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D. H. Berry

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GULIELMIUS AND THE ERFURTENSIS OF CICERO: NEW READINGS FOR *PRO SULLA*

The Erfurtensis (*E*), now lat. 2°252 in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz at Berlin (West), was assembled by Wibald of Corvey in the mid twelfth century, and is the most comprehensive medieval manuscript of Cicero, containing nearly half of what was eventually to survive.¹ The manuscript as it exists today has lost one or more folios at several different points,² but in some of these places readings were recorded by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars before the mutilations occurred.³ There is, however, only one lacuna where early collations survive and where, also, *E* is a manuscript of primary importance for the reconstruction of the text. The omission in question, caused by the removal of folios at some unknown date between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century, comprises the end of *pro Caecina* (beginning after *vincula*, §100) and virtually all *pro Sulla* (ending before *-tundis Catilinae*, §81). No readings are known to have been taken from the end of *pro Caecina*, but from the bulk of *pro Sulla*, before the manuscript as we have it resumes, a sizeable number of readings has fortunately been preserved. The tradition of *pro Sulla* takes the form of two branches, one consisting of Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18787, *olim* Tegernseensis, (*T*) and all the *deteriores* (ω), the other consisting of just two manuscripts, *E* and its twin, Vatican, Pal. lat. 1525 (which will be referred to as *V*). *V* comes to a halt at §43; the early collations of *E* are therefore of the highest importance for *pro Sulla* until §81, especially from §43 onwards where they comprise our only record for one of the tradition's two branches.

The major source for the readings of this lacuna consists of the reports of J. Gulielmius (1555–1584),⁴ who, recognising the manuscript's importance, collated it in preparation for an edition he did not live to produce. Secondly, J. Zinzerling later published some readings from *Sul.* 6, 36 and 69 in his *Criticorum Iuvenilium Promulsis* (Leiden, 1610), 1–7 (cf. 179–80). Gulielmius' collations of this and other MSS. eventually came to be used with Zinzerling's material by J. Gruter for his edition of Cicero published at Hamburg in 1618.⁵ Despite the fact that Gruter had not himself had access to *E*, it is his published reports of Gulielmius' collation (given in the critical notes at ii.556–8) which, together with Zinzerling's readings, have formed the

I am very grateful to Professor R. G. M. Nisbet and Professor M. D. Reeve for their helpful criticisms. I should also like to thank the authorities at the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, in particular Professor P. F. J. Obbema and Mr J. A. A. M. Biemans.

¹ A description and bibliography are given by B. Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des Auteurs Classiques Latins aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles*, i (Paris, 1982), pp. 148–50. See also L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), *passim* (cf. 448); R. G. M. Nisbet's commentary on *Pis.*, xxiii–xxiv.

² For details see Munk Olsen, *loc. cit.*; R. H. Rouse and M. D. Reeve in Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³ In addition to the recorded readings for *pro Sulla* (see below), Zinzerling gives reports from the lost part of the Catilinarians (1.1–4.2) at 130–1 (*Cat.* 1.6) and 148–52 (*Cat.* 1.11; 1.20; 2.13). There is also a small number of reports from Gulielmius in Gruter's edition, mostly relating to the Catilinarians.

⁴ cf. J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, ii (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 272f.

⁵ R. H. Rouse and M. D. Reeve in Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 156. On Gruter see Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 359–62.

basis for every subsequent editor's reports of the missing folios. The whereabouts of Gulielmus' collation were quickly forgotten.

Recently, however, P. L. Schmidt has identified the edition of Cicero owned by Gulielmus and containing his collations and conjectures, a remarkable discovery.⁶ The edition is that of Lambinus, published in 1577–8 and now in the possession of the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit at Leiden (shelfmark 762.B.9/10). It was this copy which Gulielmus used to collate the Erfurtensis, and thus the readings he recorded need no longer be taken at second hand from Gruter, but may now be had direct from Gulielmus himself. The authorities at Leiden have with great generosity supplied me with photographs of the relevant pages of Lambinus' edition, with the result that I have been able to compare against one another Gulielmus' collation, Gruter's version of it and the readings given by Zinzerling. This examination has revealed various deficiencies in Gruter's reports which have, naturally, permeated all subsequent editions. In particular, Gruter recorded only a selection of the reports noted by Gulielmus, while his manner of recording has been found to have been imprecise and consequently misleading: where Gulielmus reported only one word from *E*, Gruter's method was to cite the whole clause without indicating which word had occurred in *E* and which had simply been taken from the *deteriores* on which his edition was predominantly based. This has led to a number of false reports, which I identify below. Study of Gulielmus' collation also suggests that the reports of Zinzerling are similarly prone to inaccuracy.

