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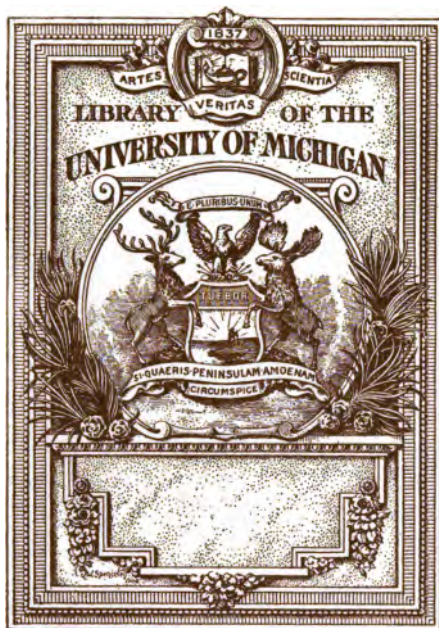
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CERTAIN SOURCES OF CORRUPTION
IN LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

BY

FREDERICK WILLIAM SHIPLEY

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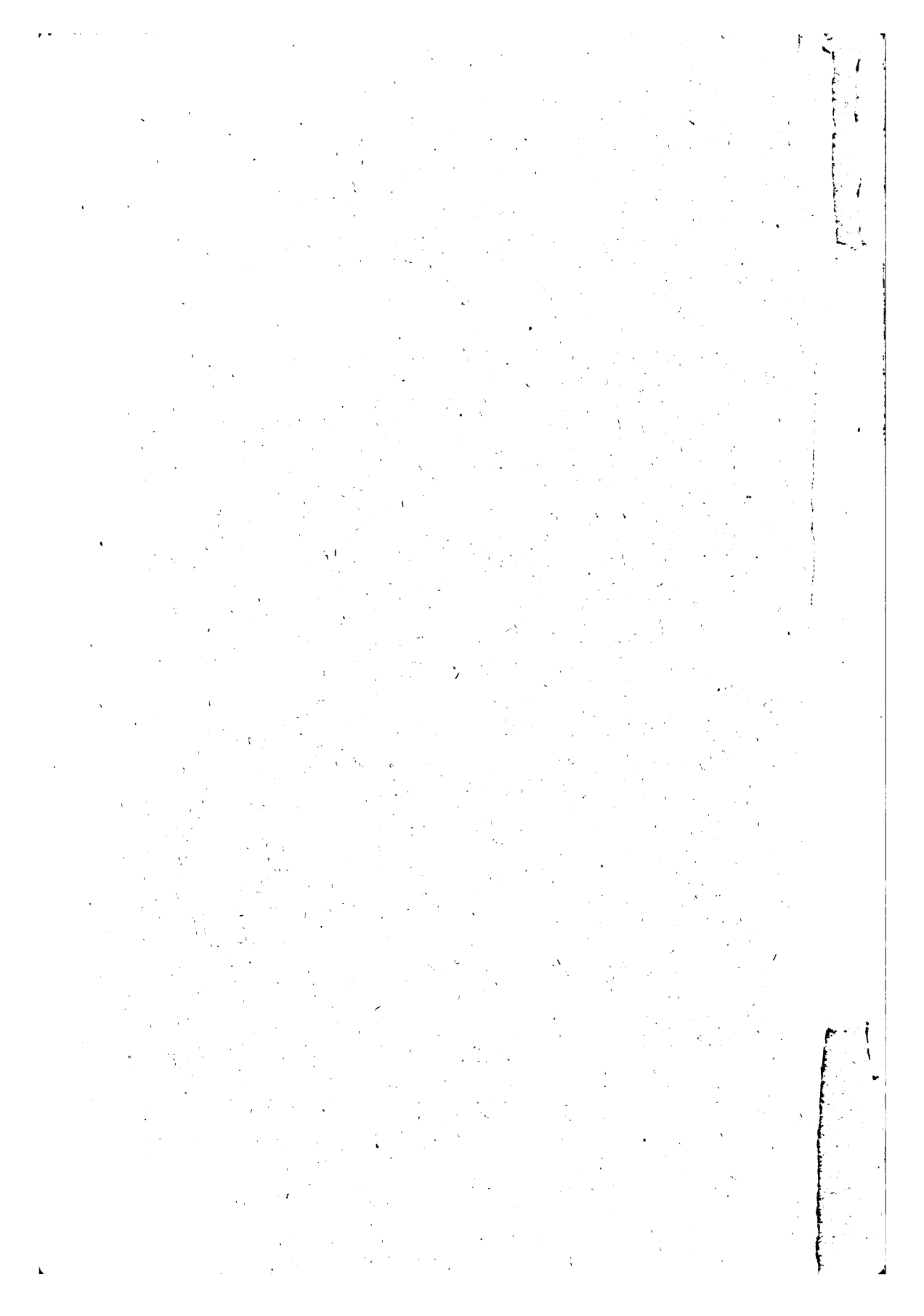
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CERTAIN SOURCES OF CORRUPTION IN LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

A STUDY BASED UPON TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF LIVY: CODEX
PUTEANUS (FIFTH CENTURY), AND ITS COPY, CODEX
REGINENSIS 762 (NINTH CENTURY)

A Thesis

*Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts
and Literature of the University of Chicago*

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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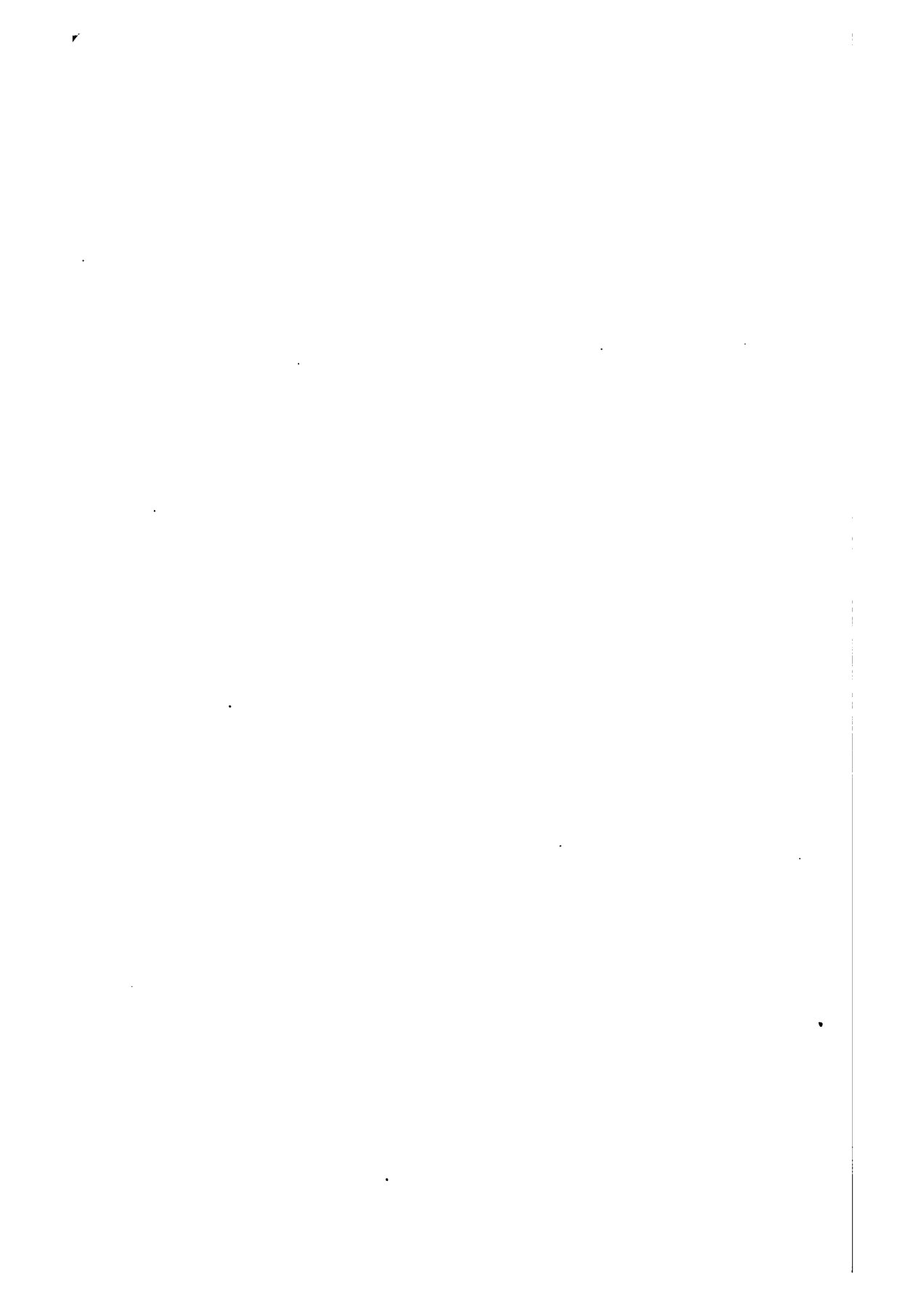
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CERTAIN SOURCES OF CORRUPTION IN LATIN MANUSCRIPTS :

A STUDY BASED UPON TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF LIVY: CODEX
PUTEANUS (FIFTH CENTURY), AND ITS COPY CODEX REGI-
NENSIS 762 (NINTH CENTURY)¹

I. INTRODUCTION

THE tendency of Latin textual criticism has in late years been more and more in the direction of a conservative adherence to the authority of manuscripts, wherever possible. This may be seen in the gradually diminishing number of emendations and conjectures in the critical apparatus of recent editions of the Latin texts. Scholars now hesitate much longer about marking a word or an expression as corrupt merely because it is unusual. Confidence in all but very late manuscripts is on the increase. Recent years have seen the reinstatement of not a few manuscript readings whose place had long been taken by conjectures. A knowledge of palaeography is more and more becoming an essential factor in textual criticism, and, except in the case of texts which depend wholly upon manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,

¹ This dissertation, being the fruit of studies begun when the writer was a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, was first published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, Vol. VII (1903). In its present form it has been reprinted, with the consent of the Editors, from the original plates of the *Journal*, but occasional alterations have been made in the plates, with a view to bringing the reprints more nearly into conformity with the general plan of a dissertation. It has still been necessary, however, to retain some of the features peculiar to the exigencies of periodical form.

one of the chief tests of an emendation is coming to be,—
Is it capable of palaeographical explanation?

This tendency to place textual criticism more nearly upon a palaeographical basis has not been accompanied by a corresponding change in the character of the illustrative material used in books and manuals upon the subject. The collections of examples now placed before the student are not without their value, but they fail along the lines in which textual criticism has made the greatest advance. These examples consist for the most part in (1) a comparison of the corrupt reading of a manuscript with a conjectured emendation of a scholar, or (2) in a comparison of the readings of two or more manuscripts of the same author, of which the relationship is generally uncertain, or at least remote. Illustrations chosen according to either method are often misleading to the student, even granting that, in the first method, the scholar's conjecture is what the author actually wrote. A great many corruptions to be found in manuscripts of all periods are no longer in their initial stages, but are the complex result of several distinct processes of growth. The student, with nothing before him but what the author is *supposed* to have written and the corrupt reading of, let us say, a thirteenth century manuscript, may be dealing only with a corruption in a late stage. All the earlier steps are missing, and certainty with regard to them is out of the question. Such an illustration has little value for him, leading as it does to no conclusion which is surely right, and possibly to one which is wholly wrong. Likewise, neither of these methods keeps clearly before the student the character of the errors common to certain *styles* of writing and certain *periods* of time. Both of them are lacking in palaeographical details.

To be of the greatest practical value, illustrations of corruptions should fulfil the following conditions: (1) the two extremes which are compared should not be too widely separated; (2) neither of them should be based upon conjecture; (3) each illustration should present but a single stage in the

progress of an error, or at any rate should present but one stage at a time ; (4) the cause of the error should be reasonably certain ; (5) each example should keep distinctly before the student the periods of time and the palaeographical conditions involved. Material for illustrations which would answer all these conditions is not entirely wanting, though little use has heretofore been made of it. It is to be found in a class of neglected manuscripts whose readings have no place in the critical apparatus of the text editions, namely, direct copies of originals which are still extant. The circumstance which renders such copies useless for the constitution of the text of a given author makes them of the greatest value in throwing light upon the history of the texts in general. By comparing such a copy with its original it is possible, as it were, to look over the shoulder of the mediaeval scribe as he sits at his task. One may follow his hand and eye as he copies letter by letter and word by word. The difficulties with which he has to contend either in the script or the text of his original are clearly revealed. It is possible to see exactly how he performed his work, whether faithfully or carelessly, whether he has adhered closely to his text or altered freely, and, when he has made errors, how and why they came to be made. The extent to which the text suffered in his hands is thus made clear in every detail. Illustrations taken from the readings of two such manuscripts, original and copy, would enable the student to draw his own conclusions with full data before him,—the style of the script of the original, the date of each manuscript, the conditions under which the copy was made, and the knowledge that, in the case of corruptions, he is dealing with but a single stage. By this method it is possible to see exactly what, in the copying of a given manuscript, *actually happened*, and then to turn the information to account in considering the texts of other manuscripts produced under the same conditions, the originals of which are now lost.

Examples chosen by this method are as nearly as possible upon a palaeographical basis, and offer the student definite

illustration. The comparison of a single pair of representative manuscripts and the errors arising from a single process of transcription would serve to give him a clear idea of the tendency to corruption at a given period. A study of the errors exhibited in four such sets of copies and originals, each set representing a distinct phase of the history of Latin texts, would give him a more definite conception of the whole field than he can possibly get from the more or less random examples of the manuals. For instance, a ninth century copy of an original of the fourth or fifth century, an eleventh century copy of an original of the ninth, a thirteenth century copy of an original of the eleventh, and a fourteenth or fifteenth century copy of an original of the thirteenth, would serve respectively to illustrate the tendencies of the periods which they represent, and collectively the entire history of Latin texts in so far as extant manuscripts make this possible.

For the last three of these four periods there is no lack of illustrative material of the nature indicated. A search in the libraries would probably disclose an abundance of neglected copies of extant manuscripts. The first of these periods, which is in many respects the most important, is represented, so far as I am aware, only by the single pair of manuscripts which form the subject of the present article. These are (1) the famous codex *Puteanus* (National Library, Paris, 5730), of the fifth century, which contains the third decade of Livy's history, and (2) a ninth century copy of it now in the Vatican library, and catalogued as *Reginensis* 762.

That the significance of these two manuscripts may be properly understood, let me first point out some of the characteristics of the period to which they belong, and the representative nature of the manuscripts themselves. The epoch from the fifth century to the ninth is one which is unique in the history of the texts of the Classical Latin authors. It is marked by a period of almost total inactivity in the multiplication of copies of their works, and is followed by one of unparalleled activity. Almost all of our extant manuscripts of these writers that

are earlier in date than the very end of the eighth century are the capital and uncial manuscripts of the fourth, fifth, and the beginning of the sixth centuries. The interval from the middle of the sixth century to the closing years of the eighth is represented by very few existing manuscripts of any but the Church writers. This fact would seem to indicate that, while there was no lack of activity in the reproduction of the writings of the Christian fathers, the copying of the works of the pagan Latin writers was almost totally arrested for over two centuries.¹ The active production of copies of the works of the pagan writers begins anew with the revival of learning under Charlemagne. To this new and wonderful activity, which arose with the closing years of the eighth century and continued through the tenth, we are indebted for the preservation of a large proportion of our Latin texts.² The task of copying was

¹ Of the authors who wrote before the official victory of Christianity the following works are, to the best of my knowledge, the only ones which have been preserved in manuscripts surely belonging to this period: the Agrimensores, s. VI-VII; Apuleius (?), *de Herbarum Medicaminibus*, s. VI-VII; Ovid, *ex Ponto* (fragment), s. VI-VII; the Pandects, s. VI-VII; Probus (?), *Catholica*, s. VI-VII, VII-VIII, VIII-IX; excerpts from Pliny and Apicius, s. VII-VIII; Censorinus, s. VII; Lactantius, s. VII; Sacerdos, s. VII-VIII; Commodianus, *Carmen Apologeticum*, s. VIII; *Notae Tironis et Senecae*, s. VIII; the Anthology of the Codex Salmasianus, s. VII-VIII. Of these, Commodianus and Lactantius were Christian writers; Probus, Censorinus, and Sacerdos were writers on Grammar; the works of the Agrimensores, the above-mentioned work on *Materia Medica* ascribed to Apuleius, the excerpts from Pliny and Apicius, the Pandects, and the *Notae Tironis et Senecae* were all of a technical or semi-technical nature. It would seem probable, then, that with few exceptions such manuscripts only were copied in the seventh and eighth centuries as, from the nature of their subject-matter, did not conflict with the doctrines of the Church.

² The oldest manuscripts of a large proportion of the extant literature from Plautus to the official victory of Christianity are of the ninth and tenth centuries. The following is a list of the works of which the text is based upon manuscripts of this period (viz., the ninth and tenth centuries, and the last decade of the eighth): Plautus (the Codex Vetus for portions not contained in the Ambrosian palimpsest); Lucretius; Catullus, c. 62; Caesar; Sallust; *Rhetorica ad Herennium*; the following works of Cicero: *Pro Fonteio*, *pro Flacco*, *post reditum in senatu*, *post red. ad Quirites*, *de domo sua*, *de haruspicum responsis*, *pro Sestio*, *in Vatinius*, *pro Caelio*, *de provinciis consularibus*, *pro Balbo*, *in Pisonem*, *pro Marcello*, *Philippics*, *Rhetorica*, *de Oratore*, *Brutus*, *Orator*, *Part. Orat.*, *Topica*, *ad Familiares*, *de Legibus*, *Paradoxa*, *Academica Priora*, *Tusc. Disp.*, *de Natura Deorum*, *Cato Maior*, *de Divinatione*, *de Fato*,

performed by monks. The usual practice in the scriptoria of the various monasteries in the ninth century seems to have been to secure, for the purpose of making a copy, the oldest available manuscript of a given author either preserved in the library to which the scriptorium belonged, or borrowed from that of another monastery. The oldest available manuscripts were, in the case of the pagan writers, those of the fourth or fifth century in capital¹ or uncial writing. Consequently the three hundred years from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the ninth represent but a single link in the history of the texts of those Latin authors whose writings are preserved in manuscripts not earlier than the ninth century. In all that time the text of such an author has passed through but a single stage in the process of corruption. The errors which have crept into the text in the making of the ninth century copy constitute the only difference between the trustworthiness of a ninth century manuscript of a given author and that of its archetype of the fifth.

This single process of transcription marks what is perhaps

Timaeus, de Amicitia, de Officiis; the *Culex, Copa, Aetna, and Moretum* formerly ascribed to Virgil; Bernese scholia on Virgil; Horace; Ovid, *Amores, Heroides, de Medicamine Faciei, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris, Fasti, Metamorphoses, ex Ponto* (for the greater part), *Halieutica*; Grattii *Cynegetica*; Livy, first decade, with the exception of books III-VI, and the *Periochae*; Justinus; Seneca Rhetor; Verrius Flaccus (*Epitome Pauli*); Hyginus; Vitruvius; *Aratea Germanici*; Manilius; Phaedrus; Seneca, *Tragoediae* (excerpta), Ἀποκολοκόντως, *Dialogues, Epistolae, de Clementia, de Beneficiis*; Valerius Maximus; Curtius Rufus; Persius; Lucan; Quintilian; Calpurnius Flaccus; *Ilias Latina*; Petronius; Valerius Flaccus; Statius; Martial; Juvenal; Tacitus, *Annals* I-VI; Pliny's *Letters*; Pliny the elder; Pomponius Mela; Celsus; Columella; Apicius; Marcellus; Frontinus (except the *de Aquis*); Siculus Flaccus; Nemesianus, *Cynegetica*; *Disticha* and *Monosticha* Catonis; Suetonius; Minucius Felix; Florus, *Bell. Rom.*; Apuleius, *de Platone et eius dogmata*; Calpurnius Flaccus; Terentius Scaurus; Gargilius Martialis; Flavius Caper; Acro; Porphyrio; Gellius; Maecianus; Cyprian; Tertullian; Q. Sereus Sammonicus; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; Arnobius. Roughly speaking, this list includes considerably more than half of the extant classical literature, and the ratio of ninth century authoritative manuscripts upon this list to those of the tenth century is about 3 to 1. This shows how important a place the ninth century holds in the preservation of the texts.

¹ Capitals were reserved for favourite authors, Virgil in particular.

the most critical period in the history of Latin texts. It is not in itself characterized by intentional alterations such as are common in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The corruptions are due almost entirely to ignorance or carelessness on the part of the scribes, much more rarely to attempts at emendation. But, although serious corruptions are few, this period is rich in the germs of future corruptions, on account of a new factor in the making of manuscripts. This factor is the division of the text into words, which now for the first time comes into general practice. In the manuscript of the fifth century there was ordinarily no word-division whatever. The fifth century scribe, if he did not understand the meaning of the text before him, was able to conceal his ignorance and evade all difficulties resulting therefrom by copying letter by letter, a process in which the text of the author suffered but little. The scribe of the ninth century, on the other hand, was forced to make words out of the undivided text of his original, and, with only a superficial understanding of the sense of what he was copying, it is not surprising that he often divided wrongly. The errors thus made are not in themselves difficult to emend, but, simple though they were, they frequently became magnified into grave corruptions in the efforts of the scribes of a later age to restore sense to the passages thus distorted.

Of this important process of transcription no manuscript could be more thoroughly representative than the *Reginensis* 762. The *Puteanus*,¹ from which this copy was made, is a typical manuscript of the fifth century, in uncial script, with words undivided. The *Reginensis* itself is one of the very best examples of the work of the French monasteries at the beginning of the ninth century.² The centre of the new activity in the production of manuscripts, and of the reform in writing which began with the closing years of the eighth century and spread over a large part of Western Europe, was the monastery

¹ For a full description see Introd. to the text edition of A. Luchs.

² A fuller description of the manuscript is given in chap. II.

of St. Martin at Tours. Its abbot Alcuin, who was Charlemagne's minister of education, was the pioneer of the new movement. It was in this monastery that the *Reginensis* was produced, a few years after Alcuin's death. It is written in the reformed script known as the Caroline minuscule. This manuscript is not the work of a single scribe. Eight monks were simultaneously engaged upon it, who, to judge from their orthography, were of more than one nationality. It consequently represents the concentrated efforts of the scriptorium of St. Martin's at the time when this monastery was the centre of the ninth century revival, which was then at its height.

In the present article I have endeavoured to illustrate the tendencies to corruption which characterize the transcription from manuscripts in majuscule writing into Caroline minuscule with divided words, by means of actual examples of scribal errors drawn from a comparison of the readings of the *Puteanus* with those of its copy the *Reginensis*. Since collating the manuscripts in 1896 I have made use of the material collected, in giving courses in Latin palaeography. The results encourage me to believe that the collection may prove helpful to other students and give a clearer idea of the errors common to this important period than they now get from the illustrations in the manuals, which are drawn from miscellaneous sources. The starting-point of the error is in every case certain, being simply the reading of the *Puteanus*. The cause of each error is therefore in the majority of cases beyond dispute. As I have already said, the *Reginensis* is the work of eight scribes, seven of whom have each copied a quota amounting to considerably more than a book of Livy's text. Among them more than one nationality is probably represented. For this reason the errors here given represent the tendencies of the period much more fairly than if they had been drawn from the work of a single scribe.

For convenience of reference, the examples in the following chapters are arranged in categories, with a minimum of commentary on each variety of error. The reading of the *Puteanus*

is usually given first, followed by the erroneous reading in the *Reginensis*. Henceforth the *Puteanus* will be represented by the letter P, and the *Reginensis* by the letter R.¹

To illustrate several stages in the progress of an error I have occasionally made use of the corrections found in both manuscripts. Corrections in P are designated as follows: P¹, if the correction is by the scribe, P², if by the first corrector, P³, if by the second corrector.² Correctors in R are much more difficult to discriminate, owing to the variety of inks and hands (see chaps. II and XI). For our present purpose it will suffice to designate the corrections made by the scribe as R¹, and all later corrections as R². For the purpose of tracing a stage further the corrections begun in the *Reginensis*, I have added in a limited number of cases the readings of *Codex Medicus* (Florence, Laurentian Library, LXIII, 20), which is in turn a copy³ of R. This manuscript will be indicated by the letter M. In all the examples in which I have given several steps in the progress of an error I have tried to keep each stage distinct.

