

REVIEW ARTICLE

*FELIX CAPELLA: MINUS SENSUS QUAM NOMINIS PECUDALIS**

Martianus Capella composed his encyclopedia of the seven liberal arts in the late fifth century under the Vandals in Carthage.¹ The work is attested immediately by Fulgentius who, if one can believe a medieval catalog, may even have composed a commentary on the first two books of the *De nuptiis*.² The work was known to Boethius around 524, when he composed the *De consolazione philosophiae*,³ and was later corrected *ex mendosissimis exemplaribus* by Securus Melior Felix in Rome in 534.⁴ Cassiodorus had heard of it, but was unable to obtain a copy;⁵ so, too, Gregory of Tours, although his knowledge of the precise contents of the books on the *disciplinae* was shaky.⁶ At least the third book of the *De nuptiis* was known to insular scholars such as Tatwine and the Anonymus ad Cuimnanum by the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century.⁷ The whole work surfaces at the beginning of the ninth century

* *Martianus Capella: "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii."* Edidit James Willis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1983. Pp. xxix + 450.

This review article was written while the author held a Research Fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung at the Seminar für lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters of the Universität München. I would like to thank the AVH-Stiftung for generous support, particularly for travel. I am grateful to the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, the Bibliothek des Priesterseminars Trier, the Badische Landesbibliothek, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, the Bodleian Library, and the Biblioteca Vaticana for use of their manuscripts, and to P. Flury of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae for an *Arbeitsplatz* and for the use of material on fiche. I have profited from discussion with and criticism from H. D. Jocelyn and P. L. Schmidt. I owe special thanks to B. Bischoff, who discussed the Martianus reception with me. All information about manuscript dates and proveniences, unless otherwise stated, is owed to him. R. A. Kaster kindly helped me with cuts. Above all I thank my colleague C. E. Murgia, who attacked all suppositions and weak points. His criticism was as always invaluable; he has proved the best of midwives, although he may not always approve of the baby he delivered.

1. D. R. Shanzer, "Besprechung: W. H. Stahl, R. Johnson, with E. L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York, 1971 and 1977)," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 104 (1982): 111; Willis, p. v, n. 1. I discuss the question in detail in my forthcoming commentary on the first book of the *De nuptiis*.

2. *Sermones antiqui* 45. See P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1928), p. 16. It is, however, inherently unlikely that a virtually contemporary work, which did not have the status of a "classic," would receive a commentary so soon after it was written.

3. J. Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius "De Consolatione Philosophiae"* (Berlin and New York, 1978), p. 18.

4. According to the subscription which is discussed by J. Préaux, "Securus Melior Felix, l'ultime Orator Urbis Romae," in *Corona Gratiarum Dekkers*, vol. 2 (Bruges and The Hague, 1975), pp. 101–21.

5. *Inst.* p. 130. 11 Mynors.

6. *Hist. Franc.* 10. 31; J. Préaux, "Les manuscrits principaux du *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* de Martianus Capella," in *Lettres latines du moyen âge et de la renaissance*, ed. G. Cambier, C. Deroux, and J. Préaux, Collection Latomus 158 (Brussels, 1978), p. 84.

7. V. Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 23, n. 59. For detailed discussion of Tatwine's use of the *De nuptiis*, see my article, "Tatwine: An Independent Witness to the Text of Martianus Capella's *De grammatica*?" *RFIC* 112 (1984): 292–313; B. Tager, "Exzerpte aus Martianus

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in the Carolingian schools, where it was extensively copied and where it was commented on by Martin of Laon, John the Scot, and Remigius of Auxerre. Between the sixth and the ninth centuries there appear to be no literary traces of the *De nuptiis*—unless one believes the contention of H. Zimmer that the peculiarities of the *Hisperica famina* are to be traced to zealous abuse of Rhetorica's advice on the production of an elevated style.⁸

The *De nuptiis* survived this period in a single manuscript, Ω. As far as we can tell, this manuscript was written throughout in Merovingian *scriptio continua* and had suffered considerable damage. Its general type can be established through the numerous errors it engendered in its children, errors which are discussed by Willis.⁹ It is likely that this manuscript dated from the late eighth century,¹⁰ and was copied from a late antique manuscript with a two-script format—some sort of minuscule for the prose and rustic capital for the verse.¹¹ Two major lacunae and many universal errors make it clear that all extant texts stem from this archetype,¹² so the editor is dealing with a closed recension. Since the *De nuptiis*, after being in vogue in the ninth century as a source of arcane knowledge of many sorts, was one of the most important medieval school-texts and exists in 241 copies,¹³ the tradition soon becomes hopelessly contaminated. Sorting out the later stages of the tradition would clearly not have been worth the editor's trouble, since the text is preserved in a series of ninth-century manuscripts that come fairly close to the archetype. Even for these manuscripts there is abundant evidence of cross-pollination, and it is one of the great virtues of W.'s edition that the second hands of the main manuscripts are scrupulously reported. It represents a clear advance on A. Dick that the contamination can now be easily documented.

The *De nuptiis* is extremely difficult to edit, and the greatest problem for the editor is mastery of the range of material. Martianus' style is elaborate and often deliberately obscure. Worse, when trying to make sense of the corrupt and difficult verse, the editor faces difficulties about what is, or is not, lexically permissible. There is no concordance to the text. An edition is a veritable octathlon, and scholars should be grateful that someone as uniquely qualified as W. has undertaken the work.

The main previous editions were those of H. Grotius, U. Kopp, F. Eyssenhardt, and Dick. Grotius' edition is notable for its brilliant emendations.¹⁴ W. is perhaps deservedly hard on Kopp and his eclectic method of editing, but Kopp worked at a time when systematic *recensio* was not the rule. Kopp's remains a learned and invaluable commentary on all nine books, although it is perhaps

Capella in einer frühen hibernolateinischen Grammatik," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 100 (1978): 388–420.

8. *Nennius Vindicatus* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 330–36.

9. Page vii.

10. See Shanzer, "Tatwine," p. 299.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 300 with n. 1. The verse shows unmistakable majuscule confusions: cf. 346. 20 *scinei* for *scyllaei*; 346. 6 *saepperfatus* for *saepae relatus*; 347. 1 *domitarferebum* for *domitare Erebum*; and 350. 6 *utero* for *uterque*. All references to the text of Martianus, unless otherwise specified, use the pages and line numbers of W.'s new edition.

12. K522 and K887.

13. C. Leonardi, "I codici di Marziano Capella," *Aevum* 33 (1959): 443–89 and 34 (1960): 1–99 and 411–524. Not all these manuscripts contain the full text. Leonardi's article is a numbered catalog of the manuscripts; references are to his numbers.

14. *Martiani Capellae "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii"* (Leyden, 1599).

best on the first two.¹⁵ Eyssenhardt's edition, despite W.'s attempt at vindication,¹⁶ was hardly an advance on Kopp. Eyssenhardt had B and R, and where R was defective, he collated the Darmstadtensis (now in Cologne).¹⁷ These three he collated against Kopp. The edition's faults are numerous: virtually no testimonia, a great many miscollations, and an excessively narrow manuscript base.¹⁸ Dick worked much longer (26 years) on his edition¹⁹ and produced a far better text ("eine tüchtige Leistung"),²⁰ with much better, but by no means perfect, testimonia, a fuller apparatus, and more manuscripts. But missing from his edition was an intelligent and thorough survey of the manuscripts. Dick did not weigh his manuscripts carefully, and was usually ignorant of their dates and value.²¹ He made no real attempt to determine their relationships, or to keep the evidence of first and second hands apart in order to document contamination.

Reviewers of work on Martianus invariably concentrate on individual sections.²² I have attempted to work through all nine books, but complete coverage is impossible. I confine myself to theoretical difficulties in the stemma and to problems where progress might be made.²³

THE STEMMA OF THE *DE NUPTIIS*

THE CURRENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

No one has examined, collated, and evaluated all the oldest manuscripts of the *De nuptiis*, except perhaps J. Préaux, whose work was lost to us at his death in 1978. His posthumously published work on the main manuscripts of the *De nuptiis* does, however, provide much valuable material on Martianus' medieval *fortuna*.²⁴ Préaux was, at heart, more interested in what John the Scot had to say about the *De nuptiis*, or what particular text was in St. Gall at the beginning of the tenth century,²⁵ than in what Martianus wrote, and he often misunderstood the problems of the text itself. W.'s opinions on medieval philology are well known,²⁶ and he appears to have rejected the help that paleography and

15. *Martiani Minei Felicis Capellae "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii" Libri Novem* (Frankfurt am Main, 1836).

16. *De Martiano Capella Emendando* (Leyden, 1971), pp. 7–10.