I provide below a complete list of readings now known to have come from these missing folios of *E*, together with the sources for this information (with page numbers for Zinzerling's reports) and other comment. I have also included in the list those readings which editors assume to have come from *E*, but which cannot be shown to have done so. As a result, thirteen new readings from *E*'s *pro Sulla* have been added and seven mis-reports identified; these have led to alteration of the text in three places (50.13, 65.29, 80.12; I also argue for change at 55.2) and also confirmation of one conjecture (74.23).

Pro Caecina

No readings have been recorded from *E*'s missing portion of *pro Caecina*.

Pro Sulla

References are to sections and lines in H. Kasten's third Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1966). The sigla follow Kasten, except that the source of *a*ϕ is denoted by the siglum δ. The basic pattern of the stemma is as shown in Fig. 1. For further details see R. H. Rouse and M. D. Reeve in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 79–82. In particular, note that there are three other MSS. (not necessary for our purposes here, although see under 65.29) known to be linked to π,⁷ and that there is an intervening stage between δ and *a*.⁸ ϕ consists of the remaining *deteriores*, five of which, denoted *p*Σ*bck*, are used by Kasten and A. C. Clark⁹ (who adds a

⁶ See *Die Überlieferung von Ciceros Schrift 'De Legibus' in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Munich, 1974), p. 219.

⁷ Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 13.2; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 9755–63; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 338 [Helmst. 304]. See C. F. W. Müller's Teubner (ii.2, 1892) *adnotatio critica*, xciv, A. C. Clark's OCT vi (1911) preface, xii, n. 2 and Kasten's (1966) preface, vi, n. 1.

⁸ cf. G. Billanovich, *Studi e Testi* 124 (1946), 98–100.

⁹ Oxford Classical Text vi (1911).

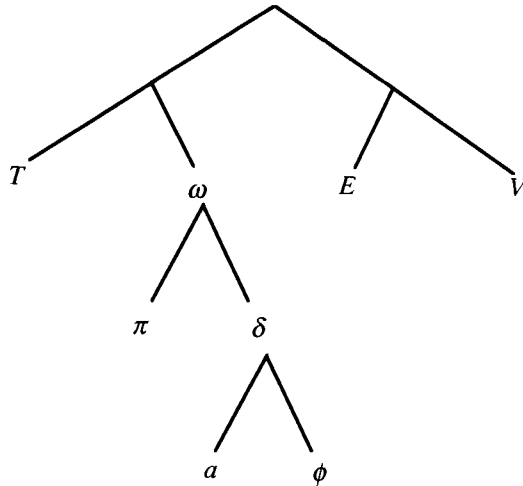


Fig. 1.

further three). Their precise relationships are not known, although *ck* are evidently closely linked (their agreement is denoted by Clark with the siglum *s*).

In the list which follows I correct in passing an alarming number of misreports. Clark's apparatus is peppered with inaccuracies throughout, and Kasten collated for himself (in 1933) only *T* and what remains of *E*, relying almost exclusively on Clark for the rest. We at last received the first accurate reports of *V* from J. E. Pabón in 1964,¹⁰ but Pabón's corrections for the most part were not incorporated by Kasten in his third edition two years later. The ω MSS. necessary for an edition are still waiting to be adequately collated, a task I have currently in hand.

1.3 According to Kasten and Clark *E* read *percipere potuisset*. There is no evidence for this. Clark omits the reading of *V*, also *percipere potuisset*, and so it follows that he must have printed *E* in mistake for *e* (= *V*), and that Kasten has simply reproduced the error.

6.31 *parricidio E*. Gulielmus, Zinzerling (6f.) → Gruter.

20.26–7 *pro huius periculis lacrimantes adspicere E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

20.30 *nulla suspicio E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

27.9 *a me E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

27.16 *redundarit E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

28.17 *verser E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

34.14 *harum rerum omnium, quas ego in consulatu pro salute rei publicae suscepi atque gessi...*

salute rei publicae *TV*: vestra quirites salute π : salute ac^2 : salute communi *pbk*: communi salute Σ : *om. c*¹

Kasten and Clark omit the reading of π and misreport *c. rei publicae* was presumably abbreviated and then lost in ω , after which various conjectures were made so as to complete the sense; the conjectural addition of *communi* is attributed by S. Rizzo to Petrarch (*RFIC* 103 [1975], 11). Gulielmus reports that *E* read *salute reip.*, agreeing as we would expect with *TV*. The reading of *E* here has not been noted by editors.

