PREFACE[[1]](#footnote-1)

The grammarian Servius composed his commentary on Vergil probably in the first decade of the fifth century (Murgia 2003), introducing students to the poems in the order *Aeneid*, *Eclogues,* and *Georgics*, as its system of cross-references makes plain. At some point before the text emerged into the Latin Middle Ages and was copied to produce our earliest extant witnesses, a scholarly reader—hereafter called ‘the Compiler’, probably active in seventh-century England—artfully fused with his text of Servius another ancient commentary related to, if not identical with, the commentary of Aelius Donatus (mid-4th cent.), which had also served as one of Servius’ main sources. The new commentary thus produced was greatly expanded relative to Servius’ original work, hence one of the names, Servius Auctus, by which it is now commonly known (it is also known as Servius Danielis, after its discoverer, Pierre Daniel). But the Compiler not only added much new material, he also felt free to rewrite here, abridge there, and (as cross-references again make clear) change the order that the commentary followed, to *Eclogues, Georgics,* and *Aeneid*.[[2]](#footnote-2) These two forms of the commentary survived through three main scribal traditions, two of Servius proper (**Σ** in the critical apparatus**)**, designated by the letters **Δ** and **Γ**, and one of Servius Auctus (**DS** in the critical apparatus). All three traditions reached the ninth century in a lacunose state, and even before then, all three were ‘contaminated’ by contact with one another: that is, each had a text that, because of scribal comparison and correction in its history, could share some correct and some incorrect readings with either of the other two traditions. The first section of this preface describes the constitution of these three traditions and their interactions.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

**Δ** arrived in the 800s through a now lost MS, δ, of which there survive three pure descendants, all of which have suffered further losses since their copying. A direct copy of δ is **Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS B. P. L. 52** (**L**), written in Corbie around 800 by a large number of scribes, copying each quire of δ into a single quaternion: only eleven quires of **L** survive (plus two quires, from a different source, added fifty years later); by comparing quire signatures in **L** and the text of the other descendants of δ, we can tell that δ was missing at least ten quires.[[3]](#footnote-3) Where these quires were missing, no trace of δ’s readings reached the Carolingians.

Of δ’s pure descendants the most nearly complete is **J** (**Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 292**), of the third quarter of the ninth century. This codex descends independently of **L** from δ, but through at least one lost intermediary, ε. **J** perishes after its quire 34 and therefore lacks *A.* 12.480 manvm to the end. Since the codex itself was destroyed during World War II, we are dependent on photographs made in the 1930s; unfortunately, the rectos of certain folia were evidently never photographed, and there its witness is lost.[[4]](#footnote-4) The third pure witness to δ is K (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CLXXXVI), of the early ninth century;[[5]](#footnote-5) its text stops deliberately at *A.* 1.338. Since its text never overlaps with **L**’s, we cannot tell its relationship to that codex, but it is independent of **J** in descent from δ.

All other known MSS of Servius can draw text from either δ (when it was extant) or **Γ**. Our picture of the pre-Caroline (probably Insular) MS that brought **Γ** is less clear than for **Δ**, since its readings must often be found by subtracting the readings of **Δ** (i.e., the readings that survived through δ, however preserved). But when δ had lacunae, **Γ** was the sole source of readings, except for interpolations from Servius Auctus. **Γ** also survived with lacunae, but we can reliably detect them only when its lacunae overlap with lacunae in δ and in Servius Auctus. So Servius does not survive for *E.* 1.37-2.10, since δ was missing all the *Eclogues*, and Servius Auctus (at least today) is missing for the first three. Accordingly, the scribes had to supplement the lacuna in **Γ** from Philargyrius, which is found there in almost all extant codices of Servius for the *Eclogues*.[[6]](#footnote-6) Contamination was the rule, and once a reading or interpolation entered one codex, it quickly spread to later MSS.

Descending from **Δ** (through ε) when that tradition survived, but with contamination from **Γ**, and having its base text from **Γ** when **Δ** had lacunae, is a lost source, **θ**, of a group of MSS including **A** (**Karlsruhe CXVI**), a ninth-century Reichenau codex, from which several codices descend (**S, Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 861, 862**,for *A.* 6-12; Glasgow, Glasgow Library, MS Hunter U. 6.8 for *E.* and *G.*; **Wolfenbüttel, Hezog August Bibliothek, MS 2546**), which are valuable only when **A** does not survive, as at the end of the *Aeneid* after 12.951 *corpusque*. Independent of **A** is an eleventh-century codex, **O** (**Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 117**). Its text begins on *A.* 2.309 and continues to the end of the *Aeneid* (followed by Donatus’ *Vita Vergili*; **S** also has the *Vita*, and so would **A** were it not missing its final quire).