✓ The following exposition is intended, in a general way, to cover all the points of consequence afforded by the study of the two manuscripts. Accordingly, while this paper contains certain new facts and points of view, it of course has also to deal with many that are already familiar — with the special advantage, however, as already shown, that the two points of comparison in each case are actual examples drawn from two extant manuscripts, of which one is the direct copy of the other.

¹ This letter is used by A. Luchs to denote another manuscript of this decade of Livy, in the Spirensian group. No confusion, however, can result, inasmuch as in the present article we are concerned with but three manuscripts, all of which belong to the *Puteanus* group.

² All the corrections in P designated by Luchs as P⁴, P⁵, were made after R had been copied.

³ Although M is in the main a copy of R, its readings seem to indicate, especially in the early portion of the manuscript, that the scribe who copied it had also before him either P or some copy of it other than R. This is a matter which I hope to deal with in another paper.



I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Wm. Gardner Hale, who suggested this piece of work to me while director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome (1895-96), and to state, at his request, that his attention was called to the availability of these two manuscripts for the present purpose by Professor W. M. Lindsay, now of the University of St. Andrews. To Professor Hale, and to Professor Frank Frost Abbott of the University of Chicago, I am also deeply grateful for many valuable criticisms.

II. THE CODEX REGINENSIS 762

I have already given in the preceding chapter a general account of R, but my description of it was there confined merely to such points as directly concerned the purpose of the present article. Before proceeding to deal with the errors of its scribes, I shall first give a more detailed account of this manuscript and its making, concerning which a great many more data are known than is usual in the case of manuscripts of so early a date.

Being a copy of an existing original, and more mutilated¹ than the original both at the beginning and at the end, it is of no value for the constitution of the text of the third decade of Livy, though the readings of M, its eleventh century copy, are to be found in the apparatus of the critical editions for the beginning of Book XXI, which is missing in P. But from a purely palaeographical standpoint it is much more interesting than either the *Puteanus* (P), or its own copy, the *Mediceus* (M), and has been the subject of various articles by palaeographical scholars, among whom are Wölfflin,² Chatelain,³ and Traube.⁴ Its interest lies not merely in the fact that it is one of the best

¹ It begins with the words *velut caeci evadunt* (XXII, 6, 5), and ends with *deinceps continua amplexus* (XXX, 5, 7).

² *Philologus*, XXXIII, 1874, pp. 186-189.

³ *Revue de Philologie*, vol. XIV, 1890, p. 79; *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, 9^e livraison, 1895, with facsimile.

⁴ L. Traube, *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, 1891, Heft 3, p. 425.

examples of the developed calligraphy of Tours, but also in the interesting data furnished by the signatures at the end of the various quaternions, which throw no little light upon the method of procedure in manuscript-making in the Middle Ages.

These signatures occur regularly at the end of each quaternion, as follows: Gyslaŋ, fol. 6; Aldo, fol. 16, 24, 32, 40, 48, 52; Fredeġ, fol. 60, 68, 76, 84, 92, 97; Nauto, fol. 103, 111; Theogrīñ or Theogriññ, fol. 119, 127, 135, 141; Theodegrī, fol. 157, 165, 173, 179, 185; Ansoald, fol. 193, 201, 209, 217, 228; Landemarus, fol. 236, 242, 250; each folio being signed upon the *verso* side. The manuscript was therefore the work of eight different scribes, each of whom, to judge from the amount done by those whose work is preserved to us in its entirety, copied about forty-four folios of the text, with the exception of Nauto¹ and Theogriññ, who *together* copied that number. Chatelain noticed² that the end of the work of Gyslarius corresponded, even to a syllable, with the end of quaternion IX of P; that of Aldo, with the end of quaternion XVIII; that of Fredeġ, with quaternion XXVII; that of Nauto and Theogriññ together, with quaternion XXXVI; that of Theodegrī, with quaternion XLV; that of Ansoaldus, with quaternion LIV; and that the writing of the last page of the work of each scribe was spread out or condensed so as to coincide with the end of the quaternion of P. He concluded, therefore, that the old fifth century uncial manuscript had been taken apart, and equal portions, of nine quaternions each, had been given out to the scribes to be copied simultaneously. It has further been pointed out by Traube (*Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, 1891, Heft 3, p. 425), that the names of these scribes are to be found in the *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli*³ in the list of the monks of Tours, and that they all occur in a definite place upon the list, namely, in the second

¹ The work of Nauto stops abruptly about two-thirds of the way down a page (fol. 112 *recto*), and his part was completed by the scribe whose signature was Theogriññ.

² *Revue de Philologie*, vol. XIV.

³ Ed. Piper, *Mon. Germaniae*.

of the seven columns devoted to the monks of St. Martin's of Tours. From this he infers that in the monastery of St. Martin there was a definite class of monks who performed the duty of scribes, and were regularly engaged as such in the scriptorium of the monastery. The names corresponding to the signatures are as follows :

Signatures in R	List in Col. 14, <i>Lib. Confr. S. Galli</i>
Gyslaꝥ	Gislarius (no. 3)
Aldo	Aldo (no. 10)
Fredeġ	Fredegaudus (no. 37)
Nauto	Nauto (no. 36)
Theogriṃñ	Teutcrimus (no. 26)
Ansoaldus	Ansoaldus (no. 4)
Landemarus	Landemarus (no. 24)

It will be seen that one name is missing, namely, the one corresponding to the signature Theodegrī, but it is just possible that Theogriṃñ and Theodegrī were one and the same person. Nauto did not finish his full quota of nine quaternions, but stopped abruptly two-thirds of the way down fol. 112 *recto*, after having completed a little over two quaternions. It is possible that Theodegrī, after finishing his own portion, completed that of Nauto, using a different abbreviation in his signature. The abbot at the head of the list of monks of St. Martin's in the *Libri Confraternitatum* is Fridegisus,¹ the successor of

¹ Chatelain, in his *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* (9^e livraison), gives one the impression that the scribe whose signature was Fredeġ, and Fridegisus the abbot, were one and the same person. In the hope that this might prove to be the case, and that I should find in the copy of the third of the scribes the work of a great Carolingian scholar, I studied that part of the manuscript with particular care. There was nothing, however, in the work of the scribe Fredeġ to distinguish it from that of the other scribes. It contained even more than the average number of careless or ignorant blunders, and this portion of the copy could hardly have been made by a man who had a reputation for learning. Other considerations also add to the probability that the abbot was not the copyist. It is hardly likely that the chancellor of Louis le Débonnaire could find time to copy manuscripts with the monks in the scriptorium; and, even if that were probable, he would have chosen the first part of the work in preference to the third. I agree, therefore, with Traube in identifying the scribe whose signature is Fredeġ with Fredegaudus, whose name is number 37 in column 14 of the *Libri Confraternitatum*.

Alcuin, who held the abbacy from 804–834. Traube is consequently justified in placing the date of R between those years. The fact that all these scribes were monks of Tours makes it certain that the work of transcribing was done at Tours; for it is not likely that so many monks would be sent to Corbie to copy the *Puteanus*, which at this time belonged to the monastery of that town. It is much more probable that the uncial manuscript was borrowed¹ for copying, and this supposition would account for the haste shown in putting so many scribes to work upon making the copy, — the concentration, apparently, of the energies of the entire scriptorium upon this one task.

In R we have, therefore, an example of the developed calligraphy of Tours, produced within thirty years of the death of Alcuin. This monastery was, under his abbacy (from 796 to 804, the year of his death), the centre of the new activity in the production of manuscripts and of the reform in writing which spread over almost the whole of western Europe.² The manuscript should therefore be thoroughly characteristic of the new movement, not merely in the style of the writing, but also in respect to the fitness of the ninth century monks for the task of copying the texts of the old Latin writers. In the handwriting of these eight scribes there is little variation. It is almost impossible in the case of several of them to distinguish at first sight the hand of one from that of another, which goes to show that, in this one scriptorium at least, the Caroline minuscule had been brought as nearly as possible to uniformity. On the other hand, it would seem that greater attention was given to uniformity in handwriting than in other features of the work of the copyist. In these there is considerable disparity. For instance, the signature of Theogrīn is attached to the quaternion which ends with fol. 119vo; but by means of the character of the errors, aside from the writing, one can see

¹ Chatelain suggested this probability before Traube discovered that the scribes of the *Reginensis* were to be identified with the monks of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours.

² Exceptions to this statement are England and Ireland and the monasteries of southern Italy.

that the whole quaternion, and nearly a folio in addition, is not the work of the monk whose name is signed to it, but that of Nauto. The three quaternions copied by this scribe are relatively free from errors, while the quaternions signed with the names of Theogrīñ, Theodegrī, Ansoaldus, and Landemarus are full of absurd blunders. These last-mentioned scribes are each prone to errors which are peculiar to themselves, a fact which, together with variations in orthography which are constant with certain scribes, would seem to indicate that more than one nationality was represented. The majority of the errors found in the manuscript are, however, common to all. They are due, for the most part, to carelessness, to a defective knowledge of Latin that was not sufficient to enable the scribe to understand, except in a more or less random way, the meaning of the text he was copying, and to difficulties arising from lack of familiarity with the continuously written uncial script. Their work shows almost no intentional alteration, and the emendations are of the most superficial nature; indeed, the majority of the scribes did not sufficiently understand the meaning of the text to have been equal to any deliberate emendation of consequence. The errors, though numerous, are in themselves unimportant, but in the hands of scribes of a later age they would undoubtedly have become magnified into serious corruptions.

Each quaternion of the *Reginensis* was corrected, as soon as it was completed, by some person or persons who supervised the work of the scriptorium. This is shown by the similarity between the ink of the correctors and that used by the scribes, and the non-recurrence, in the second quaternion of each scribe's work, of errors which were common in the first. These corrections, which will be treated in a subsequent chapter, are usually of a superficial nature and, in point of scholarship, are not much above the level of those made by the scribes themselves.

It was my first intention to give, along with each scribal error contained in the following chapters, the initial of the

name of the scribe by whom the error was made. The insertion of so many initials, however, seems likely to cause unnecessary confusion. I have therefore indicated in the accompanying table the exact portion of Livy's text copied by each scribe. In the case of each error the number of book, chapter, and section is given, and by referring to this table it will be possible to see at a glance the name of the scribe by whom a given error was made.

INDEX OF PORTIONS COPIED BY THE VARIOUS SCRIBES

- XXII, 6, 5 *uelut caeci evadunt* to XXII, 21, 2 *sed praeterquam quod* copied by Gislarius.
- XXII, 21, 2 *ipsorum Hispanorum* to XXIII, 35, 1 *cum post Can-[nensem]* copied by Aldo.
- XXIII, 35, 1 [*Can]-nensem pugnam* to XXV, 9, 10 *alia portam Tem-[enitida]* copied by Fredeğ.
- XXV, 9, 10 [*Tem]-enitida adiret* to XXV, 39, 14 *cum Hasdrubale* copied by Nauto.
- XXV, 39, 14 *dece (= decem) millia* to XXVI, 28, 4 *Galliae et le-[gionibus]* copied by Theogriñ.
- XXVI, 28, 4 [*le]-gionibus praeesset* to XXVII, 38, 6 *cum omnes cense-[rent]* copied by Theodegri.
- XXVII, 38, 6 [*cense]-rent primo* to XXVIII, 35, 7 *quod pleni-[us]* copied by Ansoaldus.
- XXVIII, 35, 7 [*pleni]-us nitidiusque* to XXX, 5, 7 *deinceps continua amplexus* copied by Landemarus.

III. MISTAKEN WORD-DIVISIONS

The comparative freedom of Capital and Uncial manuscripts from serious corruptions is due in large measure to the fact that the words of the text were usually¹ not divided. The letters of the text were written one after the other, with no interruption except an occasional break to indicate the paragraph; consequently it was never absolutely necessary for the scribe in making his copy to follow the sense of what he was copying. He might evade all difficulties arising from his own ignorance

¹ In the poem on the battle of Actium, found at Herculaneum, and in some early Virgil manuscripts, the words, though not spaced, are divided by points. This however was exceptional.

or from corruptions in his original, by simply writing the letters one by one without puzzling over the words they formed. He might indeed, as he copied, make wrong mental divisions of the words; but, if he did not in forming such wrong mental divisions also add, omit, or change a letter, his error could not in any way affect the text of his copy.

With the closing years of the eighth century, however, as a result of the Caroline reform, it became the regular practice to write each word separately. The Carolingian scribe, when set to make a copy of a continuously written majuscule manuscript, was forced to write his copy not letter by letter, but word by word. To do this rightly demanded a knowledge of the context, and the ability to read and understand Latin,—in which, as examples will clearly show, the eight scribes of R were anything but proficient. Their work is consequently full of wrong divisions of words, both where the sense of the passage was perfectly plain, and where corruptions in the original made the division really difficult. When in doubt, the scribes occasionally left the words undivided; but, as a rule, they resorted more or less blindly to some random grouping of the letters.

Errors of this nature form by far the largest class of the mistakes made by the scribes of R, and many of the illustrations given under other headings can be indirectly traced to this source. These errors due to wrong division of words are in themselves comparatively insignificant, and, were the *Puteanus* lost, the emendation of this class of corruptions in the *Reginensis* would present little or no difficulty to a modern scholar. But the serious aspect of such errors is that they form the starting-point of further and more formidable corruptions in eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century copies of ninth century manuscripts. The scribes of a later age had education enough to recognize that there were errors, but not sufficient knowledge or care to rectify them; and, in the superficial attempts which they made at restoring sense to the passages, all clues by which they might be emended by more careful scholars were frequently lost.

Before proceeding to take up in detail the various kinds of error arising from this source, I shall first give a few examples, chosen at random, of some of the more absurd word-divisions, in which the efforts of the scribes have resulted in nonsense, or in combinations of letters which do not form Latin words.¹

XXV, 11, 3 uallo urbem ab arce *intersaepire statuit* P, inter saepi restatuit R. — XXV, 11, 14–15 censebant esse. Punicas enim . . . P, censebantes sepunicas enim R. — XXV, 11, 17 haut magna mole P, haut magnam ole R. — XXV, 18, 11 pertulere (perpulerere *Luchs*) turmales P, per tuleretur males R. — XXV, 40, 2 uertit. Visebantur enim . . . P, uertitui seabantur enim R. — XXV, 40, 6 ita peruagatus est hostium *agros ita socios* ad retinendos P, agrositas ocios R. — XXVIII, 25, 7 talia quaerentes (querentes *Luchs*) aequa orare seque ea . . . P, talia quaerentisae quaorares eque ea R. — XXVIII, 4, 2 frumentum *conuehere tela* arma parare P, conueheret ela R. — XXVIII, 5, 1 *mandata masinissae* scipioni exponit P, mandatum asinis sae R. — XXVIII, 8, 9 qui cum magno piaculo sacilegii . . . P, magnopia culosacri legii R.

The first four of these examples have been selected from the portion copied by the scribe Nauto. He was the most careful of all the scribes in the matter of dividing words. In his three quaternions there are many more word-divisions quite as absurd as the four just given, and in the work of the other scribes they occur several times to the page. All of these examples are taken from a context in which the sense is perfectly clear. The scribes appear not to have grasped it and seem to have divided the letters at random.

Many of the errors of this class admit of no explanation except that of stupidity on the part of the scribe, but the greater number may be grouped into certain broad classes according to the conditions under which the errors occur.

¹ In giving the readings of P, I shall divide the words as they are divided in the printed texts. The reader will, however, understand that they are undivided in the manuscript. Where much of the context is given I have put in italics the part which is wrongly divided in R.

The easiest and simplest form of error in the division of words is to be found in the case of groups of letters which admit of being divided in two different ways, both of which give actual Latin words, e.g. XXVIII, 36, 8 ad muros tumultu maiore *quam ui subierunt* P. Here the scribe Landemarus has written *quam uis ubi erunt*. He was satisfied with having made four Latin words and did not stop to think of the sense of the passage.

Other examples are : XXII, 25, 14 si penes se summa imperii *consiliique sit* P, consilii *quesit* R. *Quesit* is no doubt meant for *quaesit*.—XXIII, 35, 8 cogere tueri P, cogeret ueri R.—XXIII, 46, 12 cognomine Taurea P, cognominet aurea R.—XXIII, 15, 4 fortissimus quisque *pugnator esse desiderat* P. R has for the last three words *pugnatores sedesierat*; this gave trouble to the scribe who copied M, and in that manuscript *fortissimus* is made to agree with *pugnatores*. Thus M has *fortissimos quisque pugnatores sedesierat*.—XXV, 40, 12 degenerem Afrum P, degenerem mafrum R.—XXV, 41, 1 arma prope|re capere P, arma prope recapere R.—XXV, 41, 2 effusis equis P, effusi se quis R.—XXVI, 27, 14 se minime censere P, semini me censere R.—XXVI, 40, 3 Carthaginensium P, Carthaginensium R.—XXVI, 51, 13 at ubi *adpropinquare tres* duces P, *adpropinquaret res* R.—XXVIII, 25, 9 in praesentia ut coepisset P, in praesenti aut coepisset R.—XXVIII, 33, 6 quam quantam edere leuia . . . P, quam quanta medere leuia R.—XXVIII, 33, 16 ad partem pugnae *capessendae* (*capessendam Luchs*) *steterat* P, *capessenda est et erat* R.

Frequently the scribe's uncertainty in the division of words is caused by the possibility that a given letter may be either the final letter of one word or the initial letter of the next, e.g. in the above list *cogeret ueri* for *cogere tueri*.

This is the case particularly with the letter *s*. It will be possible to give only a few examples in comparison with the large numbers to be found of this species of error. XXII, 43, 2 apud milites . . . *mixtos ex conluuionem* (= *conluuione*) P,

mixtos sex R. — XXIII, 15, 6 eques etiam *in hostes emissus* P, in hoste semissus R. Here the division is partly due to *in*, which the scribe supposed should take the ablative. — XXIII, 16, 12 ne discrimen omne *uirtutis ignauiaeque* pereat P, uirtuti signauiaeque R. — XXV, 12, 3 praetori sullae P, praetoris ullae R. — XXV, 15, 11 in aciem *copias educit* P, copia se ducit R. — XXV, 40, 2 hostium quidem *illa spolia* P, illas polia R. — XXV, 40, 5 omnis belli *artes edoctus* P, arte se doctus R. — XXVI, 27, 13 uestigia sceleris P, uestigias celeris R. — XXVI, 29, 2 in consulum *conspectu stantis* P, conspectus tantis R. — XXVI, 34, 13 iamq. (= Q.) fului saeuitiam P, iamque fuluii aeuitiam R. — XXVI, 36, 11 in publicis tabulis esse P² (P¹ has *tabulis tabulis*), in publici stabulis esse R. — XXVI, 39, 13 pedestres acies urgebant P, pedestres acie surgebant R. — XXVIII, 5, 4 *mitti sibi* ab domo praesidia P, mittis ibi R.

False word-divisions are also very common in cases where a word ending with *a* is followed by a word beginning with *e*. The scribes were prone to regard the final *a* and the initial *e* as a diphthong, and to place the *ae* at the end of the first of the two words, thus changing a nominative into a genitive or dative case, or into a nominative plural, or adding the ending to words which did not admit of it. Examples of this class of error are :

XXII, 33, 9 comitia edicturum P, comitiae dicturum R. — XXII, 37, 9 cui prouincia *sicilia euenisset* P, siciliae uenisset R. — XXIII, 4, 5 in qua e|doctus (eductus *Luchs*) P, in quae doctus R. — The mistake was aided by the fact that in P the line ended with *e*. — XXV, 40, 13 pugnae fortuna euenisset P, pugnae fortunae uenisset R. This was also the reading of M, but an ignorant corrector emended to *pugnae fortuna uenisset*. — XXV, 41, 13 lentulo sardinia e|uenit P; here *e* ends the line, causing the scribe of R to divide wrongly *lentulo sardiniae uenit*. — XXVI, 26, 6 crimina edita ficta P, criminae dita ficta R. — XXVI, 33, 9 quorum culpa eminebat P, quorum culpae minebat R, which is emended by a corrector in M to *quorum culpa minebat*. — XXVI, 44, 4 submissa e castris P, submissae castris

R. — XXVIII, 2, 5 qua equitatum P, quae quitatum R. — XXVIII, 2, 11 procella equestri P, procellae questri R. — XXVIII, 16, 3 grata ea patribus admonitio P, gratae a patribus admonitio R.

Naturally the tendency would be to place the diphthong at the end of the first word, inasmuch as there it forms an ending. Examples in which the *ae* is placed at the beginning of the second word are very few, *e.g.*: XXVIII, 1, 10 quia edictum imperatoris erat P, qui aedictum peratoris erat R. There *ae* is regarded as the equivalent of *e*.

Sometimes a final *ae* is broken up so that the *e* is attached to the following word, *e.g.*: XXII, 26, 1 ad spem liberalioris fortunae iecit (fecit *Luchs*) P, fortuna eiecit R. — XXVI, 34, 11 capuae iusserunt P, capua eius erunt R.

Errors of a somewhat similar nature arise from the phonetic equivalence of *ae* and *e* in the middle ages, *e* being written instead of the final diphthong. Examples are: XXIII, 49, 12 prouincia ut quae maxime P, prouinci aut quem axime R. — XXVIII, 10, 8 quae ratio transportandae P, queratio transportandae R. — XXVI, 36, 12 scribae referundo P, scribere ferundo R, an error which has been copied into M.

A fruitful cause of errors of all kinds¹ is the occurrence of proper names or other strange words with which the scribes were not familiar. Its influence is often felt in the division of words. *E.g.*: XXIII, 1, 12 a Claudio² praetore P, ac laudio praetore R. — XXIII, 17, 8 *omissa spe Nolae* potiundae P, omissas penolae R. — XXV, 40, 6 et Hannone Numidae P, et hanno nenumidae R. The scribe of M wrote first et hanno numide. — XXVI, 28, 1 Aetoli Acarnanes Locrique P, aetolia carnanes locrique R. — XXVI, 41, 11 . . . sensi. Trebia . . . P, sensit rebia R. — XXVI, 41, 13 uadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpīs R, uadenti hasdrubalia dalpīs R. — XXVIII,

¹ See chap. XI, on Emendation.

² For the reader's convenience I have inserted capitals in the proper names in giving the readings of P. There is, of course, no distinction in the manuscript itself.

12, 14 ab Romanis Ilienses P, ad romani silienses R. — XXVIII, 24, 12 ad Cannas ignaviae eorum P, ad canna signaviae R. An excellent example of the trouble which the scribes had with Latin proper names is the prophecy of Marcius, XXV, 12, 5. Here P has Amnem Troiugenam Ro|manae fugae (= Romane fuge) Cannam|ne te alienigenae cogant in campo Diome|dis conserere manus. This is written in R as follows: amnemtro iugenam romanae fugae cannam ne te alienigenae cogant in campodio me dis conserere manus.

In the foregoing examples the scribes have merely divided the letters in such a way as to form words not intended by the author. The error does not always stop here, however, and a second error is often a consequence of the first. The scribe, having begun with a wrong word-division, finds after he has written one or more words that he has a residuum of letters which do not make a word. He is compelled, therefore, by a conscious or unconscious alteration of the text to form a word out of what is left of the group of letters. This is usually done in some such simple way as the changing of a single letter or the addition of a letter necessary to the formation of a word. These additions or alterations are made for the most part quite unconsciously. The unbroken array of letters which are not grouped in any way is responsible for the illusion of the scribe. Enough letters are left to suggest a word to his mind, and he does not notice that he has mentally changed a letter or added one which was not there.¹ Sometimes individual habits of spelling and pronunciation are also factors in causing the additional error. In the lists of examples I shall also include a few cases in which the scribe has merely divided the words wrongly, and the alterations have been made consciously by the correctors or by the scribes on second reading.