¹⁰ Mondadori edition (Milan).

36.1 ab Allobrogibus nominatum Sullam esse dicis.

ab *Vc*² *Schol.*: *om. cett.*

Kasten omits the reading of *c*². Gulielmus records that *E* read *ab*, thus supporting *V*. Not noted by editors.

36.1–2 quis negat? sed lege indicium ...

sed lege *TEV Schol.*: *sullae ω* *indicium Tac.*: *iudicium cett.*

negat sed lege E. Gulielmus, Zinzerling (3) → Gruter. Clark misreports *Schol.*

Gulielmus records that *E* read *iudicium*, thus agreeing with *V*: not noted by editors. Zinzerling (3) and Gruter, on the other hand, both declare that the correct reading *sed lege indicium* has come from *E*. Gulielmus, however, should be believed: he is making a collation, not, like Zinzerling, giving a selection of passages successfully emended with the help of *E*, and he appears to show greater precision in recording that *E* contained the (correct) reading *sed lege* followed by (the corrupt) *iudicium*. Since *iudicium* is also the reading of *V*, there is no doubt that it is Gulielmus who has reported *E* truthfully. Zinzerling appears to be guilty of further inaccurate reporting at 36.5 and 69.29 below.

36.4 quaero, num Sullam dixerit Cassius. nusquam.

nusquam TVπa: *numquam φ*

Kasten and Clark do not bother to report the variant. *E* read *nusquam*, as we would expect: Gulielmus, Zinzerling (4) → Gruter. Not noted by editors.

36.5 qui vitam hominum naturamque non nossent ...

Zinzerling (4) reports *E* as having read *naturamque hominum* instead of *hominum naturamque* (not noted by editors). This reading is not remarked upon and appears within a longer passage cited to illustrate the otherwise attested readings *nusquam* and *esse ... voluntate. naturamque hominum* may be an authentic reading of *E*, but it looks too suspiciously like a miscopying on Zinzerling's part (cf. 36.2 and 69.29) to deserve a place in the apparatus. *naturamque hominum* has no attractions, stemmatically or rhythmically.

36.6–7 *esse quaesiverunt essentne eadem voluntate E.* Gulielmus, Zinzerling (4) → Gruter.

36.11 *suspitari viderentur E.* Zinzerling (4).

37.15 *si nobilitas hominis, si adflicta fortuna ...*

adflicta Vb¹ c² k, p mg.: *afflata cett.*

Gulielmus records that *E* read *afflata*: not noted by editors. Presumably the archetype had *afflata*, and those MSS. which give *adflicta* have each made the obvious emendation.

42.1 *credo esse neminem, qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse.*

hominibus TVπ: *omnibus δ* *ad TEV*: *om. k*: *aut cett.* *vere referendum TV*: *facundiam π*: *vere referendis δ*

hominibus. Gruter wrote that 'qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse' is known from *EV*, and so editors assume that *E* is known to have read *hominibus*. But in fact Gulielmus reported from *E* only *ad v. r. aut fidem putet aut i. d.* (and *V* omits *qui*), and so the reading of *E* at *hominibus* is unknown.

ad E. Gulielmus → Gruter. Kasten and Clark omit the reading of π , *aut*, and misreport *k*.

referendum. Kasten and Clark omit the reading of π ; in his preface (xiii) Clark does supply it, but misreported. Editors assume from Gruter (see note on *hominibus*, above) that *E* is known to have read *referendum*. But Gulielmus reported *E* ambiguously: *ad v. r.* could also indicate *referendis*, Lambinus' reading and the reading Gulielmus has written for a different MS. immediately above his report of *E*. So, if *E* read other than *referendis*, Gulielmus clearly did not notice it. Probably, therefore, *E*, like *V*, abbreviated to *referend(um)*. But because of the element of doubt a reading should not be recorded for *E* in the apparatus here.

42.6 *emisi E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

45.30 *constitutas E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

46.7 *tute E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

46.9–10 *nemo umquam me tenuissima suspicione perstrinxit, quem non perverterim ac perfregerim.*

perverterim (prae- Σ) $T\delta$: *perculerim* π ac *perfregerim* $E\pi$: *aut perfregerim T*: *om. δ*

perverterim. Gulielmus did not record the reading of *E* here, but editors wrongly take Gruter as implying that it gave *praeperterim*. However, Σ , which is misreported by editors, does read *praeperterim*.

ac perfregerim E. Gulielmus → Gruter.

47.14 *amissum E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

48.24 *est umquam E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

48.29 *istud E.* Gulielmus → Gruter.