Descending from **Γ** (when **Δ** had lacunae), and (where **Δ** survived) sometimes from **Δ** (through ε) and sometimes from Γ (with contamination from **Δ**) is a family called τ.[[7]](#footnote-7) Of this family, codex **Q** (**Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 45.14**, of the first to second quarter of the ninth century) gives the cue to whether the family’s basic text is **Δ** or **Γ** by writing lemmata in mixed uncials (as δ did and **L** does) when its text is **Δ**, but in minuscules (with an initial capital) when τ’s basic text is **Γ**.[[8]](#footnote-8) So, usually, does Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 7962 (Ps), perhaps the earliest MS of the family (first quarter of the ninth century), which unfortunately is very lacunose and perishes after *A.* 8.18 *elypsis*. Its missing text can be reconstructed from a quire-by-quire copy of it, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 22.sin.1, from Santa Croce (Sc, Thilo’s N for *A.* 4-5). Unfortunately Sc does not reproduce interpolations from Servius Auctus found in the margin of Ps on Aen. 2. These interpolations are there the earliest witness to Servius Auctus known.

Other representatives of the **τ** family are codices **Pa** (**Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7959**) and Ta (Trier, Stadtbibliothek und Stadtarchiv Trier, MS 1086), both written in Tours (**Pa** around 825), and **Lb**, a late correcting hand in **L** (above) that introduced readings from a **τ** source at *A*. 10.775-11.262. Since many members of this family were written in Tours, **τ** is often called the Tours group. Dominant in France, it is the family that leaves the most ninth-century codices, and many of its members, including **Pa**, have (in margin or text) extensive interpolations from Servius Auctus, usually not to supplement Servius but to correct apparent errors. These interpolations seem to have started in Tours (where the availability of Servius Auctus is otherwise attested in **Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165**, **T** of Servius Auctus, b of Vergil, the ‘Vergil of Tours’), and spread from there to MSS of the **γ** and **σ** groups. Several tenth- or eleventh-century **τ** codices are especially rich in these interpolations: Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus lat. F.25 (Le) and **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7961** (**Pc**), as well as a bifolium in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 1495. These interpolations led Ramires (1996 and 2003) to give this group (which he calls α) independent value for Servius, mistakenly;[[9]](#footnote-9) but the interpolations do have independent value for Servius Auctus, and with Servius Auctusmay carry the correct reading for Servius when **δ** did not survive (as in *A*. 9.1–272) and **Γ** has errors or omissions.

Two other families have basic **Γ**, with interpolations from **Δ** (where it survived) and, in varying degrees, from Servius Auctus (mostly of the type interpolated into some **τ** MSS). Dominant in northern Italy was **γ**, including B (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 363, third quarter of the ninth century, written in Irish script, perhaps in Saint Gall), whose text of Servius stops at *A.* 7.116, **E** (**El Escorial, Biblioteca del monastero di San Lorenzo, MS T.II.17**, second half of the ninth century, Northern Italy), **M** (**Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 6394**, eleventh century). **Pb** (**Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 16236**, tenth or eleventh century) could descend basically from **E**, but has (often marginal) interpolations from Servius Auctus of the type often found in **Pa** and such. It is the earliest **γ** MS to survive for the end of the *Aeneid*, though the very closely related MS **Y** (**Trent, Biblioteca comunale, MS 3388** (**olim Vind. 72**)), which is lacking after *A*.12.566, is older (second half of the ninth century).

The **σ** family was dominant in southern Italy and is represented by the Beneventan codex V (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3317 of the second half of the tenth century), its thirteenth-century Italian Gothic copy **W** (**Wolfenbüttel, Hezog August Bibliothek, MS 2091**, useful after *A.* 1.35, where V perishes), **N** (**Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS lat. 5** (**olim Vind. 27**), a tenth-century Beneventan codex (starting at *E.* 8.21 and lacking comment on the *Georgics*), and **U** (**Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. quart. 219**, twelfth century, starting at. *A*. 1.25 and lacunose). **WNU** share a large lacuna that extends from *A*. 9.768 (in **W**,9.767 *sed* in **NU**) to the end of Book 9. Interpolations from Servius Auctus have accumulated in these codices, and in fact on the *Georgics* V has, in addition to Servius, the Vatican Scholia, a mediaeval commentary that used Servius Auctus extensively and is now printed for Servius Auctus after its main codex, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus lat. O.80, gives out. The text of **W** perishes at *A.* 12.164 *quadriga*s, of **N** at the end of *A*. 11,[[10]](#footnote-10) of **U** at *A.*12.320 *nam scimus*.