17. Dombibliothek 193 (Leonardi, "I codici," no. 80).

18. *Martianus Capella* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. xiii and xvi.

19. *Martianus Capella* (Stuttgart, 1978), p. xxvii.

20. M. Manitius, *PhW* 45 (1925): 524–44.

21. Dick, p. xxxvii, for Préaux's redatings.

22. Manitius (above, n. 20) pointed out that the *Anonymus "De Situ Orbis"* (see now R. Quadri, *Anonymi Leidensis "De Situ Orbis" Libri Duo* [Padua, 1974]) could be used as a secondary witness to the text. K. Barwick (*Gnomon* 2 [1926]: 182–91) drew attention (p. 190) to the importance of the grammarians for the secondary tradition, as well as to that of Isidore (now Pseudo-Isidore).

23. Much of the material that appears in W.'s edition is not being published for the first time. W.'s conjectures appeared in various journals ("In Martianum Capellam Annotatiunculae," *Helicon* 6 [1966]: 229–31; "Ad Martianum Capellam," *RhM* 111 [1968]: 79–92; "The Multiples of the As," *HSCP* 76 [1972]: 233–44), particularly in the series of "Martianea" in *Mnemosyne* (*Mnem.* 27 [1974]: 270–80; *Mnem.* 28 [1975]: 126–34; *Mnem.* 30 [1977]: 160–73; *Mnem.* 33 [1980]: 163–74) and in his monograph *De Martiano Capella Emendando* (hereafter "DMCE"). A complete review of this edition would entail reviewing all of W.'s previous work. This is not the present reviewer's task. Suffice it to say that all of W.'s published conjectures are well worth study.

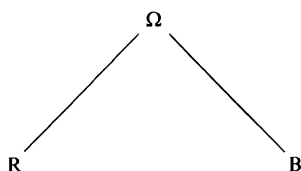
24. "Les manuscrits," pp. 76–128.

25. "Un nouveau manuscrit de St. Gall, le Bruxellensis 9565–9566," *Scriptorium* 10 (1956): 221–28.

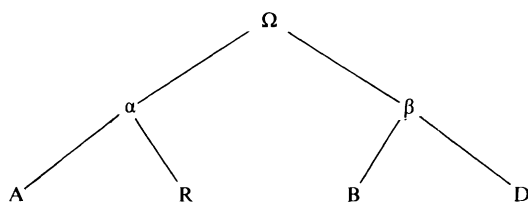
26. See his *Latin Textual Criticism* (Chicago, 1972), pp. 126–30, and *DMCE*, p. 23.

ever-increasing knowledge of manuscript history and provenience might have offered.

No one before W. had established a stemma for the text of the *De nuptiis*, except for F. J. Petersen, who in *De Martiano Capella Emendando* suggested that the agreement of the two important manuscripts, R and B, gave the reading of the archetype.²⁷ W.'s *DMCE* provides further observations and conjectures that tend to support Petersen's theory and establish the trustworthiness of R. *DMCE* was probably written while W. was still working from Dick's collations and envisaged the following stemma:



It is clear that W.'s stemma has changed in the intervening period, through the addition of two more manuscripts, A and D. The following picture now emerges:



But the *ratio edendi* is the same. W. begins by showing very cleverly how manuscripts other than ABDR tend to correct poor archetypal readings in an attempt to produce Latin of one sort or another. Here readings from Book 6 are used.²⁸ He then uses a series of examples from Book 4 to show that Bern 56b and Leiden B.P.L. 36, so prized by Dick, also show a great deal of interpolation. As a general principle W. states that those manuscripts which have ostensibly the worst readings are those which are most faithful to a monstrously corrupt archetype.

Finally, W. lists his manuscripts, beginning with the main family, ABDRM, whose consensus, he argues, gives the reading of the archetype. To these manuscripts he adds two other families. The second consists of four manuscripts, CEFV, which he used because they show the way in which the record of Martianus' words was interpolated by scribes in the course of the ninth century. The series ends with three manuscripts, GLP, which do not hang together in any scientifically describable relationship, but constitute a group because they differ from the two previous families. G is used because it contains some fine conjectures. L's position is doubtful, balanced between the *sinceri* and the *mendaces*,

27. Ph.D. diss., Helsinki, 1871.

28. See W., p. ix. This discussion is made somewhat confusing by the use of Dick's sigla. W. would have done better to update it with the collations of his own manuscripts.

and P (a defective codex) was used not on its own merits, but rather because it came from Corbie.

The introduction is unclear. W. is no great lover of stemmata, yet criticizes earlier editors for eclectic editing. He produces two real families whose members are closely interrelated, and one "grab-bag" family. But the relationship between the three families is not made explicit. ABDRM are the "good codices"; CEFVGLP are *interpolati*, but what *precisely* does this mean?²⁹ Presumably that the correct readings unique to CEFVGLP are conjectures (pp. ix–x). W. says that readings of Bern 56b and Leiden B.P.L. 36 are as meretricious as those of the second hand in R (p. xi). From hints such as these I suspect that W. derives the *interpolati* from ABDR after correction. But the reader is left uncertain.

If W. really believes that the *interpolati* are not derived directly from the archetype, then his lack of attention to precise paleographical information is regrettable. The date of each manuscript and the number and chronology of its correctors are essential for dating the appearance of suspect readings—particularly when the veracity of the majority of manuscripts is questioned. I have tried to remedy this somewhat by providing brief descriptions of some of the main manuscripts, concentrating on textual features. The ninth-century manuscripts of Martianus are very interesting documents of cultural history and need evaluation as such, not merely as vehicles of readings. The character of each is important. I shall try, for example, to show how A, which shares errors with the *interpolati*, may have acquired some of its puzzling characteristics. I shall also try to make the stemma more precise by using two previously uncollated manuscripts to clarify problems in the reconstruction of the archetype caused by damage in R or miscollation of the other manuscripts.

SOME MANUSCRIPTS

The Reichenauensis. The Reichenauensis (R) is probably the oldest extant manuscript of the *De nuptiis* and has usually been considered the best witness to the text. It is a large and handsome codex with a striking format: minuscule for all the prose and rustic capital for verse and headings—perhaps in imitation of a late antique prosimetrical manuscript. That no space or expense was spared in the production of this manuscript is not surprising, since it comes from the Palace School of Louis the Pious and dates from saec. ix^{1–2}.³⁰ Unfortunately, R is badly damaged: the top and bottom of each folio appear to have been burnt, and there is water-damage on the side and outer margins which in some places has caused the text to be transferred onto the facing page (e.g., f. 11^v–12^r).

The extremely careful copying of this manuscript and its general appearance encourage faith in the fidelity of its text. In many ways R is similar to Bodleian

29. The position of M is left vague. W. associates it with ABDR; but its omission from W.'s stemma is confusing. From my own observations I would say that M is a "deeply" interpolated manuscript copied from a corrected exemplar or from two exemplars. It shows affinities with W.'s α as well as with the *interpolati*, so I omit it when discussing ABDR. L and P are likewise more extensively interpolated manuscripts with a complicated origin; I shall leave them to one side in the following discussion. G I discuss later.

30. B. Bischoff, "Die Hofbibliothek unter Ludwig dem Frommen," in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1981), p. 185.

Library MS Laud lat. 104 (Sidonius), also from the Palace School, which is the "most faithful and literal copy of the archetype" of Sidonius³¹—so faithful that blank spaces have been left for gaps in the text. Nonetheless, the text of R is extremely corrupt. This fact, combined with the obvious care with which the manuscript was written, suggests that its evil qualities are not its own, but those of its exemplar.

R has corrections which W. designates R². This is not accurate enough, because there were two correctors, not one. The later corrector is easy to recognize: he uses an open *g*, an open *a*, *ae* ligature, *nt* ligature, even in the middle of words, and an uncial *d*—all of which distinguish him from the main hand. He imports readings from another exemplar, one of the interpolated class.³² The earlier corrections are by the original hand. The difference between the two correctors is clear at 26. 6, where R¹ wrote PROPI and later added GINIS in rustic. R² then corrected to *propaginis* in minuscule.

Distinguishing between the two types of corrections can help in locating mis-collations and misgroupings. For example, at 349. 10, where W.'s apparatus reads "*pio* om. A¹R¹," Vatican Reg. lat. 1987 (closely related to both A and R) has *pio*. R bears the correction in the original hand. Nor was *pio* omitted in A.

The Harleianus. The Harleianus (A) is the youngest of the ABDR family, comes from eastern France, dates from saec. ix³⁻⁴, and contains an interesting collection of prosimetrical works: Boethius' *Consolatio*, Fulgentius' *Mythologiae* and *Vergiliana continentia*, and Martianus' *De nuptiis*. The manuscript is a composite (Leonardi, "I codici," no. 101), but the components may have been assembled immediately. The scripts are similar: the Fulgentius and the Martianus were written by the same hand.