50.13 *tu ornatus exuviis huius venis ad eum lacerandum...*

exuviis TE: *eximiis* π : *et vivus a*: *eripuis p*: *erumnis cett.* huius] *post ornatus add.* *c² k*: *om. cett.*

exuviis E. Gulielmus → Gruter. (*erum(p)nis* is a medieval spelling of *aerumnis*).

huius. Kasten and Clark misreport *c²k*; *huius* here is a Milanese conjecture. Editors have followed Gruter, who misleadingly states that *tu ornatus exuviis huius venis* was the reading of *E*. Gulielmus gives us only *exuviis* from *E*; *huius* he attributes not to *E* but to his MS. *B*. This correction removes the MS. authority for *huius*, which should therefore be deleted. Its position after *exuviis* is in any case unattractive, and it impairs the rhythm (cretic-resolved spondee) at the slight incision before *venis*. The word was evidently introduced as a gloss.

50.17–18

te enim existimo tibi statuissse, quid faciendum putares, et satis idoneum officii tui iudicem posuisse.

tui TE: *om. ω* *posuisse ω* : *potuisse T*: <esse> *potuisse Halm*: *ipsum esse Madvig*

tui E. Gulielmus → Gruter.

Solely on the strength of an unconvincing argument from Gulielmus' silence (1933 preface, xi; 1949, iii; 1966, v) Kasten cites *E* as having read, with ω , *posuisse*. There is no evidence for the reading of *E* at this point, and therefore *potuisse* should not be rejected on stemmatic grounds. Neither reading as it stands makes adequate sense, and each gives a hexameter

ending at this significant break. The most natural solution is that of Halm (adopted by Clark), <esse> *potuisse*, which gives an agreeable *esse videatur* rhythm; cf. T. Zielinski, 'Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden', *Philologus* Suppl. 9 (1904), 792. Kasten's groundless citation of *posuisse* for *E* has misled Pabón (preface, 11): Pabón accepts J. N. Madvig's suggestion (made at *Adversaria Critica*, iii [Copenhagen, 1884], 134) only because he believes, wrongly, that a conjecture involving *potuisse* must be stemmatically impossible.

55.2 *balbum E*. Gulielmus → Gruter. $T\omega$ give *bellum* and *E* (alone) *balbum*: the distribution of MSS. thus presents us with a straight choice between *Bellus* and *Balbus* for the name of *Faustus'* freedman. Before the advent of stemmatic theory editors were unaware that the reading of *E* here has equal authority to that of all the other MSS., and so chose *Bellus*; thus the reading *Bellum* has become entrenched, and modern editors have simply accepted the traditional name. But *Bellus* is otherwise attested only twice, as a leading Illyrian in the service of the king *Gentius* (*RE* Suppl. iii.202.50), and as a late first-century A.D. potter (*RE* iii.258.58). These are uninspiring parallels, and Gruter was surely right in judging *Balbus* the more attractive alternative.

56.4 Gulielmus does change *Cincius* to *Siccus* in *Lambinus'* text, but he does not say that the latter came from *E*. Gruter and modern editors are wrong to assume that it did.

61.23 per vos iuvari conservarique cupiunt.

iuvari *T*: tutari ω

Gulielmus records that *E* read *iuvari*, supporting *T* against ω . Not noted by editors.

62.28 cum commoda colonorum a fortunis Pompeianorum rei publicae fortuna diiunxerit...

rei publicae $T\omega$: populi Romani *Angelius* diiunxerit *Gruter*: disiunxerit *E*: diiuxerit aut divixerit *T*: diviserit ω

Gulielmus (→ Gruter) records that *E* also read *rei publicae*, supporting the reading of the other MSS. Not noted by editors.

disiunxerit E. Gulielmus → Gruter. *diiunxerit* should be attributed not to Gulielmus (as in M. M. Peña's edition, Barcelona, 1956), but to Gruter. Clark misreports *T*.

64.21 *propulisset E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

65.25 *deposita E*. Gulielmus → Gruter.

65.25 kalendis Ianuariis cum in Capitolium nos senatum convocassemus, nihil est actum prius...

kalendis ianuariis $T\pi$: r. lateri $ap\Sigma b^2$: t. lateri b^1 : r. lata est c^1 : r. p. latuit c^2 : populum romanum latuit *k*

Kasten and Clark misreport b^1c^1k . Gulielmus records that *E* read *kal. Ian.*, agreeing as we would expect with $T\pi$. Not noted by editors.