For Servius Auctus we have the following ninth-century codices: Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus lat. O.80 (Thilo’s L, missing the first three quires, to *E.* 4.1 *operi ergo*, and lacking after *G.* 1.268); Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel (Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel), Ms. Poet. Fol. 6 (C), for *A*. 1-2 and (with a text more Servius than Auctus) for *A.* 3-6; **F** (**Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 172** + **Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7929**) for *A.* 3-12 (perishing after 12.819 *victorum*; **Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 167** = **G**, a MS of the second half of the ninth century, is a partial copy of **F**); and P (Paris**,** Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat.1750 + Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Vossianus lat. F.79), containing excerpts on *A.*1-5.69. C was written in Fulda, through which Servius Auctus seems to have entered the continent from England. A glance at the text at *A.* 6-7 shows much more Servius than Servius Auctus, evidence that **F**’s text reflects losses in its transmission of the latter as well as later restoration of missing text from contamination with MSS of Servius. Similarly, C’s text on *A.* 3-6 shows contamination with Servius in order to prune away non-Servian comment, while still retaining Auctus readings of Servius.

Some other MSS allow us to supplement the testimony of the main codices of Servius Auctus.[[11]](#footnote-11) **T** (**Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165**, first half of the ninth century) and **v** (**Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 1570,** first half of the tenth century) independently transmit a medieval commentary, created at Tours in the early ninth century, that excerpted Servius Auctus, Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Nonius, glossaries, and other transmitted materials, as well as a **τ** version of Servius. Where C had lacunae, its text sometimes survives only through the printed edition of Pierre Daniel, who also culled interpolations found in **Pa** and other codices. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7930 (late tenth century) contains a medieval commentary (connected with Gerbert) that preserves some comments of Servius Auctus on *A.* 3-8, including a fragment of Naevius at 7.123. Various fifteenth-century MSS have accumulated excerpts from Servius Auctus in their texts or margins. The earliest known fragment of Servius, Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Fragment 319 Spangenberg (Depositum) Hr Nr. 1 (= *CLA* 1806), a bifolium written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule in southwest England (late seventh or early eighth century, according to Julian Brown in private conversation), has excerpts from Servius Auctus.[[12]](#footnote-12)

The principal witnesses, then, on which this edition relies are the following; because contamination often makes the affiliation of manuscript less than straightforward and stable, some witnesses appear now in one strand of the tradition, now in another (see θ and τ below):[[13]](#footnote-13)

DS (Servius Auctus)

F Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7929 + Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 172, originally a single manuscript of 278 folia written in a square format in the ninth century at Fleury (according to Bischoff 1:115, ca. s. IX2/3 in the vicinity of Paris, perhaps Saint Denis), now divided between Paris (126 folia) and Bern (152 folia): it contains the text of Vergil with a version of Servius Auctus written in the margins; the latter constitutes the main witness to the ‘augmented’ Serviusin *A.* 9-12, provided in this edition by the Bern manuscript for *A.* 9.1-12.819. See Thilo 1:lix-lx, Funaioli 1930, 11-13, Savage 1932, 96-103, Murgia 1975, 9-10, Munk Olsen 705, Ramires 1996, xxvii-xxviii.

G Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 167, 214 folia: a copy of F written in the second half of the ninth century (according to Bischoff 1:114, in Brittany, s. IX 3/3), reproducing only the Servian scholia that stand in the left margin of F (cf. Hagen 1867, 689); it is lacking after *A*. 12.771. See Thilo 1:lxi-lxii, Funaioli 1930, 14, Savage 1932, 103-5, Murgia 1975, 10-14, Munk Olsen 704, Ramires 1996, xxviii.

T Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 165, 219 folia; the best Carolingian text of Vergil (given the *siglum* b in editions since Mynors’), written at Tours in the first half of the ninth century (s. IX3/3 according to Bischoff 1:114), with extensive scholia derived from Servius Auctus and other sources; it is available for *A.* 9.1-10.774, 10.778-12.952. See Thilo 1:lxii-lxv, Funaioli 1930, 16-18, Savage 1925a, Savage 1932, 106-8, Murgia 1975, 19, Munk Olsen 703-4, Ramires 1996, xxviii.

v Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 1570, 228 folia: a copy of Vergil written in the first half of the tenth century in France (Flavigny, s. IX/X, according to Munk Olsen785), although ten quires (folia 10-16, 49-46, 113-126, 135-50, 174-80, 197-218) are in a slightly later hand (perhaps s. X/XI) and the first two folia are a Renaissance supplement. ‘There are continuous marginal scholia of Servius (*saec.* XI, *ut vid.*) until *G*. III 280. . . . Thereafter (for the end of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*) there are scattered marginal and interlinear scholia, contemporary with the original codex . . . [but] generally lacking in the ten quires which were supplied later. . . .These scholia, on the *Aeneid*, at least, are of the type found in T and derive independently from a proximate source of T’ (Murgia 1975, 22-3). Its scholia are available for *A*. 9.1-406, 10.45-774, 10.778-11.52. See Savage 1932, 116-17, Murgia 1975, 22-6, 159-67, Munk Olsen 785-6. Pellegrin 1991, 130-3, Ramires 1996, xxviii-xxix.