(1) Examples of the change of a letter : XXVI, 40, 1 *consul*

¹ These errors which result from mental word-division are not confined to manuscripts of the ninth century and later. They are also frequent in the continuously written manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries. See Heraeus, *Quaestiones Criticae et Palaeographicae de Vetustissimis Codicibus Livianis*, § 1, 'Incrementa orationis ex verborum prava distinctione nata.'

iam magna parte anni circumacta P, consilium magna per te R. — XXVIII, 28, 6 in sicilia messanam P, in siciliam esse nam R. — XXII, 34, 10 dictator esset P, dictatores sed R. — XXVI, 40, 18 hos neque relinquere laevinus in insula tum primum noua pace coalescente *velut materiam nouandis rebus satis tutum* ratus est, (*Luchs*); uelut materiam nouamdis reb. satis tutum P, uelut materiam nouam disrepsatis tutum R. Here the scribe, thinking that *disreb. satis* formed a single word, consciously or unconsciously made the phonetic change of *b* to *p* before *s*. — XXVI, 48, 10 *quod amoti tantae dignitatis . . . fuerant* P, quodam oti tantae R; a corrector has changed the unintelligible *oti* into *uti*, which makes a Latin word but does not help the sense in any way. — XXV, 16, 14 *ibi paucis uerbis transigi rem posse* P; *transigirem posse* was first written by the scribe of R, who subsequently changed it to *transigerem posse*, and finally to *transigere posse*. — XXVI, 39, 18 . . . mox praedae *fuere thurinīs* metapontinisque. Ex onerariis quae *cum com-
meatu sequebantur*, perpaucae in potestatem hostium uenere, (*Luchs*); mox praedae *fuere thurinīs* metapontinisque. Ex honorariis quae *cum meatu sequabantur . . .* P. The scribe of R wrote . . . *fueret hurinīs . . . cum meatus equabantur . . .*, and a corrector has changed *fueret* to *fuerit*. The passage was copied by the scribe of M, as follows: mox prede *fuerit hurinīs . . . quae commeatus equabantur*.

(2) Examples of the addition of a letter: XXV, 11, 16 *planae et satis latae uiae patent in omnis partes* P, *patenti nominis partes* R. — XXVI, 30, 10 *orare se patres conscriptos, ut, si nequeant omnia, saltem quae comparent (compareant Luchs) cognoscique possint, restitui dominis iubeant* P, *sine que ante omnia* R, *e* being added to make a word of the letters *ant* which were left over through the erroneous division of *sine* and *que*. — XXVI, 34, 9 *consuerunt ne quis . . . haberet* P, *consuerunt inequis* R. — XXII, 19, 10 *in hanchoras (= anchoras) ueherentur* P. The scribe in R has wrongly divided the passage and made of it *in hanc hora se ueherentur*; a corrector, in order to make *hora* agree in case with *hanc*, has altered the passage

to read *in hanc horam se ueherentur*. — The insertion of more than one letter by a scribe is unusual, though not uncommon in the work of the correctors. An example of the insertion of a syllable on the part of a scribe is to be found in XXII, 21, 3. Here P has *mandonius indebilisque* (= Indibilesque); the scribe of R having wrongly written *mandonius inde* found that the remaining letters *bilisque* did not make sense, and added a syllable to make *nobilisque*. The passage now reads in R *mandonius inde nobilisque*.

Mistaken word-divisions are not by any means the only errors for which the lack of word-division in the *Puteanus* is responsible. A very large proportion of the examples of dittography and haplography, of the unconscious substitution of one word for another, of omissions of all kinds, of confusion of letters, and of other forms of corruption which appear in R, find their real starting-point in the bewilderment caused the scribe by the unbroken array of letters which confronted him in his original. It should therefore be kept in mind, in considering the errors given in Chapters IV to IX, that this is in the majority of cases a secondary, if not a primary cause.

IV. DITTOGRAPHY

Dittography, the inadvertent repetition of a word, a syllable, or a letter, is a species of *lapsus calami* too common in our own writing to need further definition. It is a form of error to which the mediaeval scribe was perhaps a little more prone than we are for the reason that his task of copying manuscripts was almost entirely mechanical. In the case of the scribes of R, who were copying a manuscript in which there was no division of words, the opportunities for errors of this nature were greatly increased. Their mistakes were often due as much to the erring of the eye as to that of the hand, and for that reason were more likely to lead to corruption.

(1) *Dittography of a Letter*. — The largest number of examples in R of the dittography of a letter are due directly or

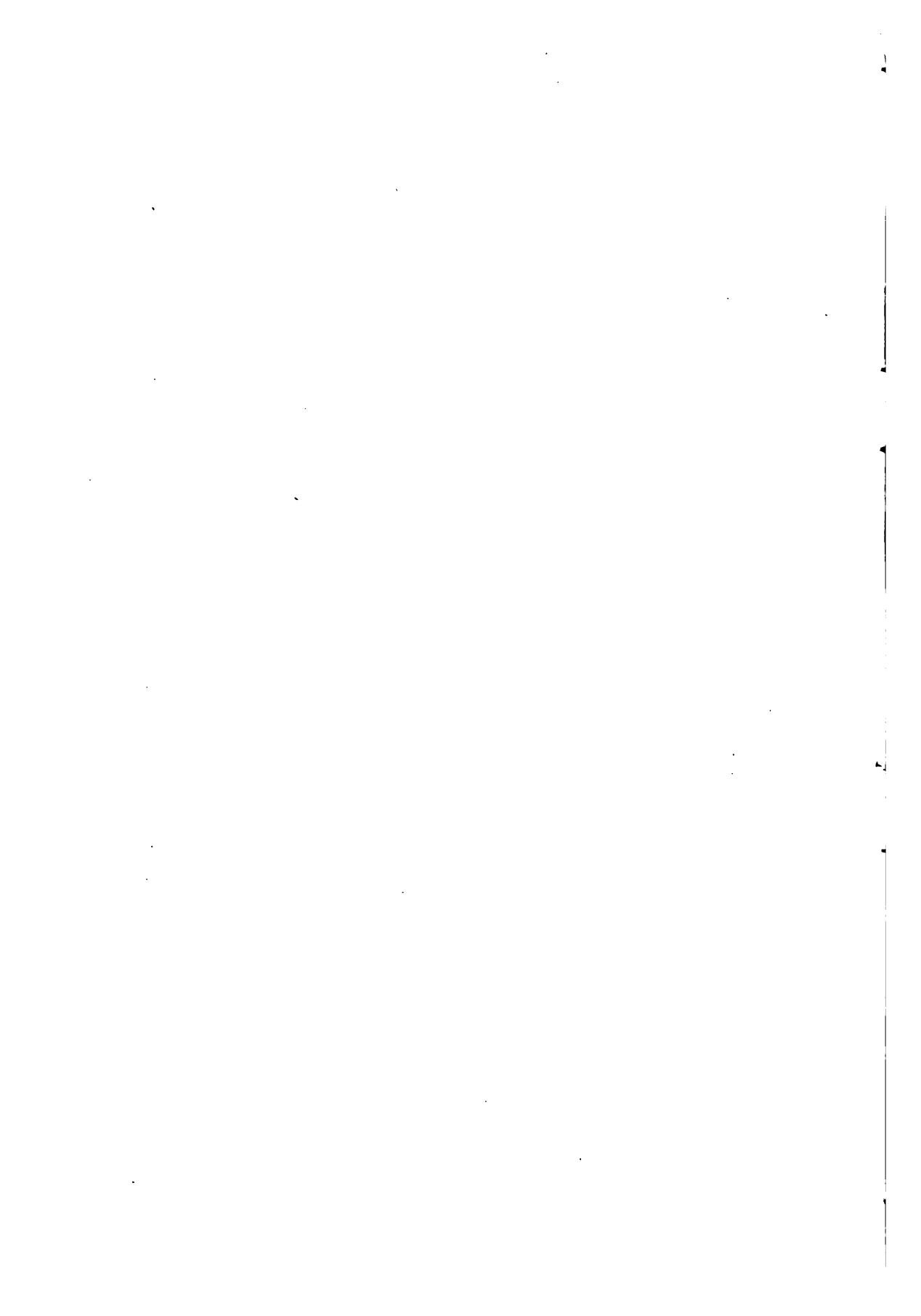
indirectly to the confusion of the eye of the scribe caused by the continuously written text of the uncial manuscript. In glancing back to the page of his model after having written a word or syllable, inasmuch as there was nothing in the line to indicate the place where he had taken his eye from the page, the scribe sometimes unconsciously allowed the last letter of the word just written to arrange itself with the next group of letters. The letter was thus written twice, once at the end of one word, and again at the beginning of the next. Such doubling of letters is sometimes a cause, and sometimes a result, of wrong word-division.

Examples: XXIII, 3, 9 arce satis . . . tuta P, arces satis . . . tuta R. — XXIII, 8, 20 lacus thrasumennus et *cannae*, *tristia* . . . exempla P, canna et tristia R. — XXIII, 14, 7 seruili supplicio P, seruilis supplitio R. — XXIII, 22, 15 quoniam eum P, quoniam meum R. — XXIII, 33, 3 iouis it (= id) templum est P, iouis sit templum est R. — XXVII, 43, 10 haec senatu scripta P, haec senatus scripta R. — XXVIII, 35, 5 animo speciem P, animos speciem R. — XXVIII, 24, 9 item *circumoram* maritimam P, circum moram R. — XXII, 19, 10 anchoralia (= ancoralia) P, ancora alia R. — XXIII, 44, 7 animaduertit P, anima aduertit R. — XXVIII, 3, 1 tradenda deditionemque P, tradenda adeditionemque R.

Sometimes the repetition of a letter is a mere accident of writing, the scribe unconsciously writing it a second time. These repetitions, which have nothing to do with the division of words and do not usually affect the sense of the passage, are comparatively unimportant and do not usually lead to corruptions. Examples are: XXVIII, 3, 14 defectione P, defec-tio|one R. — XXVIII, 36, 10 eturiam P, ettruriam R. — XXIII, 18, 12 manu emiserat P, manuemisserat R. — XXIII, 23, 2 comitia . . . *habita*. *creatus* . . . andranodorus P, habitacreatus R.

(2) *Dittography of Syllables and of Words*. — The repetition of syllables or words is not nearly so common as the repetition of a letter. Examples of the dittography of a word are com-

paratively few in R, and none would be likely to lead to further corruption unless the following: XXV, 41, 13 *pisoni iurisdictionio urbana pupio sicilia . . . evenit* P. Here the scribe of R has written, *pisoni iurisdictionio urbana pupio urbana sicilia . . . evenit*. XXVIII, 38, 7 *aut vis aut fraus timeri possit* P, *aut ut visa ut fraus* R. An interesting repetition of a syllable is seen in XXVIII, 3, 5 *frumentum sex mensum imperatum sagaque et togae exercitui* P, *frumentum sex mensum imperatum sagatumque et togae exercitui* R.



V. ERRORS OF OMISSION

THE work of the eight scribes is full of omissions. These are for the most part of a trifling nature. The loss is confined chiefly to individual letters, syllables, and small unimportant words. It is rarely that a word of more than one syllable or a group of words has dropped out of the text. These omissions are occasionally the result of intentional emendation, but the majority of them are due to an oversight on the part of the scribe which resulted naturally from the lack of word-division in P. Thus the cause of errors of omission is practically the same as that of the errors illustrated in the two preceding chapters. In the confusion to the eye arising from the unbroken array of letters, it was easy enough for the omission of letters, syllables, and even words to pass unnoticed. The scribes of R never more than half grasped the meaning of the sentence which they were copying by reason of a far from perfect knowledge of Latin combined with the added difficulty caused by the lack of word-division in the uncial model. Consequently the failure of the eye to catch a letter was rarely checked by any feeling for the demands of the sense of the passage.

(1) *Haplography*. — We have seen, in the last chapter, that there was an unconscious tendency on the part of the scribes of

R to regard a letter which stands at the end of a word, or at the beginning of the next, as going with both (Dittography). The opposite tendency is that of Haplography, the omission of one of two like letters, syllables, or words standing side by side. Omissions of this nature are, in the main, unconscious. Sometimes, however, they are the result of conscious emendation. The scribe imagines the repetition to be due to an error of dittography in the original, and omits one of the pair of letters, syllables, or words which he finds written twice.

(a) Examples of the omission of one of two identical letters standing side by side: XXIII, 37, 2 *quia muros satis per se altos P, muro satis per se altos R. Muros* is here incorrect in P. The ablative is required. But, that there was no intelligence in the change of *muros* to *muro* in R, is shown by the fact that *altos* is left unchanged. — XXVI, 49, 10 *eis praesentibus suos restituit P, praesentibus uos R.* — XXIII, 48, 3 *praetorem . . . misit tuerique . . . iussit P, misit uerique R.* — XXVII, 41, 9 *quos ubi . . . consul uidet tribuno militum . . . imperat P, cōs uide tr. mil. R.* — XXVI, 38, 9 *quo audacior res erat P, quo audatiores erat R.* — XXVIII, 38, 8 *ceteri superi infernique di P, ceteri super infernique di R.* — A double example of this form of error is to be found in the following: XXVIII, 34, 5 *ex ceteris nauibus sagittari (= sagittarii) funditoresque P, ex ceteris nauibus agit ari funditoresque R.* — Examples of haplography such as *praerant (= praerant), uium (= uiuum), demisi (= demissi), clasis (= classis), nolent (= nollent), adferent (= adferrent), misise (= misisse), pasim (= passim)*, are quite common in R. But it is difficult to say in any given case whether the omission of one of the double letters within a word is an oversight, or the result of a peculiarity of spelling on the part of a particular scribe.

(b) The same principle operates in the case of the repetition of a syllable, or where two syllables, made up in part of the same letters, stand side by side. The scribe is likely to omit one of them, either through oversight, or intentionally, in the belief that the repetition in P is the result of a dittography

for which the pen of some previous scribe had been responsible. Examples are: XXVIII, 33, 9 *acies esset* P, *aciesset* R. — XXVIII, 25, 2 *gererent* P, *gerent* R. — XXVI, 25, 3 in *pelagoniam eadem celeritate uertit iter* P, *uertiter* R. — XXVI, 28, 2 *legionem inde deduci posse* P, *inde duci* R. — XXVI, 6, 2 *transitum hostibus dedit. ibi, etc., . . .* P, *detibi* R. — XXVI, 33, 12 *qui se dediderunt* P, *qui se dederunt* R.

Repetitions of a word such as are to be found in Plautus and Terence are rare in Livy; consequently there are no examples of the omission of a word through haplography.

(2) The recurrence of the same letter or series of letters in the same line was frequently the cause of the omission of all that was written between them. On glancing back to his uncial original after copying the text as far as the first of the two letters or combination of letters, the scribe's eye often caught sight of the second letter or syllable, and, imagining that this was what he had just written, he went on with his copy from that point, omitting all between. The name usually applied to this variety of omission is *Corruptio ex Homoeoteleuto*. Tyrrell (*Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. II, p. 54) suggests *Parablepsy* as a more convenient name.

(a) Omission of one of two adjacent syllables containing the same vowel; e.g. XXIII, 43, 13 *potiturum* P, *potitum* R. The scribe wrote *potitu* and upon glancing back to the page of P his eye caught sight of the second *u*, which he imagined was the one he had just written. [N.B. In the examples the part omitted in R is given in italics in citing the reading of P].

XXIII, 10, 6 *religiosi* P, *reliosi* R. — XXV, 18, 4 *creuerat consuetudo quod aeger romae . . .* P, *creuerat consuetudo deger romae* R. Here the scribe has omitted the *o* of *quod*, and the letters between it and the last *o* of *consuetudo*. — XXVI, 26, 6 *scire se frequentes* P, *scire sequentis* R. — XXVI, 39, 10 *nauali* P, *nali* R. — XXVI, 40, 14 *ad quadraginta* P, *ad quaginta* R. — XXVIII, 30, 7 *sequeretur* P, *sequetur* R. — XXVIII, 31, 3 *rebellione* P, *rellione* R. — XXVIII, 1, 24 *carthaginienses* P, *carthagienses* P. In the two following exam-

ples it is the first syllable which is omitted instead of the second, XXIII, 48, 4 *scipionibus* P, *spionibus* R. — XXVIII, 35, 4 *masinissam* P, *manissam* R.

(b) Sometimes the omission of a whole word in R is caused by the fact that it ended with the same letter or syllable as the preceding one.

XXIII, 48, 2 *claudiana castra* super *sessulam* P²; *castra* is omitted in R. — XXVI, 27, 8 *comprehensi ipsi* familiaeque eorum P, *compraehensi familiae quae* eorum R. Here the omission of *ipsi* is due to the passing of the scribe's eye from the *si* of *comprehensi* to that of *ipsi*. — XXVIII, 7, 2 *cum primum aestu fraetum inclinatum* est P², *cum primum aestu fraetum* est R, the omission being due to the similar ending *tum*. — XXVIII, 32, 8 *rerum suarum gestarum* P, *rerum suarum* R, *gestarum* being omitted.

(c) In the two examples which follow, this same tendency is responsible for the omission of several words. In XXVIII, 29, 7 *itaque quod ad uniuersos uos attinet, si erroris paenitet, satis superque poenarum habeo* P. The similarity of ending in *attinet* and *paenitet* has caused the omission of *si erroris paenitet* altogether. Also in XXVIII, 21, 5 *si quis miles aut in urbe restitisset aut secum extulisset* P, the words *aut secum extulisset* have been omitted from the same cause.

(3) The largest class of omissions in R is made up of small unimportant words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and the various forms of the verb *esse*. Lindsay in his *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* has pointed out the importance of recognizing the tendency to omit these monosyllabic words in emending the texts of the Latin poets, where it is often necessary, in order to reduce a line to metrical regularity, to insert some small word, such as those described above. The reasons for the omission of these small words are various. Sometimes the scribes have, perhaps purposely, left them out in the belief that they were unnecessary, sometimes because they did not understand the context; but in the majority of cases these little words, most of which consist of

but two letters, must have been entirely overlooked by reason of the lack of word-division in P.

[For brevity, in citing examples of this variety of omissions I shall give simply the reading of P, printing in italics the words omitted in R.]

(a) *Prepositions*. — The omission of *ab* (*a*) and *in* is especially common. XXII, 30, 9 famam *a* patribus accepissent. — XXIII, 39, 2 productus ad populum *a* magistratibus. — XXVIII, 1, 20 ceteris *ab* hannibale interfectis. — XXVI, 39, 8 ut *ad* componenda armamenta . . . satis temporis esset. — XXII, 41, 5, duas prope partes tironum militum *in* exercitu esse. — XXIII, 5, 9 coniuratio *in* tyranni caput facta. — XXV, 19, 15 ut *in* nulla pari re. — XXVI, 1, 10 ne *in* oppidis hibernarent. — XXVI, 27, 4 qui *in* publicum redempta ac manu missi sunt. — XXVI, 28, 4 urbanae duae superioris anni *in* eturiam . . . mitterentur. — XXVI, 44, 5 trepidatio uero non *in* proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Here the cause for the omission seems to have been that *in* was not written with *tota urbe*. — XXVIII, 26, 14 qualem ne *in* acie quidem aiebant meminisse. — XXVIII, 34, 12 sustinere *ultra* nequiere, the scribe apparently not understanding the adverbial use of the preposition.

(b) The conjunctions *et*, *ac*, *aut*, and the enclitic *que* are often omitted, especially when they go in pairs, the scribes regarding one of them as superfluous. XXIII, 46, 9 munitisquae firmatis *et* praesidio. The *et* is probably omitted on account of the presence of *que*. — XXIII, 20, 5 blanda *et* apulorum aecae (= Aecae) oppugnatae. — XXVI, 50, 9 pudore *et* gaudeo. — XXVIII, 24, 6 motae . . . eorum mentes sunt non tum primum . . . sed iam ante licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta *et* non nihil quod in hostico laxius raptu suetis uiuere artiores in pace res erant. — XXVIII, 5, 9 exercitum bolonum (= uolonum) ex *etruria* in galliam traducit, is an interesting example of the same tendency. Here the scribe of R supposed the *et* of Etruria to be the conjunction, and has left it out, writing *bolonum ex ruria*. — An example like the preced-

ing is to be seen in XXVI, 50, 2. Here P has *inter cetera ac*cepit, and the scribe of R, supposing *ac* to be the conjunction, and not seeing any possibility of its being used as such, has left it out and written *inter cetera cepit*. — XXVIII, 36, 5 legionem romanam *quae* exposita panormi est. Here the *quae* is omitted probably because it was taken for *que*. — XXVIII, 48, 5 nec aliter *aut* exercitum aut prouinciam atteneri (P²) posse.

(c) Examples of the omission of pronouns: XXVIII, 6, 5 qui . . . regium *se* contulerant P, qui . . . regium contulerat R. The scribe seems to have regarded *regium* as subject of *contulerat*, and has altered the number in addition to the omission of *se*. — XXVIII, 9, 9 praesenti fabio atque *ipso* comitia habente consulatus continuatus. The word *ipso* is here omitted apparently because the scribe did not understand its meaning. — XXVIII, 14, 8 liberatis auctorem *eis* non se fore solum. — XXII, 25, 19 seruili *eius* artis. — XXVIII, 16, 19 quam pater *eius* in aventino . . . curauit.

(d) Omissions of the parts of the verb *esse*, especially of the form *est*, are very common. Examples would probably be superfluous here.

(4) Another cause of omissions was the tendency of the scribes to leave out elements which they did not understand. Where a passage was corrupt in P, not knowing what to do with the corrupt word or words, they sometimes left them out altogether. *E.g.* XXVIII, 18, 2 *quae* uelut diutinis morbis aegra corpora ex sese gignunt, *aea* nata bello erant. Here the scribe of R has omitted the corrupt *aea*. — XXVIII, 22, 14 set strictis *simul* (corruption of *semel*) gladis (= gladiis) P. — XXVIII, 27, 10 nec me uita iuuaret is the reading of *Luchs*; P has nec *multa* iuuaret; R has omitted the corrupt *multa* altogether. — XXII, 13, 6 ab suo itinere *Luchs*; *ad sue* itinere P, a itinere R.

Sometimes the scribes of R, coming upon an unusual or unfamiliar word, or upon something which in their opinion interfered with the construction of the sentence, left out a

syllable or a word so as to reduce the unknown element to the known. *E.g.* XXIII, 16, 2 primo antesignani poenorum, dein signa perturbata P; the scribe of R, not being familiar with the word *antesignani*, omitted the *ni*, writing *primo ante signa poenorum*, etc. — XXIII, 37, 9 praesidio decedere apud romanos capital esse P; the same scribe (Fredeg̃) in R has left off the *l*, and written *apud romanos capita esse*. — XXVI, 36, 3 pro uirili parte P, pro uiri parte R; the scribe in dividing the words first saw *uiri* and *parte* and not knowing what to do with the two additional letters left them out. — XXVIII, 4, 1 animos rursus terror *instans* revocavit P, animos rursus terror *instare* uocavit R; this error seems to be due in the first place to a mental word-division of *instansre uocavit*, and the scribe, supposing *instansre* was meant for the infinitive, omitted the *ns* and wrote *instare*. — XXV, 15, 6 itaque metapontini P, itaque etapontini R; the omission of the *m* was apparently due to a wrong mental word-division; *itaquem* not being intelligible, it was amended to *itaque*.

Two varieties of errors of omission are treated in other chapters to which they more properly belong: Substitutions such as *aetatis* for *aestatis*, *temporum* for *templorum*, etc., are given in Chapter VII, and the omission of abbreviations in Chapter IX. It is impossible, of course, to account for all of the omissions which occur in R; most of them admit of being grouped under the heads given above, but there still remain omissions which had no apparent reason or starting-point, and which must be set down as accidents pure and simple.

R exhibits no omissions of any great length. The longest consist, at the most, of not more than three words.

VI. CONFUSION OF LETTERS (IN UNCIAL WRITING)

Another source of error was the tendency on the part of the scribes of R to confuse some of the letters of P, and to write one in the place of another. This species of error is not entirely due to similarity of the letters, but is encouraged to a consider-

able extent by the lack of word-division in P, which, as in the preceding chapters, is again partly responsible for scribal errors. Certain uncial letters possess in common an element of likeness sufficient to make it possible for the form of one letter to *suggest* the other; and the illusion, since it is not checked by any grouping of the letters into words, often finds corroboration in possible word-divisions other than those intended by Livy.

