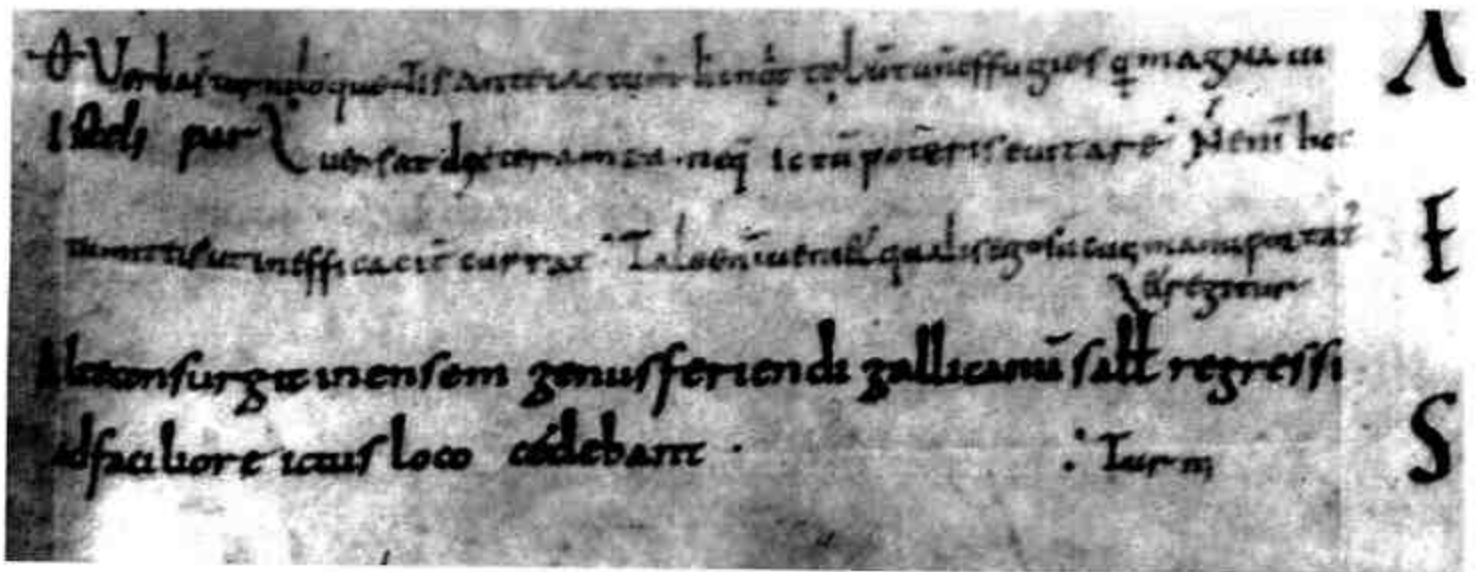
α has simul ut cognovit augurium simulatque augurium.

G.

a. Tiberius Claudius Donatus on *Aen.* 9.747 (text by Georgii 280.11-17)

at non hoc telum mea quod vi dextera versat effugies; neque enim is teli nec vulneris auctor: verba sunt Turni loquentis ante iactum. hoc, inquit, telum tu non effugies quod magna vi versat dextera mea neque eius ictum poteris evitare, non enim hoc tu mittis, ut ineffaciter 15 currat; tale enim veniet qualis ego sum cuius manu portatur et regitur. sic ait et sublatus alle consurgit in

b. F at *Aen.* 9.747-8. *Is teli par* is DS, in the hand of F; the Tiberius Claudius Donatus, marked by θ, is in a somewhat later hand.



c. G at Aen. 9.747-8, all in original hand.