The text is very close to R; so close that W. wondered whether A might be a copy of it (p. xiii). It is likewise very close to Vat. Reg. lat. 1987. W. is far less accurate in collating A than in dealing with R and B. For the first two books the collation is particularly difficult because of the heavy correction. The levels of correction in this manuscript are not adequately covered by A¹ and A². There are at least three correctors, two tenth-century, I would say, and one even later than that. I note the following variants not reported in the final metrum: 385. 1 *cagrissius amicas*; 385. 3 *docta indoctis* (also in R and B); 385. 1 *curra*; 385. 8 *clamite*; 385. 15 *bobinatorum*. For the passage at 54. 5–13 the following: 54. 7 *horrentem* A¹ *haerentem* A²; 54. 8 *quem* A² in ras.; 54. 9 *praesulis* A; 54. 10 *horrere* A; 54. 11 *caeteris* A; 54. 12 *praeterrita* A¹ *perterrta* A². None of these encourages faith in the negative statements of the apparatus.

The most interesting feature of the text of A is that it shares errors with both CEFV and with the *interpolati* in general. This cannot be because CEFV are dependent on A, because A is younger than they are. But it is still possible that CEFV are dependent on an ancestor of A that stood between α and A and was not shared with R. If this were the case, one would expect CEFV etc. to show some of the errors from α that neither A nor R was able to correct by con-
 jec-

31. R. W. Hunt et al., eds., *The Survival of Ancient Literature* (Oxford, 1975), no. 96.

32. Cf. his corrections at 345. 23 *suammeruit*; 346. 6 *reflatus*; 346. 9 *sacra*; 346. 19 *nothi*.

tures. They do not: I would therefore suggest instead that some of these shared errors and conjectures were introduced into an intermediate ancestor of A (which I shall call π), perhaps through the medium of glosses or of one of the commentaries.

One notes, for example, 220. 10 *gabennam* ACEFV, 27. 17 *in deorum numero* A¹CEFV, 205. 15 *splendescere* A¹ cett. (which may be conjectures); 69. 19 *vero* om. A¹CEFV. In some cases the contamination was effected by A², for example 21. 15 *pede ire formantis* A² cett. (ingeniously explained by John the Scot p. 126. 16 Lutz)³³ and 50. 9 *medio* A²C¹EF¹V. 261. 3 *prima a fronte* ACEFVP also shows the influence of a commentary; cf. Remigius p. 177. 6 Lutz *prima: scilicet pars capitis*.³⁴ 3. 1 *una cum coniuge* AC¹EFV also looks like an intrusive parsing comment to explain *una*.³⁵ These are the signs not of a common ancestor, but of contamination from an ancestor of CEFV to A¹ and A².

That A's ancestor was extensively contaminated is not surprising. The Fulgentius text in Harley 2685 is a copy of that in Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'École de médecine 334, a manuscript which belonged to Martin of Laon and may have originally contained the *De nuptiis* as well.³⁶ Martin of Laon's commentary is to be found in both F and V, so it might well have been present in the group's hyparchetype. It is not unlikely that the text of Martianus in A was influenced by Martianus' commentators.

B. B's format does not require discussion.³⁷ It dates from the last third of the ninth century and comes from Fleury. The main problem involved in working with B is that of the correcting hands, of which there are at least five. These are not adequately distinguished by W.—probably because it is impossible to collate B accurately from photographs.

The first and most important corrector is B². He is not identical to the main scribe, although he is roughly contemporary. B² corrected frequently with very skillful *rasurae* causing minimal smudging of the ink. His ink is darker. The second corrector, B³, used paler ink than B², and in some places reversed the corrections of B². He left much less of a mark on the text. The third corrector, B⁴, can be found, for example, on folio 197^r, where he added extensive interpolations from the commentary of Remigius. This hand has been identified by Bischoff as that of an early tenth-century scribe of Reims. There were at least two other levels of correction.³⁸

33. C. Lutz, *Johannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

34. C. Lutz, *Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1962).

35. Martin of Laon's commentary, as found in MS Reg. lat. 1987, also adds a *cum* interlinearly.

36. Préaux, "Les manuscrits," p. 79, n. 9. See also J. Préaux, "Propositions sur l'histoire des textes des *Satires* de Perse et du *Commentum Cornuti*," *Hommages à André Boutemy*, Collection Latomus 145 (Brussels, 1976), p. 313.

37. For a description of the manuscript, see Leonardi, "I codici," no. 8.

38. 20. 17 *fulgorantis* B¹: B² erased *-tis* and added an *s* in dark ink. B³ wrote a variant *vel -gurantis* in pale ink. If this is not a variant for the orthographical problem of *o/u*, then B³ wrote after B². At 17. 21 *neptunus* B¹, someone erased the *-us*: B² added an *-us* abbreviation-stroke above the final *n* to restore *neptunus*. There was an intermediate corrector between B¹ and B². 16. 16 *perinnis* B¹, but with a careful *rasura* on the abbreviation-stroke of the *p*: B², here as elsewhere, changed the spelling from *pinna* to *penna*. (B² was perhaps influenced by the sort of strictures found in Capri *Orthographia*, GL 7. 100. 17 *pennas murorum, pinnas avium dicimus*. This rule is also cited in Bede, GL 7. 284. 19, and Alcuin, GL 7. 306. 26. See also Isid. *Orig.* 19. 19. 11. Martianus first uses the word in a literary context [6. 8], imitating Verg. *Aen.* 3. 361 *praepetis omnia pennae*, so *penna* is probably right.) 16. 2 *stantiaque*

G. G is presented as a manuscript with its own personality, characteristic of the work of a very skillful emendator. Yet examination of Trier, Priesterseminar 100, a late ninth-century manuscript from France, proves that these readings existed at a date earlier than G. This manuscript, which I shall call T,³⁹ is a brother of G, sharing distinctive conjunctive errors,⁴⁰ as well as the following conjectures which must now be attributed to these manuscripts' common parent: 12. 6 *pectus*; 17. 21 *Nereus*; 33. 10 *Dione*; 35. 2 *novit* (with G²); 33. 16 *suscitatur* (CLM 14729 and Vat. Reg. lat. 1535² also have *suscitatur*). Although T contains only the first three books, it presents a more accurate text than does G. Closely related to both these manuscripts is CLM 14729.⁴¹

Two manuscripts from Rome. Two manuscripts, both from the Vatican, were not used in the edition,⁴² because of the editor's difficulty in obtaining films. Both have been mentioned briefly by Préaux.⁴³ The two manuscripts are Vat. Reg. lat. 1987 and Vat. Reg. lat. 1535, to which I have assigned the sigla X and Q, respectively. X is from northern France, Q from Auxerre. Both date from the third quarter of the ninth century and have been heavily glossed and contaminated. I use X¹ and Q¹ for the original reading when it has been altered, X² and Q² for the later correctors, X and Q for unaltered readings, and X^{ras} and Q^{ras} for places where alteration is evident but the original reading is illegible.

X and Q both belong to the same family as ABDR, showing, for example, common errors: 2. 12 *pespui* (*perspicui* Q^{ras}); 3. 21 *clamidaque* (*clamid/que* Q¹); 6. 1. *denuntiate*; 8. 13 *ut*; 8. 17 *suspensos*; 9. 4 *videbantur* (where R is damaged); 15. 13 *cuivos*; 18. 18 *secta*; 26. 20 *margina*. Both have the superfluous *si autem depravantur* at 48. 13, although it has been erased in Q, and X has a superfluous *et sint* at 381. 15.⁴⁴ X is a close relation of A and R.⁴⁵ Q, as we shall see, is more closely related to BD.⁴⁶

X is a composite manuscript. As Préaux pointed out, the first two quires (ff. 1–22) come from one manuscript,⁴⁷ the rest from another. The texts of the two manuscripts were very close: they were probably brothers, and close to R. Nonetheless, the manuscript is still not consistent. Folio 1 is written by a later hand, and contains the text of page 1. 1–8. On the second folio recto the older portion

B¹: B² wrote *con* above, B³ wrote *in*. Here B³ wanted *inconstanti*que, and did not delete his predecessor's addition. W. here correctly distinguishes B³. 15. 23 *indagis*: here not B³, but B², made the change to *indaginis*. 53. 10 *mentis* B¹ *mentes* B²: B³ writes a variant *vel-is*.

39. I use the siglum of C. McDonough, "Trier, Bibliothek des Priesterseminars MS 100 and the Text of Martianus Capella," *MS* 36 (1974): 56.