The letters liable to confusion in uncial writing of the fifth century may be arranged in groups, on the basis of some common element of similarity among them; and in classifying the examples it has seemed best to make this the basis, rather than to follow the alphabetical order. These groups are (1) the letters **I I I** (*ILT*), (2) **C E Ç O U** (*CEGOU*), (3) **B R P F K** (*BRPFK*), and (4) a few individual letters outside of these groups.¹

The errors in each group are not evenly distributed over the work of all the eight scribes of R. Aldo, for instance, is prone to the confusion of **I I I** (*ILT*) to a much greater extent than the rest of the scribes, and the majority of the confusions of the curved letters **C E Ç O** (*CEGO*) are made by the scribes Fredeġ and Nauto. I have therefore indicated in parentheses, after each error, the name of the scribe by whom it was made, as follows: (G.) = Gislarius, (Ald.) = Aldo, (F.) = Fredeġ, (N.) = Nauto, (Theog.) = Theogrimnus, (Theod.) = Theodegrimnus, (Ans.) = Ansoaldus, (L.) = Landemarus. During a visit to Paris, in 1896, I made a study of the *Puteanus*, with regard to the form of the letters confused by the scribes of R in the greater number of the examples given in the following lists. It was thus possible to see in each case exactly how the error was made; and

¹ I have here attempted to reproduce the normal forms of the uncial letters which were confused by the scribes of R. Confusion is, however, often encouraged, not so much by the normal form of a letter, as by some variation in it. It is also sometimes caused by the illusion which a given letter creates when taken in conjunction with certain other letters. In such cases the possibilities of confusion will be seen to better advantage by consulting the facsimile of the *Puteanus* on p. 165 (Fig. 1).

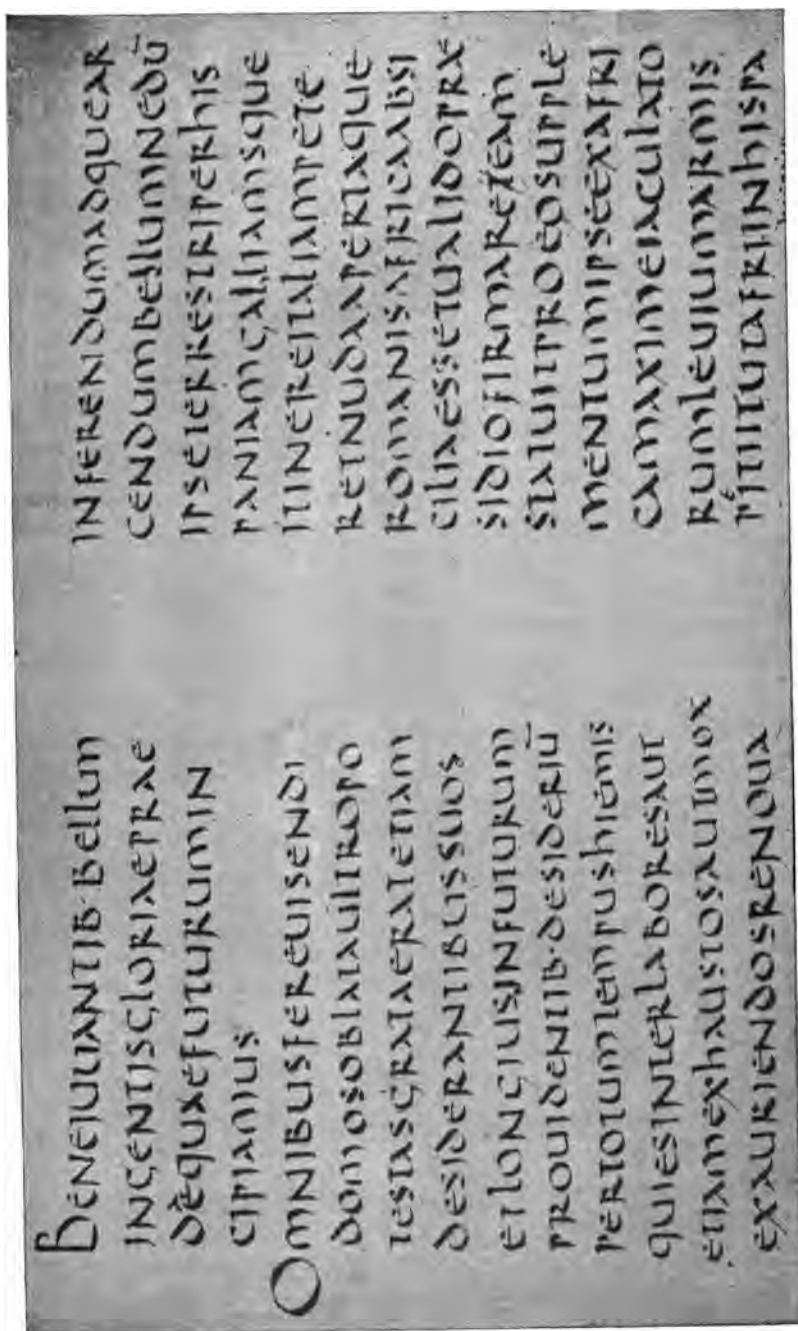


FIGURE 1.—CODEX PUTEANUS: FACSIMILE OF THE UPPER PART OF A FOLIO (LIVY, XXI, 21, 6 seqq.).

in consequence I have omitted a few cases of apparent confusion of letters which might be attributed to peculiarities of spelling on the part of the individual scribe. In the lists of examples I have given only the original error of the scribe, omitting the corrections afterwards made by the scribe himself or correctors.

(1) *Confusion of the Letters* } } **l** (*ILT*).—In each of the letters of this group the characteristic element is the vertical stroke. The horizontal strokes at the top of **l** and at the bottom of } are short, and not very marked; consequently there is little to distinguish the letters. Confusions in this group form the largest class of errors of this sort, and are especially common in the work of the scribes Aldo and Theodegrimnus.

} } (*IL*). XXII, 12, 4 uulo P¹, uſlo P², uſlo R. The letter *l*, which was written above the second *u* of P as a correction, was mistaken for *i* (Ald.).—XXVIII, 38, 4 aediles *pl.* essent P, aediles *pi.* essent R (L.).—Where *i* is initial, owing to the fact that in Caroline minuscule writing initial *i* is often almost undistinguishable from *l*, it is sometimes scarcely possible to tell whether the scribes of R intended to write an *i* or an *l*, e.g. whether R has in XXII, 39, 7 *lactando* or *iactando* (Ald.), and in XXII, 27, 4 *ludicio* or *iudicio* (Ald.).

(*LI*). XXII, 60, 11 *calpurnius* P, *cai purnius* R (Ald.).—XXIII, 9, 9 *conspicitur* P¹, *conplectitur* P²; the scribe Aldo misunderstood the correction in P, and, mistaking for an *i* the *l* placed above the P, wrote *coniectitur*.—XXIII, 14, 5 *notalum* P¹, *noſlanum* P², *noſianum* R (Ald.).—XXVI, 38, 13 *ad ultimum* P, *ad uſtumum* R (Theod.).

} } (*IT*). XXIII, 12, 11 *iactauit* P; *tactauit* was first written in R (Ald.).—XXII, 60, 23 *uirib.* (= *uiribus*) P, *utrib.* R (Ald.).—XXVI, 39, 11 *ui ac uirtute* P, *ut ac uirtute* R (Theod.).—XXIV, 20, 15 *heraclensi*

(= Heracleensi) iam P; heraclestiam was first written in R (F.).—XXVI, 51, 4 quinto iterum P; quintot was first written in R, then *t* erased and iterum written after the erasure (Theod.).

(*TI*). XXVI, 41, 6 ut ultro P, uī ultro R (Theod.).—XXII, 30, 7 utro P, uīro R (Ald.).—XXVI, 39, 12 ex utraque P, ex uīraque R (Theod.).—XXVI, 3, 2 pugna ut P, pugnaui R (Theod.).—XXVI, 35, 10 tuta P, iuta R (Theod.).—XXVI, 30, 3 factam P, faciām R (Theod.).—XXIII, 20, 14–15 mouit tum P, mouitium R (F.).—XXIII, 3, 6 strenum (= strenuum) P, sirenum R (Ald.).—XXIII, 11, 4 ture ac uino P, iure ac uino R (Ald.).

ll (*LT*). XXII, 38, 13 celeribus P, ceteribus R (Ald.).—XXVIII, 14, 3 iunonis sospitae lanuuii P, iunonis sospitae tanuuii R (L.).—XXIII, 15, 5 nolam P, notam R (Ald.). With this compare the example given already under confusions of *L* and *I*, *noianum* for *nolanum*, XXIII, 14, 5.

(*TL*). XXIII, 19, 5 cū cetero exercitu P, cū celero exercitu R (F.). With this example compare *ceteribus* for *celeribus* in the preceding class.—XXV, 18, 1 territi P, terriī was first written in R (N.).—XXII, 30, 8 itala corrected to italia P¹; iſalia was first written by Aldo.

In the following examples there is a double confusion of *LT* and *TI*, and of *TI* and *IT*: XXII, 22, 14 uolt P, uoti R (Ald.).—XXV, 19, 5 reductique P, reducitque R (N.).

In Heraeus (*Quaestiones Criticae et Palaeographicae de Vetus-tissimis Codicibus Livianis*) will be found numerous examples of the confusion of pairs of these letters with *U*. Of this confusion I have found in R but one tolerably certain example, the confusion of *IL* and *U*. XXIII, 7, 12 m̄. aemilium regillum P, m̄. aemilium regulum R (F.). The reason for the scarcity of examples of this form of confusion in R is due to the fact that the left-hand stroke of the letter *u* in P is gen-

erally curved thus, **U**, and where *u* is confused with other letters it is with those in the *C G E O* group.

There are rare examples to be found in R of the confusion of the letters *ITL* with other letters. For instance, the letters *P* and *F*, when the loop of the one and the horizontal strokes of the other are small and light, may be mistaken for *I* in hasty reading.

F I (*FI*). XXIII, 7, 9 *factum P*, *iactum R* (Ald.).

P I (*PI*). XXIII, 43, 5 *muneribus amplis P*, *muneribus amilis R* (F.).

C U (*CT*). An example of a possible confusion of *C* and *T* is the following: XXIII, 13, 5 *dicā P*, *ditam R* (Ald.), though there is really little similarity between the letters.

C L (*CL*). *C* is written in the place of *L* in the following example: XXIII, 3, 6 *locum P*, *coē* corrected to *locū R* (Ald.); but this is probably due to the fact that the scribe began to write the second syllable first, an error which has happened before in the case of this scribe, e.g. XXII, 60, 21 *incolumitate P*², in *locumitate R*.

(2) *Confusion of the Letters C E G O U* (*CEGOU*).—The element of similarity among these five letters is that, in uncial writing, *C E G* and the left-hand stroke of the *U* were formed by the arc of a circle, while *O*, though a circle, was usually made in two strokes, the left-hand stroke being usually heavier than the right. Each of these letters, then, contains a curve, the convex part of which is turned toward the left, and, if the other strokes are light or indistinct, confusion is an easy matter. A letter which might belong to this group is **D** (*D*),¹ which is capable of being confused with *O*, but I have found no example of this confusion in the work of the scribes of R.

¹ Examples of the confusion of **D** and **O** are given by Lindsay (*Lat. Text. Emend.* p. 103), Heraeus (*de Vet. Cod. Liv.* p. 103).

CE (*CE*). Here confusion is very common; the only difference between the letters is the horizontal stroke of the *E*, which was usually written quite high. Examples: XXV, 12, 14 in *circo maximo* P, in *circo maximo* R (N.).—XXV, 16, 17 *id cohonestent* P, *ideq honestent* R (N.).—XXV, 17, 6 *memorant credere* P; *memorante* was first written by Nauto, who first mistook the *c* for an *e*.—XXIII, 43, 13 *capuae ac* P; *capuae ae* was first written in R (F.).

(*EC*). XXIII, 47, 1 *liceretne extra* P, *liceret necextra* R (F.).

CG (*CG*). The confusion between these two letters is particularly easy. The only difference between them is the slight curve downward at the lower end of the stroke in the case of *G*. Examples: XXIII, 5, 13 *ex afri|ca et a carthagine* P; *ex afriga* was first written in R (Ald.).—XXV, 12, 10 *graeco ritu* P, *graegoritu* R (N.).—XXVIII, 23, 8 *foedere cum populo* P, *foede regum populo* R (L.).

(*GC*). XXII, 11, 4 *dimigrarent* (= *demigrarent*) P, *dimirarent* R (G.).—XXIII, 3, 9 *datae igitur* P², *data eicitur* R (Ald.).—XXIII, 7, 7 *negasset se iturum* P, *necasset se iturum* R (Ald.).—XXII, 22, 9 *adgreditur castra* *Luchs*, *adgredituricastra* P, *adcreditu|ricastra* R (Ald.).—XXVI, 6, 1 *coepit* *Luchs*, *coegit* P, *coecit* R (Theog.).—XXVI, 3, 4 *non ag|mine inexplorato* P, *non ac mine inexplorato* R (Theog.).—XXVIII, 7, 10 *agmen suorum* P, *ac mensuorum* R (L.).

EO (*EO*). This confusion is not recognized by either Lindsay or Heraeus. The examples given below show that such a confusion was possible; and indeed there is considerable similarity in the letters, if *O* is made with the heavier stroke on the left curve of the letter, and the horizontal stroke of the *E* is written high or is somewhat faint.

Examples: XXVI, 50, 4 *iuuenis, inquit, iuuenem appello* P, *iuuenis inquit iuuenem apollo* R (Theod.). — XXIII, 3, 14 *cum permissu hannonis arcem intrassent* *Luchs*; P has for the last two words *arcem inistrassent*, and *arcom inistrassent* was first written in R (F.). — XXIII, 8, 9 *deceat* P, *doceat* R (F.). — XXV, 21, 2 *ferociter* P, *forociter* R (N.). — XXIII, 20, 16 *greges maxime abacti* P, *greges maximo abacti* R (F.).

(*O E*). Examples of the opposite confusion are: XXIII, 9, 10 *tuam | doleo uicem* P, *tuam deleo uicem* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 42, 2 *poterant* P, *peterant* R (F.). — XXVI, 6, 1 *in ipso | uallo conficiunt* P, *in ipse uallo conficiunt* R (Theog.).

OU (*OU*). In the case of the substitution of one of these letters for the other, it is often extremely hard to decide whether the confusion is due to peculiarities of spelling and pronunciation on the part of the individual scribe, or is really a confusion of the form of the letters. Thus *furtuna* (= *fortuna*), *uicture* (= *uictore*), *incolumi* (= *incolumi*), *luxoria* (= *luxuria*), *expugnatoros* (= *expugnatoros*), *syracosanos*, *sicolorum*, are probably due to individual habits of spelling and pronunciation. There are cases, however, where the change of letter makes a change of sense, and the errors are therefore to be attributed rather to a confusion of the form of the letters than of the sound.

Examples: XXIII, 5, 12 *docendo* P, *ducendo* R (Ald.). — XXVIII, 29, 11 *adeo torpentibus qui aderant* P, *adeotur pentib; qui adorant* R¹ (Ans.). Here the confusion is double, that of *OU* and of *EO*. — XXIII, 19, 6 *tolerantes* P, *tulerantes* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 40, 8 *populatione* P, *pupulatione* R¹.

(*UO*). XXII, 12, 8 *ducebat* P, *docebat* R (G.). — XXII, 60, 10 *in tuta loca* P, *in tota loca* R (Ald.). — XXVI,

37, 5 imperium P; imperiom was first written in R (Ald.). This is probably not a case of archaizing the spelling, for the reason that such forms ending in *om* which occur in P are regularly changed to *um* by the scribes of R.—XXVI, 16, 12 murosque P, moros que R (Theod.).—XXVI, 16, 6 muris P, moris R (Theod.).

To the similarity of these two letters must be ascribed, in part at least, the writing of the accusative plural masculine instead of the nominative singular (and *vice versa*), in words of the second declension, where there is nothing in the structure of the sentence or in the sense of the passage to warrant the error.¹ Examples: XXIII, 19, 18 subiectus P, subiectos R (Ald.).—XXIII, 20, 5 legatos P, legatus R (Ald.).—XXVI, 5, 14 interclusos P, interclusus R (Theog.).—XXVI, 40, 8 romanos P, romanus R (L.).—XXIII, 12, 2, infensos P, infensus R (F.).

In the following examples of very exceptional confusions in this group I shall give more of the context, for the reason that there is but one example of each.

Œu (*GU*). XXIII, 7, 9 ab universis id non oboedienter modo sed enixae (= enixe) fauore etiam uolgi et studio uisendi tot iam uictoriis clarum imperatorem factum est P. Here, where P has uolgi, R has uolui. There is nothing in the context to suggest uolui, and it must be regarded as an example of confusion of letters.

Eu (*EU*). XXII, 60, 25 cum aciae (in acie *Luchs*) stare ac pugnare decuerit P; here R has ducuerit. The error may possibly have been encouraged by the occurrence of *u* in the next syllable.

¹ Examples of confusion of these case-endings, due to a mistaken idea of the syntax of the sentence, will be found in the chapter on Errors of Emendation.

CU (*CU*). XXVIII, 18, 1 unum est, de quo nominatim et nos quaeri (= queri) religio infixā animos (animis *Luchs*) cogat, etc., P; here R has *uocat*, which involves a double confusion, namely, of *CU* and *GC*.

(3) *Confusion of the Letters* **BPRFK** (*BPRFK*).— These letters are all formed by means of a vertical stroke with loops (as in *BP*) or straight lines (as in *FK*) drawn to the right. If these lines to the right are lightly made, the letters may sometimes be confused in rapid reading, though not so readily as the letters in the two preceding groups.

BP (*BP*). These two letters were also sometimes confused in pronunciation. It is therefore difficult to be certain, in a given instance, whether the substitution of one for the other is due to that cause or to confusion of form in cases in which *P* is followed closely by some other letter which helps the illusion. Examples: XXII, 28, 9 *pellendos* P, *bellendos* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 12, 6 *bar|cinae* P, *parcinae* R (Ald.). — XXIII, 18, 12 *blandius* P, *plandius* R (Ald.). In this example and the preceding one the words in P were divided by the end of a line. It is therefore hardly probable that the error is the result of wrong mental pronunciation, which would have been checked by the break in the words. — XXV, 11, 1 *rupib*; P, *rubib*: R (N.).

BR (*BR*). XXII, 9, 2 *temptate uirib*; P, *temptate quib*; was first written in R, the *r* being taken for a *b* and the *q* unconsciously inserted (G.).

FP (*FP*). XXVI, 6, 6 *defen|di* P, *dependi* R (Theog.).

FR (*FR*). This confusion is made possible where the letter following *F* is one of the curved letters. XXIII, 17, 5 *adfuere* P, *adruere* R (F.).

PR (*PR*). This confusion, also, is made possible where the letter following *P* is one of the curved letters *CEGOU*.

XXV, 13, 7 apparatu *pe|*tendum P, apparaturae tendum R (N.).

(*RP*). Of the converse of this form of error there are no examples of whole words, but in the following examples *p* was written for *r* and immediately erased: XXIII, 9, 13 minus *res* P; after minus the scribe Aldo wrote a *p* and then erased it. — XXIV, 33, 9 *terrore* P; the first four letters written by the scribe of R were *terp* (F.).

R K (*RK*). XXVIII, 12, 8 *epiroe* (*Epirotae Luchs*) P, *epi Koe* R (L.).

(4) *Other Letters liable to Confusion.*

λ X (*AX*). The only sure example of this confusion is XXVIII, 3, 11 *patienda ea robore* P, *patienda ex robore* R (L.).

R N (*RN*). When *R* is written close to the next letter and has the loop at the top very small (under which circumstances *RI* might sometimes suggest *N*), it is possible to mistake *R* for *N*, e.g. XXVI, 5, 5 *terrore* P, *terrone* R (Theog.).

S S (*SG*). XXVIII, 19, 12 *syracusarum* P², *syracugarum* R (L.). A similar example is to be found in P which in XXIII, 39, 3 had *cos non* for *cognomen*.

P S (*PS*). The letter *P*, when the loop is large and not closed, sometimes bears a slight resemblance to an *S*, e.g. XXIII, 17, 2 *publica* P, *sublica* R (Ald.).

IN. m (*IN, M*). XXVIII, 30, 2 *deinde* P, *demde* R (Ans.). — XXVIII, 30, 10 *intorta in proram* P, *intortam proram* R (Ans.). This confusion is probably due not to any similarity between *IN* and *M* in uncial writing, but the **m** unconsciously suggests the *IN* of the Caroline times.

The following confusions, represented in the above examples, are not given in the lists of confusions in Lindsay's *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation* or Heraeus's *Quaestiones Criticae et Palaeographicae*: *FI*; *PI*; *CL*; *EO*; *OU*; *GU*; *EU*; *CU*; *BP*; *FR*; *RK*; *RN*; *PS*; *IN*, *M*. Of these the confusion of *EO* is represented by eight examples; that of *OU*, by five; that of *BP*, by two that are fairly certain; and that of *IN*, *M*, by two. The others are represented by but a single example each. With the exception of *CL* they are all undoubtedly *bona fide* confusions.

On the other hand, the combined lists of Heraeus and Lindsay contain the following confusions not represented in the above examples: *AD*; *B*, *IS*; *CO*; *DO*; *DS*; *FS*; *FP*; *GE*; *GO*; *H* with *N*, *LI*, *EI*, *EL*; *M* with *N*, *NI*, *NT*; *U* with *IT*, *TI*, *CI*.

VII. CONFUSION OF SIMILAR WORDS

When one is reading rapidly, even a well-printed book, it is not an uncommon thing unconsciously to substitute one of two similar words for the other, *e.g.* *statue*, *statute*. The letters of a word present themselves not individually, but as a group. When two words differ from each other merely by a letter or two, it is very easy, unless one is reading carefully, for one group of letters to suggest the other.

Naturally, in copying a manuscript such as P, the tendency to confuse similar words was greatly increased by the lack of word-division. In printed books, and in manuscripts in which the words are divided, the separation of the words leaves comparatively little chance for errors of the eye. In copying the continuously written text, on the other hand, the grouping of the letters had to be done entirely by the copyist. The work of the scribes of R was, moreover, almost mechanical, and they but rarely grasped the meaning of a sentence as a whole. There was, therefore, little to check these frequent illusions of the eye or to call the scribe's attention to the error after it was

made. Consequently the unconscious substitution of one word for another is one of the more common forms of error in their work.

In the following list of examples I have given only such substitutions of similar words as seem to be unconscious or accidental. Intentional substitutions will be treated in the Chapter on Conscious Emendation; confusions due to habits of spelling and pronunciation will be treated of in the Chapter on Errors of Spelling; and substitutions, such as *uiro* for *utro*, have been given in the preceding Chapter on Confusion of Letters.

