

we explain the equivalence? The doubling of θ may have had the effect of intensifying the aspirate element contained in the single consonant. And presumably a similar effect resulted from combining d with the aspirate h (the Lycian symbol $+$), which reinforced the already existing aspirate element in d .

Clearly all this has interesting implications for the pronunciation of delta in Greek. The Lycian transcription of the name $\Delta\eta\mu\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ as $\tilde{N}temuxlida$ reflects a clear distinction between the initial delta of the name and the intervocalic delta. The Lycians transcribed the former as $\tilde{n}t$, probably representing a simple voiced dental, and the latter as d , which may well have represented a voiced dental aspirate. It is arguable, then, that the sound represented by delta in Greek may have varied according to the position in which the symbol occurred within a word. While initial delta in Greek words was probably pronounced as a simple voiced dental, the intervocalic delta perhaps had the sound of a voiced dental aspirate. In modern Greek, delta is regularly pronounced in this way, and in the intervocalic position the pronunciation of delta in classical Greek may not have differed markedly from its pronunciation in the modern language.

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NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE CIRCULATION OF THE TEXT OF VALERIUS FLACCUS?

Until recently, modern scholars had assumed that the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus remained unknown throughout the late Middle Ages. The humanist scholar Poggio is credited with putting into circulation a partial text of the poem (l. 1–4. 317) (S), discovered at St. Gall in the summer of 1416, which was supplemented thirteen years later by a fuller version (l. 1–8. 467) (L), transcribed by Niccoli from a now lost exemplar.¹ The opening paragraph to W. Summers' study reflects the tone which dominated scholarly understanding of the medieval circulation of this text throughout the early twentieth century:

Until Poggio's discovery in 1417 of a manuscript of Valerius Flaccus at St. Gall, the poet was a mere name to classical scholars and no more. Whilst Silius and his poem, which met with a fate in many respects so similar to that of Valerius, were from the first known to us from the writings of the younger Pliny, Martial and Sidonius Apollinaris, Quintilian is the only writer of antiquity who mentions our poet, *and not so much as the subject matter of his poem or even its nature was known until the appearance of this manuscript* (italics mine).²

B. L. Ullman's probing research on the twelfth-century *Florilegium Gallicum*, published in a series of articles in *Classical Philology* from 1928 to 1932,³

1. For a detailed discussion of the textual tradition of the *Argonautica*, see W. W. Ehlers, *Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der "Argonautika" des C. Valerius Flaccus*, Zetemata 52 (Munich, 1970), and E. Courtney, "*Argonauticon*" libri octo (Leipzig, 1970). M. D. Reeve's lucid article in *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 425–27, corrects some of the earlier errors of Courtney.

2. *A Study of the "Argonautica" of Valerius Flaccus* (Cambridge, 1894), p. 1.

3. "Tibullus in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 23 (1928): 128–74; "Valerius Flaccus in the Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 26 (1931): 21–30; and "Classical Authors in Certain Mediaeval *Florilegia*," *CP* 27

revealed that at least seventy lines of the *Argonautica* randomly excerpted were accessible to medieval readers. The text of these quotations diverges at several points from that of the oldest witness, V (Vat. lat. 3277), a ninth-century manuscript written at Fulda which was first used in Pius' edition (Bologna, 1519),⁴ and clearly demonstrates that the *florilegium* is descended from a separate manuscript tradition.⁵ The now lost codex Carrionis, uncovered by the Belgian scholar Louis Carrion about 1565 and dated by him to the mid-tenth century (*ante sexcentos annos conscriptum*),⁶ appears to be related to the *Florilegium Gallicum*, since at l. 331 it and the *florilegium* preserve the reading *polumque* against *cretamque* of VSL.⁷ P. L. Schmidt had already expressed reservations concerning Ehlers' categorical rejection of an independent French tradition,⁸ when F. Dolbeau uncovered new evidence inviting a reevaluation of this issue.⁹ The library catalog from the monastery at Lobbes, near Liège, preserves a detailed list of the books available there from 1049 to 1160. Among these we find in entry 303: *Gaii Valerii Flacci Sethini Balbi argonauticon lib. VIII*. The existence of a complete text of the *Argonautica* in Belgium at this date is surprising, and lends support to the thesis of a northern French manuscript tradition independent of VSL.¹⁰

To the slender thread of evidence so far compiled, I can now add two further pieces of interest. The "Vulgate" commentary, a mid-thirteenth-century set of glosses of northern French origin on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid,¹¹ preserves at the opening to Book 7 two references to the text of Valerius Flaccus. The first gloss explicates the noun *Myniae* (*Met.* 7. 1) and runs as follows:

*minie populi sunt qui cum iasone transfretaverunt ad
aureum vellus. unde in libro argonautico:
at ducis imperiis minie monituque frequentes
puppem humeris subeunt et tento poplite proni
decurrunt intransque fretum* [l. 184–86].