M3 a correcting hand in M (below) that filled lacunae at *A*. 10.104-66 and 10.175-202 from a DS text.

Σ (Servius) = ΔΓ

Δ (witnesses to Δ are lacking for *A*. 9.1-274, 9.720-10.190, 12.139-177, 524-952)

J = Metz, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 292, 235 folia, containing Smaragdus *Liber in partibus Donati* and Servius on *G.* and *A*.: written in the ninth century (s. IX3/4 according to Bischoff 2:188), it is the only uncontaminated representative of the Δ tradition for much of *A*. 9-12. As already noted (p. 000), the book was destroyed in the Second World War (31 Aug. - 1 Sept. 1944), and though a set of photographs had previously been made for the ‘Harvard Servius’ project in the 1930s, the photographer evidently neglected to take images of the recto on a number of folia: as a result, this edition could rely on its testimony only for *A*. 9.276-525, 605-718, 10.191-328, 329-359, 397-444, 472-706, 751-788, 830-62, 11.1-65, 92-239, 254-62, 268-12.139, 179-480; digital images of the folia extant for *A.* 9-12 have been made available by Donald Mastronarde at the open access site <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3gw8s37p>. See also Thilo 1:xc-xci, Savage 1934, 170, Rand et al. 1946, viii, Murgia 1975, 75-82, Ramires 1996, xxxii-xxxiii.

L = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS B.P.L. 52: written at Corbie in the eighth or ninth century (cf. *CLA* 10.1573) as a quire-by-quire copy of the lost manuscript δ (see p. 000), the book is represented today by only thirteen surviving quires, two of which were supplied by a later hand ca. 850 (so also Bischoff 2:40); in *A.* 9-12 its testimony is available only for *A*. 10.775-11.262. See Savage 1934, 167=9, Murgia 1975, 72-82; a complete facsimile was pubished by Lieftinck (1960).

θ see below (for *A*. 9.276-718, 10.191-12.139, 179-522)

τ see below (for *A*. 10.191-396)

Γ

θ (for *A*. 9.1-274, 9.720-10.190, 12. 139-77, 524-952)

A = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CXVI, 331 folia: written in the second half of the ninth century at Reichenau (but omitted by Bischoff); see Thilo 1:lxxx, Savage 1934, 159-62, Rand et al. 1946, viii, Murgia 1975, 105-7, Munk Olsen 805-6, Ramires 1996, xxxiii. The book’s testimony is available for all of *A*. 9 - 12 save the poem’s last verse, where it can be represented by two of its descendants:

S = Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 861 + 862, 372 folia in all: a codex of the ninth or tenth century (Bischoff 3:333: ‘[St. Gallen, IX. Jh., 3./4. Viertel (vielleicht doch IX./X. Jh. (oder X. J.?))]’), divided into two parts, of which the second contains the commentary to *A*. 9-12. See Thilo 1:lxxxi, Savage 1934, 163-6, Murgia 1975, 107-11, Munk Olsen 820-1, Ramires 1996, xxxiii.

Wolfenbüttel, Hezog August Bibliothek, MS 2546 (44.23 Aug. fol.), fifteenth century; see Thilo 1:xci, Murgia 1975, 71.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 117, 154 folia; written in Germany in the second half of the eleventh century, it is available for all of *A*. 9-12.

τ (for *A*. 9.1-10.190, 10.397-12.952)

Pa = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7959, 252 folia: regarded by Rand as a ninth-century manuscript of Tours (1929, 1:141-2 no. 86), though the provenance is queried by Bischoff (3:137, cf. Munk Olsen 816 ‘Ouest de la France (Bischoff)’), who dates it to ‘s. IXmed.(?)’; it is available for all of *A*. 9-12. See Thilo 1:lxxxviii-lxxxix, Savage 1934, 170-3, Rand et al. 1946, ix, Murgia 1975, 111-15, Munk Olsen 816, Ramires 1996, xxxiv.

Pc = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 7961, 183 folia; written in the tenth or eleventh century (‘S. XI1’ Munk Olsen), it was judged a copy of Pa by Savage 1934, 188-9, though Murgia 1975, 37 disagreed; it is lacking after *A*. 12.874. See also Munk Olsen 817.

Q = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 45.14, 228 folia containing the commentaries of Philargyrius and Servius: written in the first half of the ninth century (according to Bischoff, central (?) France, s. IX2/3), it is available for all of *A*. 9-12. See Thilo 1:lxxxix, Funaioli 1930, 8-9, Savage 1934, 187, Murgia 1975, 83-94, Munk Olsen 803-4.