Examples of confusion of similar words: XXIII, 4 exitus (exitu *Luchs*) *aestatis* eius P, *aetatis* R. — XXIII, 42, 5 ita sumus aliquotiens hac *aestate* deuastati P, *aetate* R¹. — XXVIII, 37, 7 ei *aetas* in medio uirum robore P, *aestas* R. — XXVI, 29, 2 et *extemplo* oculos hominum conuerterint P, *exemplo* R. — XXVIII, 14, 9 pugnam poscebant, signumque ut daret *extemplo* P, *exemplo* R. — XXII, 32, 6 auri . . . ad *templorum* ornatum P, *temporum* R. — XXV, 12, 7 nam mihi ita iuppiter *fatus* est P, *factus* R. — XXV, 16, 4 nulla tamen prouidentia *fatum* imminens moueri potuit P, *factum* R. — XXV, 39, 14 ualerius antias una castra magonis *capta* tradidit (tradit *Luchs*) P, *capita* R. — XXVI, 35, 6 equi ornamenta et *libras* pondo P, *liberas* R. — XXVI, 37, 8 quo *propius* spe (spem *Luchs*) uenerant P, *proprius* R. This error was copied into M. — XXVI, 40, 8 ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset P, *urbi* R. — XXVIII, 23, 5 *ferro* ignique P, *ferre* R. — XXVI, 41, 6 id *parem* (paremus *Luchs*) atque agamus P, *patrem* R. This error was copied into M. — XXVI, 41, 12 siciliae maioris *partis* P, *patris* was first written in R. — XXVI, 28, 6 capua prouincia *decreta* P, *decreata* R. — XXVI, 34, 2 *operae* praetium (pretium) est omnia enumerare P, *opere* R. This may, of course, be due to spelling. — XXVIII, 24, 12 reprehendere adque *improbare* P, *improbrare* R. — XXIII, 45, 6 arma signaque eadem se *noscere* P; *nocere* was first written in R. — XXII, 39, 20 omnia *audentem* con-

temnet P, *audientem* R. — XXII, 25, 8 tamquam hostibus captiuis arma *adempta* P, *adepa* R. — XXII, 18, 7 dictator in larinati agro castra *communiit* P, *commonuit* R. — XXVII, 41, 10 ut sterna *opterique*, priusquam instruantur, possint P, *optineri quae* R¹. — XXVI, 51, 3 ipse paucos dies . . . *exercendis* naualibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit P, *ezarcendis* R. — XXVII, 42, 1 itaque *excitus tumultu* P, *exercitus tumultum* R. — XXV, 13, 7 que (= quae) *mutas* accenderet bestias P, *multas* R. — XXVI, 2, 3 melius uisum differri eam *consultationem* P, *consulationem* R. The error is repeated, three lines farther on, where P had *consultationi* and R *consulatione*. — XXVIII, 16, 7 *rogare* P, *rogate* R¹. — XXVI, 36, 3 plus quam pro uirile parte sibi quemque capere *principum* uident P, *principium* R. — XXIII, 46, 6 ad marcellum *transfugerunt* P, *transfuerunt* R. — XXIII, 40, 7 *manlius* P, *manilius* R. — XXIII, 37, 5 ut eo die *obsesso* quam obsidenti similior esset poenus P, *obsessio* R. — XXVI, 39, 22 paucos ex multis *incidentis* semiapertis portarum foribus P, *incedentis* R. — XXV, 13, 7 paulo plus quadringenta uehicula *missa et* pauca praeterea iumenta P, *missa est* R. — XXII, 34, 2 *quem* sui generis hominem P, *quam* R. — XXVI, 49, 16 *ne* in malis P, *nec* R. — XXVI, 42, 1 *ad* hostem P, *ab* hostem R. — XXV, 39, 9 *ab* recenti pugna P, *ad* R. This error was copied into M. The confusion of these two prepositions, *ab* and *ad*, is very common.

Examples of the substitution of one group of words for another have been already given in Chapter III.

VIII. CORRUPTIONS ARISING FROM MISTAKING THE NUMERAL SIGNS¹

Bede, in speaking of the work of the scribes of his own day, made the following complaint: "numeri . . . negligentem describuntur et negligentius emendantur" (*Opp.* 1, 149). The fre-

¹ The material contained in this chapter formed the subject of a paper read before the American Philological Association at the meeting held in Schenectady in 1902, and published in vol. XXXIII of the *Transactions* of that Association.

quent occurrence in manuscripts of the ninth century, or later, of numerical records which are evidently corrupt seems to indicate that his complaint was not without foundation. Inasmuch as the scriptorium of Tours may be taken as typical of the scriptoria of western Europe in the ninth century, it is of interest to see how the numbers in Livy's history, as given in P, fared in the hands of the monk-copyists of R. A comparison of the readings of the two manuscripts makes it possible to examine in detail the errors made by the scribes of R, and to see exactly in each case the reason for the error.

Even the complaint of Bede hardly prepares one for the extensive corruption of numbers which took place in this one process of transcription. My study of R, as I have already said, covered about one-half of the portion copied by each scribe, an amount equal to about half of the third decade. Within this compass there were, in all, thirty-two cases of corruption involving numbers; and were it not for the fact that in P many of the numbers are not represented by symbols, but are expressed in full, corruptions of this nature would have been much more numerous. These corruptions are due not so much to carelessness on the part of the scribes, as might be inferred from the complaint of Bede, as to ignorance of certain of the numerical signs and methods of notation which, although in vogue in the fifth century, had in the ninth become partially obsolete. The real carelessness of the scribe consisted in attempting to render in the notation of his own day the symbols which he did not understand. Fortunately, the more difficult symbols for the higher numbers, such as M , L , do not occur in P, and the scribes' difficulties were confined to the symbols for 1000 and those of lesser denominations.

(1) In P the sign regularly used for 1000 is ∞ . This symbol seems to have been entirely unfamiliar to the scribes of the early ninth century, and to this cause is due fully one-half of the numeral corruptions in the following list. The possibility of error might have been avoided by copying the symbol as it stood, but four of the scribes — Aldo, Fredegandus,

Ansoaldus, and Landemarus—made the absurd blunder of supposing that ∞ , from its form, must stand for x, even where the context showed that 10 was entirely too small a number. For instance, the scribe Fredegaudus, in XXIII, 37, 6, has transcribed correctly enough the number ∞CCC , but only a page or two later, meeting with the symbol ∞ again (in XXIII, 40, 2), he imagined that he now knew what it meant, and wrote, instead of the $\infty\overline{\text{CC}}$ which he found in P, the number $x\overline{\text{CC}}$. If he had exercised a moment's thought, he might have seen that it was not at all likely that ∞ was the symbol for 10, inasmuch as it was followed by $\overline{\text{CC}}$; yet he continued to make the same mistake throughout his quota of the work, though once, being in doubt, he left a blank to be filled in by the corrector. Other examples of his treatment of the symbol are:

XXIII, 40, 4 ad $\infty\infty\infty$ sardorum eo proelio caesa P. Here Fredegaudus first wrote xxx; then, feeling that 30 was too small a number, he drew a horizontal stroke above it, thus, $\overline{\text{xxx}}$. In this way the original 3000 becomes first 30 and then 30,000.

XXIII, 49, 11 paulo minus ∞ equorum P. In R a corrector has written ∞ in an erasure of what was probably x.

XXIII, 40, 5 $\overline{\text{m}}$ ualerius $\infty\infty$ praesidioque P. Here the scribe left a blank space, in which the numeral was written by a corrector.

XXIII, 40, 8 facturum se que (= quae) uellent pollicitus, $\infty\infty$ delectorum militum navibus longis mittit P. The number as it now stands in R is ∞ *delectorum militum*, but the ∞ is written by a corrector in an erasure of what was probably xx. It is to be noted that the correction is also wrong, and that the scribe has returned to writing x for ∞ .

The above examples from the work of Fredegaudus I have given first, not because his errors in this regard are the most numerous, but because they show four different stages in his treatment of the symbol: (1) he does not know what it means, but copies it as it stands in P; (2) he becomes convinced that it stands for x, and writes it accordingly; (3) he begins to

doubt his previous conviction, and leaves a blank; (4) he resumes once more the writing of x. Examples of this error from the portions copied by the other scribes are :

XXVII, 38, 11 equitum ∞ P. This the scribe of R copied correctly, but, having changed his mind, he erased the ∞ and wrote x in its place.

XXVII, 38, 12 et sagittariorum funditorumque ad ∞∞∞ P, et sagittariorum funditorumque xxx R. This a corrector has altered to ∞∞∞.

XXVII, 43, 11 sex millia peditum ∞ equites P, sex millia peditum x equites R.

XXVIII, 2, 4 erant in celtibero exercitu ∞∞∞∞ scutata P, erant in celtibero exercitu xxx x scuta R.

XXVIII, 34, 2 uulnerata amplius ∞∞∞ hominum P, uulnerata amplius xxx hominum R. In this and in other cases the genitive after the numeral does not seem to have troubled the scribe.

XXVIII, 36, 9 supra ∞∞∞∞ armatorum P, supra xxx x armatorum R.

XXII, 41, 2 ad ∞ et dcc caesi P. A corrector in R has written *m* over an erasure of what was probably x.

XXII, 7, 3 is a possible example of this confusion. P has: ∞∞D hostium in acie periere. In R there is an erasure before D, in which a late corrector has written *m*. The erased letters were probably xx, as the work of this scribe, Aldo, shows other instances of this confusion. There is a possibility, however, that the letters were ∞∞, and that this correction was a deliberate one, made with the purpose of bringing Livy into harmony with Polybius, who gives 1500 as the number.

In the two examples which follow, as well as in the second example from the work of Fredegaudus, this confusion of x and ∞ is responsible for a further increment of corruption.

XXVII, 40, 11 ad ∞∞∞∞ hominum P, ad *triginta milium* hominum R. Here the scribe has made a triple error. He interpreted the ∞∞∞∞ as xxx x. Then, being in the habit of writing XL for 40, he supposed that the fourth ∞ was a

scribal error and that 30 was the number. Feeling that the passage required a larger number than 30, he wrote *ad triginta milium hominum*, and the 4000 of Livy has become 30,000.

XXIII, 13, 7 ut hannibali ∞∞|∞∞ numidarum in supplementum mitterentur. R has XL numidarum. The scribe supposed that the number was XXXX, and was in the habit of writing XL for 40. As in the preceding example, the clue for emendation is practically lost.

(2) The symbol for 1000 with which the scribes were familiar was M. Consequently the scribes Theogrimmus and Theodegrimmus sometimes write *mille* for M., the abbreviation for *Marcus*, and a number is thereby created where none had existed.

XXVI, 21, 13 id \bar{m} cornelio mandatum P, id *mille* cornelio mandatum R. To the scribe, if he took the trouble to translate, this must have meant, "This thousand was entrusted to Cornelius."

XXVI, 21, 17 inter has difficultates m cornelius PR (= praetor) et militum animos, etc. P, inter has difficultates *mille* cornelius populus romanus et militum animos R. That the scribe had little idea of the sense is shown by *populus Romanus*; but if he concerned himself with the meaning at all, he must have taken it to mean something like this: "amid these thousand difficulties."

XXVI, 22, 12 duobus plenis iam honorum que fabio et \bar{m} marcello P, que fabio et *mille* marcello R.

XXVI, 21, 5 ut \bar{m} . marco marcello (marco marcello P², deleting \bar{m} .) quo die urbe ouans iniret, imperium esset P, *mille* marco marcello R. The scribe has not only produced an utter absurdity, but has gone out of his way to do so by disregarding the correction in P.

XXVI, 40, 10 ad p. tolomaeum (= ad Ptolomaeum) et cleopatram reges \bar{m} atilius et \bar{m} acilius legati P, ad populum tolomaeum et cleopatram reges \bar{m} atilius et milia acilius legati R.



Here the scribe arbitrarily left one \bar{m} as it was and wrote *milia* for the other.

These errors were all corrected while P was still accessible, and are so absurd that, if P had been lost altogether, they would, if not carried further, have presented no difficulty whatever to a modern critic. But these blunders would surely have grown in passing through the hands of later copyists, to whom it would be a great temptation, on finding these numbers standing alone, to add a noun to indicate the thing numbered.

(3) The symbol D , for 500, also gave rise to an important class of corruptions in R. In order to distinguish the numeral sign from the letter D , a stroke is regularly drawn through it in P. Unfortunately an oblique stroke was drawn in the same way, by the correctors in P, through letters which they wished to delete; and some of the scribes of R, supposing that this was the purpose of the oblique stroke through the D , have omitted the symbol for 500 altogether.¹

XXIII, 16, 15 $\bar{\text{II}}$ et DCCC hostium caesos non plus D romanorum amississet (amissis et *Luchs*) P, $\bar{\text{II}}$ et CCC hostium caesos non plus romanorum amisisset R. The number of the enemy's killed has thus decreased from 2800 to 2300, and the number of the Roman dead has disappeared entirely.

XXIII, 19, 17 ex DLXX qui in praesidio fuerunt P, ex LXX qui in praesidio fuerunt R; a reduction from 570 to 70. The scribe added the D at a later time.

XXIII, 17, 8 casilinum eo tempore D praenestini habebant P. D was omitted by Aldo, and R first read *casilinum eo tempore praenestini habebant*, though the D was inserted at a later time.

XXVII, 41, 8 circa D romanorum sociorumque uictores ceciderunt P. The number is omitted in R.

The scribe Fredegaudus seems to have regarded this as a

¹ Even as early as the copying of P, in the fifth or sixth century, the omission of D was not unusual, as is shown by its occasional omission in P.

blunder to be carefully guarded against, and in XXIII, 43, 8, where P has *nolandos*, — which was corrected to *nolanos* by P², by drawing a line through the \mathfrak{D} (thus, NOLAN \mathfrak{D} OS), — this scribe wrote *nolan \mathfrak{D} os*, probably because he had been cautioned against omitting the symbol. This precaution shows how great a tendency there was to errors of this kind.

(4) Another source of error in connection with the numerals was the difference in practice in the fifth century and in the ninth with regard to the manner of writing 40. In P it is regularly written *xxxx*. In the ninth century the form *xl* seems to have been the more familiar form. Consequently there is a slight tendency among the scribes of R to suppose that *xxxx* is a mistake, and that *xxx* is the number intended. Thus, in XXVII, 40, 11, the scribe in R wrote *xxx* for *∞∞∞∞*, supposing that *∞* was *x*.

In XXVII, 8, 13, *quattuor milia cccxxxxiv*, though written correctly by the scribe of R, has become in the hands of a corrector, who erased one *x*, *quattuor milia cccxxxvi*. And in XXIII, 37, 11, *signa militaria ad xxxxi cepit P*, became, in the hands of the scribe, *xxx*, though a corrector has since emended to *xli*.

One would expect to find the same confusion in the case of *viii* for 9, but of this I have found no examples.

Manuals on textual emendation have little to say on the subject of the numerals, and the illustrations which they give deal for the most part with corruptions caused by the confusions of the numeral signs with letters of the alphabet, the numeral thereby becoming part of a word. Of this variety of error I have found but two examples:

XXVIII, 36, 9 paulo minus ccc u|ui capti P. Here the word *uiui* is divided in P by the end of a page, — one half being at the bottom of one page, the other at the top of the next. In consequence, Landemarus supposed that the first *ui* was part of the numeral, and wrote: *cccvi ui capti*.

XXII, 37, 5 uictoriam auream pondo ducentum ac uiginti: is the reading of Luchs. P has: uictoriam auream p. cc ac xx. For this the scribe in R wrote uictoriam auream picca cxx. This absurdity is now emended in R to: \bar{p} . cccxx. The *a* of *ac* is thus omitted and the *c* is added to the numeral, thereby increasing the weight by 100 pounds.

From the paucity of examples, it would seem that this was not a class of error to which the scribes of R were prone, and the actual corruption due to this cause is slight when compared with the other classes already indicated. The same may be said of the errors arising from the two uses of the horizontal stroke which was drawn above the numerals, sometimes to indicate thousands, and sometimes simply to indicate a numeral. I have found no errors from this cause in R, for the reason that where the horizontal stroke was already in P it was usually reproduced in R, or if omitted, omitted intelligently.

To make the list of numeral corruptions complete, I shall give one more. In XXVIII, 38, 8, P reads: ludi romani *biduum* instaurati. Here the scribe Landemarus wrote: ludi romani *x duū* instaurati. His reason for writing *x duū* is difficult to see. He may have thought that *-duum* meant 2 in combination with a preceding number, and then guessed that the first part meant 10.

It will be seen from the above examples that the great majority of the numeral corruptions involve the larger numbers. Of a total of 32 examples, there are 15 in which *x* is written for ∞ . If we include the five examples in which *mille* was written for *M.*, the abbreviation for *Marcus*, — which, however, as they occur in the work of but two scribes, must not be regarded as a common species of error, — we have 20 examples, or nearly two-thirds of the total number, involving thousands. Adding the examples of the omission of \mathfrak{D} , we have a total of 25 cases of numeral corruptions involving errors of 500 or more. The total number of numeral corruptions due to all other causes amounts to but 7. The smallest class is that to which books on textual criticism give the most attention.

The havoc made with the numerals in this one process of transcription goes to show how little reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of the numerals in the texts of classical Latin writers which are based only on manuscripts of the ninth century or later. The chief cause of error in R is the scribes' lack of familiarity with the signs of notation in vogue in the fifth and sixth centuries. The monastery of Tours was surely no exception in this respect, and it is safe to assume the same ignorance of the older notation for the majority of the scribes in western Europe in the early ninth century. It is therefore probable that errors of the same nature continued to be made until experience had given the scribes more familiarity with the notation of the older time. Most of the errors in R passed through the hands of a corrector, in which process some of them were corrected, and others augmented. But that such supervision was not extended to all the manuscripts of the period is shown by the occurrence of similar errors in the *Bambergensis*, an eleventh-century descendant of P. In the few chapters at the end of the decade, in which the readings of the *Bambergensis* appear in the critical apparatus, there are 4 cases in which x is written for ∞ , and 2 cases of the omission of \mathfrak{D} .¹ The presence of these corruptions in this manuscript of the eleventh century helps to confirm the impression that manuscripts of the ninth century and later, however trustworthy in other respects, are not to be depended upon in their record of numbers unless that record is corroborated from some independent source.

IX. ERRORS DUE TO ABBREVIATIONS

Nothing shows more clearly the ignorance of the scribes of R, and their lack of familiarity with the Latin of the classical period, than the absurd blunders made in copying the abbrevia-

¹ See *Transactions* of the American Philological Association, vol. XXXIII, pp. 53, 54, where I have treated of the errors in the *Bambergensis* in more detail.

tions which occur in the *Puteanus*. These contractions, as is usual in uncial manuscripts, are comparatively few and simple. The more common of them are: *b.* for *bus* in the ending of the dative and ablative plural; *q.* for *que* the enclitic; \bar{e} for *est*; a stroke over the vowel for *m* or *n*; the use of initials in proper names (praenomina) and in such words as *senatus consultum, res publica, populus Romanus*; and contractions of two or more letters, such as \overline{pr} for *praetor*, \overline{cos} for *consul*. It was, of course, natural that the scribes should not know what was meant by the contractions *s. c.*, *p. r.*, and \overline{pr} , the first time they were encountered, but it was always possible to avoid error by writing the contractions as they were in P. They were not obliged to expand them and write the word in full.¹ But they often did not choose to adopt this safer course, and have expanded \overline{p} . (= Publius) into *prae*, although *Scipio* is the next word, $\overline{p. r.}$ and \overline{pr} into *per*, \overline{cn} into *con*, without any regard for sense or construction, in passages where a minimum of understanding of the text they were copying, even if it did not suggest the word represented by the contraction, would have warned them against expanding this in such a way as to make nonsense.

It is evident from these blunders that most of the scribes of R had never before been engaged in copying the prose text of a pagan Latin writer. Otherwise they would have been more familiar with such common contractions as those for proper names at least. Their previous work, to judge from these errors, had been confined entirely to the copying of the church books, and being now set to work for the first time upon the text of one of the older Latin prose writers, they confused the abbreviations with which they were familiar with the contractions which occur in the text of Livy. Errors of the same nature must have been common in all the work of the early ninth century until the scribes became familiar with the abbreviations in the works of the older Latin writers.

¹ The scribe Landemarus, after having made all sorts of errors by wrongly expanding these signs of contraction, finally avoided further blunders by making in his copy uncial facsimiles of the abbreviations in P.

(1) The simplest form of this species of error among the scribes of R was the failure to recognize that a given letter or group of letters was an abbreviation. In consequence the contraction, if it consisted of a single letter, was attached either to the word which preceded it, or to that which followed; or, if it consisted of several letters, part of them were attached to the preceding word, and part to the next. This form of error was encouraged by the lack of word-division in P. The contractions were not separated from the surrounding letters except occasionally by a dot to the right, and not distinguished from them except by a horizontal stroke above the letter, while both of these indications were sometimes wanting.

Examples of attaching the abbreviation to the preceding word (this is most common with the letter *m*): XXII, 14, 9 si hoc modo peragranda *cacumina saltusque m. furius* recipere a gallis urbem uoluisset P, *cacumina saltus quem furius* R. — XXVI, 28, 13 qui in exercitu *m. claudii, m̄. ualerii, q. fului* fuissent P, qui in exercitum *claudii m̄. ualerii*que fului fuissent R. — XXVII, 38, 11 auxilia . . . a *p. scipione m. liuio* missa P, auxilia *apud scipionem (sic) liuio* missa R. Here, in addition to writing *m* with the preceding word, a *p.* is taken for *apud.* — XXVII, 38, 11 mixtos numidas hispanosque *m. lucretium* has copias nauibus aduexisse P, hispanos *quem lucretium* R. — XXVIII, 13, 2 et eidem *gallia m. pomponio* mathoni sicilia P, *galliam pomponio* R. — XXVIII, 20, 8 si *m. pomponius* P, *sim pomponius* R. — XXVIII, 37, 8 in qua *m. liui* nomen erat P, in quam *liui* nomen erat R. — XXVIII, 7, 2 et ipse a *messana l. scipione* fratre in praesidio ibi relicto P, a *messanal scipione* R. — XXVIII, 13, 2 sicilia ti *claudio* P, *siciliati claudio* R. — XXVIII, 27, 15 sederunt in tribunali *p. scipionis* P, sederunt in tribunali *p. scipionis* R. — XXVI, 32, 1 principe eius sententiae *t. manlio torquato* P, principe eius sententia et *manlio torquato* R. — XXV, 40, 3 dedicata a *m. marcello* templa P, dedicata *am marcello* templa R. In M this has become a *marcello.* — XXVI, 26, 8 dilectum prope a *m. cornelius* P, dilectum prope *am cornelius* R. In these two cases a Latin word has

not been formed by attaching the abbreviation to part of the preceding word. Sometimes slight emendation was resorted to, as in XXIII, 20, 7 haec a *q.* fuluio intra paucos dies gesta P, haec *atque* fabio, etc. R, and in XXIII, 8, 17 aliquem in *civitate r.* (= Romana) *melio*rem bello haberi quam te P, *civitatem melio*rem R. Here the *r* after *civitate* was not understood, and consequently the scribe altered to *civitatem*.

Examples of attaching the abbreviation to the following word (not so common): XXIII, 38, 11 *l.* apustio legato P, *lapustio* legato R. — XXVI, 28, 3 *t.* otacilius P, *totacilius*¹ R. — XXVI, 33, 5 dein cum *m.* atilium P, dein cum *matilium* R.

Examples of the breaking up of two or more letters serving as an abbreviation: XXVIII, 5, 5 satis scire *sp.* lucretium P, *satis scires p.* lucretium R. — XXVI, 5, 8 ita inter se copias partiti sunt: *ap. claudius campanis*, fuluius annibali est oppositus P, *a p. claudius campanis* R. The scribe of M, perceiving that *a* was not a preposition, emended the passage and wrote *ea p. claudius*. — XXIII, 18, 9 additumque . . . censoriae notae triste *s. c.* (= senatus consultum) P, additumque . . . censoriae notaetristes *c̄* R.

(2) Many abbreviations did not admit of being attached to the adjoining words, and the scribe, not knowing what to do with the letter or letters which he did not understand, left them out altogether. These omissions are particularly common in cases where the preceding word happened to end with the same letter as the abbreviation, the scribe regarding the repetition of the letter as a dittography. They are, however, of frequent occurrence even when this is not the case.

Examples of the omission of abbreviations (the abbreviation omitted in R is given in italics in the reading of P): XXVIII, 37, 10 item *m.* liuius P, item liuius R. — XXV, 18, 4 sed in bello nihil tam leue est quod non . . . momentum *faciat. t. quinctio* crispino badius campanus hospes erat P. The scribe of R, regarding the two *t*'s as a dittography, has written *faciat quinctio*. — XXIII, 48, 2 ne . . . sumptui . . . essent. et *t.*

¹ This error in the case of the name T. Otacilius occurs quite frequently.

gracchus iussit P, essent et gracchus R. — XXIII, 19, 4 *securae res ab hannibale essent, ti. gracchum proconsulem a benevento accitutum* P, essent gracchum (omitting *ti.*) R. — XXVII, 40, 2 *ut eodem tempore utrubique res \bar{p} . (= publica) prospere gereretur* P, *res prospere* (omitting \bar{p} .) R. All the above examples of omission are due to supposed dittography, but in the following cases there is no such reason for the omission : XXVIII, 12, 9 *cum p. sempronio* P, *cum sempronio* R. — XXVI, 39, 3 *praeerat classis comitatibusque d. quintius* P, *comitatibusq; quintius* R. — XXV, 14, 7 *qui sociis captorum concederent decus, t. pedanius princeps . . .* P, *decus pedanius* R. — XXVII, 40, 4 *multa secunda in italia siciliaque gesta quassata rem \bar{p} . (= publicam) excepisse* P, *quas satarem excepisse* R. — XXVI, 30, 12 *pro uobis p. c. bella gerimus* P, *pro uobis c. bella gerimus* was first written in R. — XXIII, 7, 8 *incerto rerum statu atp. claudius* P. Here *atp.* is a corruption of *app.* The scribe in R, Fredeğ, has written *statuat claudius*, omitting *p.*

(3) In the examples given in the two preceding classes, the error is due to the failure of the scribe to recognize contractions as such; but the largest class of errors, and the one which best illustrates the illiteracy and stupidity of the scribes of R, consists of the cases where the scribes recognized that there was an abbreviation, but expanded it wrongly. Though they had always the alternative of writing the abbreviation as it was in P in cases where they were in doubt, yet they have often chosen to expand the contractions in ways so absurd as to seem almost incredible.