40. 3. 10 *coniuge*; 4. 23 *insopibiles*; 8. 13 *alteri*; 9. 4 *propior*; 9. 22 *akerkekomes*; 22. 1 *glaucoquoque*; 50. 12 *illi hoc*; 53. 10 *menti*; 57. 11 *conspectu*; 58. 2 *fucum*.

41. McDonough, "Trier," p. 64.

42. Cf. W., p. xiv, where "Reg. lat. 251 and 309" are a slip of the pen. For detailed descriptions of the two manuscripts, see Leonardi, "I codici," nos. 208 and 210.

43. "Deux manuscrits gantois de Martianus Capella," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 15–20, on Vat. Reg. lat. 1987. See also id., "Les manuscrits," p. 78.

44. Q is defective at the end. Its text finishes at p. 364. 1 *soni ceteri consecuntur*, followed by a mysterious *sonus vero divisa* (f. 110^r).

45. See below, pp. 70–71.

46. The close relationship between B and Q provides more proof of relations between Fleury and Auxerre. Cf. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3:59.

47. "Deux manuscrits," p. 19.

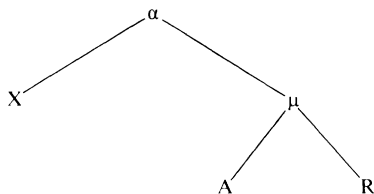
begins. As far as folio 144^v the text is one of the ABDR group.⁴⁸ The last folio, however, was copied from an “interpolated” exemplar; the text changes at 383. 4.

THE STEMMA

Some Diagnostic Applications of X and Q. X and Q can be used to improve the accuracy of the stemma. Some of the evidence on which W. depends in reconstructing the common hyparchetype for B and D is not valid. Many of the errors allegedly common to B and D occur in places where R is lacking, and if in these places the editor miscollates A, then BD can falsely be made to appear to have a conjunctive error where ABDRXQ all had the mistake.⁴⁹ A second type of problem occurs when only B¹ or D¹ appears to have a correct reading, while an error appears in its brother and in AR.⁵⁰ Use of X to supplement defects in R and of Q to balance BD would have clarified such difficulties.

a. A, R, and X. The evidence for the relationship of these three manuscripts is rather confusing. X unquestionably belongs in the same family as A and R, sharing W.'s hyparchetype α . From a somewhat random sampling I note the following shared errors: 46. 18 *ideo*; 49. 20 *distinnae*; 203. 12 *cenis*; 206. 19 om. *cum*; 302. 6 *deorsum*; 302. 6 om. *illos*; 302. 10 om. *sapientum*; 304. 23 *palmittansque*; 306. 17 *fulgoris*; 306. 20 *conturno* AR *coturno* X^{cas}; 308. 7 om. *post*; 308. 8 *aeternarumque*; 308. 10 *potius cognoscendam*; 308. 13 *pervenire* AR *perveni sufficere* X². All three manuscripts share the following omissions: 87. 14 AR¹X¹; 195. 3 AR¹X¹; 308. 13 AR¹X¹; 311. 4–5 ARX¹; 359. 10 AR¹X¹; 363. 3 AR¹X¹; 363. 9–10 AR¹X¹; 367. 14 ARX; 382. 11 AR¹X¹.

X does, however, appear to have the correct reading in some instances where AR¹ share a common error.⁵¹ This might suggest the following relationship between the three manuscripts:



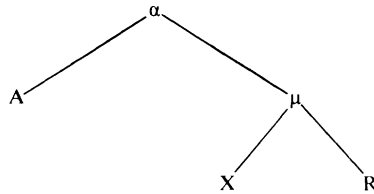
48. I note 381. 4–5 *haec dotis*, 386. 6 *ab iambo*, 381. 12 *meus*, 381. 15 add. *et sint*, 382. 8 *alius*, 382. 17 *species*, all of which X shares with ABDR.

49. E.g., 20. 21 *salina* B¹D¹X¹Q¹ (where R is damaged): A has *yalina*, but the *y* is in a later hand written in different ink over what must have been *salina*. See also 21. 3 *coloratu* A¹B¹D¹X¹Q¹ (*colorat*] R), *coloratur* A² cett.; 21. 3–4 *idem eius* D¹ and perhaps B¹: B¹ cannot be read, but B² has *eiusdem* in ras. X¹Q¹ both have *idem eius*, and A² has *eiusdem* barely squeezed in.

50. 4. 20 *monstrabat Uranie*: W.'s report gives the correct reading only to D (and, with the false division *monstrabatur anie*, to A). R is missing, but B (*sub ras.*) X¹Q¹ (and accordingly Ω) all share A's false division. 7. 12 *rutili* A¹D¹M¹R¹Q; add B¹. 33. 10 *Dione* Grotius GT: *ditione* A¹D¹X¹Q¹ (where R is damaged). B¹ read *ditione* also.

51. 19. 17 *consistorum* (*consistorium* X); 20. 10 *pavorum* (*pavonum* X); 45. 6 *numen* (*nomen* X); 201. 8 *sanguine* (*sanguineo* X); 203. 20 *infit* (*insit* X); 205. 20 *Archidemia* (*Archimedeia* X); 346. 6 *e* R¹A (*et* R²X).

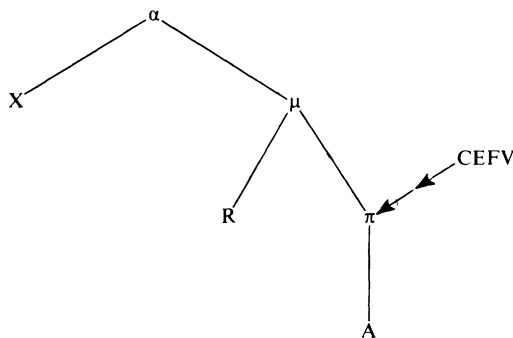
On the other hand, the fact that X shares errors with R, but not, apparently, with A, suggests the following picture:⁵²



To reconcile these contradictory pictures one could suggest that X was copied from R after R had been corrected. But this, too, cannot be right. X shares the omissions of AR¹ even when these omissions were corrected by R²; and even though X has a complete text in some places where R¹ made an omission (corrected by R²),⁵³ it also has a complete text in places where R² did not supply the omitted words: 112. 3; 145. 22.

Thus we are left with three possibilities: that A was contaminated or emended in places where RX share errors, and that these errors were originally also to be found in α ; or that contamination occurred in X; or that both forms of contamination occurred.

Despite the number of errors shared uniquely by X and R (and here I am also taking into account the fact that I have not been able to find an omission shared by these two manuscripts against A), I prefer to accept the first hypothesis. X² does show signs of contamination,⁵⁴ but it is documentable contamination in the form of imported readings and obvious *rasurae*. As I have previously suggested, the text of A has a complicated origin, and has been influenced by a CEFV-text. It may well be through its intermediate ancestor that it received the corrections which were not effected in X or R.



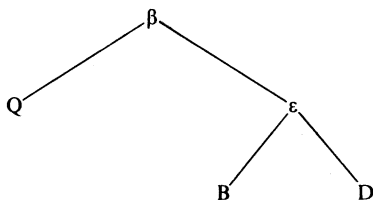
52. Shared errors include 3, 11 *loquentur*; 42, 3 *lectita*; 49.21 *dicolorque*; subscription p. 28 *const. paulini*; 153, 1 *agri*; 154, 16 *iugulare*; 206, 19 *sui*; 346, 15 *fibus*. At 19, 17 X apparently shared the error *nam* for *urnam* with R¹ alone. Examination of A, however, showed *urnam* in heavy black ink (=A²) over the original *nam*.

53. 83, 19, 91, 10, 94, 4, 97, 17–18, 143, 12, 270, 18, 379, 1.

54. Readings from a B²-type text have been imported at 27, 1 *thalamo* / X² and in the subscription (*deuterio* X¹ *eucerio* X²).

β, B, D, and Q. Many of the errors which unite B¹D¹ are also shared by Q¹.⁵⁵ Q is, however, quite often right against BD.⁵⁶ Many of these places could have been emended by conjecture, but this is most unlikely at 47. 17, where B¹D¹ have the error *temus*, and Q¹ has *Triptotemus* (*Triptolemus* Q²). To emend this passage one would need precise knowledge, and one would not make an erroneous emendation to the reading of Q¹. Thus *Triptotemus* is a transmitted reading. In a number of places BD's shared exemplar conjectured correctly, leaving Q¹ARX with a common error.⁵⁷

Two of the rare omissions shared by B¹D¹ are not present in Q.⁵⁸ Q shares neither D's omissions,⁵⁹ nor those of B¹ at 44. 11–12, 47. 23, 269. 9, 297. 9. It does, however, share one with B¹L¹ at 44. 7, but D¹ may have been misreported. From these findings one could suggest that the relationship between these manuscripts may be depicted as follows:



CEFV. The choice of manuscripts for the edition may be uneconomical. W. uses four manuscripts which form a very closely related group, CEFV. These vary in date: C is saec. ix³⁻⁴; E is ix²⁻³; F is ix²⁻³; V is ix².⁶⁰ Even though the Leyden manuscript (V) is the oldest of the four, C is a brother of the common ancestor of EFV.⁶¹

55. 12. 12 *copules*; 59. 9 *in campis* B¹D¹ (*iugandis* Q^{ras}); 204. 9 *levorosum sub peplo* B¹Q¹ *levorosum subplebo* D¹; 204. 18 *quidam*; 218. 11 *arboris*; 219. 4 *poli*; 339. 12 *recipi pro quo* B¹D¹ *recepti pro qui* Q¹; 345. 19 *praectu*; 355. 1 *contingerat*.