Lb = late correcting hand in L (above) that interpolated text from a τ source at *A*. 10.775-11.262

γ (for *A*. 9.1-12.252)

E = El Escorial, Biblioteca del monastero di San Lorenzo, MS T.II.17, 243 folia containing the commentary of Servius: written in northern Italy in the second half of the ninth century (Bischoff 1:253 queries the Italian provenance and dates it to s. IX3/3; folia 1, 2, 17, and 24 are tenth- or eleventh-century supplements, folia 11-14, 19, 22, 44-5, 68-9, 144, 147, 150, 208, 228-9 were supplied in the late fifteenth century); it is available for *A*. 9.1-10.124, 10.175-11.475, 11.608-12.830. See Murgia 1975, 124-34, Rubio Fernández 1984, 252, Munk Olsen 802-3, Ramires 1996, xxxvi.

Pb = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 16236, 245 folia containing Vergil and Servius; written (perhaps) in Italy in the tenth or eleventh century, it is lacking after *A*. 12.932. See Funaioli 1930, 32-3, Savage 1934, 193-5, Rand et al. 1946, ix, Murgia 1975, 116, Munk Olsen 766-7.

Y = Trent, Biblioteca comunale, MS 3388 (olim Vind. 72), 179 folia containing Servius: earlier than and closely related to Pb, this book was written in north Italy in the second half of the ninth century (according to Bischoff 3:369, s. IX3/4; some losses were made good in the fourteenth century); it is available for for *A*. 9.1-10.763, 10.854-12.566. See Murgia 1975, 116-24, Munk Olsen 821, Munk Olsen2 152, Ramires 1996, xxxvii.

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 6394, 192 folia containing Servius: written in Germany (perhaps Freising) in the eleventh century, its highly contaminated text makes it a less valuable witness to γ than E, for which it substitutes in this edition where E is lacking after *A*. 12.830. See Savage 1934, 195-7, Murgia 1975, 38-9, Munk Olsen 812, Ramires 1996, xl.

σ (for *A*. 9.1-767, 10.1-12.320)

W = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 2091, 152 folia containing Servius; written in Italy in the late thirteenth century, it is used in this edition only for *A*. 9.1-164. See Thilo 1:xci, Stocker 1941 (mistaking its value), Rand et al. 1946, vii, Murgia 1975, 136-7, Ramires 1996, xxxvii-xxxviii.

N = Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS lat. 5 (olim Vind. 27), 225 folia containing the *Eclogues* (from *E*. 8.44) and *Aeneid* (to *A.* 12.82), copied in alternation with the commentaries of Servius (cf. n. 10 above):from southern Italy, written in Beneventan script of the first half of the tenth century, it is lacking for Servius after *A*. 11.915. See Stocker 1941, Rand et al. 1946, vii, Murgia 1975, 136-40, Munk Olsen 747, Ramires 1996, xxxvii (with further bibliography dealing with non-Servian aspects of the manuscript).

U = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. quart. 219, 68 folia containing only Servius on the *Aenid* (*A*. 1.2-12.320): probably written in Italy in the twelfth century, it is used in this edition for *A*. 9.217-11.235, 11.688- 12.320. See Murgia 1975, 181-5, Munk Olsen 798, Ramires 1996, xxxviii.

The relations of the principal **Σ** manuscripts can be represented—approximately and with all due caution (cf. Murgia 1975, 4-6, 168-79)—by the following stemma:

