

A New Manuscript of Tiberius Claudius Donatus at UNC-Chapel Hill

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## ABSTRACT

SARAH AMILE LANDIS: A New Manuscript of Tiberius Claudius Donatus at UNC-Chapel Hill  
(Under the direction of Robert G. Babcock)

This thesis presents Folio MS 539 in the Rare Book Collection at Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill, which contains the *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on books 6-12 of the *Aeneid*. The first chapter describes the manuscript itself from a paleographic perspective and argues for its originating in the region of Veneto in Italy circa 1465. The second chapter collates the text of the manuscript against other known manuscripts and the standard modern edition. The third chapter uses the conclusions of the first two to place the Wilson Library manuscript within the textual transmission of the *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e. The fourth chapter, finally, presents the unique text with which the manuscript opens, accompanied by a commentary, and discusses what this supplement reveals about the treatment of Donatus' work by the humanists who rediscovered it.

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## INTRODUCTION

There has never been a shortage of commentaries on the *Aeneid*. In their massive new work *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. Putnam devote two hundred pages (623-823) to a chapter entitled “Commentary Tradition.” There they discuss twenty-two individual authors,<sup>1</sup> various anonymous texts (e.g. the Scholia Bernensia and Old High German glosses) and a handful of topics and themes (e.g. “Platonizing Directions in Virgilian Allegory” and “Virgilian Obscenity”). There was no delay, either, between the appearance of Vergil’s works and the beginning of this immense scholarly tradition. According to Suetonius, Quintus Caecilius Epirota was already teaching Vergil in his school by probably the mid-20s B.C.E. (a date that precludes the *Aeneid* itself but allows for either or both of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*); Gaius Julius Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus, is also said to have written on Vergil’s works (*de Grammaticis* 16; Ziolkowski and Putnam 623; Geymonat 298, 301).

Three major commentaries were written between the mid-fourth and early fifth centuries C.E.: those of Maurus Servius Honoratus, Aelius Donatus, and Tiberius Claudius Donatus. Servius’ commentary is widely known and used, even though its complex textual transmission makes it a thorny text to edit or study. The *Aeneid*

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1 Quintus Caecilius Epirota, Gaius Iulius Hyginus, Quintus Asconius Pedianus, Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, Marcus Valerius Probus, Velius Longus, Aulus Gellius, Aemilius Asper, Servius, Macrobius, Iunius Philargyrius, Aelius Donatus, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Priscian, Fulgentius, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, “Master Anselm,” (Pseudo-)Bernardus Silvestris, Conrad of Hirsau, John of Garland, Nicholas Trevet, and Cristoforo Landino.

commentary of Aelius Donatus is, unfortunately, lost, although his *Vita Vergilii*, some grammatical treatises, and parts of his commentary on Terence survive.<sup>2</sup> The commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, called the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* or, more fully, *Tiberi Claudii Donati ad Tiberium Claudium Maximum Donatianum filium suum Interpretationes Vergilianae* (hereafter *Interpretationes*), survives complete except for eight significant lacunae.

Not surprisingly considering the overlap in name, (probable) date and subject matter, Aelius and Tiberius Claudius have been often conflated. The confusion dates back at least as far as the fifteenth century, very probably earlier (Sabbadini [1971] 150). The two Donati might be more easily distinguished if a clear biography could be outlined for either, but in both cases our information is limited; as Georgii puts it, *de vita Donati nihil fere constat* (Georgii VIII). What little we do know can be found at Georgii VIIIff., Starr (1991) 26-7, (1992) 159-60, and the relevant entries in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Kaster 495). The lifetime of T. C. Donatus is generally given as late fourth to early fifth centuries C.E., but his geographic origin is completely unknown.<sup>3</sup> The only thing he tells us of himself in his work is his reason for writing: to supplement existing commentaries and teachers' instruction in order to help his son better understand the *Aeneid* (TCD 1.1.5-8<sup>4</sup>).

As commentaries go, the *Interpretationes* are somewhat unusual. In many ways the work is less a commentary in the traditional sense than a paraphrase with explanations

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2 It is also possible that the material that differentiates DServius or Servius Danielis from the basic Servius originates in Aelius' lost commentary (Starr [1991] 26; see also D. Daintree, "The Virgil Commentary of Aelius Donatus—Black Hole or 'Éminence Grise'?" *Greece & Rome* n.s. 37 (1990): 65-79).

3 Although Starr ([1992] 167) proposes an argument for Donatus' never having been to Rome, let alone lived there.

4 I follow Raymond J. Starr's method of citing Donatus by volume, page and line of the 1905-6 Teubner edition edited by Georgii. Where applicable I will also give the lines of the *Aeneid* to which he refers.

(Starr [1992] 160, [1991] 26, Kaster 495). Its focus is on rhetoric, especially the rhetoric of praise, but the author studiously avoids all technical terms, rhetorical and otherwise (Starr [1992] 159, Comparetti 61-2). The text has been accused of being written “almost in a literary vacuum” (Donatus cites no author besides Vergil, Terence, Cicero and Sallust, “the four-author set favored in ancient schools”) and of being “cut adrift from history” (he seems to have misunderstood most of Vergil’s references to contemporary events) (Starr [1991] 26-7, [1992] 159, 165-8).

However, the feature most likely to draw a modern scholar’s attention is the above-mentioned emphasis on praise. This focus is made explicit early in the prologue: *Primum igitur et ante omnia sciendum est quod materiae genus Maro noster adgressus sit...Et certe laudativum est...* (1.2.7-10). From before the beginning of the commentary proper, Donatus is determined to read every line of the poem as unadulterated eulogizing of both Aeneas and Augustus, to the extent that his refusal to see any other possibility seems downright bizarre in a period so accustomed to the debate between “optimistic” and “pessimistic” readings of the poem (Starr [1992] 162-5). Some of the methods he devises to reach his predetermined destination can be charitably described as creative. Whatever their potential flaws, however, the *Interpretationes* are no less interesting. Although they may or may not be quite in tune with Vergil’s own intentions, they have their own value when taken for what they are, whether that is best labeled a commentary, a paraphrase, a reader’s guide, or “the record of a father’s love for his favorite poem, and for his son” (Starr [1991] 34).

The text of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* was among the classical works rediscovered by the early Italian humanists. Not all of them, however, were particularly



impressed with it. Poggio Bracciolini closed a letter to Battista Guarino on 14 February 1456 with the following:

*De Donato quod postulas, quaeram diligenter, et si quid reperero amplius quam quod te habere scribis, dabo operam ut transcribatur, quanquam non valde utilis eius lectio videtur, cum versetur in rebus minusculis, que parum in se contineant doctrinae, eloquentie minimum (389).*

Despite Poggio's reservations the complete text of Donatus was copied several times during the fifteenth century (see Chapter 3). It was first printed in Naples in 1535, but not again until the Teubner edition of 1905-6 (Georgii XXXVIII; Sabbadini [1971] 147; Comparetti 61). Interest in the work appears to have increased somewhat towards the end of the twentieth century, especially among Italians. Marisa Squillante Saccone published a short book entitled *Le Interpretationes Vergilianae di Tiberio Claudio Donato* in 1985 (127 pages; see bibliography). Raymond J. Starr's two articles (cited above) appeared in 1991 and 1992. Peter K. Marshall published a brief article on a recently rediscovered manuscript in the collection at Wellesley College in 1990 and a conspectus of all the 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts (then) known in 1993. In the same year he also published his edition of Donatus' commentary on *Aeneid* 6.1-157. This section is a lacuna in every known manuscript, but Marshall uncovered the missing text in a 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup>-century miscellany in the Vatican. His publication, presenting the text and demonstrating its authenticity, garnered six responses (Gärtner, Harrison, Jakobi, de Nonno and Watt, the last twice). Massimo Gioseffi has a chapter called "*Ut sit integra locutio: esegesi e grammatica in Tiberio Claudio Donato*" in the 2003 volume *Grammatica e Grammatici Latini: teoria ed esegesi* edited by Fabio Gasti (see bibliography). Luigi Pirovano came out with *Le Interpretationes Vergilianae di Tiberio Claudio Donato: Problemi di retorica*

in 2006 (252 pages; see bibliography). Most recently, Donatus received about five pages (644-649) of the 200-page chapter on the commentary tradition in Ziolkowski and Putnam's *The Virgilian Tradition*, mentioned above.<sup>5</sup> He is also used by some modern commentators. Nicholas Horsfall, for example, cites him periodically in each of his four volumes published thus far.

The increased interest in Donatus' work in the last two decades, the reemergence of the Wellesley manuscript, and Marshall's discovery of the text *ad Aen.* 6.1-157 contribute to the significance of the hitherto unknown manuscript of the *Interpretationes* on *Aeneid* 6-12 now in the Rare Book Collection in Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. So too does the rather limited textual transmission. Chapter 3 will address the topic more fully, but here let it suffice that the entire tradition depends on three Carolingian manuscripts, only one of which contains the second half of the text (*ad Aen.* 6-12), and that from these three descend fifteen 15<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, eight of which contain the second half. With such small numbers, each new copy of the text can significantly affect the way the textual transmission and the text itself are understood.

Of the eight substantial lacunae mentioned above, seven fall in the second half of the text. The manuscript in Wilson Library is especially noteworthy for its treatment of the first of these seven, on *Aen.* 6.1-157 (the same lacuna, incidentally, whose original content was rediscovered and published by Peter Marshall in 1993). Unlike any other known copy of Donatus, the Wilson manuscript contains text apparently intended to compensate for this lacuna. Although its sources are mostly identifiable, the text itself appears to be unique and until now unknown.

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5 Most of this section, however, constitutes extracts from the commentary itself, rather than discussion.

This thesis will present the Wilson manuscript and discuss its significance for our understanding of the *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e in four chapters. Chapter 1 will describe the manuscript from a paleographic perspective, detailing such features as scribal hands, quires, and binding. Chapter 2 will offer a collation of the text contained in the manuscript, making no claims for exhaustiveness but concentrating on the seven lacunae in this half of the work and on the (dis)order of the text on *Aeneid* 12. Chapter 3 will describe the transmission of the text based on extant manuscripts and will attempt to locate the Wilson manuscript in that transmission. Chapter 4, finally, will present the unique supplementary text at the beginning of *Aeneid* 6 in the form of a reading edition followed by a line-by-line commentary.

## CHAPTER 1

### PALEOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

The subject of this thesis is Folio MS 539 in the Wilson Library Rare Book Collection at UNC Chapel Hill, left to the collection on the death of Berthe Marti, professor emerita of the university. Its earlier history is unknown but a price (£8.10) written in pencil on the interior of the front cover may suggest that it once passed through a bookseller in the United Kingdom.

At first glance, the manuscript looks rather chaotic. There are sixteen scribes at work, writing a wide variety of hands and differing numbers of lines per page. Quires contain anywhere from four to fourteen pages, carry all types of signatures, and often end with a page or more of blank space. Such inconsistency may look confusing, but it actually reveals much. Most of the manuscript's unexpected features indicate that it was produced in a great hurry.

The codex consists of 228 paper leaves, each 333-335mm in height and 234-236mm in width (except the first two, which are narrower at 232mm). The leaves are the result of a single fold in paper approximately 472mm in original width and at least 335mm in original height. Original deckling on the fore-edge of some pages indicates that trimming has affected the paper's width very little. The only evidence for minimal

trimming in the vertical direction is the sprinkling of signatures<sup>6</sup> still visible in the lower corners of certain leaves. The 228 leaves together form a block approximately 49mm thick.

Western paper manufacturers in the fifteenth-century identified the products of their workshops with symbols impressed into the paper, called watermarks. Under ideal circumstances, a watermark indicates not only the location of the paper's production but also a probable date. Both aims, however, are impeded by the widespread popularity of certain basic symbols and by the varied impressions created by a single watermark mold over time as the result of wear. Two watermarks are represented in MS 539: a tulip and a tower. (For illustrations, see Appendix A.) Approximately half the pages of the codex carry one of these two images.

The tulip appears in two noticeably different forms. In one, a chain line runs straight through the center of the middle petal (of five), and the right-hand leaf (looking from the recto of the paper when the flower is upright) is pointed up and to the right. In the other tulip, the chain-line runs further to the right, between the third and fourth petals, and the right-hand leaf points more horizontally to the right. This variation is possibly the result of a manufacturer's having two molds intended to create identical impressions, but imperfectly made. Both tulips measure approximately 62mm in height. The one centered on the chain line is about 55mm horizontally from one leaf-tip to the other, and 48mm diagonally from the bottom of the stem to the tip of the leaf towards which the end

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6 "At the foot of the first page of each gathering will be found a letter or other mark, called the 'signature,' which is intended as a guide to the binder in placing the sheets in their correct order. On the second leaf will be found the same letter or mark with 'ij' or '2', the third leaf generally and the fourth occasionally being also similarly 'signed' with 3 and 4 in roman or arabic numerals" (McKerrow 25-6). The signatures in MS 539 are unusual in that they only ever give the Arabic numeral indicating the place of the page within the quire or gathering; no symbol indicates the place of the quire in the volume, as described by McKerrow. In addition, only two quires (VI and XIII) have signatures at all.

of the stem curves. The off-center tulip is slightly narrower, at 52mm wide, but diagonally from the end of the stem to the tip of the leaf towards which the stem is curved is 52-54mm. The distance from the chain line on which the flower sits to the chain line on either side is 30-31mm in each direction. Both tulips are similar to the watermarks given in Briquet's *Les Filigranes* as 6647 (Pisa, 1461) and 6648 (Pisa, 1466-7), but the match is not near enough to assign Briquet's dates or location to MS 539. Based on his introduction to the image-type (*Fleur en forme de tulipe*) it can at least be said that the paper is undoubtedly Italian (II, 376). Piccard's *Die Wasserzeichenkartei* offers only still less perfect matches.

The tower-shaped watermark is generally harder to discern. In particular the bottom portion, what appears to be the foundation, is often missing. The image in fact shows two towers, the taller on the right when seen from the recto of the paper with the image upright. The taller tower seems always to have a window centered and slightly higher than halfway up; the shorter tower seems always to have a doorway in its left side. Both towers are crenelated and the teeth (where their tops are visible) have V-shaped indentations at the top instead of ending flat. The entire image is approximately 53mm tall and 32mm wide. The shorter of the two towers seems to range from 22 to 25mm in height. The taller of the two towers is 22mm wide. From the chain line running through the image (just to the left of the window in the taller tower) the distance is 33mm to the next chain line on the left and 30mm to the next on the right. As is the case with the two tulips, the tower is similar to the watermark given by Briquet as 15909 (Naples, 1452) but not near enough to be a definite match and Piccard offers nothing better. Briquet's description of the image-type calls it a tower abutting a section of crenelated wall (rather

than two towers) and dates all such watermarks to one of two distinct periods: the first third of the fourteenth century (extremely unlikely) or the second half of the fifteenth (almost certainly true, but not at all specific) (IV, 798-9).

In time, further research may produce more precise and secure information regarding the geographic and chronological ranges of these and other watermarks. In particular, the appearance of the same paper in a different codex dated and localized through other criteria (a colophon, for example) would help to narrow what is at present rather vague data on the two watermarks under consideration here. In the meantime, the evidence, however incomplete, does at least assign the paper to Italy and the second half of the fifteenth century.

The two types of watermarks are not evenly distributed. The first, second, and fourth quires show only tulips. The third and final (twenty-fourth) show only towers. Interestingly, the third and final are the only two quires written by scribe c. The fifth through twenty-third quires display a mix of watermarks, but tulips predominate heavily; no more than two or three towers appear in succession in these mixed quires. The paper itself is consistent in weight and color regardless of what mark it carries; if the two marks indicate two different mills, they must have used very similar materials and methods of production.

The apparently random admixture of towers with tulips is another of the manuscript's peculiar features. The paper was almost certainly supplied to the scribes by the stationer who directed the production of the codex. For one thing, all scribes but one use the same unusual blend of paper (primarily tulips with a few towers mixed in) at least some of the time, and it is unlikely that they all came by it independently. For another,

the dry-point ruling of the pages is extremely consistent (even when scribes' use of it is not), indicating not just the use of a ruling board (as opposed to some other technique), but the use of the same ruling board or set of boards throughout the codex.

It may be that the stationer, at the outset of this project, had on hand a small quantity of the tower-marked paper (perhaps leftovers from a previous project) and a larger quantity of the tulip-marked. At first, the two types appear to have been kept separate; the first four quires use only one or the other. The shuffling-together that begins with quire V may be the result of ruling all the remaining paper at once, during which process the two could have been interspersed. Every scribe who collected his materials after this point would therefore receive a mix of watermarks. This theory has interesting implications for the scribes who write both before and after the blending begins. Scribe c, as mentioned above, is the only person to write only on tower-marked paper. This would seem to indicate that he picked up the supplies for both his quires at once, early in the project, even though his second quire is the last of the volume. Scribe d, on the other hand, writes quire IV on only tulip-marked paper, but writes quires XIV, XVI, XVII and part of XV on the mixture. Whereas scribe c must have planned to write two quires from the very beginning, scribe d seems to have completed his first assignment (quire IV) and returned to the stationer on a separate, later occasion to pick up the materials for his second (most of quires XIV-XVII).

The quires themselves (twenty-four in all) are highly irregular. Their composition is as follows: I<sup>10</sup>, II-IV<sup>8</sup>, V-IX<sup>10</sup>, X<sup>4</sup>, XI<sup>10</sup>, XII<sup>6</sup>, XIII-XIV<sup>12</sup>, XV-XVI<sup>10</sup>, XVII<sup>12</sup>, XVIII<sup>14</sup>, XIX<sup>3(6-4,5,6)</sup>, XX<sup>10</sup>, XXI<sup>12</sup>, XXII<sup>8</sup>, XXIII<sup>10</sup>, XXIV<sup>11(10+1)</sup> (for more detail, see Appendix B). In quire XIX the last three leaves of an original six have been cut out, but the remains of



all three can be seen in the gutter. The text of Donatus is missing a few lines here, but not nearly the quantity that would correspond to three entire leaves. It may be that the same text was missing also in the manuscript's exemplar and that its falling at the end of an irregular quire in MS 539 is simply a coincidence. Alternatively, the lost lines may originally have been written on the fourth leaf of the former ternion, which is now missing, along with the fifth and sixth leaves. Although up to a page and a half of blank space is apparently permissible elsewhere in the volume, two entirely blank leaves and one almost entirely blank may have been too much of an aesthetic interruption. One possible explanation for the lost text is that someone intended to remove the two entirely blank leaves and, cutting from the back of the quire, pressed too hard on the knife and sliced out three leaves rather than two.

Most quires are marked by catchwords at their ends. Quires IV, XI, and XIX (and, naturally, the last quire, XXIV) however, are not. In one of these cases (quire XI) the absence of a catchword may be related to the fact that the same scribe (f) wrote the subsequent quire. This cannot, however, explain the absence of catchwords at the end of quires IV and XIX, since in both cases a different scribe writes the next quire. (In the first instance the change is from scribe d to scribe e; in the second, from n to o.) For more information on the relationship between scribes and quires, see Appendix B.

Of the catchwords that are present, the ones at the end of quires X and XXI are perhaps the most unusual. The text at the end of these two quires overlaps that at the beginning of the following by two words in each case (*potuisset Ascanius* and *quanta ubique* respectively), but these are not set apart from the rest of the text in any of the ways catchwords traditionally are. The most common style of catchword in the

manuscript is a word or short phrase written horizontally in the lower margin, to the right of center. Twelve quires (II-III, V-IX, XII-XIII, and XV-XVII) follow this pattern. One catchword (XIV) is written horizontally in the lower margin and centered, and one (XX) is actually shifted slightly to the left. Four, finally (I, XVIII, XXII and XXIII) are written vertically, running downwards, in the gutter of the page.

Albert Derolez's analysis of humanist manuscripts on parchment classifies eight different styles of catchword, each with its own period and region of popularity (53-63). MS 539, however, contains five of these eight types (the three absent being the three rarest in general), plus two types not discussed by Derolez (the two not set off from the body of the text at the end of quires X and XXI and the one displaced to the left at the end of quire XX). The relative geography and chronology of each type classified by Derolez is therefore less helpful than it might be (always assuming, of course, that catchwords on parchment and on paper can be treated more or less interchangeably).

It only adds to the confusion that several scribes write catchwords in more than one way. Scribe f, for example, writes a catchword Derolez would categorize under type 2 (horizontal, to the right of center) at the end of quire V, but one of type 3 (horizontal, aligned with the right bounding line of the text) at the end of quire VII, and no catchword at all at the end of quire XI. Scribe d's catchwords, likewise, are sometimes centered (XIV), sometimes off-center to the right (XV and XVI), and sometimes absent (IV). Nor are the most unusual catchwords (those not set off from the text) the work of a single scribe; in the case of quire X the copyist is j, but in the case of XXI it is o. It can at least be said that a scribe's catchwords are always written in the same direction, if not the same place; scribes a, k, m and n write vertical catchwords (when they write any at all)

and all others writes horizontally.

Also of interest at the ends of quires is the frequency of partially or completely blank versos (leaves 26, 34, 54, 64, 88 and 207, being the last in quires III, IV, VI, VII, X and XXII). Twice part of the preceding recto is also blank (leaves 199 and 217, the last in quires XXI and XXIII). In every case of a quire ending with significant blank space the following quire is written by a different scribe. This is a strong indication that the scribes were working from an exemplar that had been unbound and distributed quire-by-quire. When a scribe reached the end of the exemplar-quire(s) he had been given, he was forced to leave whatever remained of his fresh copy blank. On the other hand, when a scribe had been assigned consecutive quires, he could copy fluently from one to the next (as, for example, scribe j does between quires VIII and IX and IX and X), leaving empty space only when his last assigned quire ran out (for j, the end of X). (For a description of another manuscript likely produced in this way, see Zamponi 338.)

In two quires (VI and XIII) the first six leaves have been numbered with small Arabic numerals in the lower left corner of the recto (leaves 45-50 and 105-110). Interestingly, these are the entire first half of quire XIII but more than the first half of quire VI, a quire of ten leaves total, not twelve. These two quires have no scribes in common. Nowhere else are such signatures visible, although it is possible that some might have been cut off; it is unclear how much the paper was trimmed in the vertical direction.

Each page is ruled for a single column of text bounded on all four sides by double lines extending all the way to the edges of the page.<sup>7</sup> (See illustration below.) The

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<sup>7</sup> This layout is classified by Derolez as ruling type 36, “*le plus représentatif des réglures rencontrées dans les mss. humanistiques,*” comprising approximately 25% of his entire corpus and exceedingly

distance between each pair of bounding lines is 7-8mm. The height of the entire layout is 260mm, the width 161. The writing always falls within the inner two vertical bounding

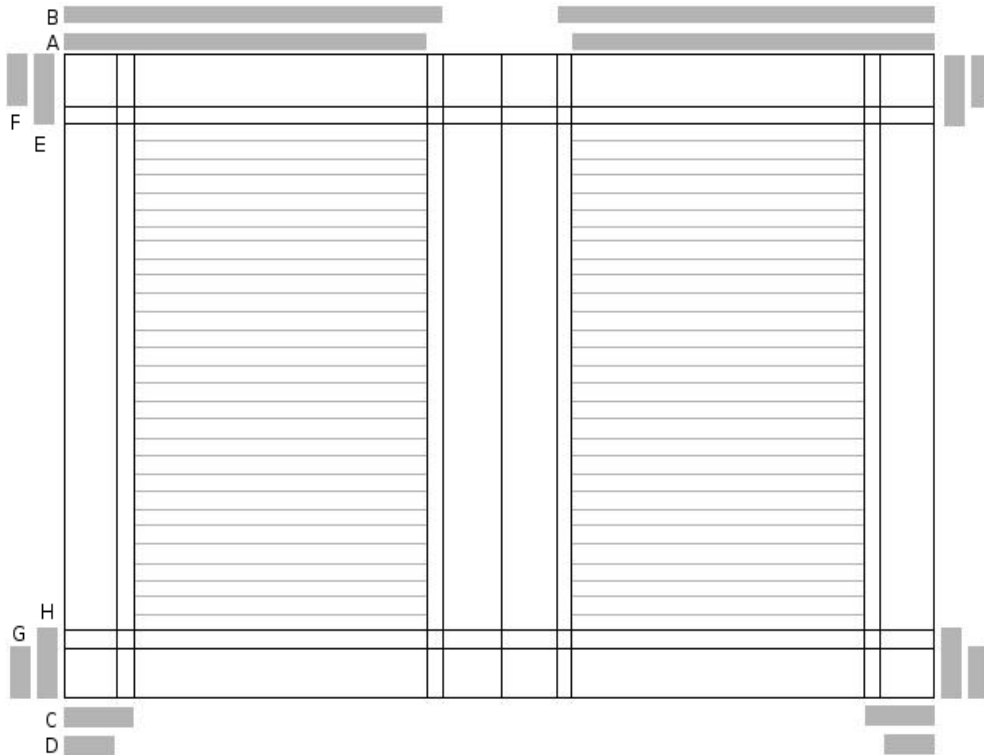


Illustration of a ruled bifolium. Not to scale.

lines (or is intended to), but the use of the horizontal ruling lines varies. Counting both the upper and lower pairs of bounding lines, each page has 41 horizontally ruled lines, spaced between 6 and 7mm apart. Writing begins below the topmost bounding line in most cases, quire VIII being an exception. Writing is also typically above (not on) the bottommost line, except for leaves 12-27. The number of lines written therefore varies between 39 and 40. The inner vertical bounding lines are 205-209 and 212-217mm from the fore-edge of the page (measurements A and B in the figure above); the outer vertical bounding lines are 57-60 and 50-52mm (measurements C and D above). The uppermost

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widespread (107-14).

of the two upper bounding lines (which is typically not written) is 18-23mm from the head of the leaf (measurement F); the lower of the two upper bounding lines (typically written) 25-31 (measurement E). The lowermost of the two bounding lines (typically not written) is 55-58mm from the tail of the leaf (measurement G); the upper of the two (typically written) 62-64mm (measurement H).