56. 151. 19 *non forum in solo* B¹D¹; 207. 10 *nonnullas* B¹D¹; 220. 1 *spina* B¹D¹; 336. 16 *fi eorum* add. B¹D¹; 339. 1 *nuptiliabus* B¹D¹; 354. 8 *foedos* B¹D¹.

57. See 5. 3 *monilibus* B¹D¹ *munilibus* cett.; 5. 7 *quas* Q¹A¹R¹X¹; 5. 9 *praegravaret* Q¹A¹R¹X¹.

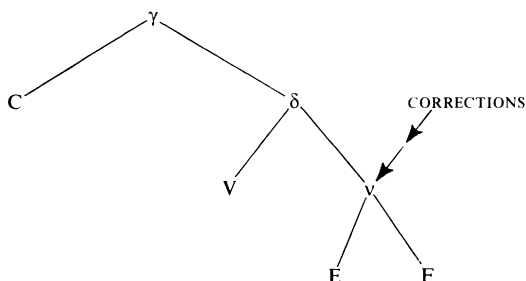
58. 282. 4 and 292. 10.

59. E.g., 36. 2–3, 92. 3, 94. 4, 292. 3, 299. 3, 299. 17, 305. 11, 309. 8.

60. C probably comes from Soissons; E from Lyons or St. Oyan; V probably from Auxerre. The origin of F is interesting. T. A. M. Bishop kindly informs me that he has found one of the hands in F in manuscripts connected with Lupus of Ferrières. It would be intriguing to know whether this manuscript, and perhaps the ancestor of the whole group, could be associated with Lupus. I note that it is primarily MSS of this group that carry metrical annotations (cf. pp. 33–39 *passim*), a speciality of Lupus, who wrote on the meters of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* and identified the meters in the Wolfenbüttel Prudentius (56. 18 Aug. 4^a; see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3:65), probably using the *Centimetrum* of Servius (also to be found in Laud lat. 118 ff. 90^v–93^r). Lupus' *Epist.* 37 shows his knowledge of Boethius. See also M. Gibson, "Tradizione perdute of the *De consolazione philosophiae*," *Ét. Aug.* 30 (1984): 276–77.

61. At least one other member of the EFV subgroup existed, MS Vat. Reg. lat. 1598 (saec. ix from Orléans, so perhaps Fleury?), a fragment which runs from 130. 14 to 136. 3, and shows the following readings characteristic of δ: 130. 22 *quia quod*; 130. 23 om. *nomen*; 131. 19 *sed eloquia*; 133. 10 *subiectam*; 134. 9 *enim*; 134. 23 add. *ante*; 135. 19 *verum est*; 136. 1 *homo animal est*; 136. 3 *convertimur*.

All four share numerous conjunctive errors,⁶² as do EFV.⁶³ C was copied from a common ancestor shared with EFV, but EFV share another common hyparchetype.⁶⁴ It looks as if EF share a source of conjectures separate from C¹V, so one might risk making the stemma more detailed:⁶⁵



The omissions in the songs of the Muses (pp. 34–40) suggest that the common ancestor of CEFV had used rubricated headings to separate the songs.⁶⁶ The ancestor of EFV was copied before some of the headings and refrains were supplied. C was copied from γ after correction, and so does not share the omissions at 34. 15, 35. 20, 36. 9, 36. 20–21, 38. 3, 39. 3. The omissions in CEFV are on a large scale and involve exclusively the headings and refrain (often in rustic capital as in A and Q), so that two-stage copying from the same exemplar seems more likely than that the omissions were due entirely to the hyparchetype of EFV.

Since EFV almost always speak together, the editor might perhaps have economized and cited (say) C plus one of the others alone, or used a Greek siglum for their agreement.

The “interpolati” and ABDR. There are chronological difficulties involved in accepting W.’s implied theory—that the text of the *interpolati* is derived from ABDR after correction. The “interpolated” text is attested earlier than any of the manuscripts except R. But W. is right in his general assessment of the character of these manuscripts: in many places they have been tinkered with and made to lie: so, for example, at 216. 16 A¹B¹D¹R read *quattuor*—in this case a clear indication of a lacuna—while the others have been adjusted to fit what is actually there.

62. 24. 15 om. *redolentem*; 43. 19–21 om.; 51. 18 *floribus*; 51. 19 *limina*; 56. 20 *ingressoque*; 64. 10 *ianuariae cum dicimus*; 65. 17 om. *et*; 67. 5 *hoc hic haec*; 72. 19 *mediae vel inflexae aut acutae*; 76. 6 *insequitur*; 76. 22–23 om. *excepto . . . ver*; 79. 3 om. *singularis* (2’); 80. 10 *tamen*; 80. 15 *accusativus et vocativus*; 83. 25 *quod*; 85. 14 *nomina neutra*; 86. 20 om. *littera*; 128. 14–15 om. *caecitati ut eiusdem*; 150. 18 om. *cognatam*; 154. 16 *non dicatur homicidium*.

63. 17. 14 om. *secretum caeleste*; 23. 3 om. *resplendebat*; 29. 19 *xviii*; 30. 10 *recte*; 31. 18 *membrorumque*; 34. 15 om. *poscit . . . Iuppiter*; 35. 7 om. *ac sic Polymnia*; 49. 1 om. *facile*; 191. 22 *ante cuncta* add. *per*; 196. 20 om. *a*; 197. 10 *hostili assentiat*; 331. 5 *a brumale*.

64. That the common ancestor of all four manuscripts had glosses and variants is clear from readings such as 29. 2 *amore vel ardore* CEFV and 263. 18 *elementorum* AB¹D¹MRCL *aliorum* E¹F¹V¹; here the ancestor of CEFV had *elementorum* with an interlinear explanatory gloss *aliorum*; C¹ copied correctly, the hyparchetype of EFV treated the gloss as a correction.

65. One notes the following errors shared by C¹V that have been corrected in EF: 62. 8 *spectaculum*; 64. 4 *tam*; 63. 10 *succendunt*; 63. 14 *tegurium*; 66. 3 *s* om.; 67. 12 *agere*; 80. 2 *hos*; 354. 14 *donec*.

66. As appear, e.g., in A.

In very many places the *interpolati* have the correct readings against ABDR. Some of these could be conjectures within the reach of a medieval monk, but this is not true of all.

Correct readings that are unlikely to be conjectures:

20. 21 *hyalina*] *salina* A¹B¹DX¹Q¹ (where R is damaged): the error is an easy misreading of an initial y.

46. 10 *fissiculant*] *fessiculant* AB¹D¹MRX¹Q¹ *fisculant* B². The meaning of this rare word was not known to medieval readers.

50. 1–2 *aspera*] *sparum* AB¹D¹R¹X¹Q¹.

54. 12 *harpis hombisque*] *arpespumisque* A¹B¹D¹R¹X¹Q¹. *Harpe* may have been known from *CGL* 5. 615. 46, where it is identified as a *falcistrum*, or from Servius ad *Aen.* 7. 732 “falcatus autem ensis est harpe qua usus est Perseus.” But this was far from common knowledge. Remigius (p. 202. 20 Lutz) comments: “Arpa autem dicta a gente Arporum qui primi hoc musicum instrumentum reppererunt.”

385. 1 †*cagris*] *cagris* AB¹D¹R (XQ are lacking): *creagris* cett. *Creagris*, a rare word and hardly a ready candidate for interpolation, is probably right. The *creagra*, a *fuscinula* used for extracting meat from pots, fits in well with the implicit food metaphors related to the definition of *satura*.

I would even argue that a number of the readings shared by the *interpolati* make no sense as conjectures at all, but are errors.