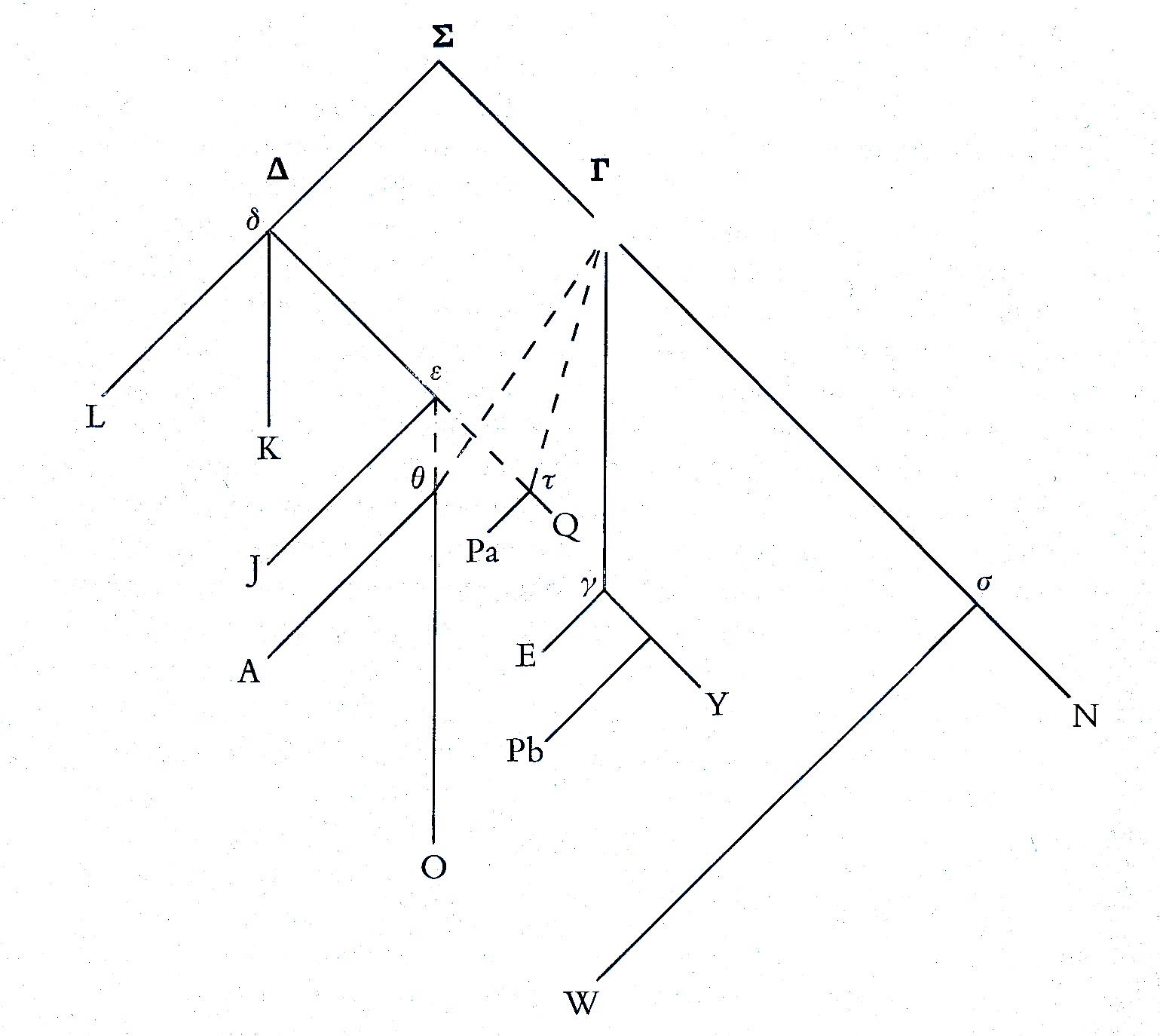


Figure 1. Tentative Stemma of the Main Manuscripts of Servius (**Σ**)

PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

It is necessary to explain how this volume differs from the two preceding volumes in this series (Rand et al. 1946, Smith et al. 1965). The editor of the first volume in a series or of a complete work would have as his task the creation of an edition which accorded in all respects with the form he considered ideal. He would decide without prejudice whether a two-column format was desirable and, if so, whether Servius or Servius Auctus belonged in the left column; he would choose his conventions for orthography, punctuation, citations of testimonia, and much else based simply on the standards which he himself considered appropriate. The editor of the fifth volume of a series cannot enjoy such freedom. If he is not to befuddle the reader unnecessarily he must depart from conventions of preceding volumes only when strong reasons compel, and only to the extent needed to provide a good edition. The impetus for the Harvard Edition was dissatisfaction with the format of Thilo’s edition of Servius, in which Servius is presented in Roman type, with words found only in Servius Auctus presented in Italics. This format is for many reasons unsatisfactory, not least of all because it conceals the fact that the Compiler responsible for the text known as Servius Auctus not only added to the text, but also made deletions and other changes. The reader wishing to determine the true character of the commentary called Servius Auctus (or Servius Danielis or DS) had his way impeded by the dislocations, conflations, and suppressions of text required by Thilo’s format; and even the casual user, who cared not what Servius Auctus really is, but merely sought ancient testimony on the matters discussed in the commentaries, might come up with strange interpretations if he neglected to ignore some of the italicized words. What must a first-time user of the edition think when he reads, for instance, Thilo’s text on *A.* 12.120 (limus est autem vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes *prope* teguntur pudenda poparum)? This seems to say: ‘*limus* is a garment with which, from the navel to the feet, the private parts of *popae* are almost covered’. The reader’s estimate of the sexual endowments of ancient *popae* (ministers who brought the animals for sacrifice) might know no bounds, and even if he recognizes that the italics indicate not emphasis but a supposed addition of Servius Auctus, he would have to wonder at the range of experience of the author of that commentary. The risk is not an imagined one. When Funaioli excerpted this passage as fragment 11 of Hyginus, he included *prope* without italics, and without indication that it was only in Servius Auctus.[[14]](#footnote-14) Thus the process of conflation was completed, and a version was created that never existed in any ancient or medieval MS.