The ruling was done by dry-point. The only indication of the technique used is the extreme consistency of the format, which would seem to indicate a mechanical, rather than manual process, which would reduce variations resulting from human error. The most likely is a ruling board:

*une planche, sur laquelle des cordes on été tendues et collées dans des sillons creusés à cet effet, correspondant avec les lignes à imprimer sur le papier ou parchemin; en posant un feuillet ou un bifeuillet sur la planche et en frottant avec l'ongle sur la surface entière du papier ou du parchemin, on obtient l'empreinte des cordes dans le support (Derolez 72-3).*

Only a very few pages show any kind of pricking (two or three small holes in the upper third of the fore-edge of the page). It is possible that pricking was part of the ruling process, perhaps used to place and orient the ruling board, and that most of the pricking was trimmed off during the binding process. The deckling of the paper at the fore-edge of several pages suggests, however, that trimming was minimal in the horizontal dimension, which reduces the likelihood of the above possibility.

The paper was not ruled quire by quire, with two exceptions. Typically a few sheets seem to have been done at a time, first folded together, then ruled from the inside out, so that troughs are visible on the interior of each folded sheet and ridges on the exterior. This is not, however, the case for quires XX and XXI; here, someone has arranged the bifolia in such a way that every opening shows either troughs facing troughs

or ridges facing ridges, the way a parchment manuscript would show flesh-side facing flesh-side and hair- facing hair-. That these are the only two quires in the manuscript written by scribe o is probably not a coincidence. It is not impossible that scribe o ruled his own quires and then arranged them this way, but the ruling of these pages is so consistent with that of all the rest that it seems more likely that all the quires were ruled with the same board, presumably at the stationer's shop, and that scribe o, upon receiving his materials, rearranged his pre-ruled folia to create an aesthetic that appealed to him but was evidently not preferred by or not of interest to anyone else in the project.

With the ruling generally so precise and regular, two leaves—38 and 41— stand out dramatically. Both appear to have been ruled several times, and not always in the same orientation. The result is that both have a surfeit of horizontal lines, many of them slightly diagonal, extending into the margins, often straight off the edge of the page. These two folia are conjugates and together comprise the fourth and seventh pages of a quire of ten (the fourth bifolium of five, counting from the outside of the quire inwards). All of the ruling was done from the inside of the sheet, when folded (that is, to the surfaces of 38v and 41r), which in itself is in accordance with the usual way the manuscript seems to have been ruled. The over-ruling may be the result of this bifolium's having sat underneath multiple other bifolia as they were ruled. Why it was nonetheless used in the manuscript is unclear. It may indicate that a shortage of material (related, perhaps, to the shortage of time) forced the use of what would normally be considered scrap paper.

Sixteen scribes can be identified over the course of the manuscript (all assigned Roman letters in the order of their first appearances). This relatively high number is one

of the primary reasons to conclude that the manuscript was produced in a hurry; the man-hours required could be accomplished more quickly with more hands on deck.

Five of the sixteen scribes appear more than once (a, c, d, f and n). In general, changes in hand coincide with changes in quire, but there are exceptions. Scribe a, for example, does not end his first run on 10v where the first quire ends, but rather continues onto 12r, and later appears only on the last two leaves of quire XXIII (216v-217r) which scribe n apparently failed to finish. Scribe j, meanwhile, covers three successive quires without interruption (VIII-X). Scribe d is an example of both of these irregularities, picking up in the middle of quire XV at 132v but then carrying straight through to the end of quire XVII at 160v. Scribe d in fact writes more leaves (48) than any other; scribes g and i write the fewest (3 each). Changes of hand mid-quire never seem to produce any loss or other irregularity in the text.

The combination of hands is itself somewhat unusual. (For the following analysis I am indebted to Professor Stefano Zamponi, who shared his expertise *per litteras*.) Many of the scribes are definitively Italian humanist, but many others have a more Gothic appearance; the latter are likely non-Italians, perhaps from the regions of Germany, Holland or Poland (scribes b, c, d, f, k, and n). The ten Italian scribes are likely northern Italians, from the region of the Po Valley in general and the cultural centers of Verona, Ferrara and Padua in particular; scribes e, h and p particularly show characteristics of this region. The scribes vary greatly in proficiency; i, j, and l are more likely students than professionals. In addition, the scribes are inconsistent in their punctuation, formatting (use of the ruled lines, indication of *lemmata* from the *Aeneid*, copying poetry with line breaks or without), and ink (every shade from light gray-brown

to nearly black). The use of such aesthetically inconsistent (and in some cases unpolished) hands again suggests that speed was an overriding concern in the manuscript's production. For a full description of each scribe's hand and a sample of each, see Appendix C.

The binding of the volume appears to contain several original components, some of them recycled in a rebinding. What is now the front board has become detached from the rest of the volume. It measures 237 by 345mm and is 7mm thick with rounded edges. It may originally have been the back board, the two possibly having been switched when the book was rebound. What is now the front board displays the two sites where leather straps for keeping the book closed were once attached (beginning 75mm from the head and tail of the volume respectively, with 152mm between the two); the stub of the upper strap remains (18mm wide). It appears to be leather, the surface of which remains a vivid magenta. One nail, the head of which has been cut into an eight-pointed star, holds it in place; two small holes indicate that two other nails have been lost. The empty site of the lower strap displays three small holes, all the nails evidently having gone.

What is now the back board (approximately 237x344mm) has the hardware to which the straps' hooks would have attached (the raised cylindrical portion for catching the hooks beginning 77mm from the head and tail); these are shaped like trefoils with pointed center lobes, 31mm from one rounded edge to the other; the point of the upper of the two is 42mm from the raised fore-edge, but the point of the lower only 40mm. (For photos of the binding, see Appendix D.) Both trefoils are affixed to the back board by three nails (all intact), none of them ornamented. The back board overhangs the block of pages by as much as 5mm in some places and hardly at all in others, as the two



components are not in perfect alignment with one another. Since the front board is detached it is difficult to measure the amount by which it would overhang the block.

Both the front and the back boards have pastedowns of parchment that does not appear to have been recycled from any previous manuscript (there is certainly no text on the visible side, nor does any show through from the side glued down). The pastedown on what is now the front board does carry the price, in pencil, mentioned above, as well as the nearly illegible (and partly unintelligible) inscription *sanctus antonius de sancto impressum I[.....] scriberandinum* in a 16<sup>th</sup>-century hand. (For a photo of the inscription, see Appendix D.) Both boards have suffered from worms (as have many of the book's pages). Both appear to have originally had five metal bosses (8mm in diameter, cut into nine-pointed stars or nine-petal flowers, but worn and flattened over time), one in each corner and one in the center, but both have lost their two spine-side bosses.

Both boards were originally wrapped in leather blind-tooled with concentric, frame-like rectangles, each outlined with five lines alternating thin and thick, nested with patterns like twisted and knotted rope. On the front board the dimensions of the five framing rectangles are 228x324, 188x289, 146x253, 113x216 and 82x131mm when measured from their widest points. On the back board the fore-edge and tail-edge sides of the largest rectangle have been lost, but the remaining four measure 185x294, 146x253, 110x221, and 79x135. A comparison of these numbers indicates that the second, fourth and fifth rectangles (counting from the outside in) are each taller on the front board than they are on the back, and wider on the back board than on the front, but these discrepancies are not immediately visible even when the two are set side-by-side.

The patterns nested within the framing rectangles were stamped onto the surface.

The outermost of these, between rectangles two and three, is in the design of three-stranded rope braided around four-pointed stars. The stamp itself appears to have been about 25mm long and 12mm wide. The middle pattern, between rectangles four and five, consists of long twisted ropes running vertically between the rectangles' sides, and, in the open space between their tops and bottoms, three horizontal twisted ropes linked together by five vertical strands (in addition to the longer verticals that create a rectangular perimeter around the whole). Two stamps seem to have been used to create all the variations of the rope pattern. One was straight, 5mm long and 1mm wide, outlined on either side and with tiny diagonals running through it. The other was a curved version of the same, almost 6mm from end to end and almost 2mm from the ends to the top of the curve. There is every possibility that these same tools will one day be discovered in the decoration of another codex, perhaps even one with a known date and location, at which time they may contribute to the dating and localization of MS 539. As of yet, however, they have not been found anywhere else.

The same two tools were used to create the final design on each board, the cross-shaped knot of rope inside the fifth, innermost rectangle. On what is now the front board this cross is vertically asymmetrical, extending 56mm above its center but only 45mm below (horizontally, the stamped pattern is symmetrical, but the boss placed too far towards the spine creates a different appearance). On the back board the pattern is closer to symmetrical, extending 53-54mm in either vertical direction and 24-25mm in either horizontal, although the boss, this time too far towards the fore-edge, again makes the pattern look lopsided. The nearer approximation of symmetry on what is now the back board is one reason to think it may originally have been the front board.

The original leather seems to have been cut loose and reapplied over newer leather used to re-wrap the boards' edges. On the (now) front board this newer wrapping is very visible on the upper edge; the added leather shows a pattern of large (about 42mm across), brown, eight-petal flowers against a maroon background.

The rebinding seems also to have significantly affected the spine of the book, which may now show only a small patch of the original leather. The spine has four ribs through which the (apparently original) sewing supports pass. The top three of these ribs are each 17mm from top to bottom, but the one closest to the tail of the book is fatter, about 20mm. There are about 50mm between the ribs and about 58mm between the topmost and the volume's head and the bottommost and its tail, respectively. Blind-tooled lines parallel to the ribs decorate the ribs themselves and up to a centimeter of space to either side. The remaining space between the ribs is filled with diagonal lines, also blind-tooled, in triplets repeating a pattern of thin-thick-thin. If the small patch of darker leather on the lowest spine is in fact original, this decoration seems to be a replica of the original pattern, mostly lost in the rebinding. (This additional layer of leather is probably also why the lowest spine is the fattest.)

The sewing supports covered by the four ribs are double, formed of two strips of what seems to be leather, each about 15mm in width. They connected the spine of the volume to its boards as follows: a groove was cut into the exterior surface of the board for each support; the support was set in the groove and then covered over with the decorated leather described above. The exposed spine-side edge of the detached front board makes this very clear. In addition, the decorated leather cover shows depressions and ridges corresponding to the outlines of each support.

The volume has no endpapers. The text begins immediately on the first recto and continues all the way to the last recto. The emptiness of the last verso is probably as unintentional as the emptiness of several other versos and part-rectos throughout the codex (the result of simply running out of text to copy, rather than of any plan).

Zamponi dates the binding and its decoration to c.1465 and considers them Italian but definitely not Florentine. Since Florence is a major center for humanist book production in general and produced at least two manuscripts of the *Interpretationes* (the Lincoln College, Oxford manuscript and the Paris, BN lat. 7958, both produced by Vespasiano da Bisticci), this negative data is more interesting than it may appear (Marshall [1993a] 326-7).

The only illumination in the volume is on the recto of the first leaf. In three places (35r, 55r and 76v) further illumination seems to have been intended, but was never completed; a blank space approximately four lines of text high and anywhere from 18 to 23mm wide has been left, presumably for an illuminated initial at the incipit of books 8 and 9 (on 55 and 76), although there is no apparent reason, apart from the change to a new scribe (e), to explain the intended initial on 35.

The illumination that was completed (on 1r) falls into two parts: the illuminated initial *S* in the upper left and the ornate wreath in the lower margin (for photos, see Appendix E). The initial *S* itself is in gold leaf and measures 24 by 48mm. It is framed by a pattern of white (uncolored) vines set off by spaces of faded green and red (themselves detailed with small uncolored dots), the whole outlined in a medium-dark blue. The design appears to have been blocked out as three rectangles, one enclosing the *S* itself, one extending from the top of the *S* and right across the top of the page, and

another extending from its lower left and down the left margin. The rectangle framing the letter *S* is about 42x68mm. The extensions to the upper right and lower left are each about 60mm long, at which point the white vine ceases to be interwoven with spaces of faded red and green and ends in a bud-like finial about 32mm farther to the upper right and a leaf-like one about 20mm to the lower left. The medium-dark blue perimeter encloses these, but does not extend to the final detailing at the upper right (which has no counterpart on the lower left): two circles (2mm in diameter) and a tear-drop (6x2mm) in gold-leaf, connected to the main design by tendrils and radiating straight lines in the same gray-brown ink, drawn hairline thin, as the rest of the outlining.

The wreath in the lower margin (37mm in outermost diameter) is of green leaves in two shades, one of them stronger, less faded, than is used for the initial. A ribbon, done in gold-leaf, wraps around the wreath six times (each band about 2mm wide and 10mm long), more or less evenly spaced (at 12:00, 2:00, 4:00, 6:00, 8:00 and 10:00). Vines spiral off to either side of the wreath, starting just above 9:00 on the left and heading down and clockwise before branching into a smaller clockwise circle that contains a frontal five-petal flower and, farther to the left, a vine that ends in a trumpet-like blossom in profile. The right-hand vine is essentially the mirror-image of this, starting at just about 3:00 on the wreath and heading upwards, then clockwise, until branching off into a smaller clockwise circle and a vine extending more or less straight to the right. The left and right sides differ in that the frontal five-petal flower on the left has a red center and a blue outline, with five green leaves folded over the blossom as if to keep it closed, but on the right, the colors are reversed: the center is blue and the outline red, and the five green leaves point straight outwards from the notches between the

petals, as if they have been drawn back.

On both sides the vines have numerous thick green offshoots, hairline tendrils in the gray-brown outlining ink, faded blue and red buds, and triplets of gold-leaf circles (2mm in diameter) radiating hairlines. The trumpet-like flower in profile on the right end of the vine is smaller and less ornate than its counterpart on the left, but both spout a pair of the same small gold circles and a teardrop in the center (4x2mm on the left, 5x2 on the right), all three radiating hairlines, like a more compact version of the final detail on the upper-right of the initial described above. The entire design is 205mm wide. From the outer left side of the wreath, the final hairline rays of the detailing stretch to 81mm; on the right, to 87mm. Although the design appears centered, it is actually drawn about 15mm to the left. The blank interior of the wreath is 26mm in diameter and seems to have been intended to display the coat of arms of the original owner, although no such insignia was ever added. A small dark brown dot in the very center of the wreath probably indicates the use of a compass.

Zamponi sees the two illuminations (initial and wreath) as the work of two quite different artists. The initial, like the binding, he classifies as certainly not Florentine, but otherwise hard to place. The wreath, on the other hand, he locates securely in the Po Valley (like several of the scribes), possibly Ferrara in particular.

Taking together the scribal hands, the binding decoration, and the illuminations, Professor Zamponi assigns the codex to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, more precisely to 1465, give or take five or six years.<sup>8</sup> The evident haste of the copying (the

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<sup>8</sup> It should be mentioned that Professor Zamponi starts by taking 1460 or so as a *terminus post quem* for the arrival of the text on *Aeneid* 6-12 in Italy. This is borrowed from Sabbadini's reconstruction of the textual transmission first published in 1914 ([1967] vol. 2, 220). Since the 1990s, however, the picture is less clear than it once was, and considering only dates after 1460 may be unnecessarily limiting. This

technique of unbinding the exemplar and distributing it among numerous scribes, the employment of such a variety of scribes, some of them visibly less experienced than others) probably means that the text was difficult to come by when (and where) the manuscript was produced. This could be because the Wilson manuscript was an early copy, made when the original had only recently been discovered and only a few copies were in circulation. Alternatively, it could be that the text of Tiberius Claudius Donatus was very popular at the time of the manuscript's production, and difficult to obtain for that reason. Most manuscripts of the text are not precisely dated, but all seem to fall between about 1459 and 1482 (at the very outside), suggesting that the text had a relatively brief period of intense popularity, during which the copying process would likely have been a rushed one (Marshall [1993a] 327).

Geographically, Zamponi places the manuscript securely in the Po Valley, suggesting in particular the centers of Padua, Ferrara and Verona. The striking mix of scribal hands is especially helpful in assigning the work a geographic and cultural context. The presence of non-Italians indicates northern Italy, while the use of non-professionals suggests (apart from haste) a school-setting. The amateur scribes are likely to be students at a humanist school. The codex itself may have been intended for use in the school. It is certainly not a deluxe copy of the sort preferred by wealthy collectors; if it were, it would be on parchment rather than paper and would show a much greater effort at aesthetic consistency. What we find instead is a perfectly workable copy where pragmatic concerns about getting the work done generally trump aesthetic ones. The manuscript's most remarkable feature, the supplementary text on the first leaf, may also indicate a scholarly context; it may have been composed by someone at the school that

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issue will be discussed in Chapter 3.

commissioned and/or produced the book.

If the book was made by or for a school, however, there is no evidence that it was ever actually read, by students or anyone else. No one besides the original scribes seems to have made any corrections or notes. In addition, the inconsistent punctuation (one of the consequences of such a wide variety of scribes) is extremely uncharacteristic of humanist scholars. The supplementary text, too, for all that it does testify to knowledge of or access to certain classical texts, is not nearly as extensive as we might expect to find either arising from or intended for a humanist school. It is possible that its addition was motivated by aesthetic and financial concerns in addition to (or even rather than) scholarly ones. Aesthetically, it allows the codex to begin at the “right” place (*Aen.* 6.1) instead of where the *Interpretationes* normally resume (6.158). Financially, it very likely raised the price of the book, which may have been an issue of particular concern when the codex as a whole was so obviously a rushed job.

Despite these caveats, no other environment fits the Wilson manuscript as well as a humanist school or other circle of humanist scholars in the region of Veneto during the 1460s.<sup>9</sup> This makes it roughly contemporaneous with every other known copy of the text. Geographically it may be tenuously linked to two other manuscripts: Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S.22.4 was written by a scribe known to have worked in Ferrara during the 1450s and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 346 contains decoration that may be Ferrarese (Marshall 1993a 326-7). As will be shown in Chapter 3,

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9 It is intriguing that it was only a few years earlier (1 November 1455) that Battista Guarino wrote to Poggio Bracciolini for information on the *Interpretationes*. His interest in the text and, assuming he succeeded in acquiring one, his access to an exemplar may have driven some of the copying efforts that took place around this time. Although Guarino’s request to Poggio was written from the University of Bologna (in Emilia-Romagna, not Veneto) during Guarino’s two-year term as lecturer there, Guarino was probably in Verona by late 1457 and teaching exclusively in Ferrara by 1460. The appearance of the Wilson manuscript to originate in the region of Veneto and possibly the town of Ferrara during the 1460s is therefore perfectly compatible with what is known of Guarino’s career (Pistilli 339-40).



however, the text contained in each manuscript makes it unlikely that the Wilson manuscript is a direct copy or exemplar of either of these two. However, before any attempt to place the Wilson manuscript within the textual tradition as deduced from other known manuscripts, it is necessary to analyze the text the manuscript contains.

## CHAPTER 2

### TEXT COLLATION

As indicated in the introduction, this collation of the text of Folio MS 539 does not claim to be exhaustive. It simply has not been possible to compare every one of approximately 18,000 lines of text (228 two-sided folia with an average of 39 lines per side) against the published edition (ed. Heinrich Georgii, 1905-6). The aim, throughout, has been to determine the relationship of the Wilson manuscript to those already known, and the collation has consequently focused on the seven lacunae, changes of scribe and/or quire (significant locations during the copying process), and the order of the text covering *Aeneid* 12, which is integral to the placement of the three lacunae in that book. Textual variants were not particularly sought out, and only in a few cases have they proved informative.

The first lacuna in books 6-12 is on *Aeneid* 6.1-157 (TCD 1.530.1). Since the text is believed to have circulated in two volumes, covering *Aen.* 1-5 and 6-12 respectively, this missing section corresponds to several pages, perhaps even a complete quire, lost at the beginning of the second volume's archetype. Most manuscripts simply pick up at *Aen.* 6.158 with *quia quem perdidisset et quem gerneret nesciebat*. The Wilson manuscript, however, does not reach this point until approximately halfway down the verso of folio 1. Until then, about a page and a half of text addresses *Aen.* 6.1-157, but none of it is the work of Tiberius Claudius Donatus. His comments on this section were

rediscovered by Peter Marshall in a Vatican miscellany and demonstrated to be authentic (Marshall 1993b). What appears in MS 539 has almost nothing in common with Donatus' actual commentary on the same lines (apart, obviously, from their shared subject matter). This apparently unique text and its composition is the subject of Chapter 4 and consequently will receive no further treatment here.

The second lacuna universally found in manuscripts of the second half of the *Interpretationes* is on *Aen.* 7.373-414. (TCD 2.62.8-10). The Wilson manuscript reaches this point in the text on 42 recto where, in the right margin, across from lines 25 and 26 (out of 41 total) there appears the marginale *hic multum deest*, followed by what appears to be the number 48. The note appears to have been written by the same hand and in the same ink as the main text, which may indicate that the two are contemporaneous. The significance of the number accompanying it, however, is quite unclear. It does not, for example, number the missing lines, which in fact total 42.

The third lacuna in the second half of the *Interpretationes* covers *Aen.* 8.455-729. The lacuna itself occurs in the second line of text on 76 verso, where the manuscript reads *et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus. Scientiam futurorum attolens famamque et fata nepotum* (TCD 2.182.16-18). Another marginal note, also in the same hand as the main text, is squeezed into the gutter and thus difficult to read. It appears to say *hic desunt carmina circa ·279·*. This may be intended to tell the reader how many lines are lost (in which case it is off by four; the total is in fact 275, counting inclusively). Alternatively, it may intend to tell the reader at what line the lacuna ends (but with 729 transposed into 279).

The fourth, fifth and sixth lacunae must be treated simultaneously and alongside

the complicated issue of the order of the text on *Aeneid* 12. These three lacunae cover *Aen.* 12.620-664, 689-755 and 786-846. On 224 recto of the Wilson manuscript, the text jumps straight from *quantum Turni socordia comprehenditur cum indicitur*, the last line of commentary before the fourth lacuna begins at 12.620 (although the published edition reads *reprehenditur*, not *comprehenditur*) to *imo atque eodem partu quam detestabilis nascendi condicio* (the published version reads *uno*, not *imo*), the first line of the text that resumes after the sixth lacuna at 12.846 (TCD 2.624.12, 630.10). In other words, the three separate lacunae appear here to have merged into one much larger one. The material between the three lacunae (on *Aen.* 12.665-688 and 756-785) does not fall where it ought to, based on the order of the poem. It is not, however, lost. It has simply been relocated to an earlier position. The order of the commentary in the Wilson manuscript in this vicinity is as follows:

208r-213v:	<i>ad Aen.</i> 12.195-385
213v-214r:	<i>ad Aen.</i> 12.664-690
214r-215v:	<i>ad Aen.</i> 12.755-786
215v-228r:	<i>ad Aen.</i> 12.385-end of commentary (including the three combined lacunae on 224r)

The text belonging between the three lacunae simply interrupts in the middle of a comment on *Aen.* 12.385. Afterward, the commentary resumes with nothing lost. Where this irregularity begins, on 213 verso, the manuscript reads *Mnestheus atque Achates inquit et Ascanius deficiunt in exemplari praesentis cartae periculum sustinentibus tu versas currum*. The first six words are *ad Aen.* 12.385 (TCD 2.597.11). The next five probably represent an interpolated marginale; they are certainly a note to the reader and no part of the commentary itself. The next words concern *Aen.* 12.665, the start of the material between the fourth and fifth lacunae (TCD 2.624.14). The return to 12.385, on

215v, reads *pro desiderio deprecationis posuit, ceterum [[haec pars sequitur ante duas ubi est]] licet adhuc puer*. The first five words are on *Aen.* 12.785 (TCD 2.630.6-7). The next seven were expunged (literally, with dots under the offending letters) and rewritten in the right margin where they evidently belong. The following words resume the commentary on *Aen.* 12.385 exactly where it left off at *et Ascanius*.

Three notes are evidently intended to help the reader navigate this unorthodox arrangement. Taking them in order of appearance, the first is the one on 213v, where the words *deficiunt in exemplari praesentis cartae* have been written into the main body of the text. This notification would seem to explain why the text jumps so abruptly from one scene to another, dropping Ascanius and turning suddenly to Turnus. In reality, though, the statement is misleading. The text that picks up with Ascanius does exist within the codex, only a few pages later, at 215v, so pages probably were not missing from the exemplar so much as misplaced within it.

The second marginale is both more helpful and slightly more accurate. On 215v where the text on *Aen.* 12.385 resumes, the full note rewritten into the right margin after nearly being interpolated says *haec pars sequitur ante duas cartas ubi est tale signum*. The text referred to as *haec pars* is the continuation on 12.385, concerning Ascanius, and it does, in fact, belong *ante duas cartas*, before the interruption beginning on 213v. However this marginale contains its own error; nowhere on 213v does any recognizable *signum* appear, let alone the capital Greek pi that follows the note on 215v and is presumably the *tale signum* to which it refers. Possibly there was a mark in the manuscript's exemplar that for some reason did not make its way into the copy. (For a photo of this marginale, see Appendix C under scribe p.)

The final marginale is in the lower right margin of 224r where, as outlined above, the text jumps from *Aen.* 12.620 to 846, merging together the three lacunae and skipping over the material between them. This note says: *hic deficiunt duae cartae in exemplari et sequitur hoc pare superiorem derelictam ubi est tale signum.* The *signum* which follows the note appears to be an extremely untidy capital Greek pi (much less clearly drawn than the one on 215v). The meaning of the note is clear enough, even if the choice of the word *derelictam* and the form of *pare* are peculiar; the text following the note on 224r concerns *Aen.* 12.847 and should, in fact, follow the section that ends on 215v at *Aen.* 12.785 (the sixth lacuna spanning 786-846). (For a photo of this marginale, see Appendix C under scribe c.)