(a) *per* wrongly written for $\bar{p} \bar{r}$. (= *populus Romanus*) and $\bar{p} \bar{r}$ (= *praetor*).¹

¹ This species of error is confined to the portion copied by Theodegrimmus. This scribe subsequently went over his work, and corrected all the mistakes given in the following list, except the first, by erasing the *e*, and drawing a line over *pr*; thus $\bar{p} \bar{r}$. This is the contraction for *praetor*, but the contractions for *praetor* and *populus Romanus* are often not distinguished even in P. In giving the contractions in the examples, I have inferred from Luchs's silence that the normal contraction was used in each case, namely $\bar{p} \bar{r}$ for *praetor*, and $\bar{p} \bar{r}$ for *populus Romanus*.

XXVI, 28, 11 l quinctio $\bar{p}r$ (= praetori) ad optinendam sici-
liam P, quinctio *per* adobtinendam R. — XXVI, 28, 12 totidem
legiones in sardiniam p. manlio uulsoni $\bar{p}r$ (= praetori) decre-
tae P, uulsoni *per* decretae R. — XXVI, 30, 1 multa de hieronis
regis fide perpetua erga $\bar{p}r$ (= populum Romanum) uerba fece-
runt P, erga *per* uerba R. — XXVI, 30, 6 quo scilicet iustiore
de causa vetustissimos socios $\bar{p}r$ (= populi Romani) trucida-
ret P, socios *per* trucidaret R. — XXVI, 30, 7 bellum cum $\bar{p}r$
(= populo Romano) gessissent P, cum *per* gessissent R. —
XXVI, 31, 1 non adeo maiestatis, inquit, $\bar{p}r$ (= populi Romani)
imperiique huius oblitus sum P, inquit *per* oblitus sum R.

(b) *Prae* wrongly written for \bar{p} . (= Publius or publica).
This is a form of error confined to the work of Theogrimmus
and Landemarus, who were accustomed only to the regular
ninth-century usage of writing \bar{p} for *prae*. XXV, 41, 8 itaque
senatus romae decrevit, ut \bar{p} . cornelius $\bar{p}r$ (= praetor) litteras
capuam ad consules mitteret P, ut *prae* cornelius *populus roma-*
nus litteras . . . R. — XXV, 41, 11 et \bar{p} . sulphicium serg. f. P,
et *prae* sulphicium serg. f. R. This is copied into M as follows:
et pre sulphicium ser. g. f. — XXVI, 1, 1 de re \bar{p} . (= publica)
. . . consuluerunt P, de re *prae* . . . consuluerunt R. — XXVI,
1, 2 $\bar{a}p$. (= Appio) claudio P, a *prae* claudio R. — XXVIII,
9, 11 ad \bar{p} scipionem profectos P, ad *prae* scipionem R. —
XXVIII, 10, 1 cum \bar{p} . licinio cos. litterae romam allatae P,
prae licinio cos. R. — XXVIII, 10, 2 exercitum . . . dimitti
e re \bar{p} . (= publica) esse P, exercitum . . . dimitte re *prae* esse R.
— XXVIII, 10, 3 ut e re \bar{p} . fideque sua daret P, ute re *prae* fide
quae suadaret R. — XXVIII, 10, 7 \bar{p} . scipionis P, *prae* scipio-
nis R. — XXVIII, 11, 10 consules facti m. cornelius cethegus,
 \bar{p} . sempronius tuditanus apsens P, *prae* sempronius R.¹

(c) *populus* wrongly written for \bar{p} . where the contraction
stood for *Publius*, *publica*, etc. Errors of this nature occur

¹ The examples from Books XXV and XXVI are all from Theogrimmus, while
those from Book XXVIII are from Landemarus. In both cases these errors
cover about two pages. They were probably noticed by the supervisor of the
scriptorium, who prevented the further recurrence of the error.

in the quaternions signed by Theogrimm̃. and Theodegrimm̃. Inasmuch as these scribes were responsible for some of the errors given in the two foregoing lists, (a) and (b), it is probable that they were told by the monk who supervised their work that \bar{p} . sometimes stood for *populus*, and as a result of being thus cautioned they went to the extreme of writing *populus* for that contraction regardless of the sense.

Examples: XXVI, 36, 8 ut uoluntaria conlatio et certamen adiuuandae rei *p*. (= publicae) excitet . . . P, certamen adiuuande rei *populus* excitet R. — XXVII, 4, 10 et alexandream ad *p*. tolomaeum (*sic*) et cleopatram reges . . . P, ad *populum* tolomaeum R. — XXVI, 1, 5 m. iunio netruria, *p*. sempronio in gallia . . . prorogatum est imperium P, netruria *populus* sempronio in gallia R. — XXVI, 2, 4 adscribi autem pro $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (error for $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ = praetori) l. marcio P, adscribi autem pro *populus* l. marcio R.

(d) $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= praetor) wrongly expanded as *populus Romanus*.

This error is confined to the work of the scribe Theogrimmus. The abbreviations $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ and $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ are sometimes confused in P; but the scribe was not obliged to expand the contractions, and the absurdity of writing *populus Romanus* in the following passages would have struck him at once if he had had any understanding of the meaning of what he was copying. XXVI, 21, 17 m. cornelius $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= praetor) . . . militum animos sedauit P, m. cornelius *populus romanus* . . . militum animos sedauit R. — XXV, 41, 8 ut *p*. cornelius $\bar{p}\bar{r}$. (= praetor) litteras . . . mitteret P, ut *prae* cornelius *populus romanus* litteras . . . mitteret R. This absurd error has passed over into M, where, in an attempt to make sense out of the passage, the scribe has emended it as follows: ut *prae* cornelius *populusq. romanus* . . .

(e) Another mistake sometimes made by the scribes Theogrimmus and Theodegrimmus is that of expanding the abbreviation $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= *populus Romanus*) in the nominative case, regardless of its relations to prepositions or verbs. This species of error well illustrates the purely mechanical character of the work of these two scribes. They had evidently

been informed, by the person in charge of the scriptorium, that $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ stood for *populus Romanus*, and they were satisfied to expand it as such without questioning whether or not it was the proper case.

XXVI, 21, 11 et quingena iugera agri, . . . qui aut regius aut hostium \bar{p} . \bar{r} . (= populi Romani) fuisset P, aut hostium *populus romanus* R. — XXVI, 21, 12 ex is (= iis) qui a $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populo Romano) defecissent P, exis quia *populus romanus* defecissent R. — XXVI, 27, 11 quoad eo animo esse erga $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populum Romanum) sciret P, erga *populus romanus* R. Here a corrector, in order to have the accusative case after the preposition, has written *erga populos romanos*. — XXVI, 36, 4 itaque classes habere atque ornare uolumus $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ (= populum Romanum) P, ornare uolumus *populus romanus* R. The error is perpetuated in M.

(f) The writing of *mille* and *milia* for \bar{m} . (= Marcus). For a full list of these confusions, see Chapter on the Numerals (VIII).

(g) *que*, the enclitic, or *quae* wrongly written for q. (= Quintus). Examples of this confusion are too numerous to be given in full, occurring, as they do, on almost every page of the manuscript and particularly in the portions copied by Aldo and Fredeḡ. The confusion is not uncommon in P.

XXII, 8, 6 dictatorem *populus* creauit q. *fabium maximum* P; creauit *quae fabium* was first written in R. — XXII, 35, 2 c. atilio serrano et q. alio (aelio *Luchs*) paeto P, et *quae alio paeto* R. — XXII, 38, 13 et quod id constantius perseueraret q. *fabius maximus* sic . . . adlocutus fertur P, perseueraret*que* *fabius* R. — XXIII, 40, 1 postquam q. *mucius* $\bar{p}\bar{r}$ graui morbo est implicitus P, postquam *que mutius* R. — XXIII, 7, 12 tum q. *fabius* . . . tali oratione est usus P, tum *que fabius* R. — XXIII, 9, 5 ut q. *fuluio* . . . urbana prouincia esset P, ut *que fuluio* R. — XXVI, 33, 9 securique percussos a q. *fuluio* . . . P, securique percussos *aque fuluio* R. — XXVI, 33, 5 et q. *minucium* et l. *ueturium philonem*, item . . . P, at*que* *minutium* et l. *ueturium philo nemitem* R. Here the scribe has altered what he supposed was *etque* to *atque*.

(h) The following is a list of miscellaneous errors of less common occurrence than the foregoing:

The writing of *cōn* for *cñ* in XXVI, 28, 9 *cñ. fuluio consuli* P, *cōn fuluio consuli* R. This is copied into M as *cō fuluio*.

The confusion of *cōs* and *quos*: XXVI, 33, 13 *fuluio procōs quosque . . .* P, *fuluio pro quosque* R, the scribe regarding the *cōs* and *quos* as an apparent dittography.—XXVIII, 22, 5 *quo die illum omnes centuriae priorem cōs dixissent* P, *priorem quos dixissent* R.

apud for *a p.*: XXVII, 38, 11 *auxilia ex hispania quoque a p. scipione m. livio missa* P, *apud scipionem liuio missa* R.

me for *m̄*: XXIII, 39, 8 *inde m̄ marcellum* P, *inde me* was first written by the scribe in R.

(4) Thus far the examples have been confined to cases where a word was abbreviated by the use of the initial letter or letters. Errors arising from contractions within a word or at the end are confined to the sign $\bar{\text{—}}$, representing the nasals *m* and *n*, and the contraction *b.* for the ending *-bus* of the dative and ablative plural.

(a) From the sign $\bar{\text{—}}$ there spring two forms of error: (1) the omission of the nasal altogether, due to failure to notice the sign, and (2) the writing of *m* for *n*, or *vice versa*, in expanding the contraction. Examples of these two forms of error are exceedingly common, and I shall give only a few, without references: *e.g. in africa* for *in africā*, *reliquo* for *reliquō* (= *reliquom*), *imultos* for *imultos* (= *in multos*), *couehi* for *cōuehi*, *comeatibus* for *cōmeatibus*, etc.

(b) Examples of error arising from the contraction *b.* = *bus* are: XXVI, 40, 18 *hos neque relinquere . . . in insula . . . uelut materiam nouamdis reb. satis tutum ratus est* P, *nouam disrepsatis tutum* R. Here the scribe failed to recognize *b.* as an abbreviation, and wrote *disrepsatis* for phonetic reasons of his own.—XXVI, 26, 2 *sita Anticyra est in Locride laeua parte sinum Corinthiacum intranti. breue terra iter eo . . . Luchs*; P has this, in substance, with the exception of *locide* for *Locride*,

and *corynthiacum* for Corinthiacum. In R it is written as follows: *sita est in locide laeua parte sinum corynthia cum intrantibus reuetera iter eo*. The scribe supposed that the *b* of *breue* was the abbreviation for *-bus*. This passage is, in turn, copied into M as follows: *sita est in locidelaeua parthesinum corynthia cum intrantib; reue terra, etc.*

X. ERRORS DUE TO CORRECTIONS IN THE *PUTEANUS*

Three series of corrections had already been made in the *Puteanus* before¹ the copying of R: (1) the scribe of the fifth century who copied it corrected many of the errors which he himself had made, and occasionally attempted to emend the text; (2) a subsequent corrector went systematically through the manuscript making numerous corrections for the most part of a superficial nature; and (3) it was corrected by a second corrector, whose corrections, however, were not nearly so numerous as those made by the scribe or the first corrector, and are confined to parts of the manuscript only. These three sets of corrections are designated by Luchs as P¹, P², P³, respectively. In all three the manner of making the correction is the same. Where it is the purpose of the corrector to strike out a letter or letters, erasure is not resorted to, but a fine line is drawn diagonally through the letter, and a little dot is sometimes placed above it in addition (thus, *·/*). Corrections of this nature are made in such a way as to be as inconspicuous as possible, and not disfigure the manuscript, so that one has sometimes to look twice to see them. Where it was desired to insert letters, or substitute them in the place of those which had been stricken out, they were

¹ The corrections in P, designated by Luchs as P⁴ and P⁵, which were made after its copy R had been completed, do not concern the purpose of the present paper. The numerous corrections made in P by means of erasure are also later than the copying of R, for the reason that the letters erased in P are there to be found fully written. Occasionally Luchs has been in doubt as to what was originally written in P where letters have been erased. In most of these cases the erased letters can easily be established by consulting R.

written above the word and were likewise made small and inconspicuous.

These corrections were not drawn from any manuscript authority,¹ but were simply superficial alterations which suggested themselves to the scribes or the two correctors. They are therefore not at all trustworthy, and not unfrequently passages were thus altered which were perfectly correct. Naturally the existence in P of these corrections, upon which so little reliance could be placed, greatly increased the difficulties of the scribes of R. They were constantly confronted with the necessity of choosing between the original reading of the manuscript and the correction, or of adopting a compromise when both were manifestly wrong. Inasmuch as Alcuin had been influential in shaping the methods of the School of Tours at the beginning of this revival under Charlemagne, and had insisted upon accuracy in the copying of the church books, one would expect to find that here also the scribes had been furnished with some principle upon which to decide between the two readings, and to find them adhering strictly to the original readings or to the corrections, or departing from the one method or the other upon some critical principle. But one looks in vain for evidence that they followed any definite instructions, or that they made use of any critical faculty in deciding between readings. The scribes follow the one reading or the other almost at random, often giving the reading of P¹ when it is manifestly wrong, or of P² when the original reading is manifestly right,² and often the correction passed unnoticed entirely. Their treatment of corrections is throughout in keeping with the character of the rest of their work.

Frequently, by reason of oversight or failure to understand the purpose of the correction, the scribes have written neither the original reading of P nor the correction, but a corruption

¹ See Luchs, Introduction to his edition.

² The treatment of the corrections in P by the scribes of R has been discussed by Wölfflin in an article in the *Philologus*, XXXIII, 1863, pp. 186-189.

which sometimes contains elements from both the original reading and the correction, and sometimes omits elements from both. Corruptions of this nature form a large class and are the more serious, because, if the *Puteanus* had been lost, many of them would have offered little clue toward emendation. I have attempted to classify them as follows:

(1) The scribes were often mistaken with regard to the extent of a correction in P by reason of the fact that the lines and dots, by which the deletion of letters was indicated, were usually made as light as possible, in order that the manuscript might not be unnecessarily disfigured. The eye was consequently sometimes deceived into believing that the corrections were more extensive than they really were.

Examples: XXVII, 40, 2, P¹ wrote *deos urbit* eodem tempore. Subsequently he corrected *urbit* to *ut* by placing dots over the three letters to be omitted (thus, *urbit*). It was easy enough for Ansoaldus to overlook the fact that the correction did not extend to the whole word, and consequently he wrote *deos eodem tempore*, omitting the word altogether. — XXVIII, 20, 10 *consultum sine alto sine alterius* P¹; the words *sine alto* are deleted by P². R has *consultum nealterius*, the scribe imagining that the correction extended farther than it really did. — XXIII, 19, 13 *adicitumque* P¹, *radicumque* P², *radiq*; R. — XXVIII, 35, 3 *proanimos* changed to *primos* by P¹, *imos* R. — XXIII, 21, 7 *creatique caecilius* P¹, *creati q. caecilius* P², *creati caecilius* R (omitting *q*). — XXIII, 21, 7 *et quam fabius* P¹, *et q. fabius* P², *et fabius* R. — XXVIII, 12, 4 *uincinculo* P¹, *uicinculo* P², *unculo* R. — XXVI, 38, 10 *liberius fingenti sitia ita inde* P¹; *sitia* was altered to *sit* by P². R has *fngentis ita*, the scribe imagining the correction to extend to the *it* as well as the *ia*. — XXIII, 42, 5 *usideatur* corrected to *uideatur* P¹, *udeatur* R.

In the above examples the scribes imagined that the lines or dots used in deletion extended to more letters than was actually the case. Sometimes the opposite error is made, and some of the deleted letters find their way into the text. *E.g.*:

XXIII, 46, 13 obsequitastaset P¹, obequitasset P², obequitasaset R. — XXVIII, 24, 2 scipionis amquam P¹, scipio tamquam P², scipioni tamquam R.

(2) Corrections in P which involved the alteration of a single letter were made by drawing a line through the letter to be changed and writing the corrected form above it. In the case of such corrections the eye of the copyists of R has often caught the letter added above the line, but not the sign of deletion drawn through the letter immediately below, and in consequence both the error and the correction have been embodied in the text of R.

Examples: XXII, 25, 7 edenti casilini P¹, sedenti casulini P², sedenti casuilini R. — XXII, 33, 2 uicisti P¹, uicinti P², uicinsti R. — XXIII, 48, 6 quin et ue|ra P¹, qui nec ue|ra P², quinctuera R. — XXVII, 6, 7 tarsumennum P¹, trasumennum P², tarasumennum R. — XXVII, 21, 10 tatis P¹, satis P², statis R. — XXVII, 26, 13 iocur P¹, iecur P²; *ieocur* was first written in R. — XXVII, 33, 3 ramam P¹, famam P², flamam R. The scribe altered *r* to *l* apparently as an improvement in spelling. — XXVIII, 10, 5 etriscorum P¹, etruscorum P², etruiscorum R. — XXVIII, 16, 6 dua fugae P¹, dux fugae P², dux afugae R. — XXVIII, 18, 2 *dirimā|darum* corrected to *dirimē|darum* P¹, *dirimē|darum* P², *dirimaedarum* R. — XXVIII, 28, 7 conpuges P¹, coniuges P², conipuges R.

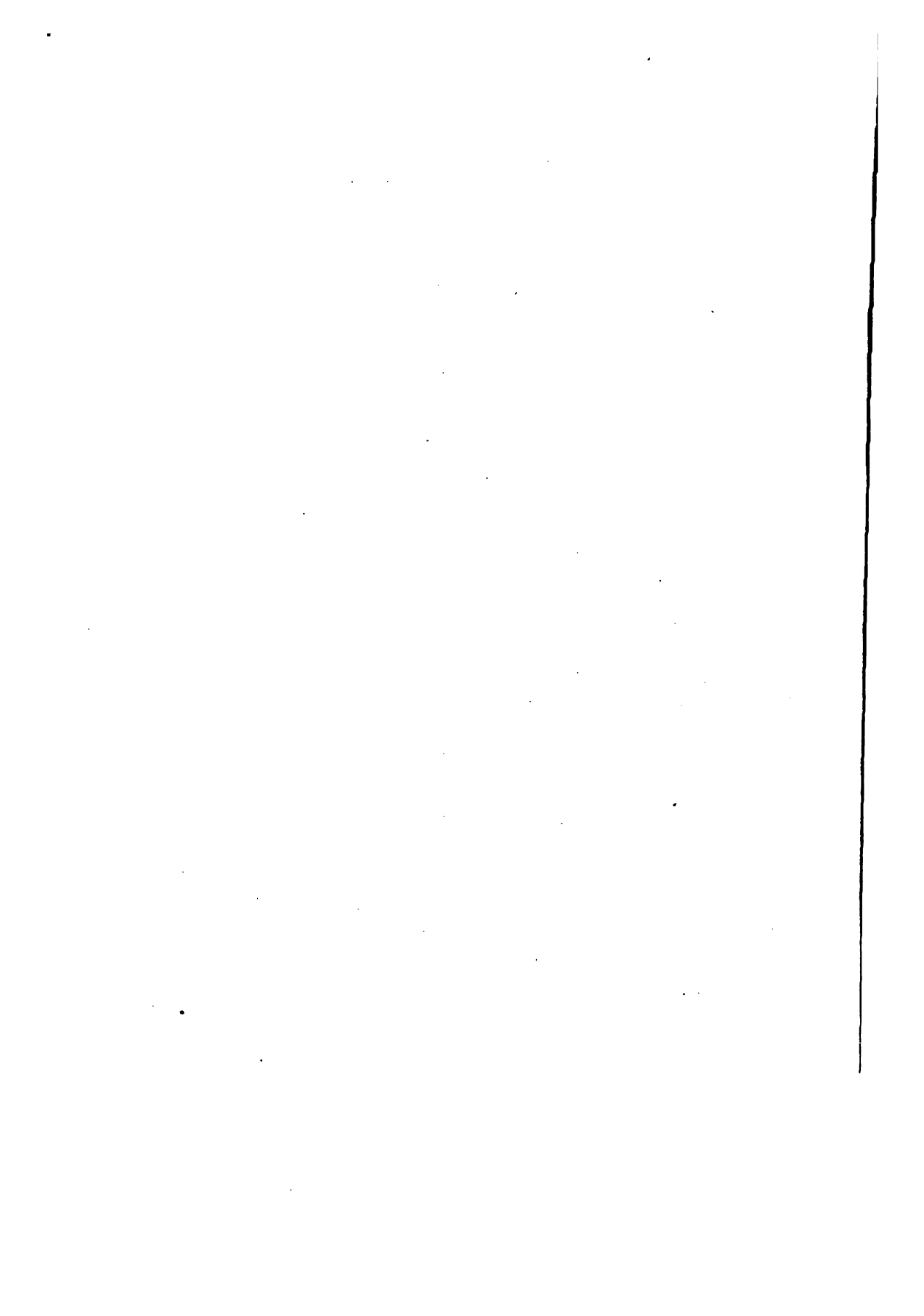
(3) Corruptions arising from mistaking the purpose of corrections placed above the line, and inserting letters in the wrong place in the text. Examples: XXVII, 40, 8 proditumst P¹, proditum est P² (the correction being made thus: |st), proditum *sed* R. The scribe imagined that the word was *set*, and altered the spelling to *sed*. — XXVI, 39, 3 teterum P¹, ceterum P², tectereum R¹. This is now corrected to *ceterum*. — XXVIII, 10, 4 etturiā P¹, ettruriā P², etturriam R. — XXVIII, 4, 8 etimularet P¹, estimularet P² (probably meant, however, for stimulare). Here Landemarus wrote in R *et imularet*, which a corrector having P before him has altered to *et simularet*. — XXIII, 8, 13 experti t. otacilię musus (*sumus* after correc-

tion) P¹, *experti t. te acili ope sumus* P², *experti t. laecilio pesumus* R¹ (*l* in *laecilio* arises from confusion of letters). This is now corrected to *experti t. laecili ope sumus*. — XXVII, 49, 4 *ne superstes tanto* P¹, *ne supereset tanto* P². The correction was made thus: *super^ostⁱes*. A fine stroke was drawn through the *t* and the last *s*. R has *superest*.

(4) Sometimes the scribes have omitted both the correction and the letters to be corrected: XXVIII, 24, 5 *non ultra esse cunctandum apt* P¹, *non ultra esse cunctandum ait* P²; here R has omitted both *i* and *p*, and written *at*. — XXVIII, 34, 9 *seuhentis* P¹, *seuientis* P², *seuentis* R. — XXVIII, 3, 3 *quae* P¹, *quai* P², *qua* R. (For other examples see Chapter on Omission.)

(5) The scribe Fredeğ, instead of omitting both the difficulty and the correction, adopted the plan of leaving a blank where he did not understand the purpose of a correction. These blanks were filled in by the corrector. *E.g.* XXVIII, 3, 15 *attipeū* P¹, *at it ipsut cū* P². Here, after an erasure, Fredeğ wrote *adidip*, leaving a blank for the space of several letters, in which the corrector wrote *sud*. — XXIII, 42, 2 *his parum fide eamus* P¹, *his parum fidebamus* P². Fredeğ wrote *his parum amus*, leaving a blank in which the corrector wrote *fideb*. — XXIII, 39, 8 *super besumiam* P¹, *super besuuium* P²; *superbe* was written by Fredeğ, who left a blank in which *suiium* was written by the corrector. These blanks have all been filled in by the corrector, but it is conceivable that, in other manuscripts of the period, blanks were left which were not filled in by subsequent correctors, thus giving rise to a lacuna.