The primary aim of the Harvard Edition therefore was to present an edition in which it would be easy to distinguish exactly what the commentaries of Servius and Servius Auctus contained. The purpose of the distinction was to permit a clear analysis of the nature of the commentary known as Servius Auctus, and to that end the text was presented in parallel columns when Servius and Servius Auctus had different wording of the scholia; when there was no important difference between the two, there would be one text printed the full width of the page; when there was text in Servius Auctus but nothing parallel in Servius, the text would occupy the left three-fourths of the page; and when there was text in Servius, but not Servius Auctus, the text would occupy the right three-fourths of the page.

This system permits a clearer recognition of the character of Servius Auctus, but it involves its own prejudice, and carries with it difficulties in execution and opportunities for misinterpretation. The prejudice arises because E. K. Rand, who organized the project and decided on the format, was more interested in Servius Auctus and suffered from an imperfect understanding of the nature of the commentary. He therefore chose to place Servius Auctus in the left part of the page and Servius in the right whenever there was a difference between the commentaries, and to print the reading of Servius Auctus in the text and relegate the reading of Servius to the apparatus when the differences seemed ‘minor’. The result of the latter policy is that in hundreds of places in volume 2 of the series, even when the editors performed their jobs as they intended, the correct reading of Servius may be found only in the apparatus, while the reading printed in the text is either a medieval error, inherited by the seventh-century Compiler of Servius Auctus, or more often a deliberate editorial change introduced by the Compiler, sometimes even making nonsense of what Servius intended to say.[[15]](#footnote-15) Further, it is precisely in these minor changes that the Compiler most clearly reveals his own authorship, if we can use such a term; their suppression results in the suppression of much of the evidence needed for a clear understanding of the nature of the compilation known as Servius Auctus, although facilitating such an understanding is supposed to be one of the main purposes for the edition. And because the evidence for Servius Auctus is frequently deficient, favoring its text in minor divergences produced an automatic inconsistency of style within the text of volume 2, and in that volume versus other volumes. Within the text covered by volume 2, two quaternions of codex C, the main witness to Servius Auctus, are missing; in these sections what is printed across the page is perforce Servius, while where C was extant what was printed full width was stylistically Servius Auctus. For instance, where Servius referred to himself in the first person with verbs such as *diximus* or *memoravimus*, the Compiler changed the personal constructions to impersonal forms (*dictum* *est*, *memoratum* *est*, and such). The user of volume 2 will usually find the latter printed, but where C is not extant he will usually find the personal construction. Continuing on past volume 2, the reader would be confronted with personal constructions most of the time in text that was printed full-width; for after Aeneid 2 the main codex for Servius Auctus is no longer C, but F, which usually exhibits the impersonal construction only in non-Servian comment. I believe myself that the Compiler probably used the impersonal throughout, but that in codex F the personal construction was restored in the comments of Servius by contamination with MSS of Servius. But no matter. The editor can present the text of Servius Auctus only to the extent that scribal evidence is available. He can, if he chooses, present a stylistically consistent text for Servius, but he cannot do so throughout for Servius Auctus, since, though there was a stylistic consistency to the medieval commentary, much of the commentary has not survived, or has survived in imperfect or contaminated form.

The choice made in volume 2, therefore, to print full-width the text that followed the style of Servius Auctus, was a poor one that well served neither the user who sought ancient testimony nor the scholar who wished to determine the characteristics of the medieval commentary Servius Auctus. The editors of volume 3 recognized the problems with this procedure, and they sought to give equal weight to the testimony of the MSS of both Servius and Servius Auctus by splitting the page for even minor stylistic divergences. This procedure usually serves well the reader interested in comparing the differences between the two commentaries, but the reader whose interest is in perusing testimony of antiquity may occasionally find himself pained, if not misled. Because Rand chose to place Servius Auctus in the left column at places where it diverges from Servius, the reader is often forced to read first what are essentially medieval errors, before he reads the testimony of antiquity in the comment of Servius in the right column. For substantive additions found in Servius Auctus are normally owed to a commentary (hereafter D) more ancient than Servius that was conflated with Servius to form Servius Auctus (DS); but minor, non-substantive changes (of diction, word-order, and the like) are normally attributable to the Compiler of Servius Auctus, and relative to antiquity are essentially errors. The reader often does not know as he starts to read from left to right whether he is reading Servius or Servius Auctus. Normally the text that starts on the left side of the page is Servius. If the text stops before it gets to the right margin, he discovers that he has been reading Servius Auctus in three out of four circumstances: if he finds a line in the middle of the page, separating the text from comment of Servius that extends to the right margin; if the text stops three-fourths of the way across the page and continues without break onto the next line starting from the left margin; if the text stops before it reaches three fourths of the way across the page, but he looks on to a point three-fourths of the way across the page and discovers there a vertical line. But if the text stops before it reaches three fourths of the way across the page, and there is no vertical line positioned three-fourths of the way across the page, the text contains Servius after all, and there is merely a short line of text. A text so constructed makes uncommon demands on the attention of the reader. Those demands would have been greatly reduced if Servius had been placed on the left, and Servius Auctus (the later commentary) had been placed on the right. Then whenever text started at the left margin it would be Servius; whenever it started at an indentation of either one-fourth or one-half the page, it would be represented as Servius Auctus, and not Servius.