This disorder is, significantly, not original to the Wilson manuscript. In fact, it is exactly the same in the manuscript called V (Vat. lat. 1512), the only extant pre-Renaissance manuscript containing the second half of the *Interpretationes*. Both Heinrich Georgii and Laura Lee Williams explain this disorder by proposing the loss of certain folia from V followed by a rebinding in which the surviving pages were put out of order (Georgii XXII-XXIII, Williams 46-7). The specifics vary but following Williams' reconstruction the process was as follows: The penultimate quire, originally a ternion, lost its innermost and outermost bifolia; the last quire, also a ternion, lost only its outermost bifolium. (The penultimate quire thus lost its first, third, fourth and sixth leaves and the final quire its first and last.) The first leaf of the penultimate quire corresponds to the fourth lacuna (12.620-664); the third and fourth to the fifth lacuna (689-755). The sixth leaf of the penultimate quire and the first of the last quire make up the sixth lacuna (786-846). The last leaf of the final quire corresponds to the seventh

lacuna (not yet mentioned). The disorder of the text is the simple result of rebinding the one bifolium remaining from the penultimate quire one position too early, in front of what was originally the antepenultimate quire. This causes the material between the three lacunae to interrupt the commentary at *Aen.* 12.385 and the appearance, later, that 12.620-846 is a single massive lacuna.

Neither manuscript V nor the incidence of lacunae can explain the other aspect of disorder in book 12 of the Wilson manuscript. A significant portion of this book has been copied twice. The first time begins on 187v at the *incipit* of book 12 and continues straight through 207v, where quire XXII ends with a partially blank verso. The catchword on the verso accurately indicates the first word of the next quire (which begins *retenturum cum se adsereret cum Troianis*), but this constitutes a jump backwards from 12.471 to 12.190 (from TCD 2.608.23 to 577.2). From this point (208r) on, the text continues as described above, with the three lacuna merged into one on 224r and the material belonging between them moved ahead to folia 213-215. What is perhaps most interesting, however, is that the interruption at 12.385 discussed above as resulting from the rebinding out-of-order of the penultimate and antepenultimate quires of manuscript V does not occur in the first copy of the commentary on book 12. The commentary reaches 12.385 for the first time on 204r and carries on, without any text missing or displaced, until 12.471 where it cuts off abruptly at the words *sic enim illa dixerat* before jumping backwards, at the start of the next quire, to 12.190. The words *sic enim illa dixerat* are a significant juncture in several other extant manuscripts, and the duplication of part of book 12 is also not unheard of, but for a discussion of these phenomena see Chapter 3.

It is possible that the Wilson manuscript followed two different exemplaria, the

first of which ended entirely at *Aen.* 12.471 (as do the manuscripts in Cesena and the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, on which see Chapter 3) but did not put the three major lacunae of book 12 out of order. The second exemplar, which ran all the way to the end of the (extant) text was disordered in the way described above, and for some reason the scribe assigned to pick up with the second exemplar when the first ran out (scribe p) began too early and duplicated what had already been written on folia 197-207 (by scribes o and n). It is also possible that the duplication arose in a previous manuscript, and was copied into the Wilson codex from a single exemplar already affected. The catchword on 207v, in the same hand and ink as the main text and so accurately indicating the backwards jump at 208r may be slight evidence in favor of this latter interpretation. Additionally, a combination of disorder and duplication affects the text of book 12 in the Paris manuscript (BN lat. 7958), although the details are not yet clear.

The seventh and final lacuna in the *Interpretationes* falls at the end of the text. Donatus concludes his remarks on the *Aeneid* itself and then addresses a concluding epistle to his son which breaks off mid-sentence in every known manuscript. Williams' reconstruction attributes it to the loss of the outermost bifolium from the final quire of manuscript V (46-7). There is no way to know how long the epilogue originally was, and it is perhaps worth entertaining the possibility that still more was lost. In any event, the text of the Wilson manuscript concludes at the bottom of 228r. It is only after turning the page that it becomes clear that the words *etiam in hac* are in fact the end of the volume.

We turn now to much more minor variations between the text of the manuscript and the printed edition. These will be treated in the order in which they appear.

Between 18v and 19r (which is the break between quires II and III and also a



change from scribe b to c) there is an additional lacuna, not known in any other manuscript. The last words of 18v are *concessum est indivisum est hoc spatium* (TCD 1.595.19, *ad Aen.* 6.675). The catchword, written horizontally in the lower right margin, reads *omnibusque commune perindeque*, which are in fact the next words of the published text. The manuscript, however, continues at the top of 19r with *addidit duo alia sed quae in parte sunt caeli* (TCD 1.602.18-19, *ad Aen.* 6.725). This is a loss of approximately seven pages' worth of text in the Teubner edition. Scribes vary in the number of words they can fit into a given line, and thus in the rate at which they use writing space. It is therefore impossible to say with any certainty how many manuscript pages this lacuna represents. Both the neighboring quires are complete and since the catchword on 18v points to text not present in the codex it may be that an entire quire has fallen out here, especially if the volume has in fact been rebound.

On 21v, lines 39-40, the manuscript includes, following the word *Camillum*, the following: *immo Decii plebei nam plebeiae Deciorum animae ut inquit Satyrus*. This is not ordinarily a part of the text, but Georgii writes that manuscript O (Oxford College, Lat. 44) includes it, with the addition of the word *phoebi* written immediately before *plebei*, but *librarius ipse expunxit, qua re haec verba non semet ipso inserta, sed in exemplari inventa esse prodit* (XXXV). This will be considered in Chapter 3 as evidence in favor of a connection between the Oxford and Wilson codices.

At the top of 47v scribe h begins writing (taking over from g, who wrote to the end of 47r). It seems to take a few lines for the scribe to warm up; the letter forms are much more regular from the fourth line on. The choppy writing of the first three lines is accompanied by a little confusion in the text. The Teubner edition reads *his addam, si*

*ulterior tibi nocendi voluntas est et vis fortius impleri quae facta sunt, his addam quae non continet instructio tua* (TCD 2.83.25-7, *ad Aen.* 7.550). The manuscript reads *quae facta sunt hiis addam tua altior tibi nocendi quae non continet instructio tua*. The scribe has mistaken *ulterior* for *altior*, given *his* an extra *I*, and generally confused the rest of the sentence. Probably the repetition of *his addam* in the exemplar was a contributing factor. This type of relatively minor mis-copying probably occurs at other locations as well. This one, however, drew attention to itself for occurring at change in quires and scribes and for the scribe's initially hesitant style.

On 96r the lower margin has been largely consumed by a footnote. The scribe (f) appears to have omitted a short section of text while copying the main body. A symbol like the letter *H* marks where it belongs, halfway through line 21, and points the reader to the four lines in the lower margin where it was added by the same scribe and presumably around the same time. The nearly-lost section (*Ecce quot modis infelix Nisus....et vestigia retro observata legit*) concerns *Aen.* 9.391ff. (TCD 2.241.26-242.4). The text contains two minor variations: *cogitabatur* where *cogebatur* is more widely attested and makes infinitely more sense, and *replexum* where *perplexum* is generally accepted, but the change makes little difference. The cause of the omission is probably the repetition of the phrase *vestigia retro observata legit*, which appears immediately prior to the four overlooked lines as a lemma quoted from the poem and again at the end of the four lines, as part of Donatus' explanation. The scribe's eye presumably latched onto the second instance when he meant to return to the first—a common enough mistake referred to as *saut du même au même*. Fortunately, he seems to have realized the error fairly quickly.

Finally (as mentioned above in the description of the quires), a very small lacuna

appears between 177v and 178r where, for reasons unknown, the last three leaves of a ternion (quire XIX) have been sliced out. Their stubs can still be seen in the gutter. The last words on 177v are *pulsu ruinae descriptae intelligendum est. Extemplo<sup>10</sup> turbatae acies* (TCD 2.510.25-6, *ad Aen.* 11.616). The first words of 178r are *primus Asilas induxit turmas in medios* (TCD 2.511.4-5, *ad Aen.* 11.620). Only a handful of lines in the Teubner edition, approximately 80 words, are missing—not nearly enough to account for the three removed leaves. The overlap of these two losses might be a coincidence, the result of a defect in the exemplar. Or, as mentioned above, the three final pages of quire XIX might have been removed to prevent the interruption of an exceptionally long blank space, and the few lines on the recto of the first cut leaf were lost with them, deliberately or not.

Although a thorough, word-for-word collation would be valuable and in fact will be necessary to a full investigation of the textual transmission of the *Interpretationes* or to a new published edition, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. The image that emerges from this chapter will be sufficient to begin on the question of the Wilson manuscript's relationship to other known copies.

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10 The text actually reads *exotemplo*. The scribe did not correct himself, but his intention is clear.

## CHAPTER 3

### TEXT TRANSMISSION

“The story of the transmission of the text of the *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e of Tiberius Claudius Donatus is, unfortunately, all too straightforward” (Marshall [1993b] 3). It begins with a total of three Carolingian manuscripts, only one of which contains the text on *Aeneid* 6-12, and ends with the small group of extant fifteenth-century manuscripts that predate the *editio princeps* printed in Naples in 1535 (Georgii XXXVIII; Sabbadini [1971] 147).

The one ninth-century manuscript relevant to the present study is known as V (Vat. lat. 1512) (on which see Georgii XX-XXIII, Rouse 157, Williams 41-9, Rand no. 9 and *CLA* I no. 10). It contains the commentary on *Aen.* 6-12 only, is written by a single scribe, and appears to have been produced at the abbey of Luxeuil in the late eighth or early ninth century. From the perspective of textual transmission, its most significant features are its seven lacunae (*ad Aen.* 6.1-157, 7.373-414, 8.455-729, 12.620-664, 689-755, 786-846 and the end of the author’s concluding letter to his son) and the disorder of the text on *Aen.* 12 (see Chapter 2).

On the other two Carolingian manuscripts, L and R, see Georgii XXIV-XXXI and XVII-XX, Rouse 157, Rand nos. 8 and 89, and *CLA* III no. 297. L contains the commentary on *Aen.* 1-5 only, and R 1-5 plus 10.1-585. Both were written at Tours in the early ninth century. Although R contains a small section of the second half of the

commentary it is not relevant to the present discussion because it is known not to have arrived in Italy until well after the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* ceased to be copied in manuscript form (Rouse 158, Marshall [1993a] 325).

The extant fifteenth-century manuscripts therefore descend from L and/or V, depending on what sections of the commentary they contain. It is, however, improbable that they were copied directly from the Carolingian manuscripts. Manuscripts H, O and U in particular (on which see below) tend to share certain readings which are not attested in L or V; an intermediary (“X”) therefore seems likely (Georgii XXXII-XXXIII). Georgii lists a handful of locations where such readings occur (e.g. 6.182, 7.221, 301, 332, 351, 594 and 744, 9.818 and 10.96), and on the addition of the phrase *se addidit Aeneae* at 6.168 in H, O and U, he asserts *numquam enim mihi persuadebitur quattuor diversos librarios casu in easdem aut mendas aut emendationes venire potuisse* (XXXII).

He seems, however, to overlook a further significant argument in favor of an intermediary X, namely the tendency among the fifteenth-century manuscripts to encounter difficulties at *Aen.* 12.471 following the words *sic enim illa dixerat*. Three manuscripts (M, U and cod. Vat. lat. 7582) end entirely at this point (Marshall [1993a] 326-7, [1993b] 18 note 1, Georgii XXXV-XXXVI). Another three (O, Paris, and Wilson) present the text of book 12 out of order, with line 471 being a critical point in the confusion (Marshall [1993a] 326, Georgii XXXIV-XXXV, XXXVII). In the Wilson manuscript, as described in Chapter 2, this (12.471) is the point where the first partial copy of book 12 stops before the next quire backtracks to 12.195 to begin the second partial copy. These six manuscripts argue in favor of an intermediary X because 12.471 is not a point of interest in manuscript V (seen in microfilm). The critical words *sic enim*

*illa dixerat* occur in lines 24 and 25 of column B on 228 recto, right in the middle of quire XXXI. It is hard to imagine how this unobtrusive line could have caused such confusion in so many of V's immediate descendants. If, however, these were the last words in a quire of the hypothetical X, the source of the problem would be much clearer. This line is the last in quire XXII in the Wilson manuscript, the last half-verso of which (207) is blank. It is unclear how many other manuscripts have a quire-break at *sic enim illa dixerat*, but those that do (the Wilson manuscript included) are likely to be nearer relatives of the presumed X than those that do not. It is even possible that the intermediary X is among the extant humanist manuscripts.

From V and L (probably via X) are descended fifteen humanist manuscripts containing all or part of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae*. Six of these in no way overlap the text of the Wilson manuscript; that is, they descend exclusively from L and thus contain only the first half of the text. As these six are largely irrelevant here, they will be listed briefly. (For more information, see Georgii XXXVI-XXXVII, Marshall [1993a] *passim*, [1993b] 18 note 1.)

(1) Ambrosianus H 265 (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana): books 1-5 (*invenire non possis* [*sic*]), paper, ff. 84, 1450-1475, Rome/Naples (?)

(2) Farnesinus V. B. 31 (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale): books 1-IV.112 (*apud cartaginem*), paper, ff. 128, 1450-1500

(3) Magliabecchianus VII 971 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II.I.66, formerly Strozzi 543): books 1-5 (*invenire non posset*), paper, ff. 264, 1450-1475, Rome (?)

(4) Parisinus bibliothecae nationalis lat. 7957 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France): books 1-5, paper, ff. 211 (some leaves blank), 1461

(5) Palat. 1194 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze): book 1 only, being the first section of a miscellany, paper, "1 quinterno, 7 quaderni, 1 ternione cui manca l'ult. c.," 1450-1500 (Gentile 416). Not listed by Marshall.

(6) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 755: books 1-5 (excerpts only), paper, ff. 28r-38v, late 15<sup>th</sup>-century.

This manuscript is not listed in Marshall 1993a but is added to his list by a footnote in 1993b (18, note 1). In fact, this manuscript is not a direct copy of Donatus, but rather a copy of the excerpts from Donatus made by Petrus Crinitus in 1496, working from manuscript L itself. (For a discussion of Clm 755, see Mommsen.)

The remaining nine manuscripts contain some or all of the second half of the

*Interpretationes*. Five of these contain the entire text (books 1-12). They are:

H: Haarlensis bibliothecae publicae 22 / Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek 22 (187 C 16)  
(Georgii XXXIII-XXXIV, Marshall [1993a] 326)

books 1-12, parchment, ff. 380, 1466, Florence

defective opening: *cui licuit universa percurrere* (Georgii 1.5.4)

defective ending: *debeatur* (finishes the commentary, but omits the author's letter to his son; Georgii 2.642.4)

scribal colophon on 380 verso: *...de anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto de mense decembris in civitate Florentina...*

extra lacunae: 5.796-807, 7.1-3, *in septimo maior pars orationis Amatae...usque ad v.425, 12. 605-855, praeterea alia non pauca breviora*

duplication: *post 9.211 inserta legitur interpretatio ad 8.364-368 suo etiam loco perscripta*

O: Oxoniensis collegii Lincolnensis lat. XLIV / Oxford, Lincoln College lat. 44

(Georgii XXXIV-XXXV, Marshall [1993a] 326)

books 1-12, parchment, ff. 395, Florence, c.1460, by Vespasiano da Bisticci

disorder of book 12: *post interpretationes v.386 et 470, item post lemma v.904*

*librarius, dum adiectis inferius quae primo omiserat errorem corrigit, ordinem male turbavit, quod accuratius exponere longum est*

variant reading: at 6.824 after *Camillum* ms. O adds *immo Decii [[phoebi]] plebei nam plebeiae Deciorum animae ut inquit Satyrus*

U: Urbinas 346 bibliothecae Vaticanae / Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb.lat.346

(Georgii XXXV, Marshall [1993a] 327)

books 1-12, parchment, ff. 388, 1475-82, Rome (?)

defective ending: *sic enim illa dixerat* (Georgii 2.608.23, *ad Aen.* 12.471)

extra lacuna: 6.579-901 (end of book); *alias maiores lacunas fortasse invenissem, si totum librum perlustrassem. eas quibus LVR in IV VI VII VII hiant hic quoque habet, in XII comparari nequit.*

probably related to M (below)

M: Malatestianus bibliothecae Cesenensis II 22 4 / Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S.22.4

(Georgii XXXV-XXXVI; Marshall [1993a] 326)  
books 1-12, parchment, ff. 323, c.1450s, Ferrara (?)  
defective ending: *sic enim illa dixerat* (Georgii 2.608.23, *ad Aen.* 12.471)  
probably related to U (above)

Vatican: Vatican City, cod. Vat. lat. 7582 (Marshall [1993b] 18, note 1)  
books 1-12, paper, ff. 346, 1450-1475  
defective ending: *sic enim illi [sic] dixerat* (Georgii 2.608.23, *ad Aen.* 12.471)

Three more contain what is essentially the second half of the text (books 6-12). These are the Wilson manuscript (described in Chapter 1), a second Paris manuscript, and the Wellesley manuscript:

Paris: Parisinus bibliothecae nationalis 7958 / Paris, BN, lat. 7958  
(Georgii XXXVII; Marshall [1993a] 326-7)  
books 6-12, parchment, ff. 161 (some leaves missing), c.1460 (?), Florence  
defective ending: *debeatur* (finishes the commentary, but omits the author's letter to his son; Georgii 2.642.4)  
disorder of book 12: *post 12.471 "sic enim illa dixerat" primum pars ex 12.195-471, quam librarius iam suo loco scripserat, sequitur repetita multis omissis, deinde interpretatio a 12.471 usque ad 493 "hasta tulit," tum 12.932, "miserere (sic) si qua parentis – debeatur" 952, postremo adnexa est particula 12.423-434 "non manu tenentis – dictis quoque composuit."*  
Georgii makes this a relative of U and M (above)

Wellesley: Wellesley College (Wellesley, Massachusetts) MS 7  
(Marshall [1993a] 327; 1990; Wellesley College Library Digital Collections)  
books 1 + 6-12, paper, ff. 357, 1460s, Florence  
almost an entire quire left blank at the start of book 6, as if in the hope of eventually recovering the material on *Aen.* 6.1-157

One manuscript, finally, contains all of the first half of the text and only a small portion of the second:

Venice: Marcianus bibliothecae Venetorum XIII 52a / Biblioteca Marciana, XIII 52a (3916)  
(Georgii XXXVI-XXXVII; Marshall [1993a] 327)  
books 1-6.280 (*poena consequitur*), paper, ff. 140



The Wellesley manuscript is unusual for the text it contains. According to Marshall, it “is obviously a composite text, basically books VI-XII, to which Book I was added. Why books II-V are not also present is not at all clear” ([1993a] 327). This peculiarity is perhaps far more significant (and explicable) than it first seems (see below on the rediscovery of Donatus by the humanists and the arrival of his work in Italy). The Venice manuscript, although it does cross the traditional boundary between the two halves of the text (between books 5 and 6), copies the text continuously (with, of course, the standard lacuna at the beginning of *Aeneid* 6). Its particular selection of text is therefore less informative than that of the Wellesley manuscript.<sup>11</sup>

Before attempting to place the Wilson manuscript in relation to the eight above, a brief review of its chief characteristics is in order:

Wilson: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Wilson Library, Folio MS 539  
(previously unpublished)  
books 6-12 (with unique text on 1 recto-verso), paper, ff. 228, c.1465, Veneto(?)  
extra lacunae: 6.675-725, 11.616-620  
disorder of book 12: 1-471, 190-385, 664-690, 755-786, 385-end

Considering the nine fifteenth-century manuscripts containing some or all of this half of the *Interpretationes*, two major features stand out. The first is the frequency with which the words *sic enim illa dixerat* (*ad Aen.* 12.471) preface something unusual in the order of the text. This is the case in six of the nine (O, U, M, Paris, Vatican and Wilson). Venice ends too early for the issue to arise. That leaves only two manuscripts (H and

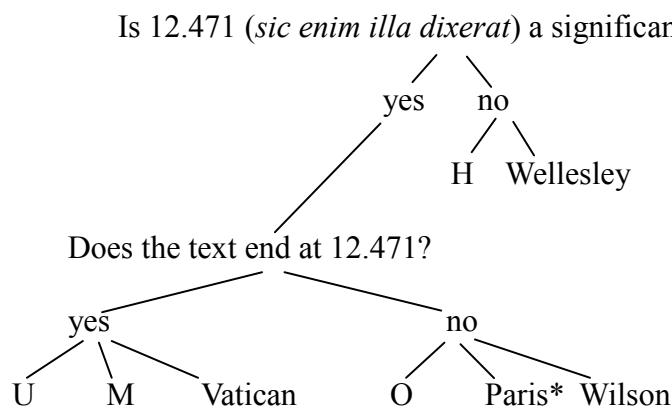
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11 Kristeller’s *Iter Italicum* cites a German book list from the late eighteenth century indicating that manuscripts of Donatus’ commentary once existed in Nuremberg and Prague. The entries, however, simply list the manuscripts without indicating what portion(s) of the text they contain (Hirsching 45 and 256). With so little information, it is possible that the references are either to additional manuscripts not discussed here because they are no longer traceable or to known manuscripts listed here in locations other than those given by Hirsching.

Wellesley) that reach this point and face no difficulty with it (as far as I can determine from the information available).

The second major feature of the transmission is the disorder of the text on *Aeneid* 12. This affects O, Paris, and Wilson. It might also have affected U, M, Vatican and Venice if they had each carried on to the end of the text. As it is, only H and Wellesley are known to present the text once, straight through, in the proper order (again, as far as I can tell from the published descriptions of each manuscript).

Based on the treatment of 12.471 ff., it is possible to draw a loose family tree. (The Venice manuscript is discounted; containing commentary on only 280 relevant lines, it can hardly shed much light on the situation.)



\*Although the Paris manuscript does not end at 12.471, it does end slightly early, concluding the commentary but omitting the closing letter addressed to Donatus' son.

It is probably no coincidence that the three manuscripts known to have seriously disordered text in book 12 (O, Paris and Wilson) cluster together. Again, of course, U, M and the Vatican manuscript might have had similar difficulties did they not end so early.

Two minor factors combine to make O, rather than Paris, appear to be the Wilson manuscript's nearest relative. First, the Paris manuscript is missing the epistolary

epilogue, which O and Wilson both contain. Second, the Wilson manuscript shares with O a variant reading not reported in any other manuscript; at 6.824 after the word *Camillum* both read *immo Decii plebei nam plebeiae Deciorum animae ut inquit Satyrus* before resuming with *Decii et Drusi nobiles fuerunt* (TCD 1.612.12). The weight of this latter observation is decreased by the frequently haphazard manner of Georgii's collation of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, especially those containing only one half of the commentary or the other (XXXIII-XXXVII). Nonetheless, it seems fairly secure to say that the Wilson manuscript is a nearer relation to O and Paris than to any other known manuscript, and it can perhaps be tentatively suggested that O is the closer of the two.

It remains, finally, to consider how the surviving manuscripts relate to the narrative scholars have constructed concerning the rediscovery and transmission of Donatus' text. The extant manuscripts—both Carolingian and Renaissance—seem to indicate that the text generally circulated in two separate halves. Manuscripts L and V are generally accepted as the ultimate sources of these two respective halves (Rouse 157, Marshall [1993a] 325). We know precisely how and when L arrived in Italy: Jean Jouffroy, then abbot of Luxeuil, brought it with him from that abbey when he traveled in 1438 to the Council of Ferrara (Sabbadini [1967] vol. 1, 132, 194-5, vol. 2, 220-1; [1971] 149-50). By contrast, we know nothing about the travels of manuscript V. It is generally assumed to have arrived in Italy by about 1460 based on the dates of manuscripts H and O (the former contains a colophon stating that it was produced in 1466; the latter was probably part of Robert Flemmyng's 1465 donation to Lincoln College) (Sabbadini [1967] vol. 2, 220-1; Rouse 158). Sabbadini argues for narrowing the window to the late 1450s based on a letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Battista Guarino in February 1456

(quoted above) wherein the former promises to keep an eye out for the section of the *Interpretationes* the latter reports he does not yet have ([1971] 150; Poggio 389). The assumption is that since L arrived in Italy in 1438, its text must be what Guarino already had when writing in the late 1450s; what he is missing is books 6-12 (derived from V), which therefore cannot yet have been known in Italy.

The Wilson manuscript itself fits well enough into this scenario that it sheds little new light on it. A previously unnoticed feature of another manuscript, however, should be noted. Both Sabbadini and Rouse report a reference by Niccolò Niccoli to an eight-book manuscript of the *Interpretationes* seen in the Reichenau library during the Council of Constance between 1415 and 1417: *In monasterio Sancti Marci quod est in lacu Constantie sunt commentaria Donati grammatici in litteris vetustissimis in libros octo Aeneidos Virgilii* (Sabbadini [1967] vol. 2, 202, 220-1; [1971] 150; Rouse 158). As mentioned previously, texts of the *Interpretationes* tend to contain five, seven, or twelve books (one half or the other, or both together). Neither scholar could, at the time, account for an eight-book text. “Unfortunately, this manuscript leaves no trace either in the Reichenau book-lists or in the *recentiores* of the commentary” (Rouse 158). “[M]a non pare che se ne sia tratto copia. Di quel codice s’è perduta ogni traccia” (Sabbadini [1971] 150).

With the resurfacing of the Wellesley manuscript in the 1990s, however, these statements should be emended. Containing the commentary on *Aeneid* 1 and 6-12, the Wellesley manuscript covers eight books of the *Aeneid*. It is confidently attributed by Peter Marshall to 1460s Florence, and consequently cannot be the same manuscript reported by Niccoli as being at Reichenau four decades earlier ([1990] 364). It might,

however, be its descendant. Niccoli might have brought a copy back with him to Florence—his hometown, and the probable origin of several of the fifteenth-century copies of the text, including the Wellesley manuscript itself. Or he might even have brought the original.