Similar caution was shown in a few cases where the scribes made a facsimile of both the original word and the correction as they stood in P. Examples of this are unfortunately rare. — XXV, 16, 7 *cam* P¹, *clam* P², *cam* R. — XXV, 20, 5 *ducas* P¹, *ducis* P², *ducas* R.



XI. ERRORS OF CONSCIOUS EMENDATION

The errors illustrated in the foregoing chapters were made for the most part unconsciously, and were the result either of wrong visualization or of the ignorance of the scribe. They show no attempt at deliberate alteration of the text, with the exception of the occasional omission of elements which the scribe did not understand. Examples of more or less conscious emendation on the part of these ninth-century scribes are, however, not wanting. As I have already said in the Introduction, there was no such wholesale tampering with the text as is to be found in manuscripts of the fifteenth century, which were not infrequently copied by scholars of the Renaissance, whose main aim was to produce a readable text. Lack of scholarship and a far from perfect knowledge of Latin prevented the scribes of R from undertaking any such systematic attempt at emendation; but the examples I shall give at the end of this chapter will show, I think, that Lindsay¹ underestimates considerably the extent of text alterations in ninth-century manuscripts when he says that the monk copyists confined their emendation to matters of punctuation and spelling. There are, of course, in R no deliberate interpo-

¹ *Latin Textual Emendation*, p. 12.

lations of whole phrases or clauses, and no lengthy omissions; but conscious substitutions of one word for another, and alterations in the forms of individual words, are not at all uncommon. Such emendations are not of a critical nature, and almost all of them are entirely superficial in character. They are made, for the most part, without any careful study of the passage, or even of the sentence, in which they occur. In many of the passages so emended the text of P was perfectly correct, and the scribe's fancy suggested alterations which might, indeed, suit a particular part of a sentence, but which even the scribe himself would have recognized as nonsense, had he taken the trouble to read the passage over again. These emendations, made in the haste of copying, and due for the most part to the failure on the part of the scribe to understand the passages in which they occur, are, fortunately, not extensive, being confined to a single word, or to two words, at the most. The majority of them would still afford a clew for the reconstruction of the original reading, even if P had been lost.

During the time in which the scribes of R were engaged upon their copy, their work was supervised by one or more correctors, as is shown by the fact that errors which occur in the first quaternion of a scribe's work are frequently not repeated in the second. These correctors have also made slight emendations in many cases; but inasmuch as their corrections are of the same superficial nature as those of the scribes, I shall, for the sake of avoiding confusion, confine myself, in the present chapter, to the emendations which occur in the work of the scribes. Examples of the emendations of the correctors will be found in the next chapter.

Before proceeding to classify these errors of emendation, I shall first give a few examples of a general nature. XXIII, 40, 8 *caralis peruenturus erat ni manlius* obuio exercitu ab effusa eum populatione continuisset P. Here the scribe of R wrote *mannilius* for *ni manlius*, though he afterwards corrects the error. — XXV, 16, 5 *et iam altero anno* in magistratu erat P; *anno* was first written by the scribe of R, and then

changed to *hanno*, the word being regarded as a proper name.—XXV, 40, 4 *dispar ut causa earum ita condicio erat* P, *contio* R.—XXVI, 3, 5 *praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur* P; in R the meaning is entirely changed by the writing of *probis honorabatur*.—XXVII, 42, 12 *consul ubi silentium* in castris . . . cernebat P, emended in R to *consulibus silentium*, etc.—XXVIII, 28, 7 *ubi si uos decedens confecta prouincia imperator relinquerem* P, *docendos* R.—XXVIII, 33, 15. Here the reading of P² is: *hispanorum cum neque pedes equiti neque eques pediti aauxilio esset*. The scribe of R has written *neque acies peditia auxilio esset*.—XXVIII, 1, 13 *nihil enim paruum*, sed *carthaginis iam excidia agitabat animo* P. The scribe of R has written *eum* instead of *paruum*.—XXVIII, 37, 12 *cum in leges iurasset c. claudius et in aerarium escensisset* P. The words in italics were emended by the scribe of R to *et in aerarium es cecisset*. He seems to have supposed that the words had something to do with the hiding of money. The error may, however, be due to mental pronunciation.

These examples will suffice to show that the scribes did not confine themselves merely to alterations of spelling or punctuation, but have really tampered with the text. The superficial character of their emendations is apparent in each example. None of these passages present any difficulty whatever, and the text of P was perfectly correct. In the following list I shall give a few examples to illustrate the treatment of passages which were really corrupt.

XXIII, 42, 10 *nunc propraetoris unius et parui ad tuendam Nolam praesidi praeda sumus* (*Luchs*). Here P has *propri* for *propraetoris*, an error arising out of the abbreviation *prop̄r̄*. This the scribe of R has emended to *proprii*, without any further attempt at making sense out of the passage.—XXVIII, 29, 2 *qui dolor quae ira incitavit?* (*Luchs*). This is corrupted in P to *qui doleraeuitae*. The scribe Ansoaldus has emended to *qui dolere uitae*, without any regard for sense, satisfied with having merely made Latin words.—XXVIII, 17, 8 *Carthaginiensibus iniurias tanto minores acciperemus* (*Luchs*). The

reading of P is *manto minores*. This the scribe of R has emended to *mantonino res*. — XXVI, 51, 9 his ita incohatis refectisque *quae quassata erant* (*Luchs*). The reading of P¹ is *qua quassauerant* (*qua* deleted by P²). The passage is emended by the scribe Theodegrimñ to: refectisque *aquas sauerant*.

On the whole, passages in P involving corruptions are either left as they were or, if altered, are dealt with in the manner of the above examples, where the scribes' sole aim seems to have been to make Latin words, and the sense does not apparently concern them at all. Small errors, involving spelling or the change of a single letter, are sometimes intelligently corrected, as, for instance, in XXIII, 35, 15 the correction of *ut tante* to *ut ante*; XXII, 20, 7 *periectas* to *perlectas*; XXII, 15, 8 *secutus* to *secutus*; XXVIII, 32, 1 *terfidiam* to *perfidiam*; XXIII, 48, 2 *ubique* to *ibique*; and XXVIII, 38, 5, where, for *consul comitiis perfectis* ad exercitum in Etruriam redit, P has *consul comitiis praefectis*, which is emended in R to *consul comitiis praefectus*, a correction which, though not right, at least displays some intelligence. But in the majority of cases where the scribes have made alterations it has been with the result of corrupting the text of Livy where it was correct, or of magnifying the error where it was corrupt. Fortunately, all of the emendations are on a small scale. The most common forms of errors of emendation which occur in this manuscript may be classified as follows:

(1) Alteration of the cases of adjectives and nouns. The scribes often altered one of two adjacent words in different cases to make it agree in case with the other, misled by the juxtaposition of the two words into supposing that they were related. Alterations of this kind are sometimes due to the unconscious repetition of the ending, but the majority are probably due to deliberate change. The scribe Ansoaldus was especially prone to superficial emendations of this nature.

Examples: XXVI, 25, 3 *uastatis proximis illyrici* in *pelagoniam . . . uertit iter* P, *illyricis* R. — XXVI, 39, 13 *ita in*

arto *stipatae* erant naues P, *stipato* R.—XXVII, 43, 9 exercitum urbanum ad narniam *hosti* opponant P², *hostem* R.—XXVIII, 24, 1 prouinciam omnem ac *maxime* longinqua eius turbauit P. Here R has *maxima*, to agree in form with *longinqua*.—XXVIII, 26, 1 per eosdem dies quibus haec *illi* consultabant P, *illis* R. The scribe seems to have had an impression that this pronoun was connected with *quibus*.—XXVIII, 29, 10 exercitus, qui *corona* contionem circumdederat P, *coronam* R.—XXVIII, 31, 6 suam quoque noxam pari *poena* aestimatam rati P, *poenam* R.—XXVIII, 33, 6 neque ex aduerso *tantum* inlati obuios obtriuere P, *tanto* R.—XXIII, 40, 12 ferme III et ~~ϕ~~CC *capti* et signa militaria VII et XX P, *capta* R.—XXV, 40, 6 socios ad retinendos in fide animos eorum *ferendoque* in tempore cuique auxilium adit P; *ferendoque* is emended in R to *ferendosque*, that it may agree with *animos*. In all these passages, with the exception of the last, the reading of P was perfectly correct, and the alterations of the scribes were made without any careful consideration of the sense.

Sometimes the case of a noun is altered owing to a failure to understand its real construction, e.g. XXVIII, 25, 4 ad quorum primum aduentum exasperati *animi* P. Ansoaldus has written *animo* in R.—XXVIII, 32, 10 priusquam *prouincia* decedat P, *prouinciam* R. The scribe apparently regarded *decedat* as a transitive verb.—XXVIII, 20, 11 prendere tribuni iuberent, ac iure sacrosanctae *potestatis* reducerent P. The scribe of R, not understanding the construction of *potestatis*, has written *potestates*.—XXVIII, 22, 2 classem in portu simulacrum et ipsam edentem *naualis pugnae* ostendit P, *nauales pugnae* R.—XXVI, 27, 10 *consuli leuino* capuam praetereunti circumfusa multitudo campanorum est P. The scribe of R wrote *consule leuino*, having probably in mind the regular formula for giving a date.—XXV, 40, 3 propter *excellencia* eius generis ornamenta P, *excellentiam* R. Here *excellencia* was not recognized as an adjective.—XXVI, 29, 2 *postmodo* P, changed to *postmodum* in R, owing to the fact that the scribe erroneously

regarded *post* as a preposition.—XXVI, 37, 6 ad *moenia* urbis P², ad *moeniam* urbis R.—XXVIII, 17, 14 nunc *omnis centuriones* militesque . . . *pleminios* fecit P. In this passage the scribe Landemarus did not recognize *omnis* as the accusative plural, and has written: nunc *omnis centurionis* militesque, etc.

(2) Alterations in the forms of verbs. The most common form of this species of emendation consists in changing the number of a verb in order to make it agree with a noun in a different number, which is erroneously supposed to be its subject, or with another verb in a different number.

Examples: XXIII, 22, 3 arma quod impigre *ceperint* laudare P. In R the scribe Fredeg wrote *ceperit*, which was subsequently altered by a corrector to *coeperint*.—XXV, 40, 1 marcellus . . . cum cetera . . . tanta fide atque integritate composuisset, ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi romani *augeret* P, *augerent* R. The scribe was, perhaps, influenced by *composuissent*, the original reading of P¹, which was subsequently corrected to *composuisset*.—XXVI, 6, 4 neque iam armati inrumpentibus romanis resistebant quam quo porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missilibus procul hostis *arcebat* P, *arcebant* R. The reading is influenced, perhaps, by the number of *resistebant*.—XXVIII, 23, 4 correpti alii flamma sunt, alii ambusti adflatu vaporis, cum receptus primis urgente turba non *esset* P, *essent* R. The error is possibly due to *sunt* above.—XXVIII, 27, 14 cum eo ipso non contenti, si pro tribunis illos haberetis fasces imperatoris vestri ad eos quibus seruus cui imperarent numquam *fuera*t romanus exercitus detulistis P, *fuera*nt R.—XXVI, 50, 7 amicus populo romano sis et, si me uirum bonum credis esse, qualis patrem patrumque (*sic*) meum iam ante hae gentes norant, *scias* multos nostri similes . . . esse P, *sciant* R.

Sometimes the tenses are changed without any adequate reason for the emendation. *E.g.* XXVIII, 25, 8 *habebat* P, is altered to *habet* in R.—XXVIII, 27, 9 quantum opinio *fefellit* P, *fallit* R.—XXIII, 22, 17 nisi faciet (*paci et Luchs*) concordiae *consulitis* P. The scribe of R has written the future,

consuletis, to agree in tense with the corrupt *faciet*.—XXVI, 31, 7 nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas cum principibus responsum *dabatur* (*Luchs*). P has here *dabantur*, which is emended in R to *dabuntur*.—XXVIII, 14, 9 id quibus uirtutibus inducti ita *iudicarint* P, *iudicarent* R.—XXVI, 29, 2 quae sors . . . ita exanimauit siculos . . . ut comploratio eorum fleuileque uoces et extemplo oculos hominum *conuerterint* et postmodo sermones praebuerint P, *conuerterent* R. In these last two examples the reason for the change was, apparently, the unfamiliarity of the scribe with the use of the perfect subjunctive; *praebuerint*, however, was allowed to stand.

The infinitive, especially if it was removed a considerable distance from the word upon which it depended, was not infrequently emended to a finite form of the verb, and the passive infinitive was sometimes carelessly changed to the more familiar active. *E.g.* XXII, 37, 4 quae ne *accipere* abnuant P; *acciperent* is the reading of R, the change being apparently due to the immediate proximity of *ne*.—XXVI, 2, 4 *rescribi* de frumento et uestimentis exercitus placuit P, *rescribit* R.—XXVI, 2, 14 redisse P, redisset R.—XXVI, 33, 8 sacrificasse P, sacrificasset R.—XXVIII, 24, 7 si debellatum iam et confecta prouincia esset, cur in italiam non *reuehi* P, cur in italiam *reuehit* R (omitting *non*).—XXII, 28, 6 timeri P, timere R.—XXVIII, 34, 11 praestari P, praestare R.—In XXVIII, 14, 12 the perf. indic. *acceperere* is altered to *accipere*.—XXVIII, 13, 8 ita enim *iussi* ab senatu erant P, *iussit* R.

(3) Another tendency toward emendation is to be found in the case of unfamiliar words, particularly unusual proper names. Similar words, with which the scribe was more familiar, were often substituted for the unknown word or expression.

Thus, in XXVIII, 26, 4, *indibilem*, the reading of P, is promptly changed in R to *indebilem*.—XXVI, 21, 11 animaduersum P, annum aduersum R.—XXVIII, 18, 8 contaminare P, contra minare R.—XXVIII, 33, 9 in *arto* pugna P; in *orto* pugna R, *orto* being the more familiar word.—XXVI, 25, 15 iamphoryna P, iam horina R. The correctors have also made

emendations of a similar nature. — XXIII, 9, 1 t. otacilius P, R¹; *tot acilius* is the emendation of a corrector in R. — XXIII, 9, 4 noui ali (= alii) *creati t. otacilius*, etc., P, *creauit otacilius* R¹, *creauit tota cilius* corrector. — XXIII, 3, 9 *crotoniatum*, the reading of R¹, being a strange word, is emended to *crotonia tum* by a corrector.

(4) The scribes of R, whose knowledge of the Latin of their own times was far from perfect, naturally found much that was difficult to understand in the Latinity of an author who wrote more than eight hundred years before their day. Expressions of an idiomatic nature, in particular, often proved a stumbling-block to them, and were therefore subject to emendation.

Examples: XXII, 16, 1 *quod uiae* inter bina castra erat P. The scribe of R, not understanding the expression *quod uiae*, emended it to *quot uiae*. — XXVIII, 17, 17 neque ego exequi possum nec uobis *operae est* audire P. Here the use of the genitive was not understood, and the scribe of R wrote *opera est*. — XXVI, 37, 3 et in italia cum tarentum amissum *damno et dolori* . . . fuit P. The dative not being understood, *dolori* was emended in R to *dolore* by a corrector. — XXIII, 3, 15 locros omnis multitudo *abeunt* P. The use of the accusative without a preposition was not understood, and *abeunt* is emended in R to *habent*. — XXVIII, 1, 14 laelium in africam *praedatum* mittit P; *praedatum* was not recognized as the supine, and was emended in R to *praedatam*, to agree with *africam*. — XXIII, 16, 19 in aede libertatis quam pater eius . . . ex multalicia pecunia *faciendam* curauit P. A corrector in R, not understanding the construction of *faciendam*, emended it to *facienda*, with the apparent purpose of making it agree with *pecunia*. — XXIII, 10, 2 ut *consules* sortirentur P, ut *consulibus* sortirentur R. — XXVIII, 25, 14 *ad suam cuique* leuandam culpam P; *ad suam cuique* is the emendation of the scribe of R. — XXIII, 8, 2 eadem uos cura qua in aciem armati descenditis P; *uos* is omitted in R, probably because the scribe did not understand the order of the words.

(5) The Carolingian scribe, in copying, rarely grasped the meaning of a long sentence as a whole, and was likely in con-

sequence, mentally, to divorce parts of the sentence from the whole, and to alter them to suit some idea suggested to him by the general meaning of the immediate context, or by a neighboring word, without any thought of how such alteration would affect the entire sentence.

An excellent example of this is XXIII, 4, 2 *hiero . . . uoluisse dicitur liberas syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium . . . interiret regnum P.* Here Fredeğ, catching the idea of "boy" and "plaything," has, consciously or unconsciously, emended the words in italics to *pueri liber ludibrium*, supposing the passage to mean, "the book is the boy's plaything."—XXIII, 13, 4 *hannibal conlaudatos eos oneratosque ingentibus promissis . . . P.* The same scribe of R, taking his cue from *conlaudatos*, has emended *oneratosque* to *honoratosque*.—XXVIII, 37, 9 *itaque egressi nauibus super portum loco munito castra (locant om. P) ac sine certamine urbe agroque potiti, etc., P.* Influenced by *castra, certamine*, and other military expressions, the scribe of R wrote *signe* instead of *sine*.—XXVIII, 17, 9 *aut nos respicietis (respicietis Luchs) perditas res nostras P, recipietis R.*—XXIII, 1, 10 *cum poenus dolo dimissum romanum incusaret, locrenses profugisse ipsum causarentur P; incuraret is the reading of R, the scribe evidently getting the idea of "attack" from profugisse.*—XXVI, 41, 10 *quot classes, quot duces, quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt! iam quid hoc bello memorem? (Luchs).* Here P had *quod* for *quot* in each of the places in which it occurs, and the scribe of R has emended the last part of the sentence to: *iam quod hoc bello memorem.*—XXIII, 1, 9 *ut foedus extemplo aequis legibus fieret P.* The scribe of R has emended *fieret* to *feret*, apparently with the expression *legem ferre* in mind.

XII. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

In the four centuries which preceded the copying of R great changes had taken place in the pronunciation of Latin. The phonetic changes in the language which developed in Italy

itself, and those which arose in Spain, France, England, and Ireland, in the adaptation of Latin sounds to foreign tongues, were accompanied by corresponding changes in spelling, which varied more or less among the different nationalities (see Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*). Naturally, the Latin texts felt the influence of these changes, and the spelling of the Classical Latin authors became reduced more and more, with every transcription, to the modes of spelling in vogue in the Middle Ages. Laxity of spelling also made it possible for words of different meaning to be confused, and gave rise to errors in the texts. It thus became necessary for the scholars of the last half of the eighth century to establish rules for the writing of such words as might be confused in this way. Of these treatises on spelling the best known is Alcuin's *de Orthographia*.

I have said that Alcuin was abbot of St. Martin's of Tours not more than thirty years before the *Reginensis* was produced in the scriptorium of that monastery. His treatise on orthography was intended, no doubt, for the guidance of scribes engaged in copying Latin manuscripts. It is natural to suppose that its influence would be felt to a greater degree in the scriptorium of his own monastery than anywhere else. We should, therefore, find in the *Reginensis* a practical illustration of the extent to which the treatise influenced the spelling in the texts.

In the *Puteanus* there was already a tendency to use the methods of spelling in vogue in the fifth century, such as *ae* for *e* and *vice versa*, the confusion of *u* and *b*, the omission of the nasals, etc. It can be seen, however, by glancing over a few pages of Luchs's edition, that many of the older forms, such as *aequom*, *aput*, *relicuom*, *obpugnare*, *urps*, etc., are faithfully preserved. In making their copy the scribes of R had three courses open to them: (1) to adhere closely to the spelling of the *Puteanus*; (2) to observe the rules of Alcuin as far as they went; or (3) to use the method of spelling to which the scribe had been accustomed. No one of the eight scribes consistently followed out any one of these three courses. A

given scribe will in one place leave an archaic word unchanged, in another place he changes it to the current mode of spelling. The same word is at one time spelled according to Alcuin's orthography, at another time it is spelled in a different way, by the same scribe. All of the scribes freely introduced the spellings to which they had been accustomed. One is, on the whole, surprised to find that the impression made by Alcuin's treatise was not greater. Its influence does not appear to any extent, except in the work of the scribes Nauto and Gyslarus. For instance, Alcuin directs that the plural of *mille* should be spelled *milia*, but most of the scribes spell it now with one *l*, now with two. With few exceptions, when they departed from the spelling of their original, they adopted the manner of spelling in vogue in their own day. This, too, varied among the different scribes,—a fact which points, no doubt, to local influences, and suggests the probability that they were not all Frankish, but that other parts of western Europe were represented. For instance, Fredeğ, Theogrimnus, Ansoaldus, and Landemarus use *ci* for *ti* indiscriminately, thus: *cerciores*, *sacietatem*, *precia*, *paciendo*, *nunciantes*, *inicium*, *tercius*, *iacencium*, *abrum-pencium*, *spacium*, *arcium* = *artium*, *inficiari*; and *vice versa*, *conditione*, *sotii*, *fatile* = *facile*, *prouintia*, *pretibus* = *precibus*, *supplitio*, *malefitio*, *tenatior*. One also finds *iessisset* for *gessisset*, and *agebat* for *aiebat*. This confusion is not so common in the work of the other scribes. Also, Fredeğ and Theogrimnus have a greater tendency than the rest to omit or wrongly to insert the aspirate.

I have already said that, in general, the practice of the scribes of R was to make the archaic forms of their original harmonize with the spellings in vogue in the ninth century. Such forms, for instance, as *aequom*, *haut*, *aput*, etc., were usually written *aequum*, *haud*, *apud*, respectively. Sometimes these archaic forms were left unchanged, and, strangely enough, all of the scribes now and then use the archaic form even when it does not occur in the original. On the page of the facsimile in Chatelain's *Paléographie des Classiques Latins* there happen to

be more than one example of archaizing. To judge from this single page, it might seem as though the tendency to archaize were common;¹ but I have made a collection of the cases in which the scribes had archaized, and found that such archaizing was quite rare and exceptional. I regret that the list is not complete, since I was able to cover not quite two-thirds of the entire manuscript; but it is sufficiently full to show that archaizing the spelling of words was not a common thing among the scribes. The list is as follows:²

XXII, 20, 8 oppugnatā P, obpugnatā R. — XXII, 22, 13 inquit P, inqid R. — XXII, 26, 4 haud P, haut R. — XXII, 29, 3 uelut P, uelud R. — XXIII, 35, 18 neclecta P, neclegta R. — XXIII, 36, 5 oppugnaret P, obpugnaret R. — XXIII, 36, 7 oppugnandae P, obpugnandae R. — XXIII, 49, 5 oppugnabatur P, obpugnabatur R. — XXV, 13, 5 comportatum P, conportatum R. — XXV, 20, 5 imminebat P, inminebat R. — XXVI, 1, 9 supplementum P, subplementum R. — XXVI, 4, 10 apud P, aput R. — XXVI, 25, 2 compulit P, conpulit R. — XXVI, 25, 13 composuerunt P, conposuerunt R. — XXVI, 30, 6 praeoptasse P, praeobtasse R. — XXVI, 30, 7 oppressis P, obpressis R. — XXVI, 37, 9 uelut P, uelud R. — XXVI, 40, 18 uelut P, uelud R. — XXVII, 40, 9 inquit P, inqid R. — XXVIII, 22, 14 suppressit P, subpressit R. — XXVIII, 28, 12 absumptis P, apsumptis R. — XXVIII, 33, 7 imminuti P², inminuti R. — XXVIII, 2, 12 immittendi P, inmittendi R. — XXVIII, 6, 6 redempti P, redempti R. — XXVIII, 6, 8 composuissent P, conposuissent R. — XXVIII, 6, 8 apud P, aput R. — XXVIII, 12, 19 conscripta P, conscribta R. — XXVIII, 13, 8 supplexmentum P, subplexmentum R. — XXVIII, 25, 4 immensum P, inensum R.

Confusion in spelling is not in R a prolific source of corruption. Naturally, errors can arise only when the altered spelling of one word produces another Latin word, or where

¹ See an article by W. M. Lindsay in the *Classical Review*, 1896, p. 233.

² In the readings of P I have had to rely upon Luchs's silence.

the scribes of R have attempted wrong emendations in the belief that words in the original were wrongly spelled. The following is a list of the confusions in spelling to be found in R. Each case of confusion of letters or sound is followed by a list of errors of which it is the cause.