Some conjunctive errors in the *interpolati*:

4. 16 *resoluta* A¹B¹DM¹R¹Q: *resolo* F; *resoluto* X^{ras} cett. John the Scot does not know what a *ricinium* is, and reads *resoluto* at p. 11. 29 Lutz. Other glosses provide opinions on what these words mean. A gloss in X² reads “interiore tunica id est suppare,” “nomen resolutoricinium ut sit una pars,” “instrumentum ornandorum crinium spinula.” Q², similarly, has “interior tunica,” “camisia,” “velamen capitis quod a dextra in levam vertitur partem,” “spinula: discretione.” Only by the time of Q² (last quarter of the ninth century) is there evidence that a *ricinium* was known to be a veil. Contemporary scholars knew that an *interula* was a tunic; the sentence makes perfect sense with the reading of ABDR.

6. 1 *prosicis* A¹B¹D¹R¹L¹Q¹X¹ (correctly): *prosicis* cett. (complete with an incompetent explanation by John the Scot [115. 11 Jeaneau]).⁶⁷ *Prosiciae* was a rare and problematical word,⁶⁸ but one that was known through glossaries.⁶⁹ Even if some did not know what the word meant, *prosicis* is no plausible attempt to make Latin— particularly in view of the explanations found in X (*pros id est ad; icon id est imago; orationibus; responsis*) and Q (*adimaginationibus*).

20. 11 *variegata* A¹B¹M¹R¹ *variegraata* D¹ *variae grata* X¹; *variata* A²R²EL²; *varicata* Q^{ras} cett. *Variegata* is not common (found in Apuleius, the *Itala*, Ausonius, and in Martianus, and known also to the glossators: cf. *CGL* 4. 189. 11 and 4. 576. 57), but its meaning was known. *Varicata*, “having been straddled,” is a mistake. (For a similar problem, see also 204. 6.)

34. 18 *Pernesia* R¹B¹ *Permenesia* A *Permenesia* DX¹: *Magnesia* Q^{ras} cett. *Permessia* is right, but is *Magnesia* plausible as a medieval emendation? The leap from *pernesia* to *permessia* could easily have been made by an intelligent scribe. The word was known from

67. The “Metz-version”: E. Jeaneau, *Quatres thèmes érigéniens* (Montreal and Paris, 1978), which should also be added to W.’s bibliography.

68. Lucil. *Sat.* 473 Marx; Varro *ap.* Non. Marc. 220. 22; Tert. *Adv. Valent.* 26 p. 202. 16–22; Solin. 5. 23; Arn. 7. 25. 17; Macrobi. *Sat.* 7. 12. 33; see W. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. J. B. Hofmann (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 132, for the variation in gender.

69. *CGL* 2. 163. 5 and 4. 151. 27 *exta prosecta*.

306. 17 (again a poetic context), with the correct explanation mediated by Servius at *Eclogues* 6. 64, so there was no need to go to 230. 10 to import a name. The association of Libethris with poets is unique to Martianus, and is dependent on his misunderstanding of Solinus 8. 7. 17 “sed ne transeamus praesidium poetarum. fons Libethris et ipse Magnesiae est.” This is much better explained as a double reading in Ω .

34. 20 *corollis* AB¹D¹R¹Q¹: *coryllis* M: *corulis* L¹: *coraulis* X^{ras} cett. *Corollis* is unquestionably right, with an implicit play on *vertex* in the sense of mountain peak and head. Since *corollis* is a straightforward and well-known word, *c<h>oraulis* makes no sense as an emendation. The word was thought to mean *mimus* (CGL 4. 44. 10), or *iocularius* (CGL 4. 325. 41), and is glossed in X and Q with *poetis*.

47. 11–12 *extispiciumque* M *extispium* AD¹. (The reading of B¹ is unclear, but from the *rasurae* in X and Q over which the correctors have written *syppnumque* one may reasonably surmise that it was the same as AD.)⁷⁰ Either *extispiumque* or something like it was falsely emended into nonsense with no known source (*syppnum*), or else *syppnum* is a genuine copying error that, true to the conservative tendencies of ninth-century commentators on Martianus, was incorrectly explained with material relating to the river Tagus, not Tages (about whom they knew nothing). *Extispium* is not quite right, but an emendation from this reading is certainly possible. Other manuscripts have variants of *sippnumque*, a reading which is explained by the commentators as “Tages sulcis emicuit quia in ortu suo” and “Tages fluvius exundavit qui auream harenam habet. Tages interpretatur potens et dicitur esse rex hispaniae in cuius ortu fluvius eiusdem nominis in sulco atratri et opidum syppnum statim construere coepit” (glosses in Q). An emendation to the nonsensical *syppnum* seems lunatic.

267. 8 διχότομον] *dichotomon* AB¹DR¹ *dicotomon* Q¹: *diatomon* B²MQ²: *diatomenoidem* L *diatomenioden* X^{ras} cett. This is related to a similar problem at 327. 8. Petersen changed the characters to Greek, despite the testimony of ABDR; he evidently assumed a pre-archetypal change from Martianus’ Greek letters to Latin. *Dichotomos* was known from Firmicus Maternus (*Math.* 4. 1. 10) as well as from Macrobius (*Comm.* 1. 6. 55, where it also was written with Latin characters). Since it is both correct and known, *diatomenioden* is inexplicable as a deliberate conjecture or interpolation. It was probably a Grecizing gloss in Ω dating from the period at which the Greek letters were Latinized. It was meant to explain *dichotomon* as *dia to menoeides* (for *menoeides*, see 327. 7).

277. 11 *Omnis enim numerus pars est alicui numero maiori <maior autem> aut. maiori] maior* AB¹D¹MR¹: *maiori* cett. (X and Q are not reported.) Here the error *maiori* is not an interpolation. If the paradosis had been *pars est alicui numero; maior aut. . .*, there would have been no need to conjecture (cf. Remigius [p. 209. 8 Lutz], who reads *maior* and divides the text as I have done, with a note *sic distinguendum*). The poor reading *maiori* is an error, but one that comes closer to the truth than *maior*.

327. 8 διχότομος] *dicotomos* B¹D¹R¹X¹Q¹: *diatomos* D²G *diatomos* R²: *diatomos* cett. *Diatomos*, the reading of the *interpolati* (and of A, which was interpolated through an intermediate gloss), is unattested nonsense. *Co* was read as an open *a*.

385. 7 *namque* Morelli] *nauque* AB¹D¹R¹ (XQ are lacking): *nauci* cett. Both transmitted readings are wrong. The meaning is very doubtful, but *nauci* is not a likely conjecture. *Naucum* was a comparatively rare word at the best of times, and John the Scot (220. 22 Lutz) did not know what it meant: it arose from a misreading of a minuscule *q* as a *ci*-ligature.

At first I had toyed with the idea that the *interpolati* were descended from a copy of the archetype distinct from that which engendered α and β . But the following objections could be raised: the *interpolati* have no independent omis-

70. X’s *rasura* has the form *|||sip||numque*, suggesting that X¹ may have read *extispiumque*.

sions;⁷¹ and virtually all the readings in which they agree against ABDR seem to be correct or plausible readings. The second objection is more compelling than the first.

The matter of omissions, if taken very strictly, would also rule out descent from any one of ABDR, because the *interpolati* do not show their individual omissions (of which each manuscript has many) which have been left uncorrected by the second hand. Where they do share omissions it is often by coincidence, which should be no surprise in a text ripe for omission by *saut du même au même*. Descent from *all* of ABDR by a complex process of contamination is made improbable by many conjunctive errors.

Conclusion. Even at the end of the seventh century a copy of Martianus existed that offered a text better than that of our archetype.⁷² The text underwent alteration and glossing during the eighth century, but had already entered the early Middle Ages replete with variant readings, some of which originated in late antiquity and might even be attributed to Securus' recension.⁷³ Thus the archetype of the tradition was clearly a manuscript both difficult to read and complicated to copy.

Since not all the good readings of the *interpolati* are conjectures, and since at the same time the *interpolati* seem not to share enough conjunctive mistakes to be independent copies of the same text (a copy of the archetype other than that from which ABDR descend), there may have been a two-step archetype: a single manuscript, sharing all the same main errors (like the lacuna at the end of Book 8, for example), but which, after having been copied once, received good corrections (although not supplements for lacunae) from another source. This source *may* have been another manuscript.⁷⁴ I have attempted to draw a stemma for the tradition (see p. 77) to illustrate how the "two-step" archetype may have functioned. I must emphasize that this is merely a provisional stemma, based on the manuscripts I have seen and W.'s reports. I have left out the many other types of contamination that are evident in the correctors of the manuscripts.

If our manuscripts had been descended simultaneously from an exemplar with many variants, one would have expected the first two manuscripts copied to show a more random distribution in their choices between the base-readings and the variants. Since all the *interpolati* consistently together show a large core of correct readings against ABDRXQ, this consistency may reflect the copying of their ancestors from Ω after correction. Places where the *interpolati* share errors reflect the text of Ω^2 .