If the eight-book manuscript Niccoli saw at Reichenau was the antecedent of the Wellesley codex, then Donatus' commentary on *Aeneid* 1 and 6-12 might have been known in Italy by about 1417—20 years before Jean Jouffroy arrived with manuscript L (*ad Aen.* 1-5). According to this narrative, L was then the missing piece (not V), and the complete text of the commentary would have been available to Italian bookmakers by about 1440. It is even possible that the Reichenau manuscript or one of its descendants was the intermediary X proposed by Georgii for books 1 and 6-12. This requires a second X, covering at least books 2-5 (probably 1-5), but since the text seems generally to have circulated in two separate halves this is not unlikely. A thorough collation of all known manuscripts should produce abundant evidence to either support or refute this theory.

There are, however, two potential difficulties with this alternative interpretation. One is that Battista Guarino still didn't have access to the complete commentary by the mid-1450s (see above; Sabbadini [1971] 150). Allowing, however, for less instantaneous travel of information than we today take for granted, it is possible from his nonspecific request to Poggio that the text he has yet to acquire is what we know arrived with Jouffroy in 1438. What he already had might, for all we can now tell, have been what was contained in the Reichenau manuscript.

The second potential problem is that, of the extant fifteenth-century manuscripts,

none is reported by scholars to much predate 1460 (Marshall [1993a] 327). This is hard to explain if books 1 and 6-12 had been available already for forty years by that time, and books 2-5 for twenty. But the same sort of problem, albeit of a lesser magnitude, exists under the original reconstruction, whereby books 1-5 were available from about 1440; the earliest datable copies still do not appear for about twenty years.

Without secure information regarding the arrival of manuscript V in Italy or any further evidence for Niccoli's Reichenau manuscript, much of our understanding of the transmission of the text (especially the second half) will continue to be built on extrapolations and unavoidable assumptions. Nonetheless it should be recognized that the Wellesley manuscript adds a significant caveat to our existing information, and that a thorough examination of it might dramatically alter our understanding of the transmission and of the text itself.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE SUPPLEMENTARY TEXT

The most interesting feature of Folio MS 539 is the text of its first page and a half where the makers of the codex evidently tried to compensate for the lacuna spanning *Aen.* 6.1-157 by composing a new text, apparently unique, although for the most part from identifiable sources. That this text does not appear in any other manuscript of the *Interpretationes* is evidence against the Wilson manuscript's being a direct and verbatim copy from, or exemplar of, any of the other extant manuscripts. (In the former case, the supplementary text, at least, would have to have been added; in the latter, it would have to have been removed.) A serious effort was made to improve upon the available text before the Wilson manuscript was produced.

The only other manuscript known to give this lacuna special treatment is the one at Wellesley, wherein most of a quire has been left blank, "presumably so that the missing text of Book 6 could be added at a later date when (if) it was located in a complete exemplar" (Wellesley College Library Digital Collections). These two different approaches to the lacuna imply two very different attitudes. The makers of the Wellesley manuscript were remarkably optimistic to plan for the recovery of a section of text missing even in the Carolingian manuscript V. The makers of the Wilson manuscript, by contrast, seem to have abandoned that hope and instead pursued a much more immediate solution. Nonetheless, both responses mark significant moments in the reception and

transmission of the *Interpretationes*.

What follows is a reading edition of the supplementary text in the Wilson manuscript with an apparatus criticus and afterwards a commentary, focusing on the text's sources. (For a diplomatic edition, see Appendix F.)

§

[1-2] SIC FATUR LACRIMANS CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS / ET TANDEM EUBOIS

CUMARUM ADLABITUR ORIS: Post casum ac lacrimas Palinuri, ventum est ad civitatem Cumarum ubi responsum (non notis aut foliis sed viva sibyllae voce) cum recipisset, inhumatum Misenum terrae aspersione sepelivit. Augurio inde columbarum accepto, in opacam silvam aureo ramo invento, una cum sibylla apud inferos descendens invenit Elissam, conspicatur lacerum Deiphobum, umbrarum poenas et crudeles discit cruciatus. Conveniens tandem Anchisam, futuram prolem ac caros nepotes conspicatus, ex eburnea porta relictos socios revisit.

[1] SIC FATUR LACRIMANS: Continuatio est superioris libri per Palinuri mortem.

[1] CLASSIS: □π□ τ□ν κάλων<sup>12</sup> dicta est, id est a lignis, nam et 'calones' qui ligna militibus ministrant dicuntur.

[1] HABENAS: Per metaphoram dictum est. Sic Ovidius primus maioris: *Sic opus est aperite domos ac, mole remota, / fluminibus vestris totas immittite habenas* (Ovid *Met.* 1.279-280).

[2] ET TANDEM EUBOIS CUMARUM ADLABITUR ORIS: Euboia insula est unde profecti sunt hi qui Cumarum civitatem aedificaverunt. Sciendum autem, ut supra dictum est, quia prepositio, detracta nomini, saepe verbo copulatur et plerumque vim suam servat et est

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12 The manuscript in fact reads ἀπο τοῦ κάλων, which is attested also in several manuscripts of Servius. In the interest of legibility, however, the reading edition presents the spelling published by Thilo and Hagen.



hysterologia, ut *quas vento accesserit oras* (*Aen.* 1.307); aut amittit casum suum et est figura. Plerumque superfluas ponimus praepositiones.

[3-5] OBVERTUNT PELAGO PRORAS; TUM DENTE TENACI / ANCHORA FUNDEBANT NAVES ET LITORA CURVAE / PRAETEXUNT PUPPES. IUUENUM MANUS EMICAT ARDENS: Torquent Troiani proras in litus Hesperium ut Cumarum civitatem adeant. ‘Curvae’ epitheton perpetuum est navium.

[5] ARDENS: Pro festinante et ingenioso ponitur, sicut per contrarium segnis, sine ingenio, et quasi sine igne accipitur. Sic supra, *instant ardentis Tyrii pars ducere muros* (*Aen.* 1.423).

[8-10] AT PIUS AENEAS ARCES QUIBUS ALTUS APOLLO / PRAESIDET HORRENDAEQUE PROCUL SECRETA SIBYLLAE, / ANTRUM IMMANE, PETIT: Adiiit Aeneas altum templum Apollinis. ‘Altus’ Apollo propter oraculi magnitudinem dixit, ‘horrendae’ sibyllae pro venerabilis; supra dicta est autem sybilla  $\square\pi\square\tau\square\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,<sup>13</sup> Latine ‘deus,’ et  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\square$ , ‘sciens’ quasi ‘dei scientia.’ ‘Immane’ magnum significat, ut *dorsum immane mari* (*Aen.* 1.110).

[10-11] MAGNAM CUI MENTEM ANIMUMQUE / DELIUS INSPIRAT VATES APERITQUE FUTURA: Opera et auxilio Apollinis futura praedicit. ‘Aperit’ autem ostendit et palam facit, ut *Salustius caput aperire solitus et terram inter fluctus aperit* (Sallust, *Historiae*, fragment 5.20; *Aen.* 1.107).

[12] IAM SUBEUNT TRIVIAE LUCOS: Lucos ‘Triviae’ pro Proserpinae quae, a Plutone rapta, in triviis et quadriviis requisita <est>; ei dedicata sunt.

[14-16] DAEDALUS UT FAMA EST FUGIENS MINOIA REGNA / PRAEPETIBUS PENNIS AUSUS SE

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13 The manuscript reads  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ . Several similar variants are attested by the apparatus criticus in Thilo-Hagen (*ad Aen.* 6.12, line 16). For legibility, however, the orthography has been made to conform with the version they print.

CREDERE CAELO / INSUETUM PER ITER: Venus, ob deprehensum a Sole adulterium quod cum Marte patrauerat, furias in omnem progeniem Solis immisit, ut in Circem et Pasiphaen, uxorem Minois, quae, amore tauri flagrans, Daedali opera cum eo concubuit; quo coitu compressa, Minotaurum, humana carne vescentem, peperit. Verum cum Minos e Pasiphae Androgeum, inter alios, athleta maximum, suscepisset, ab Atheniensibus et Megarensibus occiditur; qua propter Minos, bella contra Athenienses movens, devictos poena mulctavit ut singulis annis VII<sup>14</sup> de filiis et VII de filiabus Minotauro mitterent. Tertio autem anno missus est Theseus, virtute, fama, rebus gestis et forma insignis, ab Adriana dilectus. Eius auxilio Minotaurum superavit et, Adriana rapta, fugam sibi consuluit. Quae cum Daedali opera Minos facta deprehendisset, eum cum filio Icaro in laberintho asservandum trusit. Daedalus, corruptis servis atriensibus, sub simulatione ceram et pennas accepit, quibus alis impositis ad Arctos evolavit. Daedalus, nato in mari iam lapso, primo ut refert Salustius Sardiniam inde Cumas tenuit, ubi Apollini templo fabrefacto in foribus haec pinxit.

[16] INSUETUM PER ITER: Non hominibus sed avibus tum notum. ENAVIT AD ARCTOS: Ad septentrionis plagam vel melius ad signum septentrionis.

[30-31] TU QUOQUE MAGNAM / PARTEM OPERE IN TANTO, SINNERET DOLOR, ICARE,

HABERES: Daedalus, dolore coactus, mortem filii excudere non valuit.

[36] DEYPHOBE GLAUCI: Scilicet filia, quae fata Romana conscripsit.

[38] NUNC GREGE DE INTACTO VII MACTARE IUENCOS: Inter gregem et armentum discriptio facienda est ut sit grex minorum animalium multitudo, armentum vero maiorum, ut boum et equorum et quae his similia sunt. *Sed pictoribus atque poetis*

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14 The manuscript in fact reads *VI de filiis et VII de filiabus*. This seems much more likely to be a copyist's error (the loss of a single stroke) than evidence for a variant version of the myth.

*quaelibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas* (Horace, *Ars Poetica* 9-10).

[39] LECTAS TOTIDEM DE MORE BIDENTES: Ut supra dictum est, quasi biennes dicuntur, quod intra bimatam duos dentes eminentiores habeant.

[45-46] VENTUM ERAT AD LIMEN CUM VIRGO POSCERE FATA / TEMPUS AIT: Virgo vicinitate dei afflata more furentis haec dicit. ‘Cessas in vota’: in ara detineris ad vota facienda; cum autem dicimus ‘cessas in votis,’ hoc significat, tardum dum vota persolvis; ‘cessas’ vero ‘in vota,’ cessas ad ea persolvenda et incohanda.

§

[1-2] *sepell[.]t* [1] □πο το□ κ□λ□ν; q(ui) lignia q(ui) lignia (sic bis) [8-10] □πο του σϊος; β□λ□ [14-16] A(USUS). S(E). C(REDERE). C(AELO). P(RAEPETIBUS). P(ENNIS).; a[[u]]d[[e]]lterium; ut incirce et pasiphe uxor minois; fragra(n)s; fuga; mariam [30-31] ycarus dolore coactus [39] binatu(m) [45-46] invata inara detineris; ade persolvenda et coha(n)da

§

The supplementary material on the first leaf of the codex begins with a summary of *Aeneid* 6:

SIC FATUR LACRIMANS CLASSIQUE IMMITTIT HABENAS / ET TANDEM EUBOIS CUMARUM  
ADLABITUR ORIS: Post casum ac lacrimas Palinuri, ventum est ad civitatem Cumarum ubi responsum (non notis aut foliis sed viva sibyllae voce) cum recipisset, inhumatum Misenum terrae aspersione sepelivit.<sup>15</sup> Augurio inde columbarum accepto, in opacam silvam aureo ramo invento, una cum sibylla apud inferos descendens invenit Elissam, conspicatur lacerum Deiphobum, umbrarum poenas et crudeles discit cruciatus.  
Conveniens tandem Anchisam, futuram prolem ac caros nepotes conspicatus, ex eburnea

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<sup>15</sup> A small brown spot on the page (one of several) obscures the space of approximately two letters in this word, leaving *sepell[.]t* visible. The grammar of the sentence requires the form *sepelivit*. The double-L may simply be a variant spelling, of which there is no shortage in this manuscript.

porta relictos socios revisit.

Although the above is prose, it bears some noteworthy similarities to the hexameter summary of *Aeneid* 6 attributed to Ovid in the *Anthologia Latina* (volume I,1, page 11):

*Cumas deinde venit. Fert hinc responsa Sibyllae.  
 Misenum sepelit; mons servat nomen humati.  
 Ramum etiam divum placato numine portat.  
 At vates longaeva una descendit Avernum.  
 Agnoscit Palinurum et ibi solatur Elissam  
 Deiphobumque videt lacerum crudeliter ora.  
 Umbrarum poenas audit narrante Sibylla.  
 Convenit Anchisen penitus convalle virenti  
 Agnoscitque suam prolem monstrante parente.  
 Haec ubi percepit, graditur classemque revisit.*<sup>16</sup>

Although not immediately overwhelming, the similarities between the two are still substantial enough to argue strongly for a relationship between them. There are both verbal parallels (of varying strength) throughout and parallel content expressed in different language. The following is a table of the linguistic similarities between the two texts:

Pseudo-Ovid	MS 539
<b>Cumas deinde venit</b> (1)	<b>ventum</b> est ad civitatem <b>Cumarum</b>
fert hinc <b>responsa Sibyllae</b> (1)	<b>responsum</b> ...viva <b>sibyllae</b> voce
<b>Misenum sepelit</b> (2)	inhumatum <b>Misenum</b> ... <b>sepelivit</b>
mons servat nomen <b>humati</b> (2)	<b>inhumatum</b> Misenum...sepelivit
<b>ramum</b> ...portat (3)	<b>ramo</b> accepto
vates longaeva <b>una descendit</b> Avernum (4)	<b>una</b> cum sibylla apud inferos <b>descendens</b>
ibi solatur <b>Elissam</b> (5)	invenit <b>Elissam</b>
<b>Deiphobumque videt lacerum</b> (6)	conspicatur <b>lacerum Deiphobum</b>
<b>umbrarum poenas</b> audit narrante Sibylla (7)	<b>umbrarum poenas</b> et crudeles discit cruciatus
<b>convenit Anchisen</b> (8)	<b>conveniens</b> tandem <b>Anchisam</b>
agnoscitque suam <b>prolem</b> (9)	futuram <b>prolem</b> ...conspicatus
graditur classemque <b>revisit</b> (10)	ex eburnea porta relictos socios <b>revisit</b>

<sup>16</sup> This text varies in a number of small ways across various known manuscripts. See, for example, Valpy 4606-7, Meyerus 270, Moreno 66 and the *apparatus criticus* to the *Anthologia Latina* edition itself.

Some of these are more significant than others. The echoing forms of *venire* and *Cumae* in the beginning of each summary are not, perhaps, very striking; after all, Aeneas does arrive at Cumae at the beginning of Book 6, and this is the most obvious way to express that event. It also seems fairly obvious to use the word *ramus* to refer to the Golden Bough. The conjunction of the adjective *lacer* with the name of Deiphobus is straight from the *Aeneid* itself; in fact, line 6 of the Pseudo-Ovid is nearly identical to *Aen.* 6.495 (*Deiphobum videt et lacerum crudeliter ora*). The choice of the words *foliis*, *proles* and *revisere* may also be the result of the ultimate common source in the text of Vergil. *Foliis* appears at *Aen.* 6.74 in Aeneas' request to the Sibyl to speak aloud instead of writing on leaves as is her custom. *Proles* appears in *Aeneid* 6 at lines 717, 756 and 763 in reference to Aeneas' future descendants (as well as at lines 25, 322, 648 and 784 in reference to others). Finally, the antepenultimate line of the book (899) is *ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit*. In addition, the word *humati* is perhaps connected, although more distantly, to *humandum* at *Aen.* 6.161.

The more convincing echoes are the ones from lines two, four, five, seven and eight of the Pseudo-Ovid (*Misenum sepelit; una descendit; Elissam; umbrarum poenas; convenit Anchisen*). In four of these five cases, two words appear in conjunction in both texts without the pairing originating in the *Aeneid* (*Misenus* and *sepelere*, *una* and *descendere*, *umbrarum poenas*, and *convenire* and *Anchises*). Both texts also refer to the late Dido as Elissa, a name Vergil gives for her at 4.335 and 610, but nowhere in Book 6. Certainly the accusative *Didonem* (two long syllables followed by a short) would have been problematic for the hexameter of the verse summary, but the prose version in MS 539 faced no such restrictions. It seems likely, therefore, that it uses the less-familiar

name Elissa because its source did.

Before leaving the topic of verbal echoes, it is worth noting that some words seem more likely to be transmitted than others. Six of the ten line-initial words in the verse summary have made their way more or less directly into the prose version (*Cumas*, *Misenum*, *ramum*, *Deiphobum*, *umbrarum* [*poenas*] and *convenit* [*Anchisen*]). Four line-final words were picked up (*[responsa] Sibyllae*, *humati*, *Elissam*, and *revisit*). Mid-line words are unlikely to come through unless attached to a word at the line's beginning (e.g. *venit*, attached to *Cumas*, or *lacerum*, attached to *Deiphobum*) or end (e.g. *responsa*, attached to *Sibyllae*). The only midline words picked out on their own are the phrase *una descendit* (line 4) and the noun *prolem* (line 9). If the person adapting the pseudo-Ovidian text for use in the Wilson manuscript was working from memory, it is not surprising that what came to mind were the starts and ends of lines.

Beyond the linguistic level, the two summaries share most of the same content. A summary of each follows, with discrepancies in bold.

Pseudo-Ovid	MS 539
—	<b>death of Palinurus</b>
arrival at Cumae	arrival at Cumae
the sibyl's prophecies	the sibyl's prophecies
burial of Misenus	burial of Misenus
<b>etiology of Cape Misenum</b>	<b>Venus sends doves to guide Aeneas</b>
the Golden Bough	the Golden Bough
descent into the Underworld	descent into the Underworld
<b>shade of Palinurus</b>	—
shade of Dido	shade of Dido
shade of Deiphobus (wounded)	shade of Deiphobus (wounded)
the Sibyl tells Aeneas about the Underworld	the Sibyl tells Aeneas about the Underworld
meeting Anchises	meeting Anchises
Anchises shows Aeneas his descendants	Anchises shows Aeneas his descendents
Aeneas returns to his fleet	Aeneas returns to his fleet

Even where the words themselves have changed, the ideas they convey are essentially the

same. Even what appear at first to be differences are not as great as they might be. Palinurus has simply been relocated from the middle of the summary to the beginning, where he serves to link the beginning of Book 6 to the end of Book 5. In fact, the author of the prose summary in MS 539 may have been inspired to this by the fact that the first two lines of *Aeneid* 6 preface the prose summary there; *sic fatur lacrimans* would remind the reader why Aeneas was crying. After Palinurus had been mentioned at the beginning of the summary it would have been unnecessary to repeat him alongside the shades of Dido and Deiphobus.

The prose summary in MS 539 leaves out the explanation that Cape Misenum is named for Aeneas' dead shipmate (*mons servat nomen humati* in the second line of the Pseudo-Ovid summary), even though its phrase *inhumatum Misenum* seems to echo one of the words used in the etiology (*humati*). In its place (between the burial of Misenus and the retrieval of the Golden Bough) the prose version has inserted the doves Venus sends to guide Aeneas through the forest (*augurio inde columbarum accepto*). The verse version has an ablative absolute in its line about the Bough as well: *placato numine*. This could refer to the Bough itself and the *fata* that govern whether a mortal is allowed to break it off (*Aen.* 6.146-8) or proleptically to Proserpina, whom we are led to believe will be appeased by its presentation (6.142-3). It is difficult to see how it could refer to Venus, however, which means that the change from *placato numine* to *augurio...accepto* is an alteration in meaning, for all that the syntax is preserved and both clearly relate a divinity's involvement with the Golden Bough.

The doves sent by Venus are not the only addition the prose summary makes to the content found in the verse lines. In several places it is more precise than its

predecessor, adding that the sibyl's answers are given *non notis aut foliis sed viva sibyllae voce*, that Misenus is buried *terrae aspersione*, that the Golden Bough is found *in opacam silvam*, and that Aeneas leaves the Underworld *ex eburnea porta*. It omits a few details, too; apart from the etiology of Cape Misenum already mentioned, it also passes over the location of Aeneas' meeting with Anchises (*convalle virenti* in line 8 of the Pseudo-Ovid).

For all these minor changes, the two summaries still seem very likely to be related. The connection is not necessarily direct; they may have shared a common source (that is, other than the *Aeneid* itself), or there may have been some intermediary between them. It is not impossible, however, that the prose summary in MS 539 is in fact directly adapted from the Pseudo-Ovidian verse summary, with the kinds of minor changes we will see the supplementary material continue to make to its source material as it enters the line-by-line commentary.

To better appreciate what these two texts have in common, consider three other hexameter summaries of *Aeneid* 6. First, the five-line "Pentasticha" summary that forms part of the cycle known as the *Carmina XII Sapientum* (*Anth. Lat.* I,2, 84, item 596):

*Sacratam Phoebus Cumarum fertur in urbem  
Rex Phrygius vatisque petit responsa Sibyllae.  
Misenum sepelit. Post haec adit infera regna  
Congressusque patri discit genus omne suorum,  
Quove modo casus valeat superare futuros.*

A few of the words used here are found also in the Wilson codex. The first and most obvious is the name of Cumae, but naming the city could hardly be avoided, and it is worth noting that nothing else in the first line of this Pentasticha appears in either the Pseudo-Ovid or in MS 539 (labelling Cumae as an *urbs*, and as sacred to Apollo). The sibyl's answers (*responsa Sibyllae*) again make an appearance—but again, this is an



unmarked way of expressing the thought, and therefore not necessarily an echo. *Misenum sepelit* is perhaps the most striking, since in both the verse summaries considered so far it stands at the opening of a line. The verb *discit* appears in both versions, although in MS 539 its object is the *crudeles...cruciatus* of which Aeneas hears from the sibyl, whereas in the *Carmina XII Sapientum* its object is Aeneas' future descendents (referred to in MS 539 as *suam prolem* and in the Pentasticha as *genus omne suorum*, a tenuous linguistic link at best). Calling Aeneas *rex Phrygius*, however, is new. So is *infera regna* for the Underworld. The final line of this version, too, has no parallel in either MS 539 or the Pseudo-Ovid (but perhaps bears a passing resemblance to *Aen.* 6.892: *et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem*). Meanwhile, this summary omits the Golden Bough, Deiphobus, Dido, Palinurus, and the afterlife punishments Aeneas learns of from the sibyl.

The "Tetrasticha" summary is almost too short to have the chance to offer many parallels (*Anth. Lat.* I,2, 127, item 654).

*Sic lacrimans tandem Cumarum adlabitur oris.  
 Descenditque domus Ditis comitante Sibylla.  
 Agnoscit Troas caesos, agnoscit Achivos,  
 Et docet Anchises venturam ad sidera prolem.*

The entire first line is drawn almost verbatim from the *Aeneid* itself, so any similarities to it are moot. The second line captures the same content as the fourth line of the Pseudo-Ovid (*at vates longaeva una descendit Avernum*), using the same verb (probably famous in this context thanks to *Aen.* 6.126) but a different name for the Underworld and a different expression to denote the sibyl's accompanying Aeneas. (Where the Pseudo-Ovid and MS 539 have in common the adverb *una*, the Tetrasticha employs an ablative

absolute built off a verb appearing nowhere in the other two summaries.) The third line refers very generally to the shades Aeneas sees. As far as *Troas caesos* are concerned, Pseudo-Ovid and MS 539 are more specific, each naming Deiphobus and Palinurus (one way or another). But the *Achivos [caesos]* are overlooked in all the summaries considered prior to this one. The fourth line, though, is more in tune with the other versions, and picks up on the word *proles* (although, again, it is used repeatedly in *Aeneid* 6), although *ad sidera* is a new addition. This version omits the sibyl's responses and the burial of Misenus (until now standard features), as well as the Golden Bough and Aeneas' lessons on posthumous punishment.

One final verse summary will drive the point home. This is the “Hexasticha” (*Anth. Lat.* I,2, 123, item 653):

*Sic fatur lacrimans. Cumarum adlabitur oris,  
Descensusque parans adiit praecepta Sibyllae,  
Qua duce non fastum mortali limen aditur.  
Hic primum maestos videt inter cetera Troas.  
Tum patrem agnoscit, discit reditura sub ortus  
Corpora Romanosque duces seriemque nepotum.*

Again the first line is straight from the *Aeneid*. Beyond that, this version is quite new. No other summary has talked of Aeneas preparing (*parans*) his descent(s), or approaching (*adiit*) the sibyl's instructions. Nor has the exceptional nature of Aeneas' journey been pointed out (*non fastum...limen*).<sup>17</sup> Deiphobus and others are phrased here as *maestos...Troas* (cf. *Aen.* 6.333ff.), while the dead Greeks and Underworld punishments are evidently reduced to *cetera*. Interestingly, despite the tricolon emphasizing the souls of future Romans seen by Aeneas, this version manages to avoid

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<sup>17</sup> That is, in any other summary. *Aeneid* 6.563 remarks on the rarity of mortals' visiting the Underworld (*nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen*), but in reference to Deiphobe's instruction by Hecate, not Aeneas' by Deiphobe.

the otherwise common word *proles*. This one too omits Misenus and the Golden Bough and only generalizes about the Trojan shades specifically named elsewhere, not to mention about everything subsumed by the word *cetera*.

Given the available choices, therefore, the ten-line Pseudo-Ovidian verse summary (the “Decasticha”) seems by far the most likely predecessor to the prose summary found in MS 539. They have a remarkable amount in common, especially when compared against other known summaries of *Aeneid* 6. The Wilson manuscript seems certainly to be much more closely related to the Pseudo-Ovidian summary than to any of the other three.