(1) The confusion of *e*, *ae*, *oe*. This is the most common of all. *ae* and *e*, in particular, are used without discrimination, as, indeed, is also the case in the *Puteanus*. The scribes write *predae* = *praedae*, *aequitum* = *equitum*, *poenatibus* and *paenatibus* = *penatibus*, *praelium*, *saenatum*, *gregae* = *grege*, *caedae* = *caede*, *urbae* = *urbe*, etc.

Examples of possible corruptions due to this cause: XXVI, 34, 2 *operae* praetium P, *opere* praetium R. — XXVI, 15, 10 *infestis signis ire* ad urbem pergit P, *signis irae* R. — XXII, 33, 8 *aedem in arce* faciendam locauerunt P, *arcae* R. — XXIII, 20, 2 eos *effuse* palatos hanno adortus P, *effusae* R. — XXVIII, 25, 6 suis *recte* factis gratia qui exsoluat P, *rectae* R. — XXVI, 49, 15 nunc ut id *curem* impensius, *vestra* quoque uirtus dignitasque facit P, *curae* R. The scribe did not notice the abbreviation for *m*. — XXIII, 49, 12 *suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae maxime* omnium belli cupida P, *prouinci aut quem axime* R¹. The scribe saw *quaem*, and supposed that it was an error in spelling on the part of the scribe of P. — XXVIII, 2, 9 dum *cedenti* duodecimae legioni . . . tertiam decumam legionem . . . firmamentum ducit P, *caedenti* R. — XXVIII, 30, 6 cum *lelius* et *ipse* in quinquere mi portu carpeiae . . . inuehitur P, *ipsae* R. This confusion of *ipse*, *ipsae* is one frequently made by the scribes of R. — XXVIII, 9, 9 *pleminius* impotens *irae, neglectam* ab scipione . . . suam iniuriam ratus P, *iraena et lectam* R. Here the scribe has seemingly resolved the first *e* of *neclectam* into *ae*, and then attached one letter to the first word, and the other to the second. Other examples of this nature have been already given in the chapter on wrong word-division.

As the result of writing *e* for *ae*, *que* is, in manuscripts of all periods, almost as common a spelling of the relative pronoun as

quae. The spelling *que* is, indeed, so common that few errors are likely to arise from it; but, on the other hand, scribes who wished to employ the spelling *quae* for the relative often went too far, and wrote *quae* for the enclitic *que*. This creates an opportunity for corruption, especially if the relative suits the context, and if, as was the case in R, the words were so divided that *quae* was written separately, and not attached to the preceding word. Examples of this kind of error are to be found on every page. I shall give only a few.

XXIII, 1, 7 *aduocataque* extemplo contione P, *aduocata quae* extemplo contione R. — XXVI, 33, 10 *sciretque* (*scisceretque Luchs*) plebs P, *sciret quae* plebs R. — XXVI, 33, 13 *deuina* (= *diuina*) *humanaque*, *utensiliaque* siue quid aliud dederunt P, *utensilia quae* siue R. — XXVII, 39, 6 non enim receperunt modo aruerni eum *deincepsque* aliae gallicae atque alpinae gentes P, *deinceps quae* aliae R. — XXVIII, 25, 5 *quae* causa ire consternationis*que* subitae foret P, *consternationis quae* subitae R. — XXIII, 39, 7 *et nolae . . . plebs hannibalis erat, consiliaque* occulta . . . *inibantur* P, *consilia quae* occulta R. — In XXV, 11, 15 *Luchs's* text has: *suas . . . cum claustra portus hostis haberet, quem ad modum* inde in apertum mare euasuras. For the words in italics P has: *haberet et que ad modum*. The *et* is probably due to dittography, and the *que* to leaving off the sign for the nasal. The scribe Nauto has added to the difficulty by writing *haberet et quae ad modum*.

(2) *o* written for *u*, and *vice versa*. Spellings such as *tulerantes*, *pupulatione*, *furtuna*, *uicture* (= *victore*), *ducendo* (= *docendo*), *expugnatoros* (= *expugnatueros*), *incolomi*, *ligorum* (= *ligurum*), *totum* (= *tutum*), *luxoria*, *moros* (= *muros*), *syra-cosanos* are not uncommon. The errors due to this cause consist chiefly in the confusion of the ending *-us* with the ending *-os*, e.g. *maximus* for *maximos*, *medius* for *medios*, *Romanus* for *Romanos*. Errors of this nature have already been treated under Emendation.

(3) Some of the other vowels are confused, though not so frequently.

i is sometimes written for *e*, and *vice versa*, e.g. *diadima* = *diadema*, *luciria* = *Luceria*, *delegestis* = *delegistis*, *itenere* = *itinere*, *uergis* = *uirgis*, *seculorum* = *siculorum*. Spelled *seculorum*, this word is likely to be confused with *saeculorum*.

a and *e* are occasionally confused in unaccented syllables owing to mental pronunciation. Examples are: XXII, 20, 4 *escensio* ab nauibus in terram facta P, *ascensio* R.—XXVI, 51, 3 ipse paucos dies . . . *exercendis* . . . copiis absumpsit P, *exarcendis* R.—XXVII, 41, 5 id modo romanum quaerere *apparebat* P, *apperebat* R. A corrector has changed *apperebat* to *appetebat*.

(4) The wrong insertion or omission of *h*. This creates many possibilities for error, owing to the confusion of such words as *aut*, *haut*; *ac*, *hac*; *iis*, *his* (the correctors in the manuscript have, in almost all cases, changed *iis* to *his*); *ostium*, *hostium*; *anno*, *hanno*; etc. Examples: XXVIII, 19, 8 quae piacula quibus *deis quibus* hostiis fieri placeret P, *de his quibus* R.—XXIII, 13, 4 *hac* cum spe dimissi tarentini P, *ac* cum spe R.—XXII, 24, 6 quia haud dubie hostis brevior uia praeuenturus erat (*Luchs*), *haud quia* dubiae hostibus P, *aut quia* R.—XXIII, 16, 6 metu poenae collem *haut* procul castris ceperunt P, *aut* procul R. This confusion is quite common.—XXIII, 20, 2 eos *effuse palatos hanno* adortus P, *effusae palatos anno* R.—XXIII, 14, 1 parte altera *hanno* . . . altera *ti*. gracchus P, parte altera *anno* . . . *alterati* gracchus R.—XXIII, 40, 8 ad *ostium* fluminis P, ad *hostium* fluminis R.—XXII, 39, 6 *ominis* etiam tibi absit c. flamine memoria P, *hominis* R.—XXVI, 26, 8 dilectum . . . per totam siciliam *habitum* P, *abitum* R.—XXII, 12, 7 et modo citato agmine ex conspectu *abibat* P, *habebat* R.

(5) Final *d* written for final *t*, and *vice versa*. This gives rise to such confusions as *at*, *ad*; *it*, *id*; *quot*, *quod*; *aliquot*, *aliquod*; *idem*, *item*; etc.

Examples of errors due to this cause: XXIII, 39, 13 ipse hibernacula . . . *communiit* aedificauitque P, *communi id* R.—XXIII, 33, 3 iouis *it* (= *id*) templum est P. In R the scribe did not recognize *it* as the other spelling of *id*, and wrote: iouis

sit templum est, which was, however, afterward corrected. — XXVIII, 26, 15 *sed* tacitus paulisper P, *sed id* tacitus paulisper R. — XXII, 16, 1 *quod uiae* inter bina castra erat P². The scribe of R first wrote *quod*, and then altered so as to read: *quot uiae* inter bina castra erat. — XXII, 34, 10 quia inuitis iis *dictator esset* dictus P, *dictatores sed* R. — XXVIII, 24, 2 quantam excitatura molem *uera fuisset clades* P, *uerafuis sed* clades R. — XXVI, 38, 7 *at* ille . . . rem hannibali aperit P, *ad* ille R. — XXIII, 14, 9 *ad quae clamor cum ingenti adsensu est sublatu*s is the reading of the texts. P has: *at quae* clamor, etc. The *at quae* of P has in R become *atque*.

The two errors which follow are due to a similar confusion of *p* and *b*: XXVI, 29, 8 conlege *optionem* dare prouincia^e P, *obitionem* dare R. Compare, also, *pueri liber ludibrium* in XXIII, 4, 2, where P has *puerili per ludibrium*.

(6) *b* written for *u*, and *u* for *b*. Spellings such as *uoleuat*, *pleuis* (= *plebis*), occasionally occur, but no corruptions have arisen in R from this cause.

(7) *ci* for *ti* before a vowel, and *vice versa*. This confusion in spelling was so common that few errors were likely to arise from it. I have found but one example of anything amounting to a real corruption from this cause: XXVIII, 12, 1 *neclectae* eo biennio res *in graecia* erant P, *ingratia* erant R.

(8) *i* for *g* before a vowel, and *g* for *i*. XXI, 35, 4 *aiebat* P, *agebat* R. — XXII, 35, 7 *gessisset* P, *iessisset* R.

(9) The following errors are due to the confusion of the sound of *s* with that of *x*, and that of *c* before *i*: XXVIII, 2, 2 *ausetanum* P, *auxetanum* R. — XVIII, 21, 12 *onus demptum* erat *de scipione* cognoscendi P, *decipioni* R.

(10) In XXVIII, 29, 5, the texts have *arcessit*, P has *acces-*
sit, and R has *accensit*. The error is due to the fact that *n* was not pronounced in the combination *ens*.

(11) The following error seems to be due to a confusion of the sounds of *l* and *r*, which gives rise to the spelling *fraglantia* for *flagrantia*: XXVIII, 28, 10 nihil ultra *facile* creditam mortem meam a nobis uiolatus sim P, *facere* R.

(12) The use of the double letter for the single, and *vice versa*, has already been treated under Dittography and Haplography. This is the cause of confusions such as *dimisi, dimissi; uelit, uellit*; etc. A good example of an error growing out of the repetition of a single letter is XXV, 41, 10 ut claudius *comitia* perficeret P, ut claudius *commitia* perficeret R. The unusual spelling caused the scribe of M to emend, and write *ut claudius commitius perficeret*.

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING THE CUMULATIVE GROWTH OF ERROR

The examples given in the preceding pages have been chosen with the view of illustrating, in each case, a single stage of error in the process of transcription. For this purpose I have used, for the most part, only the errors actually made by the scribes who copied the *Reginensis*, disregarding the alterations made by the correctors, who corrected each quaternion as soon as it was finished. These corrections are, however, interesting in themselves, and show how the trifling mistakes of the scribes frequently grew into more serious errors in the superficial attempts of the correctors to make sense of the passages thus affected and to emend the blunders. The *Reginensis*, thus emended, was copied in turn, in the eleventh century, to produce the *Mediceus*, and this manuscript was subsequently corrected by several hands. The *Puteanus* itself had, before the *Reginensis* was copied, received corrections from two correctors, P², P³, in addition to those which were made in the manuscript by the scribe who copied it. Consequently, between the first readings of P, which were sometimes already corrupt, and the last corrections in M, there is sufficient latitude to exhibit several distinct stages in the growth of a corruption. It is the purpose of the following list of examples to illustrate this cumulative growth. Each of the errors here given has, in the hands of the scribes and the correctors of these three manuscripts, passed through at least two stages in the process of corrup-

tion, and some will be found to have passed through as many as five.

The examples are too varied in their nature, and too complicated, to admit of classification. I shall, therefore, arrange them in the order in which they occur in the text. For the present purpose it will not be necessary to distinguish the various hands of the correctors in R. Indeed, the variety of inks used would make it a difficult matter. I shall, therefore, give only the corrections which were already in R before M was copied. In the case of corrections in M, I shall also simply indicate that there was a correction, without specifying whether it was by M², M³, M⁴, etc. The corruptions in the following examples will be studied to better advantage with Luchs's critical edition in hand.

- XXII, 28, 3 quem (*Luchs*); queeū P; que | eum R¹; altered to *quae eum* by a corrector.
- XXII, 29, 2 proferte (*Luchs*); profere P; profere R¹; altered by a corrector to *proferre*, without regard for the sense.
- XXII, 33, 1 qui per biennium *fefellerat, Romae* deprensus (*Luchs*). Here P has *fefellereat romae*, which is written in R as follows, *fefellere at romam*, the scribe understanding the *at* as the preposition *ad*.
- XXII, 34, 2 ab Q. Fabio (*Luchs*); abq. fabio P; the scribe of R, not recognizing the *q.* as the abbreviation of *Quintus*, wrote *absque fabio*.
- XXIII, 41, 6 deinde aliae *quoque* civitates (*Luchs*); quodq. P, R¹; altered to *quotque* by a corrector in R.
- XXIII, 42, 3 ad id tempus *quo tu in Italiam* uenisti (*Luchs*). Here P¹ had *quodu in italiam*, corrected by P² to *quod in italiam*. The scribe of R, disregarding the correction in P, wrote *quod uenit aliam*, which was altered by a corrector to the correction in P.
- XXIII, 42, 12 a quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque (strataque P, R) esse *sciam*, ei facile esse ducam (dicam P, R) opprimere populos nostros . . . (*Luchs*). By a double

confusion of letters P has in place of *sciam et* the words *suam et*, which were in turn copied into R; but the scribe has altered them to *sua et*, in order to make an apparent agreement with *strataque*.

XXIII, 43, 7 nihil enim Marcellus *ita egerat* (*Luchs*). For the words in italics P¹ had *itagerat*, which was emended to *ita agere at* by P². It was altered still further by the scribe of R, who wrote *itagereuat*, and again, by a corrector, to *ita gerebat*.

XXIII, 46, 4 hostium plus *quinque milia caesa* eo die (*Luchs*). For this P had: hostium *plus uel causa* (altered to *caesa* by P¹, and *caesū* by P³) eo die. The text of R was here worked over to such an extent that the original reading is no longer to be recognized, but, after several alterations and erasures, the passage as it now stands is: hostium *plus uel caesa uel* eo die. The corruption *uel* probably originated in P from a confusion of a numeral and the abbreviation for *milia*, and the correction in R is therefore all the more absurd, the scribe having felt it necessary to add a second *uel*, without any regard for the sense.

XXIII, 47, 6 dicto prope citius equom in uiam *Claudius deiecit* (*Luchs*). Here P has, for the words in italics, *clā|delegit*.¹ This is also the reading of R¹, but a corrector has altered it to *clā delegit*. The whole passage now stands in R as follows: dicto prope citius equum in cauam | uia *clā delegit*. The change to *equum* is by a corrector; but the insertion of *cauam*, from the context a few lines farther on, is by the scribe, who is also responsible for writing *uia*.

XXIII, 49, 2 ut *militia uacarent, dum . . .* (*Luchs*). Here the original reading of P was *mihiiuacarenttum*. The successive stages in the progress of error are as follows: mihi uacarent tum P²; mihi atarent tum P³; mihi tarenttum R¹; *mihi tarentum* corrector in R. The passage now reads in R: unum ut *mihi tarentum* in eo publico essent.

¹ Luchs has here an error in his critical edition, where he reports the reading of P as *cl. delegit*.

- XXIII, 49, 3 res publica *administrata est. ii mores*, etc. (*Luchs*). Here P has *administratast hi mores*. The scribe of R has written: resp. *administratasthimores*, which is corrected by a corrector to: resp. *administratas timores*.
- XXIII, 2, 2 ad Crotonem oppugnandam pergunt *ire, Graecam et ipsam urbem* (*Luchs*). By a confusion of letters P has *ire gregā*. In R the scribe Fredeğ wrote *ire gregam*. This a corrector then emended to read *ira gregem*. A serious error is, by these various stages, created out of a very simple one.
- XXIII, 4, 8-9 funus fit regium magis amore civium et caritate quam *cura suorum celebre*. *brevi* deinde ceteros tutores summovet Andranodorus (*Luchs*). For the words in italics P has *cura suorum celebrevi deinde*, the syllable *bre* being omitted by haplography. This in turn appears in R as *cur suorum celebrevi deinde*, and has been altered by a corrector to read *cura suorum celebre deinde*. The whole word *brevi* had thus disappeared by degrees.
- XXIII, 12, 4 quodque ibi *praesidi* erat P¹; *praesidi* was altered by P² to *praesidiu*, and was thus copied by R¹, but the clause was altered by a corrector so as to read *quoque ibi praesidio erat*.
- XXIII, 15, 4 *fortissimus* quisque *pugnator esse* desierat P; *fortissimus* quisque *pugnatores sedesierat* R¹. A corrector in R has written: *fortissimos* quisque *pugnatores sedesierat*, *fortissimus* being altered to agree with *pugnatores*.
- XXV, 38, 22 *ite* dis bene iuuantibus P; *iste* dis bene iuuantibus R, M¹. The error is carried through a second stage by a corrector in M, who has corrected *iste* to *ista*.
- XXV, 40, 6 huic ab epicyde *et hannone numidae* dati auxiliares P. The words in italics are copied into R thus: *et hanno nenumidae*. The *ne* was not understood, and was consequently omitted by the scribe of M, thus: *et hanno numidae*.
- XXV, 40, 13 nam si muttinem opperirentur et secunda *pugnae fortuna evenisset* P. By wrongly spacing the letters of

the last three words, R has written *pugnae fortunae uenisset*, and it was thus copied into M. A corrector, however, has placed a dot over the *e* of *fortunae*, and would read *pugnae fortuna uenisset*.

- XXVI, 2, 10 *Cumas Beneuentum* aliasque urbes (*Luchs*); *cumas benevolentum* (*beneuentum post ras.*) aliasque urbes P. The scribe of R copied the passage as originally written in P, but a corrector has emended it so that it now reads: *cum ad benevolentum* aliasque urbes.
- XXVI, 3, 11 *negassentque patres e re publica* esse (*Luchs*); *negassent quae patres e re publica* esse P; *negassent quae patre se rep̄.* esse R¹; *negasset quae patre se rep̄.* esse, corrector in R and M¹. This a corrector in M has emended to: *negasset que utile rep̄.* esse. The passage has thus gone through four stages of corruption, the last of which is a case of wilful emendation unusual for the eleventh century.
- XXVI, 5, 6 *nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia campani omnes* P, R¹. A corrector in R, influenced apparently by the preceding word *alia*, emended to *campania omnes*, and the passage thus emended was copied by the scribe of M; it was further altered by a corrector in M, to read thus: *nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia campani ac omnes*.
- XXVI, 6, 15 *ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras* (*Luchs*). By a confusion of letters the first two words are written *notu* in P, and are thus copied by the scribe of R. A corrector in R has emended the passage to read: *noctu perditas res campanorum narras*.
- XXVI, 28, 6 *et Q. Fulvio* Capua prouincia decreta (*Luchs*); *etque fuluio* P, R¹, the abbreviation for *Quintus* and *que* being the same. A corrector in R has emended to *aque fuluio*, and this is copied by the scribe of M. A corrector in M has altered the passage to read: *ac q. fuluio* capua prouincia decreta.
- XXVI, 29, 8 *conlege* (= *conlegae*) *optionem* P; *conlegae obtionem* R; *conlegae obitionem* M¹. This error, now corrected in M, is due to the archaizing of spelling unusual in R.

- XXVI, 30, 11 cum *excedere ex templo* . . . Laeuinus iussisset (*Luchs*); *excedere et templo* P¹ (corrected by P²); *excederet extemplo* R¹; *excederet extimplo* corrector in R, and M¹; now emended in M to *excedere extemplo*.
- XXVI, 35, 2 nec, *ex qua* pararentur stipendiumque acciperent (*Luchs*); *ex aquam* (quam P²) P¹, R¹; the scribe of M has altered the case of *aquam* to agree with *ex*, and has written: nec *ex aqua* pararentur.
- XXVI, 36, 2 sicut honore *praestent ita* (ex *tita* P¹) ad omnia P; *praestēt tita* R¹; *praestetit ita* corrector in R; *prestitit ita* M.
- XXVI, 36, 4 nobismet ipsis *primum imperemus* (*Luchs*); *primum peremus* P, R; *primum feremus* corrector in R.
- XXVI, 36, 6 *ut salinum* patellamque deorum causa habere possint (*Luchs*); *ut alinum* P¹; *ut alignum* P², R¹; *ut lignum* corrector in R, also M.
- XXVI, 39, 10 tarentini *ut recuperata urbe* ab romanis post centesimum prope annum arcem etiam liberarent P; *ut recuperat urbe* R; *ut recuperaret urbe* M¹; *ut recuperaret urbem* corrector in M,—a good example of superficial emendation.
- XXVI, 39, 12 ut non missilibus tantum sed gladiis etiam prope conlato pede *gereretur res* (*Luchs*); *quereretur* P; *quaeretur* R.
- XXVI, 39, 18 mox praedae *fuere Thurinis* Metapontinisque. ex onerariis, *quae cum comteatu sequebantur* . . . (*Luchs*); mox praede *fuere thurinis* metapontinisque ex onerariis *que cum meatu sequabantur* P; mox praede *fuere* (*fuere* corrector) *hurinis* meta pontinisque ex honerariis *que cum meatu equabantur* R.
- XXVI, 40, 9 et cum agmine iam in media urbis ac forum magno *tumultu iretur* P; *tumultui retur* R; *tumultu retur* M¹; *tumultuaretur* corrector in M.
- XXVI, 40, 9 ratus *Hanno nihil aliud* quam tumultum ac secessionem (*Luchs*); *hannonaliud* P, R¹; *hanno. n. aliud* corrector in R; *hannonē aliud* M.

- XXVI, 40, 17 per latrocinia *ac* rapinam tolerantēs uitam (*Luchs*); latrocinia *at* rapinam P; latrocinia *ad* rapinam R.
- XXVI, 41, 13 nullum iam nomen *esset* populi Romani (*Luchs*); *set* P; *sed* R, M.
- XXVI, 51, 6 remigium *classicique milites* tranquillo in altum euecti P; *clausicique milites* R¹. The error of the scribe, which was apparently purely accidental, has grown into a serious corruption in the attempt at emendation on the part of a corrector. The passage now reads: remigium *clausi civesque* milites, etc.
- XXVI, 51, 7 haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum *acuebant*; *urbs ipsa* strepebat, etc. (*Luchs*); *acuebant urp. sipsa* P; *acuebantur p̄. sipsa* R¹; *acuebantur p̄. ipsa*, after erasure.
- XXVII, 42, 1 itaque excitus tumultu raptim ad hostem *copias* agit (*Luchs*). By a confusion of letters P has *coptas*; this a corrector in R altered to *captas*, but the correction is now erased.
- XXVIII, 26, 12 ut ultro *territuri* succlamationibus (*Luchs*); *ferrituri* P; *ferituri* R.
- XXVIII, 27, 11 ut *uenti et aurae* cient (*Luchs*); *et ueni et* P¹; *et uenti et* P²; *et ueniet aurae* R¹; *et uenietes* (= uenientes) *aurae* corrector in R.
- XXVIII, 1, 20 eum superesse unum ducem Romanis ceteris ab Hannibale *interfectis rebatur* (*Luchs*); *interfectis rebantur* P, R¹; this a corrector in R has wilfully emended to *interficiantur*.
- XXVIII, 7, 5 cum equitibus Numidis *circumequitabat* urbem (*Luchs*); *circumequitib.* | *at* P¹; *circumequitat* P²; *circumeat* R¹ (now corrected to the reading of P²).
- XXVIII, 8, 11 tum quoque alio genere cladis eadem illa pecunia omnibus *contactis ea uiolatione* templi furorem obiecit (*Luchs*). By the confusion of the letters *t* and *i*, P has *contactis ea utulatione*. R¹ wrote *contracti se autulatione*, which has been altered by a corrector to *contracti se adulatione*.

XXVIII, 14, 14 *populus frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalensia appellata (Luchs); magalesia appellata P; megalesium appellata R.*

From the above examples it can be seen that these successive tamperings with what was originally but a slight corruption have occasionally led, in the end, to the restoration of the original reading; more frequently, however, they have led farther and farther away from it, so that, by the time a given corruption has passed through the hands of the corrector of the eleventh-century M, it may be beyond the reach of purely palaeographical restoration, and can only be emended by plunging boldly into the realm of conjecture, which may meet with as much or as little success, in restoring the actual words of the author, as the efforts of the various correctors in P, R, and M have had. These various attempts at emendation are for the most part superficial, and few of them are extensive, but they gradually accumulate into corruptions of considerable proportions, whose cumulative growth points pretty clearly to one of the reasons for the corrupt condition of manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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