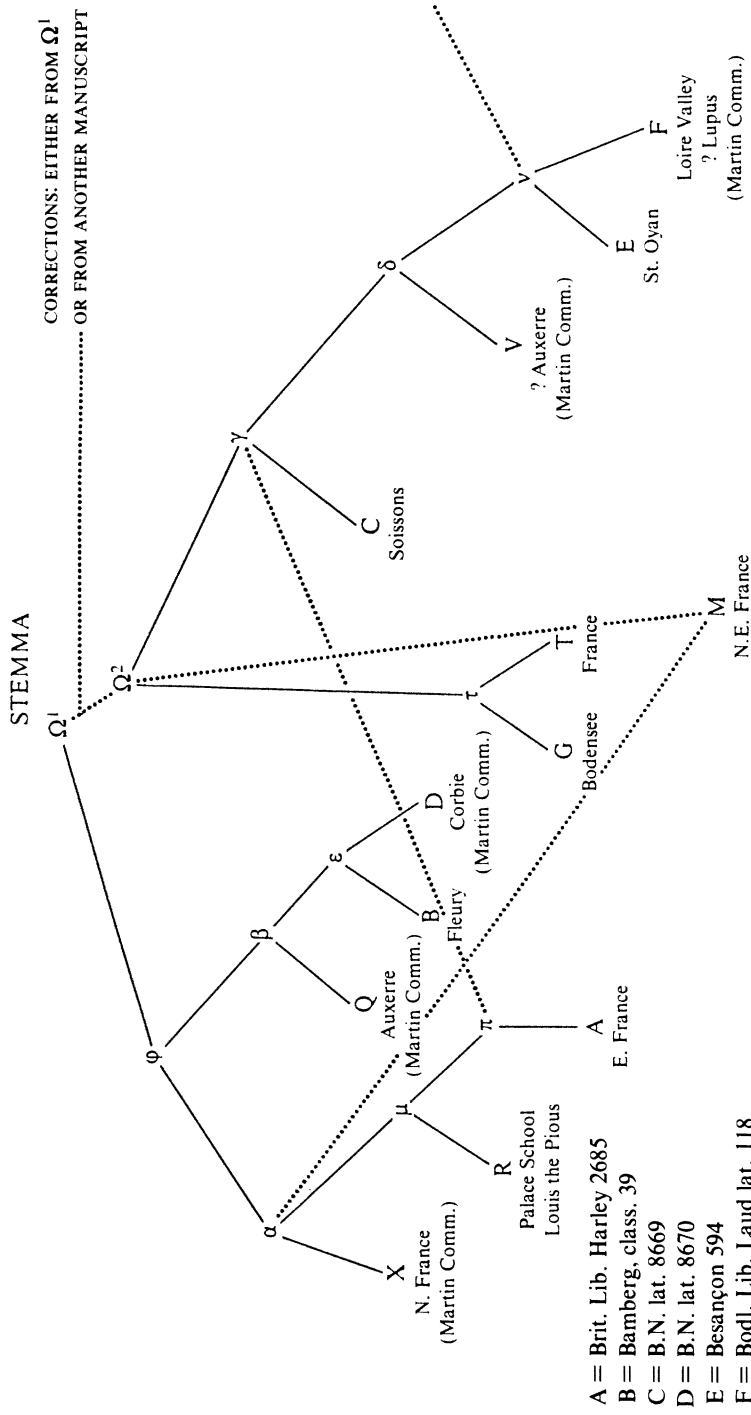
To sum up: the edition lacks a solid basis in a thorough *recensio*. There is reason to suspect that W.'s collations—particularly of manuscripts he is using for the first time—are not totally accurate. But it would not have been possible to collate many of these manuscripts accurately from film. Thus all who intend

71. This point was emphasized by Murgia in his comments on a draft of this review.

72. Cf. Shanzer, "Fatwine," pp. 301–12.

73. On a pre-archetypal and probably late antique interpolation, see my forthcoming commentary on 7. 10–13, 17. 21, and 21. 6.

74. Alternatively, the archetype may have been carelessly copied from its exemplar, generating the ancestor of ABDR. After this, the archetype may have been corrected against its exemplar, producing a text that lacked the grosser errors of the first stage.



to use the edition for its apparatus, to affiliate new manuscripts, or study lemmata, are advised to obtain films and double-check W.'s statements. These problems with the apparatus do not, however, affect the text. The printed text is excellent. It would have had a sounder basis had W. used the two Vatican manuscripts, but he would not have gained any new readings thereby, apart from a few isolated conjectures. All these defects are more likely to affect the medievalist using this edition to study, for example, Carolingian scholarship, than the classicist purely interested in what Martianus wrote.

VARIA

TESTIMONIA

The testimonia are fairly straightforward for the last seven books: the question is largely which manual Martianus pillaged. The first two books contain a wealth of fairly obscure Greek material drawn on by Martianus, but altogether too much to cite in a Teubner-sized source apparatus. The reader needs this help, but if he is serious, he will go to a commentary, to Kopp or L. Lenaz.⁷⁵ W. has given fairly thorough coverage on the Latin side. Particularly important are the new poetic testimonia he adduces for Martianus' prose—confirmation of the suspicions one had about its flavor when one was not as well-read as W. I note the following individual points:

Add to the bibliography (section 3, p. xxvi) K. Friis-Jensen, "Nogle Martianus Capella-lån hos Saxo," *MT* 32–33 (1978): 76–80. 6. 3 source apparatus: the passage of Firmicus Maternus is not worth citing. 47. 11 source apparatus: the reference should be 2. 69 (not 4. 31). 50. 1–2: see now Shanzer, *CP* 79 (1984): 142–45, advocating *gestationibus*. 50. 11 *de Facundia Mercurio denupta nemo alius*: not intended seriously. *Facundia* is commonly associated with Mercury: see Hor. *Carm.* 1. 10. 1; Arn. 4. 22. 53. 1–12: add *Scholia in Thebaidem* p. 32 (l. 265) ed. Jahnke. 55. 16: *Oracula Chaldaica* no. 169 ed. Des Places (Paris, 1971). 56. 12–19: as a parallel to this whole satirical passage on the contending noises of the philosophers, Cic. frag. 20 Müller (= August. *Contra acad.* 3. 7. 15–16) should be cited. W. has misunderstood the passage; otherwise he would not have suggested a change to *consonabat* at 56. 18. 88. 25–103. 14: here the Phi-recension of Cassiodorus' *Institutes* should be cited as an additional testimonium. 150. 5: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11. 1. 24, on Cicero in heaven. 179. 7: the fragment of Cicero is also cited by Augustine in *De civ. D.* 5. 26 fin. On its provenience, probably the *Hortensius*, see H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Göteborg, 1967), p. 94, n. 2. 261. 20 *puer ille piceus*: Apul. *Met.* 6. 24 is a valid parallel only for *puer ille*. Martianus intends not Ganymede, but Harpocrates—hence the emphasis on *piceus* to hint at his Egyptian origin; cf. 25. 12–13. 347. 9–11: the joke is based on *Aen.* 1. 405. 360 source apparatus: for Boeth. *De mus.* 1. 12, E. Friedlein's Teubner edition of 1867 should be cited.

THE OBELUS

W. has not been generous enough with this sign of despair. The following places still require it:

6. 9 *monendorum*. 13. 28 *tabens* should be obelized, if printed, but better still would be to accept Morelli's *favens*. 21. 20 *sacra vis*. 24. 21 *demorator* is nonsense and should be

75. Martiani Capellae "De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii" Liber Secundus (Padua, 1975).

obelized. Otherwise one of the better conjectures such as *moderator* should be printed. 26. 60 *cardines* makes no sense (*pace* TLL, s.v. *cardo* 445. 26); “grains of sand” or “pebbles” is required to fit the *adynaton* topos (*calculos* perhaps?). 35. 11 *cruenta*. 47. 21 “Sibylla vel Erythraea quaeque Cymaea est vel Phrygia; quas non decem, ut asserunt, sed duas fuisse non nescis, id est Herophilam Troianam Mermessi filiam et Symmachiam Hippotensis filiam, quae Erythra progenita etiam Cumis vaticinata est.” Deeply and probably incurably corrupted. Dick read “Herophilam Troianam †Marmensi filiam.” W. accepts Salmasius’ “Mermessi filiam”: cf. *Exercitationes Plinianae* 55 (Leipzig, 1777), where Salmasius argues for universal acceptance of *Mermessos* instead of *Marpessos*—including at Tibullus 2. 5. 67. Even if Salmasius’ emendation is accepted, such problems remain as (1) the asyndeton between this passage and *carmine memorata*; (2) the use of the form *Hippotensis* with *filiam*, where one would expect a proper name, not a place-adjective; (3) perhaps also the use of *Mermessi filiam* of a place (Pausanias 10. 12. 3 has *patris*); (4) the close repetition of *filiam*; (5) the otiose *congeries* of attributes in comparison to the rest of the section. Salmasius and W. are right that *Marmensi* cannot be correct, but until Martianus’ sources are known one cannot tell whether to correct to *Mermessi* or *Marpessi*. It is possible that Martianus, who alluded to Varro’s canonical ten Sibyls, knew the reading *Marmessus* attested by the Bononiensis and the Sangallensis 213 at Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1. 6. If anything, *Marmensi* comes closest to *Marmessi*. There may have been a series of corruptions with a text that began as *Herophilam Marmessiam* (or *Marpessiam* or *Mermessiam*) *et Symmachiam Hippotensem*, and was subsequently swelled by glosses, a correct *Troianam*, and two incorrect explanations of a rare place-adjective. 48. 17 *triptes*. 51. 15 *mercibus*: something is wrong with this word, or else with *circumactam*. How can a ship be *surrounded* by rich goods?