Before leaving the introductory book summary and beginning on the line-by-line commentary, it should be remarked that already the supplementary text calls attention to itself as such. Book summaries form no part of Donatus’ commentary. To a reader familiar with his style and methods, the supplementary text would stand out for this reason alone. At the same time, the summary shows a curious tendency to duplicate its expressions. Where Pseudo-Ovid has a single ablative absolute concerning the Golden Bough (*placato numine*), the prose version has two: *augurio...accepto* and *ramo invento*. These two lines are not quite equivalent (the shift from *placato numine* to *augurio...accepto* was discussed above), but the doubled construction draws attention to itself. More strikingly redundant are *umbrarum poenas et crudeles...cruciatu* and *futuram prolem ac caros nepotes*. In neither of these instances does the second phrase add any substantial information to the first. Whoever composed this supplementary text (or, if it existed, the intermediary source between Pseudo-Ovid and MS 539) seems to have had an inclination towards the full, abundant style. While this is not contrary to

Donatus' own often verbose tendencies, it is rather in contrast to the highly selective manner in which the Servian material is generally treated in the supplementary line-by-line commentary. The introductory book summary therefore stands apart from both Donatus and from the remainder of the supplementary text to which we now turn.

The rest of the supplementary material is primarily a very selective adaptation of Servius' comments on the same lines of the *Aeneid*. Particular linguistic similarities are highlighted in bold.

[1] SIC FATUR LACRIMANS: **Continuatio est superioris libri** per Palinuri mortem.

Cf. Servius' prologue to *Aeneid* 6 (lines 5-8): *sane sciendum, licet primos duos versus Probus et alii in quinti reliquerint fine, prudenter ad initium sexti esse translatos; nam et coniunctio poematis melior est, et Homerus etiam sic inchoavit* □ζ φάτο δάκρυ χέων (a reference to *Iliad* 1.357, 8.245 and 17.648 and *Odyssey* 24.438, but not in fact the opening line of any Homeric book). MS 539 is far more concise than Servius, a tendency we will see throughout.

[1] CLASSIS: □π□ τ□ν κάλων dicta est, id est a lignis, nam et 'calones' qui ligna<sup>18</sup>

**militibus ministrant dicuntur.**

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.1.12-5: *CLASSI aut suae navi, quae classis, ut in primo diximus, dicta est* □π□ τ□ν κάλων, *id est a lignis, unde Horatius 'me vel extremos Numidarum in agros classe releget,' cum de una loqueretur navi: aut omnium quae eius*

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18 The manuscript reads *nam et calones qui lignia qui lignia militibus ministrant*. The superfluous I between *-gn-* and any following vowel is typical of the manuscript's spelling; it appears also in *magniam cui mentem animumque* and *signium septentrionis*. All such instances have been converted to standard classical spelling. The repetition of the phrase *qui lignia* is an example of dittography.

*cursum sequuntur.*

The phrase *ut in primo diximus* refers to Servius' comment on the word *classem* at *Aen.* 1.39 (lines 19-22): *aut re vera unam navem significat, ut Horatius 'me vel extremos Numidarum in agros classe releget.' classis enim dicta est πικύων, id est a lignis, unde et calones dicuntur qui ligna militibus portant, et καλοπόδια.*

[1] HABENAS: **Per metaphoram dictum est.** Sic Ovidius primus maioris: *Sic opus est aperite domos ac, mole remota, fluminibus vestris totas immittite habenas.*

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.1.17-9: *INMITTIT HABENAS aut funes per metaphoram dixit, aut Homerum secutus est, qui ait vela erigi ὑστρέπτοισι βοεσι, id est loris tortis; his enim utebantur antiqui.*

Neither Servius nor the supplementary text draws on the equestrian connotations of *habena*; the focus seems rather to be on its application to ships' ropes. MS 539 omits Servius' Homeric reference in favor of an Ovidian one (*Met.* 1.279-80) which has the advantage of using the same verb (*immittere*) as the lemma from the *Aeneid*.

[2] ET TANDEM EUBOIS CUMARUM ADLABITUR ORIS: **Euboia insula est unde profecti sunt hi qui Cumarum civitatem aedificaverunt.**

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.2.6-9: *EVBOICIS ORIS a colonia appellavit Cumas: nam Euboea insula est, in qua Chalcis civitas, de qua venerunt qui condiderunt civitatem in Campania, quam Cumas vocarunt....*

[2 continued] ....**Sciendum autem, ut supra dictum est, quia prepositio, detracta**

**nomini, saepe verbo cōpūlatur et plerumque vim suam servat et est hystērologia, ut quas vento accesserit oras; aut amittit casum suum et est figura. Plerumque superfluas ponimus praepositiones.**

See Servius *ad Aen.* 1.307.1-7: *QVAS VENTO ACCESSERIT ORAS diximus superius figuram fieri, cum praepositio detracta nomini verbo copulatur, et plerumque eam suam retinere naturam plerumque convertere. hoc igitur sciendum est, quia, cum casum suum retinet, hystērologia est, ut hoc loco; cum autem mutat, figura est, ut ‘Cumarum adlabitur oris;’ ‘oris’ enim pro oras posuit. plerumque tamen etiam superfluas ponunt praepositiones.*

The linguistic similarities are numerous. Especially striking is the retention of *supra* (changed from *superius*), since the original must have referred to a previous comment by Servius<sup>19</sup> and thus makes little sense when inserted in another commentary entirely.<sup>20</sup> Servius’ comment on *Aen.* 1.307 probably suggested itself here because it includes a citation of 6.2 as an example of the grammatical phenomenon under discussion. This is the sort of cross-reference a modern reader would find in an *index locorum*. There is no secure evidence that the compiler of the present text had access to any such thing; the only alternative appears to be a truly impressive command of the text of Servius.

[3-5] OBVERTUNT PELAGO PRORAS; TUM DENTE TENACI / ANCHORA FUNDEBANT NAVES ET

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19 The referent is not perfectly clear in Servius either. Although he does talk of prepositions several times before this point (*ad Aen.* 1.1, 2, 6, 24, 32, 38, 52, 67, 115, 147, 165, 176, 253, 263, and 295), it is not evident to what particular passage *superius* refers.

20 However, a determined reader might find that Donatus does talk previously about prepositions, their cases, and their objects, e.g. *ad Aen.* 1.35, 260 and 3.280, and could thus find a referent for *supra* where none should in fact exist.

LITORA CURVAE / PRAETEXUNT PUPPES. IUUENUM MANUS EMICAT ARDENS: Torquent Troiani proras in litus Hesperium ut Cumarum civitatem adeant. ‘Curvae’ epitheton perpetuum est navium.

The first comment on these lines (that the Trojans land in Italy in order to stop at Cumae) does not appear to have any origin in Servius. The second comment (on *curvae* being the eternal epithet for ships) is far more interesting. On the one hand, Servius designates an epithet as *perpetuum* no fewer than eighteen times over the course of the *Aeneid* (*ad* 1.223, 684, 2.39, 250, 343, 593, 3.16, 4.227, 5.816, 6.202, 425, 753, 8.3, 203, 363, 9.21, 12.554 and 846). On the other hand, none of these instances is particularly nearby the passage at hand, and none has anything to do with ships. The comment on 3.16 does involve some of the same words (*litus, curvus*), but in a different configuration: *LITORE CVRVO perpetuum epitheton litorum est: nam quod in sexto ait ‘tunc se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum’ significat eum ita navigasse, ut non relinqueret litus*. Here the shore and not the ship is perpetually curved. Vergil uses the adjective *curvum* to describe *litus* six times in the *Aeneid* (3.16, 223, 238, 643, 10.684, and 11.184). Only twice in the poem does he use it to describe parts of ships (*curvae...puppes* at 6.4-5 and *curvis...carinis* at 2.179; there is also one instance in the Georgics of *curvis...carinis* at 1.360). To say ‘*Curvae*’ epitheton perpetuum est navium seems, therefore, to be overstating the case, at least in reference to Vergil.<sup>21</sup>

There is only one other known text, besides MS 539, where the adjective *curva* is

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21 It would, however, be fair to call “curved” an epithet of ships in reference to Homer. The adjective κορωνίσι(v) appears seventeen times across the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, always in conjunction with ναῦσι(v) and always in the dative plural (*Il.* 1.170, 2. 297, 392, 771, 7.229, 9.609, 11.228, 15.597, 18.58, 338, 439, 20.1, 22.508, 24.115, 136, *Od.* 19.182, 193). There is, however, little reason to assume that fifteenth-century humanists, even those familiar with Homer, would have equated κορωνίσι(v) with *curvis*. The Latin translations of the *Iliad* by Leonzio Pilato and Lorenzo Valla certainly do not, nor does Crastoni’s *Dictionum Graecarum thesaurus copiosus quantum nunquam antea*.

called an epithet of the noun *navis*. Of all the unlikely things, this text is the authentic commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on *Aen.* 6.1-157, discovered by Peter Marshall in a miscellany in the Vatican. Donatus' actual comment is: *Naves curvas dixit ut earum epitheton tangeret et ostenderet formam. Non enim possunt muniri naves non curvae* (Marshall 1993b, 5). The two remarks are not close linguistically, apart from the words from the *Aeneid* (*navis, curva*) and the technical term *epitheton*. The content does not quite match up either; the comment in MS 539 makes no argument concerning the physical reality of curved ships or the supposed impossibility of un-curved ones, as Donatus here does. And yet, simply because *curva* is here called an epithet of *navis* this comment is closer to the one found in MS 539 than anything else currently known. It could be a coincidence. It could be that the composer of the supplementary commentary was aware of Servius' tendency to call an epithet *perpetuum* and simply ad-libbed one.

[5] ARDENS: Pro **festinante** et **ingenioso** ponitur, sicut **per contrarium segnis**, sine ingenio, et quasi **sine igne** accipitur. Sic supra, *instant ardentis Tyrii pars ducere muros*.

Servius *ad loc.* says: *festinans, ut 'instant ardentis Tyrii.'* MS 539 combines this with his remark *ad* 1.423 (on the phrase *instant ardentis Tyrii*): *ARDENTES multi 'festinantes,' ut 'iuvenum manus emicat ardens' et 'ardet abire fuga' et 'Laocoon ardens; sic enim dicit quotiens properantes vult ostendere: alii ardentis 'ingeniosi' accipiunt; nam per contrarium segnem, id est sine igni, ingenio carentem dicimus....*

The Wilson codex is once again more concise than Servius. Again too we see the usefulness of a (potential) cross-referencing system; the bulk of the supplementary text on this lemma comes not from Servius *ad loc.* but from an earlier comment where he



referenced this line in comparison.

[8-10] AT PIUS AENEAS ARCES QUIBUS ALTUS APOLLO / PRAESIDET HORRENDAEQUE  
PROCUL SECRETA SIBYLLAE, ANTRUM IMMANE, PETIT: Adiiit Aeneas altum templum  
Apollinis. ‘**Altus**’ Apollo **propter oraculi magnitudinem** dixit.

The first five words (*adiit...Apollinis*) appear to be a paraphrase original to this text. Servius says nothing very similar *ad loc.* (*AT PIUS AENEAS oportune hoc loco, quippe ad templa festinans. ARCES QUIBUS ALTUS APOLLO P. cum ubique arx Iovi detur, apud Cumas in arce Apollinis templum est*). His explanation of *altus* is also slightly different, referring to a *simulacrum* rather than an *oraculum* (although the point is the same). MS 539 seems to be a slightly reworded paraphrase of Servius *ad* 6.9.3-6: ‘**altus**’ *autem vel magnus, ut ‘iacet altus Orodes’ et de ipso Apolline ‘sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo:’ vel ad simulacri magnitudinem retulit, quod esse constat altissimum.*

[8-10 continued] ‘horrendae’ sibyllae pro **venerabilis; supra dicta est autem sybilla**  
□π□ το□ σῖος, Latine ‘deus,’ et βουλ□,<sup>22</sup> ‘sciens’ quasi ‘**dei scientia.**’

For the first remark, cf. Servius *ad* 6.10.1-2: *HORRENDAE venerandae, ut ‘horrendum silvis et r. p.,’* referring to *Aeneid* 7.172 where the *regia* of Picus is *horrendum silvis et religione parentum*. For the etymology of *sibylla*, see Servius *ad Aen.* 6.12.4-6: *nam, ut supra diximus, Sibylla dicta est quasi σιο□ βουλ□, id est dei sententia. Aeolici enim σιο□ς deos dicunt.*

Interestingly, Servius’ comment on *sibylla* comes two lines after the word is used;

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22 The Greek in the manuscript actually reads ἀπο του σῖος and βολέ. Servius uses these words in a different grammatical construction (see below), which may explain the confusion in the copying.

the text of MS 539 restores the order found in the *Aeneid*. Also, this comment contains the second instance (the first being at 6.2 on *hysterologia*) of a reference to something earlier in the Servian commentary (*supra dicta est*). Even a creative reader would be hard-pressed to find in Donatus a suitable referent for this phrase; Donatus' only comments on the sibyl prior to this point are on *Aen.* 3.452, where Helenus instructs Aeneas to bypass her custom of inscribing her answers on leaves, and on 5.735ff., where the shade of Anchises instructs Aeneas to visit her and also the Underworld (TCD 1.325.5-19, 510.1-21). Neither of these passages, however, has anything to do with etymology. The referent in Servius is *ad Aen.* 3.445.4-6: *sibylla autem dicitur omnis puella, cuius pectus numen recipit: nam Aeolii σιοϙ βουλϙ autem est sententia: ergo sibyllas quasi σιοϙ βουλϙ dixerunt*. Here and on *Aen.* 6.12 Servius is using Lactantius: *σιούς enim deos, non θεούς, et consilium non βουλήν, sed βουλίαν appellabant Aeolico genere sermonis. itaque Sibyllam dictam esse quasi θεοβούλην (Divinae Institutiones 1.6.7).*

[8-10 continued] ... 'Immane' magnum significat, ut *dorsum immane mari*.

Servius says nothing similar in the immediate context (only *epexegetis domus Sibyllae, ad Aen.* 6.11.11), nor on the other line quoted in MS 539 (*Aen.* 1.110): *DORSVM INMANE eminens, altum, secundum Homerum*. On the latter line, however, what Thilo and Hagen mark as DServius adds a great deal, some of it contrary to the Wilson manuscript: *quidam 'inmane' pro malo accipiunt positum propter naufragia, quae ibi solent fieri; nam 'manum' bonum dicunt, ergo quod bono contrarium inmane; non enim potest pro magno accipi, <ut> alibi 'posuitque inmania templa,' quia non facile apparent*

*haec saxa, nisi cum mare ventis movetur* (*ad Aen.* 1.110.4-8). The gist of this comment appears to be that *immane* is sometimes equivalent to *magnum* and sometimes not. Its reference to *Aen.* 6.19 (*posuitque immania templa*) may have brought it to mind in the compilation of the comments on 6.11, which clearly argue that *immane*, here at least, does amount to *magnum*. It is not, however, impossible that the comment in the Wilson manuscript originates independently from Servius, having been inserted by the compiler from a free-standing glossary or even a marginal or interlinear gloss in the text of the *Aeneid* itself.

[10-11] MAGNAM CUI MENTEM ANIMUMQUE / DELIUS INSPIRAT VATES APERITQUE FUTURA:  
Opera et auxilio Apollinis futura praedicat. ‘**Aperit**’ autem **ostendit** et palam facit, **ut Salustius caput aperire solitus** et terram inter fluctus aperit.

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.12.1-2: *DELIUS INSPIRAT VATES* Apollo fatidicus. et sic ait ‘*Delius, ut nunc Lyciae sortes, id est Apollineae.*’ The salient point in both comments is that Delius is another name for Apollo. Servius says nothing about the word *aperit ad loc.*, but at *Aen.* 1.107 (the location of the phrase *terram inter fluctus aperit*, quoted in MS 539), he says *APERIT ostendit, ut Sallustius ‘caput aperire solitus,’ id est nudare, ostendere.* A very similar note is given at 3.206 also.

The line of Sallust to which both comments refer is from the *Historiae*, Book 5, fragment 20: *Quibus de causis Sullam dictatorem uni sibi descendere equo, assurgere sella, caput aperire solitum.* How the author of the supplementary material found this particular parallel is unclear. On neither of the occasions where Servius cites this Sallust passage does he refer to the verb’s appearance at *Aen.* 6.11. Short of an *index verborum*

listing every appearance in Servius of the verb *aperire*, the appearance of Sallust at 6.11 would seem to require a very thorough familiarity with the text of Servius on the part of the author of the supplementary text. It must be remembered, however, that modern editions of Servius are based on a tiny sample of an extremely heterogeneous tradition. It is therefore impossible to say with certainty that the manuscript of Servius used by the compiler of the Wilson manuscript did not also give the Sallust fragment at *Aen.* 6.11, or that its notes on *aperire* at one or both of the earlier occasions did not cross-reference the later use in some way.<sup>23</sup>

[12] IAM SUBEUNT TRIVIAE LUCOS: Lucos ‘Triviae’ pro Proserpinae quae, a Plutone rapta, in triviis et quadriuis requisita <est>; ei dedicata sunt.

Trivia is not always equated with Proserpina. Servius *ad loc* is ambiguous: *et bene fit lucorum Dianae commemoratio, quia petiturus est inferos* (ad 6.13.2-3). He is certainly equating Trivia and Diana, but Diana’s appropriateness when Aeneas is about to descend into the Underworld could be the result of either of two connections, between Diana and Hecate or between Diana and Proserpina. The comment in MS 539, however, explicitly connects Trivia with Proserpina (not Diana), evidently through a play on the former’s name. A fuller version of her story is given by Servius *ad Aen.* 4.609.4-10: *VVLATA PER VRBES Proserpinam raptam a Dite patre Ceres cum incensis faculis per orbem terrarum requireret, per triviam eam vel quadriviam vocabat clamoribus*. A similar comment on *Eclogues* 3.26 (and referring back to *Aen.* 4.609) equates Proserpina and Diana (lines 1-6), but there is no evidence that the supplementary text uses Servius on the

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23 The same fragment of Sallust is cited by other late antique authors too (see Maurenbrecher’s *app. crit.* to fragment 5.20). It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the Wilson manuscript took the quotation, like almost everything else, from Servius (whether *ad Aen.* 1.107, 3.206 or 6.11).

Ecogues (or the Georgics, for that matter), so the comment in the Wilson manuscript may simply be a truncated version of Proserpina's story with the connection to Trivia via the word *trivia* found in Servius *ad Aen.* 4.609.

[14-16] DAEDALUS UT FAMA EST FUGIENS MINOIA REGNA / PRAEPETIBUS PENNIS AUSUS SE  
CREDERE CAELO / INSUETUM PER ITER:24 **Venus**, ob deprehensum a **Sole adulterium**<sup>25</sup>  
quod cum **Marte** patrauerat, furias in **omnem progeniem Solis** immisit, ut in Circem et  
**Pasiphaen, uxorem Minois**,<sup>26</sup> quae, **amore tauri flagrans, Daedali opera cum eo**  
**concubuit**; quo coitu compressa, **Minotaurum, humana carne vescentem**, peperit.

Cf. lines 3-12 of Servius' comment on *Aen.* 6.14: *indicato a Sole adulterio Martis et Veneris Vulcanus minutissimis catenis lectulum cinxit, quibus Mars et Venus ignorantes implicati sunt et cum ingenti turpitudine resoluti sub testimonio cunctorum deorum. quod factum Venus vehementer dolens stirpem omnem Solis persequi infandis amoribus coepit. igitur Pasiphae, Solis filia, Minois regis Cretae uxor, tauri amore flagravat et arte Daedali inclusa intra vaccam ligneam, saeptam corio iuvencae pulcherrimae, cum tauro concubuit, unde natus est Minotaurus, qui intra labyrinthum inclusus humanis carnibus vescebatur.* As often, the version in MS 539 is significantly shorter than the Servian original.

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24 After *Dedalus ut* the rest of this *lemma* is heavily abbreviated. Where it should read *i.p.i.* for *insuetum per iter* (the first three words of *Aen.* 6.16) it in fact reads *p.p.*, presumably because the scribe's eye wandered upwards and mistakenly abbreviated *praepetibus pennis* (the first two words of 6.15) a second time. The correct reading, according to the text of the *Aeneid*, is restored here.

25 The manuscript originally read *audeltherium*, but the *U* and the first *E* have been expunged (in the literal sense, with a *punctus* below each to indicate their removal). What results is *adltherium*—still not a real word, but the intended *adulterium* is at least clear.

26 The manuscript reads *ut in circae et pasiphe uxor minois*. The objects of *in*, however, ought to be in the accusative. Pasiphae at least might have been left in the nominative because she is nominative in Servius; MS 539 is here merging two sentences from the Servian original, and the grammar has not been perfectly integrated in the process.

[14-16 continued]... Verum cum **Minos e Pasiphae Androgeum**, inter alios, **athleta** maximum, suscepisset, **ab Atheniensibus et Megarensibus occiditur**; quapropter **Minos, bella** contra Athenienses **movens, devictos poena** mulctavit **ut singulis annis VII de filiis et VII de filiabus Minotauro mitterent.**

Cf. the next seven lines of Servius (*ad Aen.* 6.14.12-18): *sed **Minos de Pasiphae habuit liberos plures, Androgeum Ariadnen Phaedram. sed Androgeus cum esset athleta fortissimus et superaret in agonibus cunctos apud Athenas, Atheniensibus et vicinis Megarensibus coniuratis occisus est. quod Minos dolens collectis navibus bella commovit et victis Atheniensibus poenam hanc statuit, ut singulis quibusque annis septem de filiis et septem de filiabus suis edendos Minotauro mitterent.***

Again, the version in MS 539 is greatly reduced in comparison with its source.

[14-16 continued] ... **Tertio** autem **anno missus est Theseus, virtute**, fama, rebus gestis et **forma** insignis, **ab Adriana dilectus**. Eius auxilio **Minotaurum superavit** et, **Adriana rapta, fugam**<sup>27</sup> sibi consuluit.

Servius says (*ad Aen.* 6.14.21-24): *sed **tertio anno Aegei filius Theseus missus est, potens tam virtute quam forma. qui cum ab Ariadne regis filia amatus fuisset, Daedali consilio labyrinthi filo iter rexit et necato Minotauro cum rapta Ariadne victor aufugit.***

Ariadne receives more credit in the Wilson codex than she does in Servius. This is irrelevant to the course of the story, but interesting from the perspective of manually

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27 This seems the best solution to the problematic *fuga sibi consuluit*. The Oxford Latin Dictionary allows for an accusative under its fourth definition of *consulo*, “to decide upon, adopt (a course of action, etc.).”

copying a text. The variation on her name is probably not significant. It is not attested in the Thilo-Hagen edition of Servius, but since this is based on only a tiny fraction of the widely varying extant manuscripts of Servius, it is possible that any number of overlooked manuscripts use the name Adriana.

[14-16 continued] ...**Quae cum Daedali opera Minos facta deprehendisset, eum cum filio Icaro in laberintho asservandum trusit. Daedalus, corruptis** servis atriensibus, **sub simulatione ceram et pennas accepit, quibus alis impositis ad Arctos evolavit.**

Servius on these lines (6.14.25-29) is as follows: *quae cum omnia factione Daedali Minos deprehendisset effecta, eum cum Icaro filio servandum in labyrinthum trusit. sed Daedalus corruptis custodibus vel, ut quidam tradunt, ab amicis sub faciendi muneris specie, quo simulabat posse regem placari, ceram et linum accepit et pennas, et inde tam sibi quam filio alis inpositis evolavit.*

[14-16 continued] ...**Daedalus, nato in mari iam lapso, primo ut refert Salustius Sardiniam inde Cumas tenuit, ubi Apollini templo fabrefacto in foribus haec pinxit.**

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.14.30-34. *Icarus altiora petens, dum cupit caeli portionem cognoscere, pennis solis calore resolutis, mari in quod cecidit nomen Icarium inposuit. Daedalus vero primo Sardiniam, ut dicit Sallustius, post delatus est Cumas, et templo Apollini condito sacratisque ei alis in foribus haec universa depinxit.*

Servius and DServius together give another fifty-five lines of commentary on *Aen.* 6.14, none of which is picked up by the supplementary text. Nor, for that matter, is

any of the thirteen or so lines on 6.15. MS 539 resumes on *Aen.* 6.16:

[16] INSUETUM PER ITER: Non **hominibus** sed avibus tum notum.

Cf. Servius *ad loc.*: *INSVETVM **hominibus** scilicet.*

[16 continued] ...ENAVIT AD ARCTOS: Ad septentrionis plagam vel melius **ad signum septentrionis**.

Cf. Servius *ad* 6.16.1-7: *ENAVIT AD ARCTOS bene utrumque miscet: nare enim et de navibus dicimus, ut 'natat uncta carina' item 'et terris adnare necesse est.' et de volatu, ut 'nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen.' 'ad arctos' autem, si ad fabulam, contra septemtrionem, ut quidam volunt propter fervorem solis et ceratas pinnas, si ad veritatem, **ad septemtrionis observationem**, quod navigantibus convenit.*

The commentary in MS 539 then skips some fifteen lines, resuming at 6.30.

[30-31] TU QUOQUE MAGNAM / PARTEM OPERE IN TANTO, SINERET DOLOR, ICARE,  
HABERES: Daedalus,<sup>28</sup> dolore coactus, mortem filii excudere non valuit.

Contrast Servius *ad Aen.* 6.31-3: *OPERE IN TANTO in foribus adfabre factis. BIS PATRIAE CECIDERE MANUS ideo quia patriae QUIN PROTINUS OMNEM ostendit plura fuisse, quam dixit, depicta.* The middle remark by Servius (on *bis patriae...*) is the closest in sense to what is found in MS 539, but still far from identical. Possibly the supplementary

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<sup>28</sup> The manuscript in fact reads *Ycarus dolore coactus*....It is not entirely clear how such a glaring mistake was made. Possibly the conjunction of *dolor Ycare haberes* immediately prior to the comment containing *dolore coactus* confused the scribe into joining the son's name with the word *dolor* in both instances, even though the second makes no sense.



text aims simply to clarify, via paraphrase, the line from the *Aeneid* and does so independently of Servius.