65.29 agrariae legi, quae tota a me reprehensa et abiecta est, se intercessorem fore professus est...

se intercessorem *T*: intercessorem se π : intercessorem δ

Gulielmus records that *E* read *intercessorem se*: not noted by editors. *se intercessorem* is printed by editors, and reported as being the reading of all

MSS. except δ , which omits *se*. However, *se intercessorem* is the reading of *T* alone; *E* and π (which editors misreport) give *intercessorem se*, which was therefore the reading of the archetype (the three MSS. known to be linked to π also give *intercessorem se*). *intercessorem se* is a much more attractive reading since it places the pronoun in the unemphatic second position following the incision after *abiecta est*; cf. J. Wackernagel, *IF* 1 (1892), 333ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, i.1ff.), E. Fraenkel, 'Kolon und Satz' in *Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* (Rome, 1964), i.93ff.

66.2 quis tum nostrum Sullam aut Caecilium verebatur?

tum $T\pi k$: tamen *cett.*

Kasten and Clark misreport *p*. Gulielmus records that *E* read *tum*, thus confirming that *tum* was the reading of the archetype. Not noted by editors.

67.13 scilicet ego is sum, qui existimem...

ego is sum *T*: ipsum *a*: is sum *cett.*

Kasten and Clark misreport *a*. Gulielmus records that *E* read *is ego sum*: not noted by editors. This leaves a choice to be made between *ego is sum*, the reading printed in texts, and *is ego sum*. Both readings are stemmatically possible, and rhythmical considerations are of no help because an incision would come after *existimem* rather than *sum*. It would be natural, however, to place the emphatic *ego* first, after *scilicet*; cf. 'ego <sum> is consul qui contionem metuam...?', *leg. agr.* 2.101; 'nec tamen ego is sum qui nihil umquam falsi adprobem', *Ac.* 2.66; 'ego sum is qui dicam me non laborare', *Tusc.* 3.50; 'nam ego is sum qui...', *Att.* 7.5.5; 'sed ego is non sum qui statuere debeam', *Att.* 10.10.2; 'ego is sum cui vel maxime concedant omnes', *Fam.* 1.8.3; 'ego enim is sum...qui...', *Fam.* 5.21.2; 'ego profecto is sum', *Fam.* 15.4.13. The only passage I can find in which *is* appears first is 'si quisquam est timidus...is ego sum', *Fam.* 6.14.1, where *ego sum* refers backwards. I feel, therefore, that the reading of *E* here should not be allowed to displace *ego is sum*. *ego* was perhaps omitted in ω and independently misplaced in *E*, leaving *T* with the reading of the archetype.

69.27-8 *de me aliquid ipso qui accusatus eram dicere E.* Zinzerling (5) \rightarrow Gruter.

69.29 *animos mentesque convertere E.* Gulielmus, Zinzerling (6) \rightarrow Gruter. Zinzerling adds *vestros* after *animos* (not noted by editors), no doubt wrongly in view of Gulielmus' greater accuracy and the absence of *vestros* in *T\omega*. Zinzerling also appears to misreport *E* at 36.2 and 36.5 above.

70.5 *grassatum E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter.

70.9 *cogitasse aut stulte sperasse E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter.

72.31 *quis misericordior inventus est E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter.

73.10-11 *multumque E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter.

74.23 in hoc vos pudore, iudices, et in hac vita tanto scelere locum fuisse creditis?

iudices *Angelius*: iudicii *T\omega*

Gulielmus records that *E* read *iudices*: not noted by editors. This reading confirms *Angelius*' emendation.

74.24 *vita vitam E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter. Reading noted by Clark but missed by Kasten.

74.24-5 *ab initio ad hoc tempus explicatam cum crimine E.* Gulielmus \rightarrow Gruter.

80.12 quid vero? haec auctoritas – semper enim est de ea dicendum, quamquam a me timide modiceque dicitur –, quid? inquam, haec auctoritas nostra ...

semper (*om. b¹*) *Tω*: saepe Spengel

Kasten and Clark omit the reading of *b¹*. Gulielmus records that *E* read *semper iam enim*. Editors have not noted this reading, which is almost certainly correct and which dispenses with Spengel's conjecture (adopted by Clark), *saepe* for *semper*: the addition of *iam* makes the hyperbole of *semper* much easier to bear. The word order *semper iam enim*, with *enim* in third place, is unobjectionable: cf. *TLL* v.2.575.58. *iam* presumably dropped out of *Tω* through similarity with *enim*.

80.15–16

grave est hoc dictum fortasse iudices grave E. Gulielmus → Gruter.

81.25 *-tundis*. The Erfurtensis as it survives resumes at this point.

Lincoln College, Oxford

D. H. BERRY