neris aucto
iense
ora fronte
vere malaf
verba
inquit et elu
manu porrat

H. Ramires' text for 9.184. *tam* before *malum* in line 7 is only in codex r.

184. DINE HVNC ARDOREM MENTIBVS ADDVNT EVRYALE AN S. C. D. F. D. C. apud Plotinum philosophum et alios quaeritur, utrum mentis nostrae acies per se ad cupiditates et consilia moueatur, an impulsu alicuius numinis? et primo dixerunt, mentes humanas moueri sua sponte;prehenderunt tamen ad omnia honesta
5. inPELLI nos genio et numine quodam familiari, quod nobis nascentibus datur, praua uero nostra mente nos cupere et desiderare; nec enim potest fieri ut praua numinum uoluntate cupiamus, quibus nihil tam malum constat placere. unde nunc hic ortus est sensus: hoc enim dicit Nisus: o Euryale, dine nostris mentibus cupiditates iniciunt et desideria, an deus fit ipsa mentis cupiditas? MENTIBVS
10. uero ADDVNT bene dixit addunt: nam animus sui natura prudens est, sed ei additur ut aliquid impatienter desideret. non nulli tamen inter cupiditatem et cupidinem hanc differentiam esse uolunt, ut masculino genere Cupidinem deum incum id est τὸν Ἐσώτα significemus. feminino cupiditatem: qua-

sed gloria apud athenienses servata quod falsam est. nisi fuerit
historiae requas. primo proelio in campis latinis est in urce
postquam in urce ab athenis postea in urce in abascanio.

Adversus apud athenas. In athenis tunc hinc est vel ut visus fuerit quod magna in
id est per se ab athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis.

In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis.

In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis.

In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis. In athenis in athenis.

In athenis in athenis.

D
A
F
S
D
F

p' oia in omnia euerit cardine i' o'que
 Obmixus laus amens multosq; suoni
 in aemulo, exclusas duros i' certamine linq't;
 A se alios secula eludit; recipitq; ruentis.
 Dement qu'ur uuln' in media agmine regi
 Uiderit inru' pente, utroq; i'clusit turbi.
 Inimicane ueluti pecora i' inertia tigrim;
 Continuo noua lux oculis effulsit & arma
 horrendu' sonuere, tremunt inuertace crisse;
 Sanguines, clipeoq; micantia fulminamittit.
 Agnoscunt facie ius, atq; inimica mebra
 Turbati subito, ueniente, tu' pandar' i'gens
 Emicat, & moris fratre feruidus ira
 Effat; n' haec dotalis regia amate.
 Nec muris cohibet pater, i' media ardea
 Castera inimica uidet, nulla hinc exire po
 Olli subridens sed ato pectore t' nus
 Incipe si qua animo uirtus, & cetera de xra;
 hic d'ia inuentu' p'amo narrat achille;
 Dixit, ille ruder' nodis & cortice crudo
 Intorquet sumis admixus uirib; h'asta;
 Excipere aure uuln'; sacra i' uno
 Detor sit ueniens porceq; infigit h'asta;
 At n' hoc telum ea qd' ui de xra uersa
 Effugies, neq; em' i' sceli nec uulneris ductor;
 Sic ait, & sublata' alto e' surgit i' ense
 Et media ferro gemina i' te'pora fronte
 Diuidit, in pube sq; inmani uulnere malas;
 fit son' i' genti e' cussa; pondere tellus;
 Conlapsos artus atq; cruenta cerebro

Obmixus amens multosq; suoni

At alios secula eludit; recipitq; ruentis
 Dement qu'ur uuln' in media agmine regi
 Uiderit inru' pente, utroq; i'clusit turbi.

Dement qu'ur uuln' in media agmine regi

Dotalis regina amate
 Nec muris cohibet pater, i' media ardea
 Castera inimica uidet, nulla hinc exire po

Olli subridens sed ato pectore t' nus

Ruder' nob' n' leue' nec pulera' sed d'ia

Uuln' sacra i' uno uuln' ueniens i' uno
 Excipere aure uuln'; sacra i' uno
 Detor sit ueniens porceq; infigit h'asta;

Sic ait, & sublata' alto e' surgit i' ense
 Et media ferro gemina i' te'pora fronte

Diuidit, in pube sq; inmani uulnere malas;
 fit son' i' genti e' cussa; pondere tellus;
 Conlapsos artus atq; cruenta cerebro