[36] DEYPHOBE GLAUCI: **Scilicet filia, quae fata Romana conscripsit.**

Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* 6.36.1-4: *DEIPHOBE GLAUCI subaudi 'filia.' et est proprium nomen Sibyllae. multae autem fuerunt, ut supra diximus, quas omnes Varro commemorat et requirit a qua sint fata Romana conscripta.*

[38] NUNC GREGE DE INTACTO VII MACTARE IUUENCOS: Inter **gregem** et **armentum** discriptio<sup>29</sup> facienda est ut sit grex minorum animalium multitudo, armentum vero maiorum, ut boum et equorum et quae his similia sunt. Sed *pictoribus atque poetis quaelibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.*

See Servius *ad Aen.* 6.38.1-5: *NUNC GREGE DE INTACTO gregem pro armento posuit, nam de iuuenicis dicturus est: quae per poeticam licentiam saepe confundit. illo loco proprie posuit 'quinque greges illi balantum quina redibant armenta.' 'intacto' autem indomito, ut 'et intacta totidem cervice iuuenicas.'*

On the concept of poetic license, MS 539 includes a quotation (*sed pictoribus... potestas*, Horace, *AP* 9-10) not to be found anywhere in Servius. It is therefore parallel to the use of Ovid *Met.* 1.279-80 in the comment on *Aen.* 6.1; both quotations seem to have entered the supplementary text independently of the Servian source material. As both Ovid's *Met.* and Horace's *AP* were well known works, this is by no means improbable. The *AP* in particular is a goldmine for quotations, even today, and was extremely

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29 Despite its English derivatives the primary definition of *discriptio* according to the *OLD* is "The process of dividing up, distribution, allocation," near enough to the idea of making a distinction that emendation seems unnecessary.

widespread as a school text in the early Renaissance (Black 203-4, 213, 224, *inter alia*).

[39] LECTAS TOTIDEM DE MORE BIDENTES: **Ut supra dictum est, quasi biennes dicuntur, quod intra bimatam duos dentes eminentiores habeant.**

Servius *ad loc.*: *LECTAS DE MORE BIDENTES* ‘*de more*’ antiquo scilicet, quem praetermisit quasi tunc omnibus notum, id est ne habeant caudam aculeatam, ne linguam nigram, ne aurem fissam: quod docet aliud esse intactum, aliud lectum. ‘*bidentes*’ autem, **ut diximus supra, oves sunt circa bimatam, habentes duos dentes eminentiores: quae erant aptae sacrificiis** (*ad Aen.* 6.39.1-6).

The *supra* to which this comment refers is *ad Aen.* 4.57.10-13: ‘*bidentes*’ autem dictae sunt **quasi biennes**, quia neque minores, neque maiores licebat hostias dare. sunt etiam in ovibus **duo eminentiores dentes** inter octo, qui non nisi **circa bimatam** apparent: nec in omnibus, sed in his quae sunt aptae sacris, inveniuntur.

In the context of MS 539, however, the phrase *ut suprum dictum est* is, again, without any logical referent. Donatus never discusses the etymology of the noun *bidens*. He comments on 4.57, but talks only of the importance of sacrificing to particular gods (TCD 1.363.26-364.6). This is the third instance of such an error of continuity (the first two being at 6.2 and 8-10); evidently the compiler of the source material was not particularly concerned with such details.

The last comment in MS 539 before the text of Donatus picks up at *Quia quem perdidisset et quem gerneret nesciebat* is as follows:

[45-46] VENTUM ERAT ADLIMEN CUM VIRGO POSCERE FATA / TEMPUS AIT: Virgo **vicinitate**

dei **afflata** more **furentis** haec dicit. ‘Cessas in vota’: in ara detineris **ad vota facienda**; **cum autem dicimus ‘cessas in votis,’ hoc significat, tardum dum vota** persoluis; ‘cessas’ vero ‘in vota,’ cessas ad ea persolvenda et incohanda.<sup>30</sup>

This is a combination of Servius’ comments on 6.46 and 6.51, skipping over his remarks on 6.47-50. First, Servius on 6.46: *DEVS ECCE DEVS vicinitate templi iam adflata est numine: nam furentis verba sunt....* And on 6.51: *CESSAS IN VOTA tardus es ad vota facienda: nam si dixeris ‘cessas in votis,’ hoc significat, tardus es dum vota facis. aliud est ‘cessas in illam rem,’ aliud ‘cessas in illa re:’ tardus es ad faciendam rem et tardus es in facienda re.* As often, the comment appears to have been condensed on its way from Servius to the Wilson manuscript. The content, though, remains essentially the same.

What the supplementary text is, then, is an adaptation of the Pseudo-Ovidian summary of *Aeneid* 6 followed by selections from Servius, mostly condensed and/or rephrased. The addition of this text to MS 539 allows the codex to begin, not mid-sentence (at *quia quem perdidisset...*) like every other known copy of the text, but at *Aen.* 6.1 (*Sic fatur lacrimans...*). This is a starting point that makes sense, and the illuminated initial *S* on 1 recto consequently makes a much stronger impression than would an illuminated *Q* introducing a sentence fragment.

Nonetheless, the supplementary text does not completely fill the the lacuna. The comments drawn from Servius cut off abruptly at *Aen.* 6.51 even though the gap in Donatus continues straight through to line 157. Even for the space it does cover, the supplementary commentary is uneven; it ignores, for example, 6.6-8 and is very thin

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<sup>30</sup> The final word of the supplementary material in fact reads *cohanda*. Servius is not a particular help in this context, but the only solution that seems to make sense is to supply the prefix *in* and render it a form of the verb *incohare*.

across 17-51. Its purpose, therefore, seems not to be to supply a thorough scholarly examination of the passage equivalent to the lost section of Donatus, but rather simply to mask the otherwise gaping hole. Although the absence of commentary on 6.52-157 in MS 539 is still noticeable, it is much less so than it would be without the supplementary text.

It is also worth noting that the supplementary text makes no apparent effort to blend in with the text of Donatus. As discussed above, the book summary and the three references to earlier comments by Servius call attention to themselves as foreign intruders. But throughout, the supplementary text reveals itself as such simply by its approach to the material. Donatus is known for his reduced literary canon, citing only Terence, Cicero and Sallust, apart from Vergil (Starr [1991] 26-7). In contrast, the supplementary material refers also to Horace and Ovid in less than two pages. Donatus also tends to shun technical terminology (Starr [1992] 168). Again, in very short order we find both *hysterologia* and *methafora*. Donatus is generally uninterested in etymology and here we find explanations of the words *classis* and *sibylla* (6.1, 8-10). There is no evidence that Donatus knew any Greek, and both these etymologies depend heavily on it. Donatus hardly ever skips an entire line, let alone more than one hundred consecutively, but this is what the supplementary text does from 6.52 to 157. The effect is magnified by this section's containing little apart from four speeches between Aeneas and the sibyl. Rhetoric is Donatus' pet topic and the least likely subject for him to ignore.

It seems unlikely, therefore, that the supplementary text was meant to pass for authentic Donatus; it stands out as different for far too many reasons. But whether or not the manuscript's buyers or readers would have been fooled, and regardless of the

supplement's incomplete coverage of the lacuna, the supplementary text does add significantly to the codex. Its aesthetic appeal (and probably also monetary value) were undoubtedly increased by the handsome, appropriate opening at *Sic fatur lacrimans*. And for all its apparent flaws, the unique additional text makes the manuscript a more informative witness to the life of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* in fifteenth-century Italy and to the approach taken by humanists towards classical texts rediscovered in damaged condition.

Produced, as far as can be told from the script, binding and decoration, shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, likely in northern Italy, the Wilson codex provides additional evidence for a brief period of intense interest in the text of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* of Tiberius Claudius Donatus during the 1450s and 1460s. Several factors make it likely that the manuscript's exemplar was available only briefly, the likely result of intense interest in the text at that moment in time. The text was copied by numerous scribes working simultaneously, not all of them of the same background or proficiency. In addition, the text was never thoroughly corrected. Although individual scribes do catch their own mistakes from time to time, no one individual proofread the text from beginning to end, correcting each scribe in turn, according to the normal practice of humanist bookmakers before the era of printing.

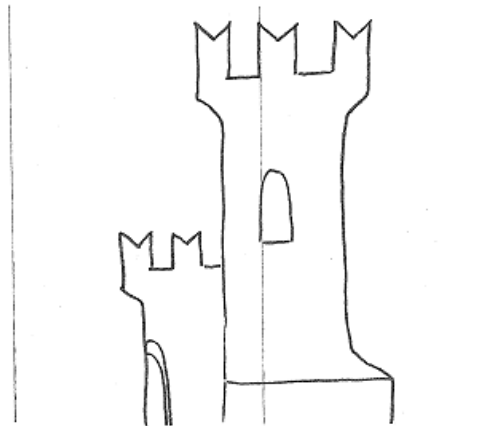
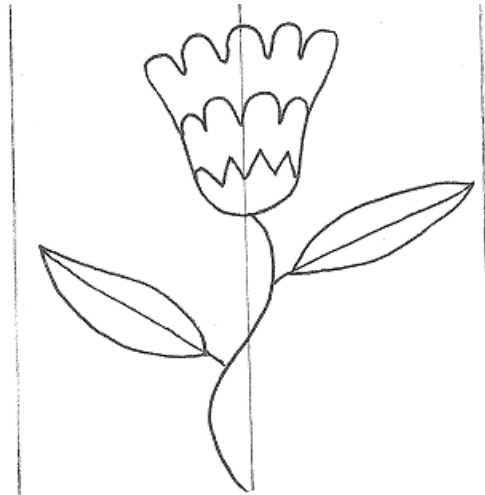
Peter Marshall's discovery of the authentic text of Donatus *ad Aen.* 6.1-157, which ends exactly where manuscript V begins, indicates that this section was originally a part of manuscript V (presumably its entire first quire). How it became detached (and therefore unavailable to Renaissance copyists) and how it then surfaced at the end of the sixteenth century long enough to be copied into the Vatican miscellany in which Marshall

found it are two very open questions. The lacuna resulting from this lost quire is treated in various ways by the fifteenth-century descendants of manuscript V. The Wellesley manuscript, for example, is blank for an entire quire at this point, presumably to allow for the insertion of the lost material once it was recovered. The Wilson manuscript goes further, offering a replacement text designed to fill the lacuna (at least in part). The limited success, in every sense, of this composition does not detract from its value as an unprecedented window onto the humanist reception of Donatus and, through him, of Vergil. That Donatus' text was thought to warrant the effort of such a supplementary text may suggest that he was held in greater esteem than the evidence has yet suggested.

This study of the Wilson codex also highlights the need for further work on the text of the *Interpretationes*, particularly on the fifteenth-century manuscripts. Ideally, such work would include the complete collation of all extant manuscripts of the text. The next published edition would benefit enormously from such a thorough investigation. It is also to be hoped that more would be learned concerning manuscript(s) X, the presumed intermediary or intermediaries between the Carolingian and Renaissance traditions. It is also possible that X survives, in whole or in part, among the humanist manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3. Alternatively, the X for the second half of the text may have been the now lost manuscript seen by Poggio and Niccoli at Reichenau in the 1410s, of which the Wellesley manuscript is likely a copy. In either case, a complete collation would do much to answer the question of textual transmission. Even a collation of quire-breaks alone might help determine the relationships between the extant manuscripts. Those that, like the Wilson, share one or more quire-breaks that can reasonably be assumed to originate in X are likely to be closer to this archetype than those that do not.

This first evaluation of the Wilson codex together with the reemergence of the Wellesley codex and its possible relation to the Reichenau manuscript (identified here for the first time) are sufficient grounds for a significant reevaluation of the text and tradition of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* and of their brief moment of glory in the fifteenth century.

**Appendix A**  
watermarks





**Appendix B**  
correspondence of folia, quires and scribes

<b>quire(number of leaves)</b>	<b>range of leaves</b>	<b>scribe(s)</b>
I (10)	1r-10v	a
II(8)	11r-18v	a, b*
III(8)	19r-26v	c*
IV(8)	27r-34v	d*
V(10)	35r-44v	e, f*
VI(10)	45r-54v	g, h
VII(10)	55r-64v	i, f*
VIII(10)	65r-74v	j
IX(10)	75r-84v	j
X(4)	85r-88v	j
XI(10)	89r-98v	f*
XII(6)	99r-104v	f*
XIII(12)	105r-117v	k*
XIV(12)	118r-128v	d*
XV(10)	129r-138v	l, d*
XVI(10)	139r-148v	d*
XVII(12)	149r-160v	d*
XVIII(14)	161r-174v	m
XIX(6-4,5,6)	175r-177v	n*
XX(10)	178r-187v	o
XXI(12)	188r-199v	o
XXII(8)	200r-207v	n*
XXIII(10)	208r-217v	p, a
XXIV(10+1)	218r-228v	c*

\*Scribes indicated are probably not Italian, according to Stefano Zamponi (*per litteras*).

## Appendix C scribal hands

### Scribe a

1r-12r; 216v-217r

The first scribe of the volume copied two separate sections, one at the very beginning and one near the end. Neither section corresponds to a quire; the first extends two leaves beyond the end of the first quire and the second covers only the last two leaves of the penultimate quire.

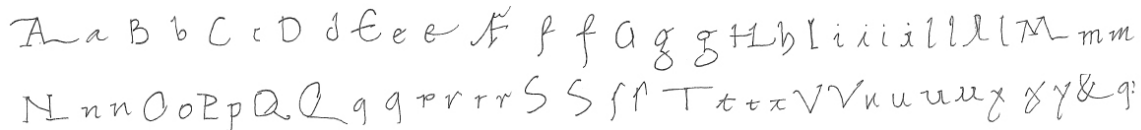
Scribe a uses a pale brown ink which has a tendency to soak into the paper and produce slightly blurred edges. (This is especially noticeable in the brief, later section, where the scribes to either side write in a much darker, gray ink.) The recto of leaf 7 is an exception; for this page only the scribe uses a darker ink, although the pen seems to deliver it unevenly, leaving some letters dark and clear and others faint and thin. The pen is fairly narrow, producing little to no shading.

The script is a humanist cursive. Both *f* and *s* descend below the baseline and their ascenders are often looped.

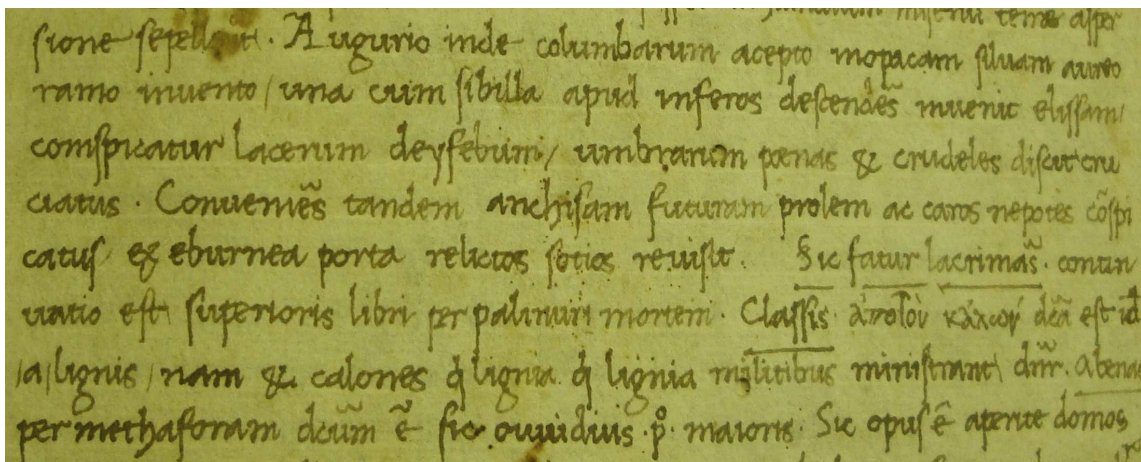
Scribe a typically capitalizes the first letters of sentences. He uses three punctuation marks: a virgule to mark a weak pause, a high point for a moderate pause, and a period for a strong pause. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are typically (but not consistently) underlined.

Lead-in strokes are common (e.g. on the ascenders of *b*, *d*, *l*, *i* and the first minims of *m*, *n* and *u*. The descenders of *p* and *q* curve left. There is also a round form of *s* at word ends not illustrated below. The ampersand is shaped very much like the modern version.

Stefano Zamponi sees the hand as Italian, likely from the Po Valley.



A a B b C c D d E e e F f f G g g H h I i i i l l l l l M m m  
N n n O o P p Q q q r r r r S s s T t t x V v u u u x y z & q



sione sepelle. Augurio inde columbarum accepto mopacum plumam aurum  
ramo inuento / una cum sibilla apud inferos descendens maenit elissum  
conspicatur lacrimis deysibum / umbrarum penas & crudeles dissecru  
ciatus. Conueniens tandem anchisam futuram prolem ac caros nepotes cōspi  
catus ex eburnea porta relictos socios reuulso. Sic fatur lacrimas. conu  
uatio est superioris libri per palamini mortem. Classis arotou kaxou dea est id  
la lignis / nam & calones q lignia q lignia mltibus ministrant dnm. abene  
per metaphoram deum ē sic ouidius p. maronis. Sic opus ē aperte domos

**Scribe b**  
12r-18v

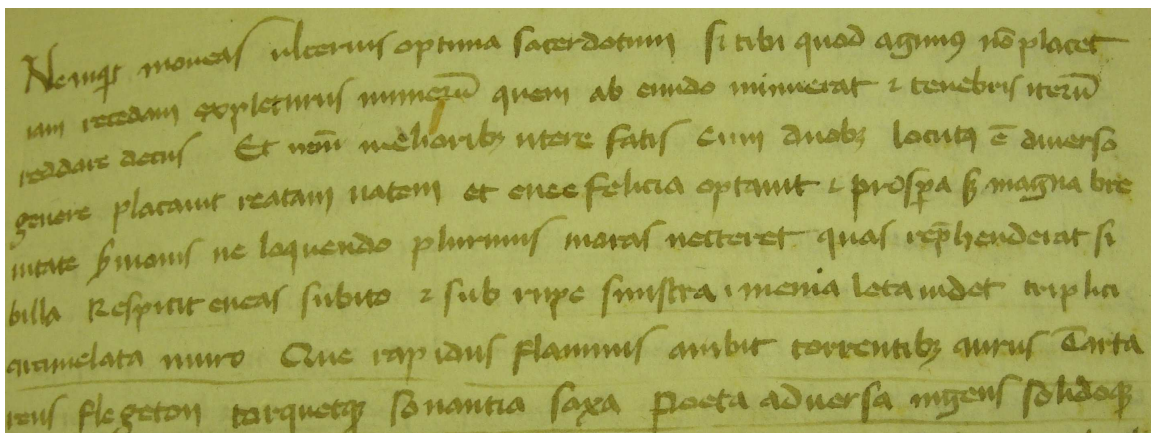
Scribe b writes only one section of text, namely the portion of the second quire not done by Scribe a. For most of this section the ink used is a pale olive-brown, until 17 recto, where a darker olive-brown picks up and continues on to the end of the section. Between 12 recto and 12 verso the writing noticeably changes, but this appears not to be a change in scribe, but rather in speed, pen, or some other aspect of the writing process.

The overall appearance of the hand is sharply angular. The pen creates lines of two distinctly different thicknesses. Although new sentences are capitalized, punctuation is very minimal; the period is evidently the only mark in use. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are typically underlined.

The hand is a gothic cursive, with *s* and *f* descending below the baseline (to varying degrees) and simple forms of *a* and *g*. The *e* is very similar to the *c*. Minims are very heavy, and connected to one another by little more than hairlines, creating a very angular look in *m*, *n* and *u*. The form of *f* varies greatly. The penultimate figure in the illustration below is the Tironian *et* (used in place of an ampersand), not the letter *z*.

According to Professor Stefano Zamponi, this scribe is not Italian, but likely from the region of Germany, Poland, or Holland.

A a b c c c D D d E e c c f f f f g g h h h i i l m m  
N n o p p q q r r s s r r t t t u u u u x x x z z



Nemoq mones ulcerus optima sacerdotum si tibi quod agimus no placet  
iam recedam expleturus minime quem ab emido minuerat z tenebris uerū  
reddare deus Et non meliorib; utere fati cum duob; locuta ē diuerso  
genere placuit reatam uatam et enee felicia optant z prosa s; magna bre  
uitate sumant ne loquendo plurimus moras neceret quas reprehenderat si  
billa respicit enee subuo z sub rube sinistra i menia loca uidet nup ha  
quandata muro Cui rapidus flammis ambit torrentib; auris Cui ta  
uis flegeton tarquetq; Bonantia saxa plecta aduersa myens phidop

### Scribe c

19r-26v; 218r-228r

Scribe c writes the entirety of the third and twenty-fourth quires, in a dark gray, almost black ink. The hand is fairly shaded, but with softer angles than those in the sections by scribe b.

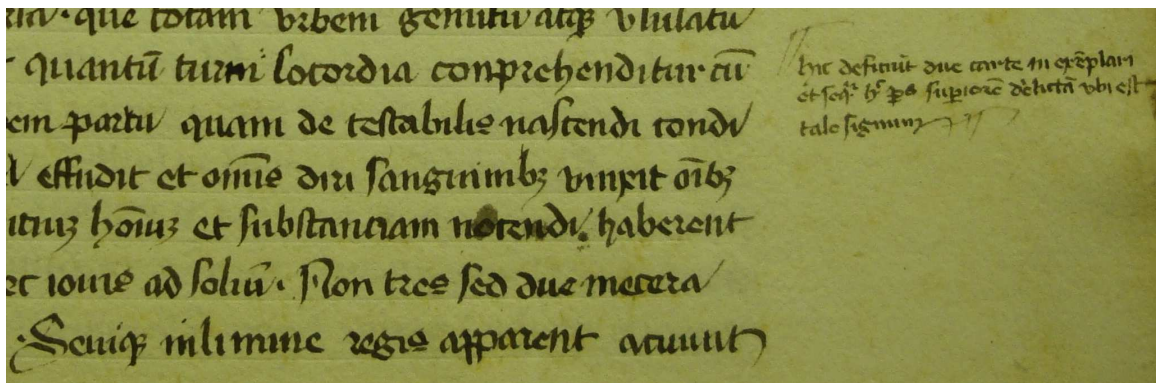
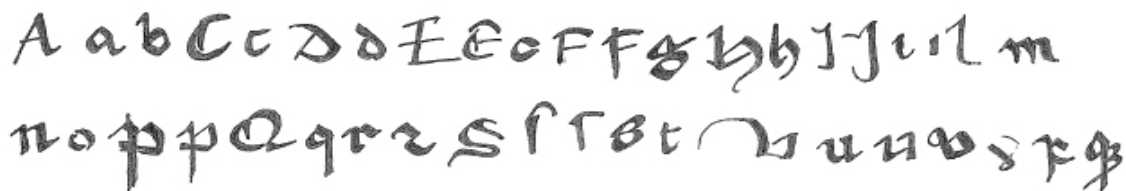
The hand might be called “semi-gothic.”<sup>31</sup> The capital forms used at the start of sentences particularly show gothic influence.

Scribe c twice makes use of a display script: on 24 recto marking the *explicit/incipit* of Books 6 and 7, and on 228 recto marking the end of the commentary proper and the beginning of the (incomplete) epilogue in the form of a letter from the author to his son. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this scribe’s hand is that the display script differs significantly in these two cases. In the first instance it is essentially just an enlarged form of the book hand. On the final leaf, however, approximately half the letters are written in capital forms (e.g. *A, B, E, M, R, T, U*) while half are, as before, merely enlarged versions of the book hand (e.g. *c, d, f, l, n*).

Punctuation is minimal, the high point being the only symbol in use, although hyphens marking words broken by line-ends are more prevalent than in most of the hands in the volume. Sentences are typically capitalized. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are typically underlined.

The *b* can be either upright or leaning slightly to the right. The *d* is always the round form, but can have a straight spine or a curving one. There are two significantly different forms of *x*. The *u* also has two forms: an ordinary u-shape used within words and a b-shape used at the beginning of words. (The question of whether the letter is vocalic or consonantal in any particular position appears irrelevant.) This scribe does not use the ampersand.

Professor Zamponi calls this scribe non-Italian.



31 Since “gothic elements predominate but there are some humanistic features” (de la Mare 395).

### Scribe d

27r-34v; 118r-128v; 132v-160v

Scribe d writes the fourth and fourteenth quires and then, after Scribe l writes the first three leaves of quire fifteen, picks up on 132 verso and writes straight through to the end of quire seventeen. In these latter two sections there are several symbols in a faded red or dark pink. Some appear to be reader's marks but some are clearly decorative, making it difficult to determine when exactly they were added. In the third section a change of pen also causes the writing to shrink visibly. The ink is olive-brown with some bleeding and blurring early on, although this diminishes over time.

The hand itself is a very loose cursive; *s* and *f* not only descend below the baseline, but also come in a wide variety of forms (as does *a*). Loops also appear from time to time, including on *d*.

The punctuation of this hand is particularly interesting. The most common symbol is the virgule, which seems to be used for weak to moderate pauses. Stronger pauses are marked by oversized commas or closing parenthesis [ ) ], in the curve of which are one or three elevated points. This hand also uses hyphens at line-ends to mark divided words. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are sometimes written in stichometric lines and sometimes in long lines, like prose. In either case they are marked by a 5-shaped, s-shaped, or c-shaped symbol in the left margin (but never by underlining).

The *r* is always, even at the beginning of words, in the 2-shaped form that in other hands is used only after round letters. The form of *s* varies. This hand's peculiar punctuation marks are illustrated at the bottom right of the figure. This scribe does not use the ampersand.