CONJECTURES

The strongest point of the edition is the conjectural criticism. Many conjectures are brilliant. Some particularly in Books 3–9 restore passages through the laborious application of logic and a parallel source. Others are clearly the result of sudden illumination: cf. 19. 12 *indigitat*; 25. 7 *discriptione*; 27. 16 *ingentium* (W. could have cited Hor. *Epod.* 2. 1. 6 “post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti” to support his splendid conjecture); 27. 20 *numerentur* in the apparatus; 43. 27 *munimina* (anticipated by the corrector of Vat. Reg. lat. 1535); 54. 13 *defugit*. In this connection should be mentioned a special category of conjecture—the excision. Many of these are modestly relegated to the apparatus, but are very likely to be right: cf. 5. 13–14, 12. 20, 15. 24, 30. 14, 38. 21, 42. 6, 46. 13–14. To these should be added W.’s removal of the subject-headings (p. vi). Other good changes and suggestions include: 7. 19 *interior* for *interius*; 23. 6 *muneri*; 24. 22 apparatus (W. acutely notes the problem here); 30. 4 *primus*; 41. 2 *per* in the apparatus *forte delendum* (correctly: an intrusive gloss intended to help construe the Greek accusative *omnia*; cf. correcting hands at 7. 20);⁷⁶ 49. 17 *supplicabunda* (a fine conjecture, based on Martianus’ evident fondness for verbal adjectives in *-bundus* [see Lenaz, *De nuptiis*, p. 69, n. 244], and on the feminine ending of ABDMR’s reading); 53. 10 *superum* (an interesting emendation: despite the parallel from Boethius, who knew the *De nuptiis*, I am inclined to agree with W. The proximity of *mentis* in the preceding line is telling. This may be a very early textual error, datable to between ca. A.D. 470 and 524).

76. Other candidates for deletion might include 9. 20 *Graium* and 42. 6 *cum*.

READINGS IN THE TEXT AND APPARATUS

1. 12 *quae*: here W. prefers what looks like a *lectio difficilior*. Attraction of gender exercised by the predicate on the relative pronoun as subject is possible (cf. Kühner-Stegmann 2. 1¹: 37), but rare (there seem to be no parallels in Martianus); more likely to be an error caused by the vicinity of *Cypridis*. 2. 10 in the apparatus *parum considerate*: unfair to Grotius, who suggested a real and common confusion between *i* and *y*. The issue is stylistic: is this a hendiadys, or a reference to the temple already suggested by *antistitis*? 2. 12 <*non*>: not needed. The fact that, even though the son knows (has heard) the reveillé, he is still in the dark, is being emphasized. 3. 8: in the apparatus the readings are unclear. 3. 11 *iam*: no need for Vonck's conjecture. The explicative or continuative use of *nam* is well attested in late Latin: cf. Leumann-Hoffman-Szantyr 2:504–5. 6. 3 *excidere* is right. The lot falls out of the urn: see Livy 21. 42. 3 and Tert. *Adv. Prax.* 17 p. 89. 18 Scarpat. 9. 23 *prime*: Eyssenhardt's conjecture *primis* solves the problems, and should at least be cited. 21. 11 *compita*: how did Martianus spell this? W. adopts the spelling *competa* at 250. 11. 23. 6 *recurrentes*: *recurrentis* GAR¹ and others is right. Martianus refers to the annual path of the sun through the Zodiac. 24. 12 *quin*: why this spoil of Kopp's from the Darmstadtensis? 27. 23 *urbes*: here the vulgate *orbes* should be retained. The contrast is intentionally bathetic. 29. 20 <*contrahens*>: this change would require explanation. 34. 21 *fundit* scripsit W.: *fondit* AR¹: *frondit* B¹D¹X¹Q¹ *frondet* cett.: W. has emended to *fundit* because he thinks that the reading of the archetype was *fondit* (cf. 344. 1). *Fondit*, however, is an error of the common ancestor of A and R, and not a *lectio difficilior* of Ω. This is clear because both X¹ and Q¹ have *frondit*. The ancestor of ABDRXQ read *frondit*. Reading *fundit*, one must take *violae* as its object, leaving *parante Cirrha* awkwardly without one. There is no need to correct *frondet* (cf. TLL, s.v. *frondeo* 1344. 49, for the idea of a place being in leaf): "For whom Helicon blooms green with garlands, while Cirrha provides violets." 37. 18 †*agentes stocasi*: Grotius' *agentes Stoici* is worth accepting. 39. 11 *pinna*: there appears to be a consistent split between ABDR and the *interpolati* with regard to the spelling of this word. Why *pinna* rather than *penna*?⁷⁷ *Pinna* is archetypal, but not necessarily correct. 45. 21 *peri eudaimonias*: Grotius' emendation to *peri daimonon* makes much more sense: see Lenaz ad loc. 47. 5 *mediet asdisparatur*: a typographical error for *medietas disparatur*. 47. 16 *frumentum*: I am uneasy with this as the object of *docuere*. Do we want *frumenti usum* or *frumenti*? 50. 22 *mitior*: patently wrong. Take Dick's *immitior*. 51. 11 *ambifariumque †nital*: Préaux's conjecture *ambifarium genitale* should be cited. 53. 12 *audita*: no need to retain. A clear split between ABDR and the *interpolati*, whose reading, whether authentic or the result of conjecture, is right. 56. 14 *Entelechiam*: S. Mariotti ("De quibusdam Macrobiani et Martiani locis ad codicum lectionem restituendis," *ASNP* 2. 9 [1940]: 196) reads *Endelechiam*—correctly. In the context of what is clearly a satirical doxography with some philosophers tortured by their *archai* (Heraclitus, Thales, Democritus), and Zeno the Stoic marrying a *femina providens*, Aristotle hunting for his endelechy even in heaven (*per caeli quoque culmina*) makes perfect sense. Whatever one's position on the doctrine of the endelechy and early Aristotle, ancient doxography acknowledged both terms. The suppression of the endelechy is clearly attested in Lucian *Judicium vocalium* 10. Martianus' vision of the hunt in heaven for the lost endelechy is a joke dependent on the correct spelling of the word. The comment in the apparatus is gratuitous. 57. 15 *magna parte fabulae*: is *fabulae* W.'s emendation? There is no report. 96. 12–102. 20: for textual *animadversiones* on this section, see my "Tatwine," pp. 301–12. 171. 10 *pontificem maximum* G²: this may be a reading imported from Cassiodorus' *De differentiis topicis* p. 166. 26 Mynors. It does not appear in the manuscripts of Cicero. 203. 15: a misprint for *primores saltem*. 237. 6 *Hippo Regius*: the reading

77. See above, n. 38, on 16. 16.

of Ω also found in many manuscripts of Pliny. But it is unlikely that Martianus, an African after all, wrote *Hippos* for *Hippo*: cf. 237. 10 *Hippone Diarrhyto*. Probably an error of assimilation to *Regius*. 351. 21: *vapor* does equal heat: cf. Sen. *Hipp.* 640 "pectus insanum vapor amorque torret" and Ambr. *Hymn* 5. 23–24 "castis fides refrigerans / somni vaporem temperet."

Many individual points could be noted and objections raised. These do not detract from the fact that the new edition is a major achievement. W. has devoted painstaking attention to the text and provided a much securer basis for studying Martianus than previously existed. New commentaries on Books 1, 4, and 5 are forthcoming by me, Heinrich Pauli, and Gabriella Moretti, respectively, and it is very much to be hoped that the new edition will stimulate interest in an author still rich in mysteries and problems.

DANUTA SHANZER
*University of California,
Berkeley*