The second reference occurs several lines later (7. 4) and explains the allusion to the rescue of Phineus by the two sons of Orithyia:

(1932): 1–42. For the most recent study and edition of the *Florilegium Gallicum*, see R. Burton, *Classical Poets in the "Florilegium Gallicum"*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 14 (Frankfurt, 1983), esp. pp. 17–18 and 172–87.

4. For a detailed discussion of V and its place within the stemma, see the remarks of Courtney in the *praefatio* of his Teubner text, especially pp. x–xiv. Reeve updates our knowledge about this manuscript in *Texts and Transmission*, p. 426.

5. See Ullman, "Valerius Flaccus," pp. 25–27.

6. Scholars have hesitated to accept Carrion's dating of the codex. Courtney, for instance, places it among the *deteriores* of the sixteenth century and puts little value on its readings; Ehlers regards the codex Carrionis as a fifteenth-century manuscript. Schmidt (below, n. 8) alone considers it to be undervalued as a witness.

7. For discussion of these points, see Reeve, *Texts and Transmission*, p. 427, and F. Dolbeau, *RecAug* 14 (1979): 228.

8. "Polizian und der italienische Archetyp der Valerius Flaccus-Überlieferung," *IMU* 19 (1976): 247–56, esp. p. 251, n. 1, against Ehlers, *Untersuchungen*, p. 112.

9. "Un nouveau catalogue de Lobbes," *RecAug* 13 (1978): 3–36 and 14 (1979): 191–248.

10. This point is stressed by Dolbeau in *RecAug* 14 (1979): 228.

11. For the "Vulgate," see my forthcoming article in *Scriptorium*, "The MSS of the 'Vulgate' Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: A Checklist."

fugarant hoc enim fatatum erat, unde in argonautico:
 spes una seni quod pellere seuam
 quondam fata luem dederant aquilone creatis [4. 431–32].

The glossator derives neither of these quotations from the *Florilegium Gallicum*. That he therefore had access to a complete text of the *Argonautica* cannot be proven, but internal evidence may, I think, point in that direction. The commentary itself was probably composed at Orléans, where the excerptor of the *Florilegium Gallicum* had been at work during the century previous. Its quotations from contemporary and classical authors are far-ranging and usually demonstrate a well-grounded familiarity with a given text. While most frequently availing himself of writers of the school tradition—Lucan, the *Dicta Catonis*, Ovid, Vergil, Theodulf, the *Ilias Latina*, the *Alexandreis*—the commentator also uses less common works when these are germane to his subject. The infrequency with which he excerpts Valerius (I note only these two instances) is, admittedly, worrisome; one might expect a glossator who had access to a complete text to delineate more clearly basic differences in tone and presentation between the two accounts. On the other hand, the sections quoted in the scholia relate quite specifically to the text of Ovid under discussion, and ill agree with the moralistic, sententious phrases usually culled by the compilers of *florilegia*.

In summary, prior to 1978 the hypothesis of an independent French tradition of the text of the *Argonautica* rested solely on the evidence of the *Florilegium Gallicum* and the meager information preserved concerning the now lost codex Carrionis. Dolbeau's discovery of the library catalog from Lobbes, to quote Reeve, "put a fresh complexion on this matter."¹² The citations from Valerius Flaccus transmitted in the "Vulgate" commentary do not in themselves prove this theory, but they do give additional weight and credibility to it.¹³

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12. *Texts and Transmission*, p. 427.

13. I would like to thank my colleagues, J. Allison and J. Vaughn, for their helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this article.

JUVENAL 16. 18

"iustissima centurionum
 cognitio est †igitur† de milite, nec mihi derit
 ultio, si iustae defertur causa querelae"

So Clausen. In *CP* 79 (1984): 229 J. P. Sullivan adopts Kilpatrick's *agitur*, substitutes *etsi* for *est*, and punctuates thus:

"iustissima centurionum
 cognitio, etsi agitur de milite, nec mihi derit
 ultio, si iustae defertur causa querelae . . ."

Juvenal is concerned with the predicament of someone who has been physically assaulted by a soldier and has to look for his redress to a military court. The