This scribe is likely not an Italian.

**Scribe e**  
35r-38v

Scribe e writes the first four leaves of the fifth quire, mostly in a near-black ink, although 36 recto is in a pale olive-brown ink.

The hand is a small, precise, round humanist script whose cursive tendencies are limited to the connection of one letter to the next. All ascenders and descenders are vertically upright, without slant. Superscript and subscript lines used to indicate various abbreviations are horizontal and curl consistently on both ends.

This hand does not appear to use hyphens, and seems to have only two punctuation marks: an elevated point for a weaker pause and a period for a stronger one. Interestingly, *lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are unmarked.

The *b* and *d* on the one hand and *p* and *q* on the other are generally more symmetrical and upright than comes across in the illustration below. The ampersand can be understood as a broken-backed *e* leaning forward and closing around a *t*.

Zamponi sees scribe e's writing as particularly characteristic of the Po Valley.

a a b b c c d d e e f f g g h h i i j j  
m n o p p q q r r r s s t t t u u u x x x p e

ut ille interrogationē suam releuauerit: offendo troianis que fuerant  
petituri: tamē respondendū omīb; fuit. Idcirco ilioneus hec post latini dicta pro  
secutus ē. Et quā principioꝝ solemnitas nō adeo necessaria uidebat̃ in ea causa:  
inqua latinus ipse beniuolū se demonstrauerat: & plus q̃ optari potuisset. iā sponte  
cōtulerat: tamē nō intermisit principioꝝ formā. nec in totum prosecutus ē. Aut. n.  
genus egregium fauui. hoc ē. n. omī principū quod ē breuissimū si uerba cōside-  
ret. si nō breuitas ipius intellectu placeat cōsiderari inueniemus late diffusum  
Rex inquit A. fortuna sumpta laudatio. quid n. felicius eo qui teneat regnū. qui

### Scribe f

39r-44v; 57v-64v; 89r-104v

Scribe f finishes the fifth quire (begun by Scribe e) and the seventh (begun by Scribe i) and writes all of quires eleven and twelve. He is probably a northerner, not an Italian.

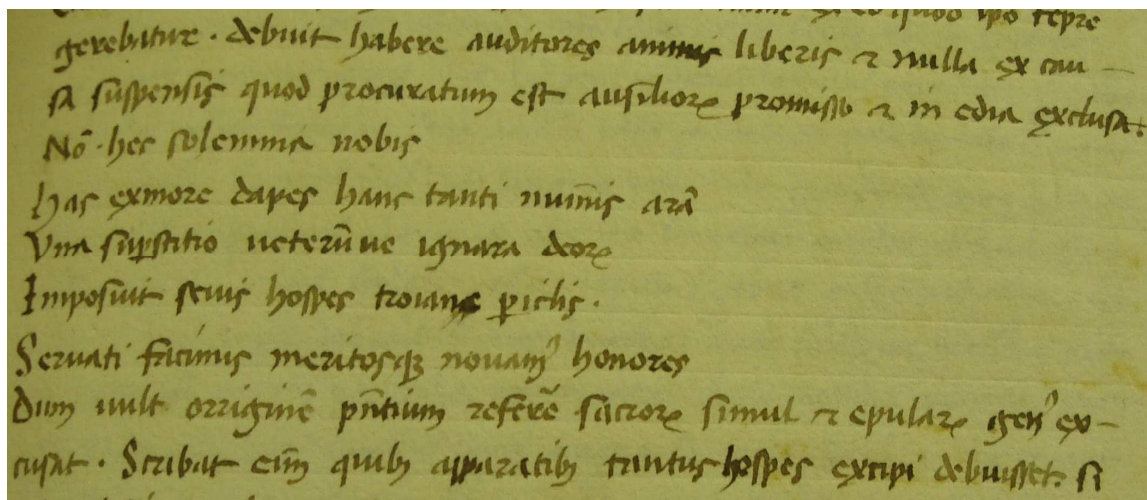
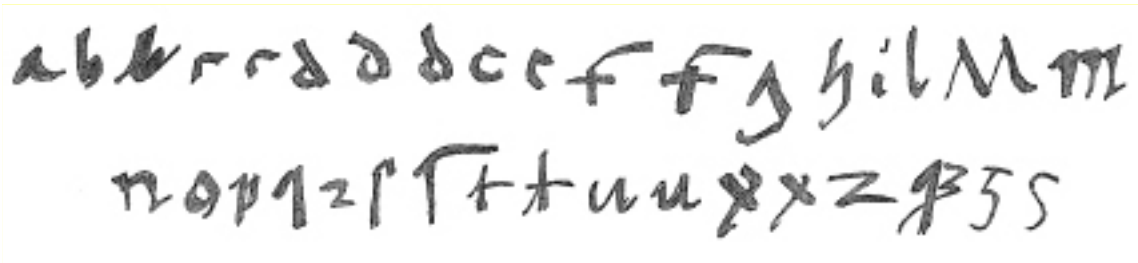
His ink is in the olive-brown family, but varies greatly between pale and dark. Throughout the first section the letters have slightly rough edges, as if the pen needed trimming.

The hand has a very angular appearance with significant shading. The style is gothic cursive: f and s typically descend below the baseline and a and g have simple forms. This hand could perhaps also be called 'semi-gothic' according to de la Mare's definition (see under scribe c).

Punctuation appears to be limited to the elevated point. Sentences begin with capital letters. The treatment of *lemmata* varies. They can be written either stichometrically or in long lines (as for Scribe d). In the former case they are likely to be prefaced by a 5-shaped mark; in the latter case they might be so prefaced, or they might instead be bracketed by three dots arranged in a triangle.

Small loops and bowls (e.g. on *a*, *b*, *p*, *q* and the top of *g*) often close in on themselves, leaving no interior space. There is an alternate form of *r* (not shown below) where, essentially, a vertical spine is added to the 2-shape, creating what looks like a small capital *R*. There is also a round or 5-shaped word-final form of *s* (not illustrated below). The symbol between the second *x* and the *-que* abbreviation is the Tironian *et*.

Scribe f is probably not Italian.



**Scribe g**  
45r-47r

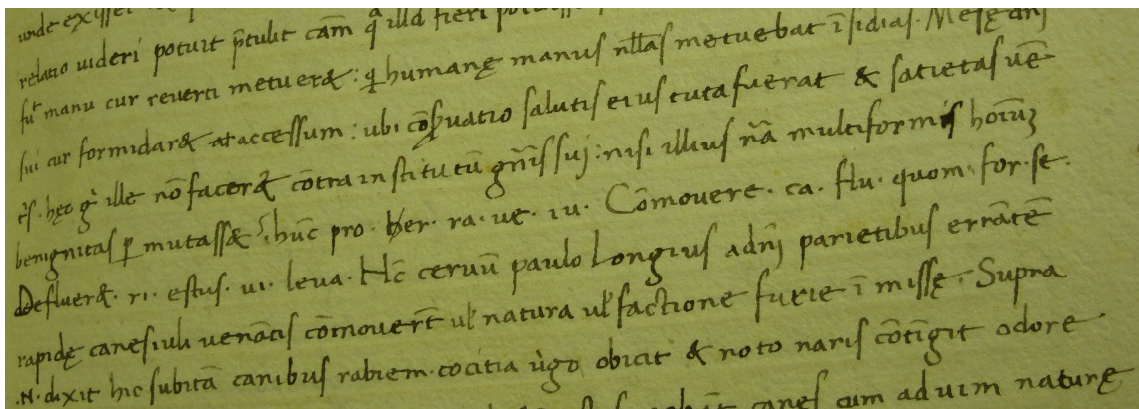
Scribe g writes only the first three leaves of quire six, employing a thin pen that produces almost no shading and a dark brown ink. The hand is a humanist cursive with ascenders and descenders that tend to tilt towards the right.

The writing on 45 verso is somewhat irregular. The first four lines plus another five lines near the middle of the page appear to have been written with a different (narrower, cleaner) pen than the rest of the section. On the same page, there are three long blank spaces on three separate lines. They each look as if several words were meant to be added later, but there is in fact no gap in the text. The first of these blanks follows a *lemma* from the *Aeneid*, and the latter two each precede one, but this is not the usual treatment of *lemmata* by this scribe; generally they are prefaced by an S-shaped mark, with no blank space.

The scribe uses three punctuation marks. A colon marks a weak pause, an elevated dot a moderate pause, and a period a strong pause. Sentences begin with capital letters.

There are relatively few finials in this hand. The *f* and *s* both descend below the baseline. The final minims of *m* and especially of *n* do not always come down all the way to the baseline. The bowls of *p* and *q* are smaller, in proportion to the length of their descenders, than in most other hands. The *s* is remarkably tall and narrow. The ampersand looks rather like the Æ diphthong.

A a b b c c d d e e f f f g g h h i i l l m m m  
N n n o p q r r r s s t v u u x x & q i





## Scribe h

47v-54r

Scribe h writes what is left of quire six after Scribe g stops. For the first three lines of this section the scribe seems to have used a fairly thick pen, creating a shaded, angular look to his letters. Thereafter, however, the pen is thinner and the look of the script changes correspondingly. The ink is a pale olive-brown at first, but on 49 recto it becomes darker.

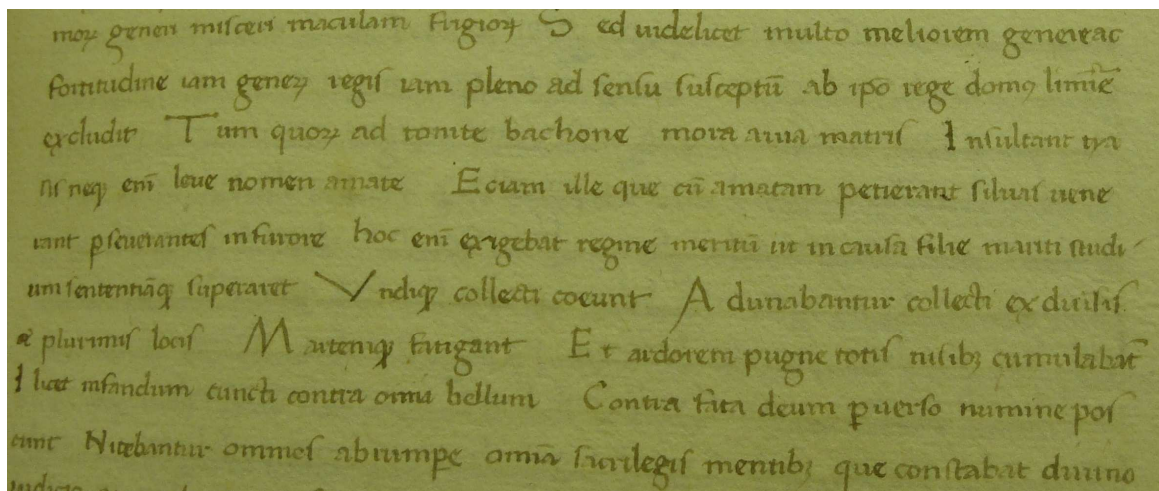
The hand itself is a round humanist script and very regular. On 54 recto the scribe uses a display script to mark the *explicit/incipit* of Books 7 and 8. The capital letters in the display script are embellished rustic capitals. The remaining letters are simply enlarged forms of the scribe's book hand.

Scribe h uses no punctuation, although the first letters of sentences are capitalized. The *lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are not marked in any way.

The form of *a* is relatively complex in this hand and includes a horizontal top or hat. The right-hand stroke of *h*, unusually for this codex, does not descend below the baseline or curve back to the left. The minims of *m* and *n* usually have small feet; correspondingly, the minims of *u* tend to have small finials at the top. The *b* and *d* on the one hand and *p* and *q* on the other are generally very symmetrical. The ampersand (not pictured) is like a figure-8 sitting lopsidedly on a minim.

Scribe h is particularly likely to be from the Po Valley region of Italy.

AaaBbbCccDddEeeeFffGggHhHhIiIiLll  
MmmNnnOopPpQqqRrrSstTtUuuXxyy&  
BCEFI LNPRTV



moꝝ generi misceri maculam fingioꝝ Sed uidelicet multo meliorem generem  
fortitudine iam generis regis iam pleno ad sensu susceptu ab ipso rege domo limite  
excludit Tum quoꝝ ad romite bachone mora aua matris Insultant tra  
ns neꝝ em leue nomen amate Eciam ille que cu amatam petierant sibi uene  
rant pſeuantes in fine hoc em exagebat regine meriti in in causa filie manu audi  
um ſententiãq ſuperaret Undiq collecti coeunt Adunabantur collecti ex diuisi  
a plurimis locis Matremq ſungant Et ardorem pugne totis uilibꝝ cumulabat  
I haec infandum cuncti contra omnia bellum Contra facta deum puerlo numine pos  
cunt Nabantur omnes ab iumpe omnia ſuilegis menubꝝ que conſtabat diuino  
iudicio

**Scribe i**  
55r-57v

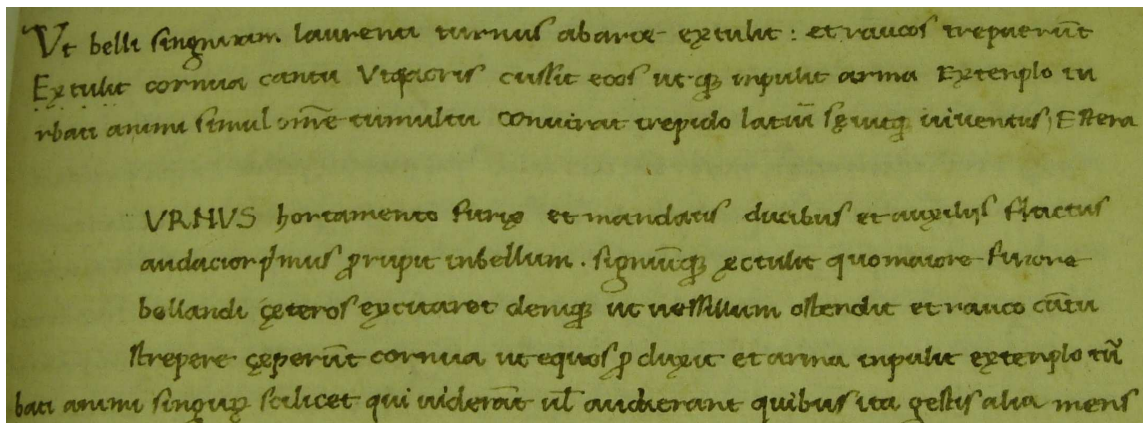
Scribe i writes the first three leaves of quire seven (after which Scribe f takes over). The ink is dark brown and the script humanist, with a very round appearance. The style does not fulfill all the characteristics of cursive writing, but the scribe does tend to write sequential letters without lifting his pen.

The first letter of a new sentence is always capitalized. Two punctuation marks are used: the elevated point for weak to moderate pauses and the period for stronger pauses. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are generally underlined.

Several letters have distinctly teardrop-shaped interiors (e.g. *a, b, d, q*). The *e* sometimes seems to have been drawn as a *c* with a 2-shape attached to form the upper bowl and the tongue. The right-hand stroke of *h* sometimes curves back so far as to almost close (also creating a teardrop-shape). The ampersand resembles an *e* with a tiny loop attached to the back of the tongue.

Stefano Zamponi identifies i as a student or non-professional scribe.

A a a b b c c D d E e e e f f g g h h i i l l  
M m N n o o P p p Q q q R r r S s P t t V v u u x x y y z z q:



**Scribe j**  
65r-88v

Scribe j writes all of quires eight, nine and ten, using a thin pen that produces no significant shading. The script is a round humanist hand with some cursive tendencies. (Sequential letters tend to be written without lifting the pen, and f and s descend below the baseline, although just barely.) The ink is initially a gray-brown, but over the course of the twenty-four leaves several new batches of ink vary in color.

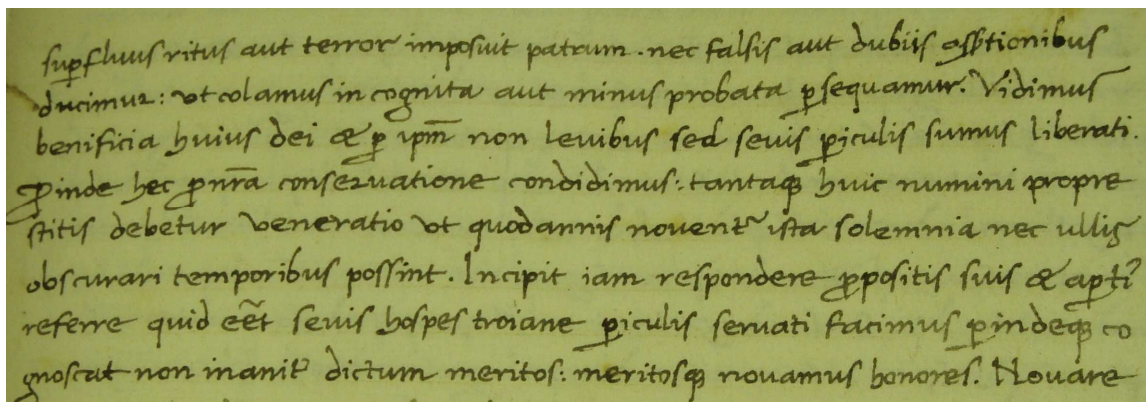
The most noticeable characteristic of this hand is that some ascenders and descenders (including on *b*, *d*, word-initial *u*, *x*, and the *-rum* abbreviation) are written with a very strong slant, mostly to the left. The effect is visible even from a distance.

Sentences regularly begin with capital letters and end with a period. A colon marks weaker pauses. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are not treated uniformly. Early in the section they go unmarked; later the first few letters or words of each *lemma* are written in capitals.

The spine of *a* can be upright or oblique. The *c* sometimes connects so closely to a following letter that it begins to lose its shape. The two types of *u* (b-shaped and u-shaped) are distributed by position within the word: the b-shaped form is always word-initial, regardless of whether the letter is functioning as a vowel or a consonant (it is used, for example, in both *vulcani* and *unum*), and the u-shape is used in every other location. (A similar treatment is found in hand c.) The ampersand looks like an Æ diphthong where the *e* has an exceptionally long tongue.

Scribe j, like i, is likely a student or amateur.

Aa Bbb Cc Dd d d E Ee e e f f f g g g h h h i i i l l l m m m  
n n n o o o p p p q q r r r s s s t t t v v v u u u x x x y y y æ æ æ



superfluo ritus aut terror imposuit patrum. nec falsis aut dubiis assertionibus  
ducimus: et colamus in cognita aut minus probata persequamur. Vidimus  
beneficia huius dei & pro ipso non leuibus sed suis periculis sumus liberati.  
Quinde hec pro nostra conseruatione condidimus: tantaq; huic numini propre-  
ritatis debetur veneratio et quodammodo nouentur ista solemnia nec ullis  
obscurari temporibus possint. Incipit iam respondere propositis suis & apte  
referre quid eēt suis hospes troiane periculis seruati facimus quindeq; co-  
gnoscit non inanis dictum meritos: meritosq; nouamus honores. Nouare

**Scribe k**  
105r-117v

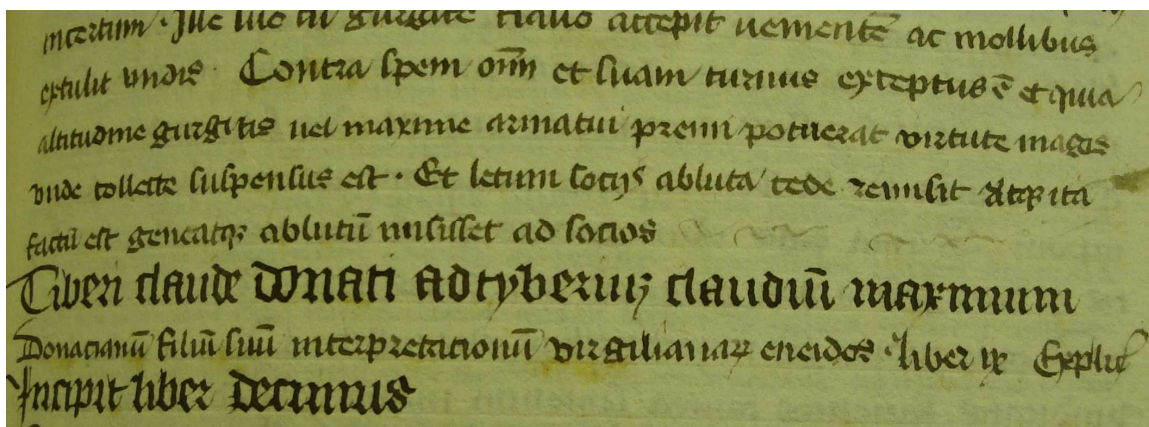
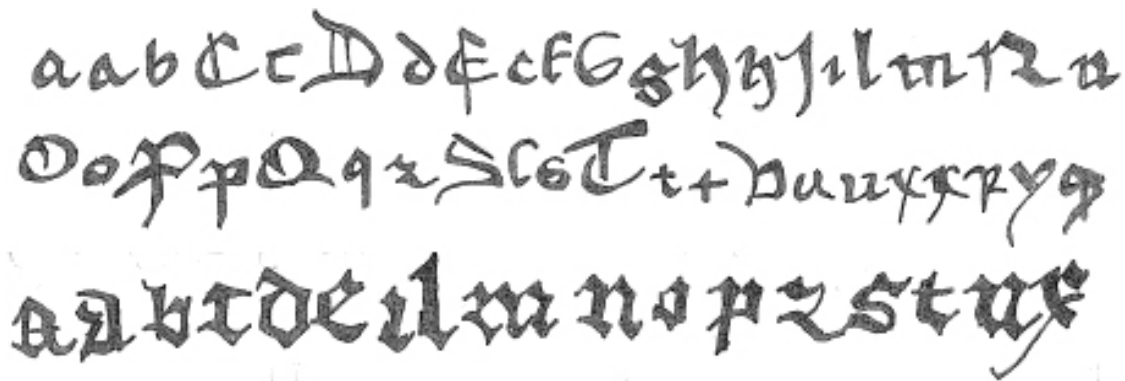
Scribe k writes the thirteenth quire. The hand is essentially gothic, likely non-Italian, and is written in a medium gray ink with considerable shading.

The *explicit/incipit* of Books 9 and 10 features a display script, the increased size of which makes certain gothic elements more immediately visible (the feet on letters that, when smaller and less distinct make the minims appear broken, for example). Both the book hand and the display script would qualify under Lieftinck's system as *littera textualis*.

The only punctuation marks are the elevated point and the occasional hyphen at a line-end to mark a broken word. Sentences generally begin with capital letters. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are often unmarked, but some are underlined.

The *c* and *e* are very similar to one another; *d* is always oblique. The *f* and *s* often appear as though they are about to fold in on themselves because of the foot angled up from the baseline, combined with the usual inwardly curving top. The *g* is horizontally compressed, becoming wide but short. The *h* is made of two interlocking pieces: a spine with a finial and a foot, and a curve like an oversized comma fitted around the foot. The minims of *m*, *n* and *i* are more consistent than the illustration demonstrates, making the three letters somewhat difficult to distinguish. This scribe uses no ampersands; the word *et* is written out, although the letters are often extremely close together.

This scribe is probably not Italian.



## Hand 1

129r-132v

Scribe 1 writes the first four leaves (not quite the first half) of quire fifteen (after which scribe d takes over). The ink is dark brown, then pen fairly thin, producing little shading. The script is round humanist with somewhat sharp curves. Many letters seem to slant towards the left, as if leaning backwards. Many ascenders (especially *b*, *d*, *h*, and *l*) carry very small finials in the form of diagonal ticks.

The period is the only form of punctuation. Sentences begin with capital letters. *Lemmata* are typically underlined.

The *d* can be either upright or oblique; the form can alternate within a single word, as if for variety. The minims of *m* and *n* tend to be angled slightly inward and the arches slightly pointed. The ampersand either resembles the Æ diphthong where the *o* hovers around the middle of the *e*, whose top bowl is closed (as illustrated below) or else looks like the modern version but with a tail descending slightly below the baseline and then turning to the right.

Scribe 1 is another potential student-scribe.

A A a a b b C c D d d d E e e e f f g g h h i i l l M m m  
N n n o P p p q q r r S s t t t t v u u x x & q

sentiant. Ac uelut optato uentis estate coortis dispersa imedit silus incendia pastor. Que admodum solet inquit uoto prouenire pastori: ut adiuuentur ue to incendia queq; pegras sparserit addidit & estatis tempus quo nullum impe dimentum ex humore incendijs fouendis accedit. Correptis subito medijs ex tenditur una horrida perlato acies uulcani campos. Et incensa repente medietate siluarum atq; consumpta extenditur p immensam latitudine flama. Quia de plijs & dimicationibus loquebatur. Aciem uulcaniam dixit flamarum q; silual dispersa comparabantur. Ille sedes in q; flama despectat doctes. Pastor aut sedens & gaudens uotul suis incendia suffragari dominari uidet & tri

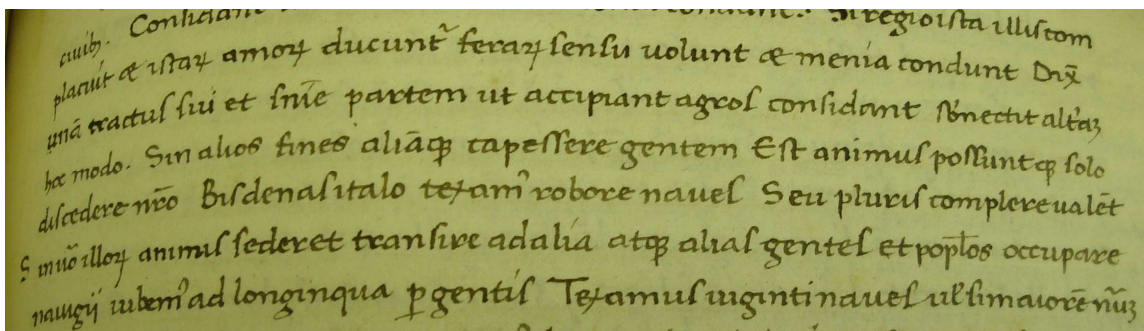
**Scribe m**  
161r-174v

Scribe m writes quire eighteen in a dark gray ink with a pen of moderate width, creating some shading. The narrowest portion of each stroke is oriented in such a way that most minims end on the baseline in a point or wedge. The script itself is a round humanist hand. Many ascenders (especially *d*, *h*, and *l*) carry a finial in the form of a small diagonal tick.

The period is used to mark both weak and strong pauses. Sentences begin with capital letters. *Lemmata* are generally bracketed by three points arranged in a triangle. Sometimes they are additionally marked by a 5-shaped symbol in the left margin.

The finial on the upper left of *m* and *n* looks like the beginning of another arch. The *r* typically has a pronounced foot facing to the right. Like scribes c and j, scribe m uses two different forms of *u* to distinguish between word-initial and intra-word instances. The ampersand resembles a lopsided *t* with a figure-8 resting on its crossbar (which does not always extend as far, particularly to the right, as is illustrated below).

Aaα Bbb Cccc Dd Ee e e Fff Ggg Hh Ii i i Lll Mmm Nn Ooo  
Pp Qq Rrr Sll Tt Vv uuu y y & β



## Scribe n

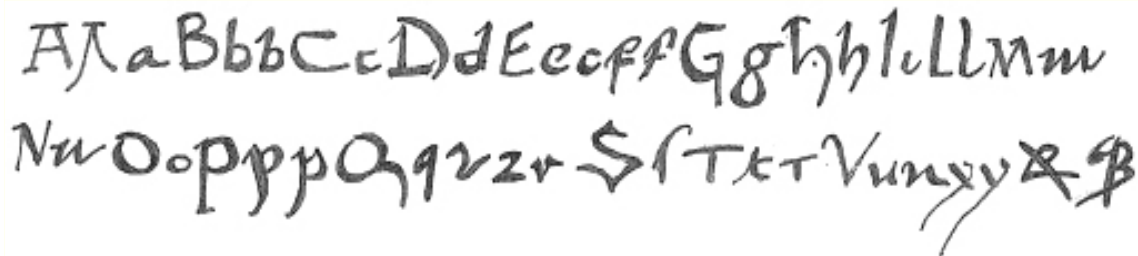
175r-177v; 200r-207v

Scribe n writes all that is extant of quire nineteen (three leaves, their conjugates having been sliced out) and all of quire twenty-two. The first section is in a dark gray ink that becomes lighter on 176 recto; the second is in a pale olive-brown ink. The hand is a round humanist script with strong shading, producing an angular appearance. Ascenders and descenders tend to lean to the right. Some ascenders have finials, but these are inconsistent in form and frequency.

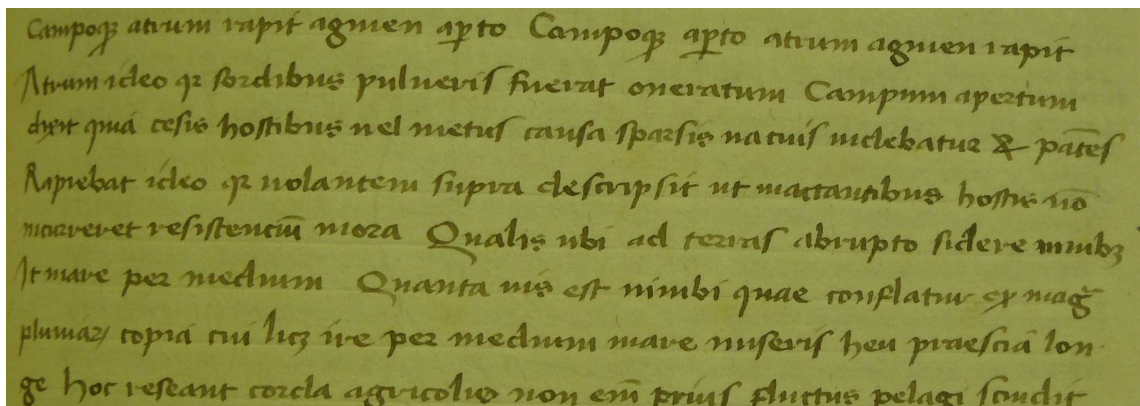
This scribe uses no punctuation marks at all, although he does start new sentences with capital letters. *Lemmata* from the *Aeneid* are unmarked.

The *f* can stand on the baseline or descend; *s* typically stands on the baseline. The right stroke of *h* likewise can descend and curve back to the left, or stop at the baseline. The minims of *i*, *m* and *n* are often difficult to distinguish from one another. Like scribes c, j and m, this scribe has two different forms of *u* (although the b-shaped form is not illustrated here). The ampersand is a triangular *e* (its bottom angled rather than curved) with a diagonal line through it. It can also be written in a single stroke, wherein the diagonal, instead of extending to the left, curves into the bowl, which then doubles back into the angle of the main body.

Scribe n is likely a non-Italian.



A Aa Bbb Cc Dd Eec ff Gg h h i l l m m  
Nn O o p p p Q q r z r S s T t t V u u x y & ß



Campoz atrum rapit agmen apto Campoz apto atrum agmen rapit  
Atrum ideo qz sordibus pulueris fuerat oneratum Campum apertum  
dixit quia cecis hostibus nel metus causa sparsis natuis uidebatur & patēs  
Rapuebat ideo qz uolantem supra descripsit ut mactantibus hostis no  
moereret resistencū moza Quahs ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nubz  
It mare per medium Quanta mis est nubi quae conflatu ex mag  
plumaz copia cui hz ire per medium mare miseris heu praesna lon  
ge hoc resant corda agricolis non em prius fluctus pelagi sordis

## Scribe o

178r-199r

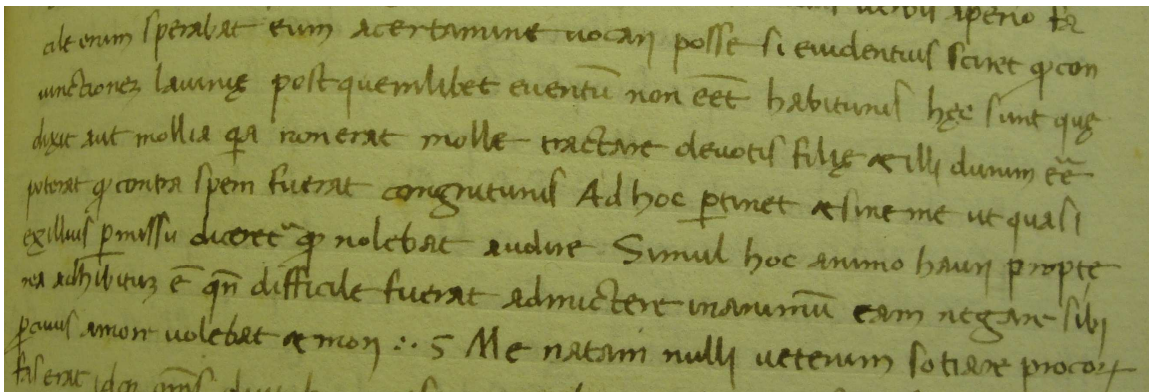
Scribe o writes quires twenty and twenty-one in a round humanist hand. Like many other scribes, scribe o tends to write sequential letters without lifting his pen, although the letter forms are not themselves cursive. The thin pen produces almost no shading. The ink is initially a dark gray-brown, but over the course of the two quires it varies. Occasionally the pen seems to transfer too much ink at one time, creating exceptionally dark letters or small splotches.

On 187 verso the scribe marks the *explicit/incipit* of Books 11 and 12 by writing the first five and a half words of the commentary on Book 12 (but not the *lemma* from the *Aeneid* to which they belong) in a display script that is essentially just lightly ornamented capitals.

Weaker pauses are marked by a colon and stronger ones by a period. Sentences begin with capital letters and *lemmata* are prefaced by a cluster of three points arranged in a triangle, followed by a 5-shaped symbol. Often another triangle of dots closes off the quotation.

The *a* and *e* have various forms. The *b* often appears to have been drawn in one stroke. The minims of *m* and *n* narrow as they approach the baseline. The right stroke of *h* becomes very thin as it curves, sometimes taking on a claw-like appearance. The ampersand resembles the Æ diphthong.

A x x a a b b b c c c d d d e o e e f f g g g t h h t i u u  
m m n n n o o p p p q q r r s r t t t v u u y y z z æ æ  
A B C D E I L M N O P R S T V X



ale enim sperabat eum certamine vocari posse si eundem sciret quon  
am ditione launus post quemlibet euentu non eet habiturus hęc sunt que  
dixit aut molle qd numerat molle tractare deuotus filius et illy dnm ee  
piorat q contra spem fuerat congratum Ad hoc pmet et me me ut quali  
ex illis pmissu dicit q nolebat audire Simul hoc anno hanc propte  
rea exhibuit e qn difficile fuerat admittere unum eam regem liby  
paul amon uolebat et moy . . 5 Me natam nulli ueterum solere procoy  
fiterat idcirco omni dnm hanc



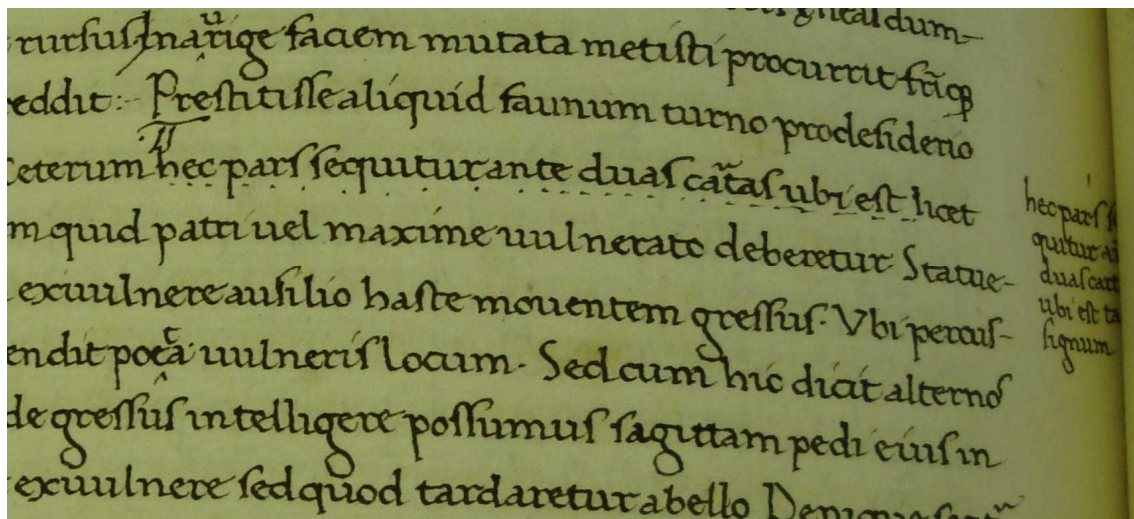
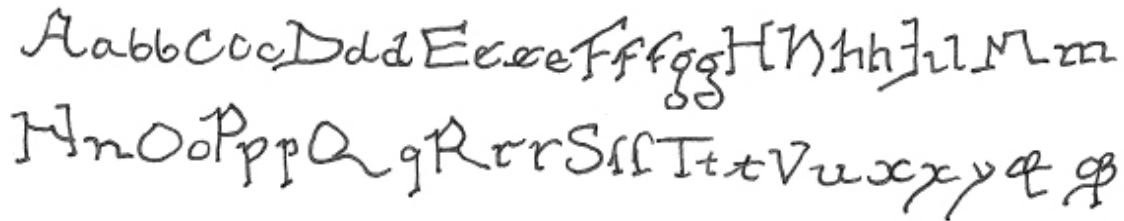
**Scribe p**  
208r-216v

Scribe p writes almost all of quire twenty-three, for some reason stopping two leaves before the end; scribe a finishes the quire. The ink is unique in the codex as the only one approaching a true, solid black. The hand is a round humanist script. It does not have the same tendency to link sequential letters that many of the other hands do. It is also worth noting that this scribe seems to make more mistakes in copying than his fellows; his pages are littered with expunctions, either in the literal sense (with points written under the letters to be removed) or with the offending sections crossed out. The size of the writing diminishes slightly after the first two leaves.

Strong pauses are marked by a triangular cluster of three points and weak pauses by a period. Capital letters are very frequent; not only sentences but often clauses have initial capitals. *Lemmata* are either bracketed or, at the very least, prefaced by one of two symbols. The more common is the elevated point; the less common is a sort of diagonal equal sign.

The interiors of letters (e.g. *a, b, g, o, p*) are often nearly circular. The right stroke of *h* can stop at the baseline or descend slightly and curve back quite far to the left. The form of *x* is distinctive: whether or not it has a descender, the body of the letter looks very much like two back-to-back *c*-shapes. The ampersand resembles the  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$  diphthong with the *o* sitting very high, next to the closed upper bowl of the *e*.

Scribe p's writing is particularly characteristic of the Po Valley.



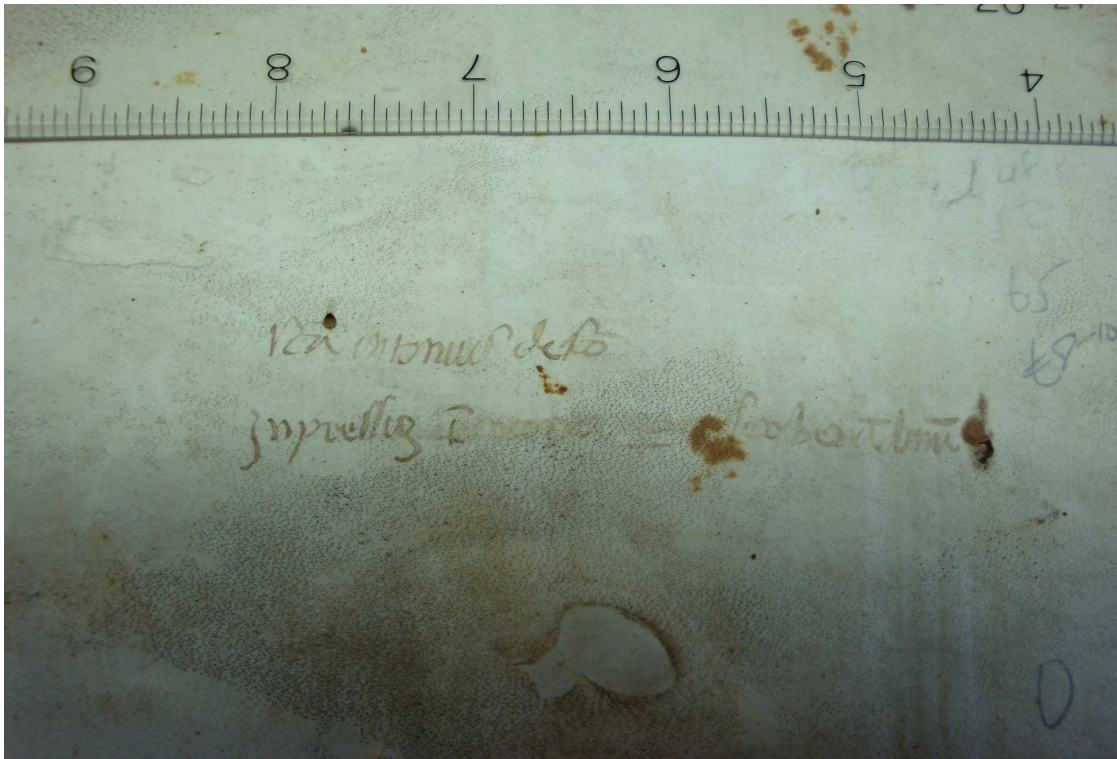
**Appendix D**  
binding decoration



front board, exterior



back board, exterior



inscription, front board interior



front board exterior, detail

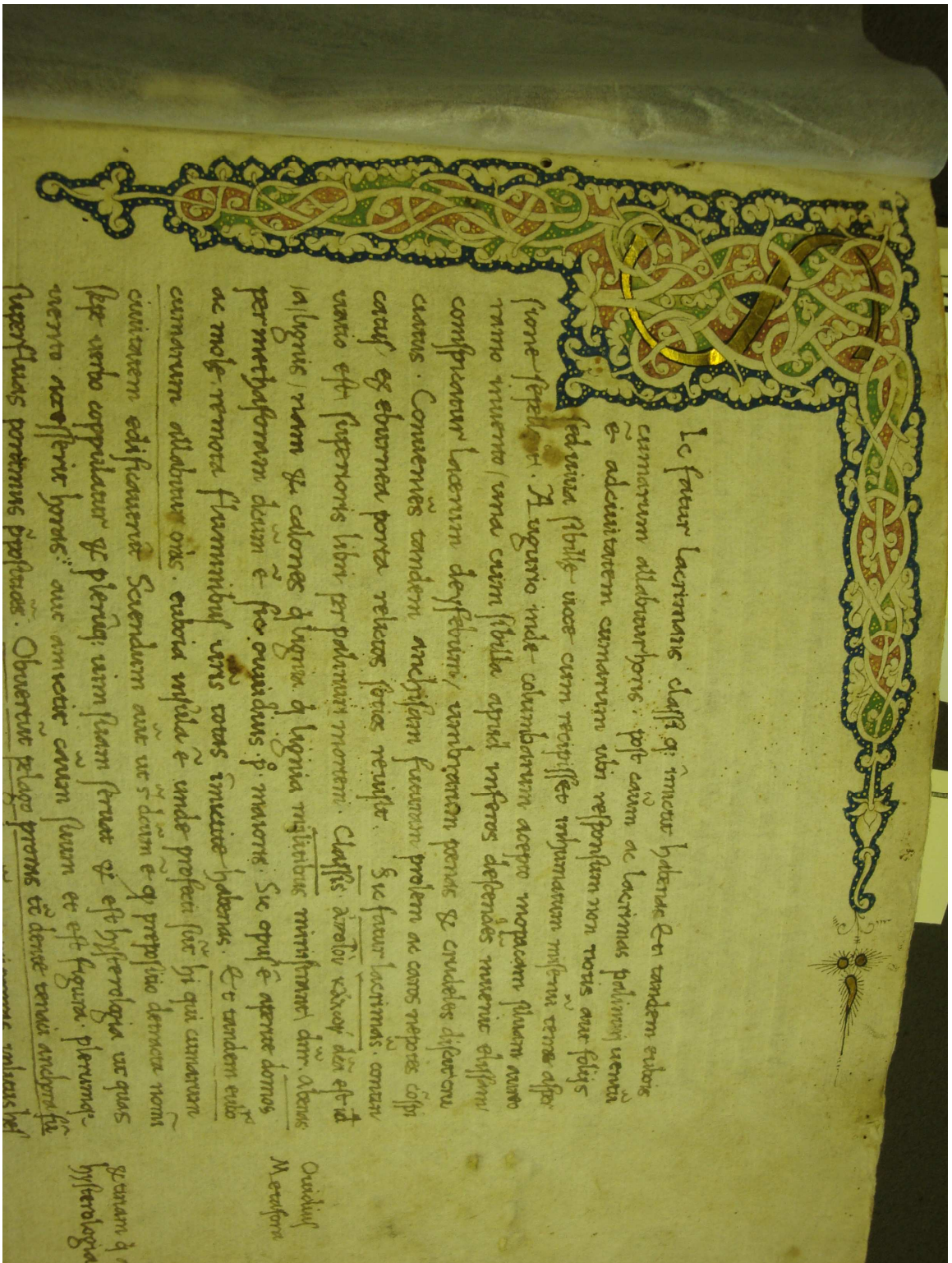


back board exterior, detail (1)



back board exterior, detail (2)

Appendix E  
illumination





## Appendix F

diplomatic edition of supplementary text

Sic fatur lacrimans classi q(ue) i(m)mictit habenas Et tandem eubo(is) cumarum allabatur horis. Post ca(s)um ac lacrimas palinuri ventu(m) e(st) ad civitatem cumarum ubi responsum non notis aut foliis sed viva sibille voce cum recipisset inhumatum misenu(m) terræ aspersione sepell[...].t. Augurio inde columbarum accepto inopacam silvam aureo ramo invento, una cum sibilla apud inferos descende(n)s invenit elissam, conspicatur lacerum de yfibus, umbrarum poenas et crudeles discit cruciatus. convenie(n)s tandem anchisam futuram prolem ac caros nepotes co(n)spicatus, ex eburnea porta relictos socios revisit. Sic fatur lacrima(n)s. continuatio est superioris libri per palinuri mortem. Classis πτο το κ λ v d(i)c(t)a e(st) id (est) ,a, lignis, nam et calones q(ui) lignia q(ui) lignia militibus ministrant, d(i)cu(n)tu(r). Abenas per methaforam d(i)c(t)um e(st) sic ouuidius p(rimus) maioris. Sic opus e(st) aperite domos ac molē remota fluminibus vi(st)ris totas i(m)mictite habenas. Et tandem eubo(is) cumarum allabatur oris. euboia insula e(st) unde profecti su(n)t hi qui cumarum civitatem edificaveru(n)t Sciendum aut(em) ut s(upra) d(i)c(t)um e(st) q(ua) prepositio detracta nom(in)i sepe verbo copulatur et pleru(m)q(ue) vim suam servat et est hystorologia ut quas vento accesserit horas. aut amictit ca(s)um suum et est figura. plerumq(ue) superfluas ponimus p(rae)positio(n)es. Obvertu(n)t pelago proras t(um) dente tenaci anchora fu(n)deba(n)t naves et litora curve.p.p.i.m.e.a. Torque(n)t troiani proras in litus hesperium ut cumarum civitatem adea(n)t. Curvę epitheton perpetuu(m) e(st) navium ardens. profestinate et ingenioso ponitur sicut p(er) contrarium segnis sine ingenio et quasi sine igne accipitur sic s(upra) instant ardentes tirii pars du(m). At pius enneas arces quibus altus Apollo.p.h.p.s.s.a.i.p. Adit enneas altum templum apollinis. altus apollo p(ro)p(ter) oraculi magnitudinem



dix(it) horre(n)de sibillę provenerabilis. s(upra) . d(i)c(t)a est aut(em) sybilla □πο του σῖος  
 Latine deus et β□λ□ sciens quasi dei scientia Immane magnu(m) sig(ni)ficat ut dorsum  
 i(m)mane mari Magniam cui mentem a(n)i(m)umq(ue).d.i.v.a.q.f. opera et auxilio  
 apollinis futura predicat. aperit aut(em) ostendit et palam facit ut salustius caput aperire  
 solitus et terram inter fluctus aperit. Iam subeu(n)t trivie lucos. lucos t(ri)vie pro  
 P\tr/oserpine q(uae) aplutone rapta intriviis et quadriviis req(ui)sita, ei dedicata s(un)t.  
Dedalus ut.f.a.e.f.m.r.p.p.a.s.c.c.p.p. Venus obdep(re)hensum a sole a[[u]]d[[e]]lterium  
 q(uod) cum marte patraerat furias ino(mn)em progeniem solis i(m)misit ut i(n)circę et  
 pasiphe uxor minois q(uae) amore tauri fragra(n)s dedali opera cu(m) eo comcubuit q(uo)  
 coitu compressa minotaur(um) humana carne vescentem peperit. Verum c(um) minos  
 epasiphe androgeu(m) inter alios [[su]] athleta max(imum) suscepisset ab atheniensibus  
 et megarensibus occiditur qua p(ro)p(ter) minos bella contra athenienses move(n)s  
 devictos poena mulctavit ut sing(u)lis annis .VI. defiliis et .VII. defiliabus minotauro  
 mictere(n)t Tertio aut(em) anno missus e(st) theseus virtute fama rebus gestis et forma  
 insignis ab adriana dilectus eius auxilio minotauru(m) superavit et adriana rapta fuga  
 (sibi) consuluit, q(uae) cum dedali opera minos f(a)c(t)a dep(re)hendisset eum cum filio  
 icaro inlabyrintho asservandum trusit. Dedalus corruptis servis atrie(n)sibus sub  
 simalatio(n)e ceram et pennas accepit q(ui)bus alis impositis adartos evolavit, dedalus  
 \nato i(n) mariam lapso/ p(rimo) ut refert salustius sardinia(m) in(de) cumas tenuit u(bi)  
 apollini templo fabrefacto in foribus hec pinx(it). Ins(ue)tu(m).p(er).i(ter) non  
 ho(m)i(ni)bus sed avibus t(u)m notum. Enavit adartcos. adseptem(tri)onis plagam vel  
 melius adsigniu(m) septe(n)trionis Tu q(uo)q(ue) magna(m) partem opere intanto sineret  
 dolor Ycare h(ab)eres. ycarus dolore coactus mortem filii excudere non valuit Deyphebe

glaucci scilicet filia, que fata romana conscripsit. Nu(n)c grege de intacto.VII.mactare iuencos. inter gregem et arme(n)tu(m) discriptio facienda e(st) ut sit grex minoru(m) a(n)i(m)aliu(m) multitudo armentum v(ero) maiorum ut boum et equorum et que his similia sunt. sed pictorib(us) atq(ue) poetis quelibet audendi semper fuit equa potestas. Lectas totide(m) d(e) more bidentes. ut s(upra) d(i)c(t)um e(st) quasi biennes dicuntur, quod intra binatu(m) duos dentes eminentiores h(ab)ean. Ventum erat adlime(n) cum virgo poscere fata te(m)p(us) ait virgo vicinitate dei afflata more furenti(s) hec dicit. Cessas i(n)vata inara detineris advota facienda cu(m) aut(em) dicimus cessas i(n)votis, ho(c) significat, tardum dum vota persoluis cessas v(ero) invota cessas ade persolvenda et coha(n)da.

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