It would be a double plague on the reader to reverse this early decision in a later volume of the series. Instead I have chosen a minimum stratagem to warn readers immediately whether they are reading Servius or Servius Auctus: whenever the text starting at the left is not Servius but Servius Auctus, I precede the text with a vertical line. To illustrate the differences in the volumes with a return to the comment on *A.* 12.120, the tendency in volume 2 would have been to print only one text; although it is difficult to predict what another editor would have chosen, there was the risk that the editors of that volume may have printed the same text as Funaioli, that is, Thilo’s text, but without the italicized *prope*. The editors of volume 3 would have divided the page, to present the evidence of both traditions; but what they print most often is the archetypal readings of the expanded and briefer MSS. The job of the editor is not finished when he has reconstructed archetypal or hyparchetypal readings. In some instances the reading of the MS of Servius Auctus is correct for Servius, and the page should not be divided.[[16]](#footnote-16) In others the reading of the MS of Servius Auctus is a scribal slip, for which the Compiler should not be held responsible.[[17]](#footnote-17) The testimony of the transmitted text must ever be examined, and where necessary emended or ejected. At *A.* 12.120, I print the following:

limus autem est vestis, qua ab umbilico usque ad pedes

| popae tegebantur. | teguntur pudenda poparum.

The line before *popae* warns the reader that the text he next reads belongs only to Servius Auctus. The text of Servius starts, as Rand prescribed, in the right half of the page. The differences in the text represent not D and Servius, but Servius Auctus (a medieval commentary) and Servius. *popae* of Servius Auctus is my emendation of the transmitted reading of F, *prope*, which is merely a scribal slip. The Compiler of Servius Auctus, who had no ancient testimony for this sentence other than Servius, has abbreviated Servius and in the process changed the tense of the verb to reflect the status of Servius Auctus as a later commentary (*popae* were the ministers who presided over sacrifice, and pagan sacrifice did not exist in the seventh century; officially it was banned in Servius’ day too, but the costume survived in Servius’ day at least in the depictions of ancient art; for instance, several depictions of *popae* and their long skirt survive among the illustrations in the majuscule MSS of Vergil; cf. e.g. fo. 33v of Vat. Lat. 3225, codex F of Vergil).[[18]](#footnote-18) Another change made by the Compiler was stylistic: the Compiler has a fondness for verb-final position, and often rewrites Servius to achieve it. The relative brevity of the version of Servius in Servius Auctus is also characteristic and revealing: earlier in the comment on line 120, the Compiler had added a line of comment from the D commentary; it seems that Servius Auctus was designed to be written in the margins of a text of Vergil; hence at the beginnings of books, where scholia tend to be more frequent and ample, addition of comment from D is often accompanied by subtraction of words from Servius in order that the total length of the scholia may be kept within bounds.

On this line, therefore, the differences between the two commentaries are minor if one seeks merely to determine ancient testimony to the function of the garment *limus*; but they are important if one seeks evidence of the character of the commentary known as Servius Auctus. This edition seeks to perform both functions, to present accurately (so far as possible) the testimony of antiquity, and to present clearly the differences between Servius and Servius Auctus. It is inevitable that in satisfying one function we may impede the needs of users interested only in the other function. In the above example, the reader will be confronted with two versions that have essentially the same meaning. In those instances I warn the reader who merely wants to know what Servius wrote to skip the version on the left and read what is on the right; the line to the left serves as this reader’s early-warning-device that the version on the left is not authentic Servius. Only when the version on the left contains a substantive addition to the comment of Servius should it be supposed to transmit ancient testimony independently.

Although for three reasons—to show the Compiler’s abbreviation, his change of temporal aspect, and his preference for verb-final position—I have thought it worthwhile to present the text of Servius Auctus side by side with the version of Servius, some isolated divergences have seemed too minor to bother the reader with. These I have relegated to the apparatus with the parenthetical note ‘(=DS)’ added when there was good reason to suspect that the error was in the Compiler’s text.[[19]](#footnote-19) But I have avoided such relegation when the error, no matter how minor, has affected the structure of some other part of the comment. For instance, it is often of no great importance that the Compiler quotes more or fewer words than Servius in the lemma. But Karl Barwick has shown that when the Compiler joined a comment of Servius to another on the same line of Vergil (usually a D comment, but sometimes even another comment on the line by Servius) he tended to extend the first lemma to a fuller quotation of the line of Vergil, so that it included the lemmata for both comments; the lemma of the second comment was then suppressed or converted into a quotation, and the comments were joined by a connective, such as *sane* or *autem*.[[20]](#footnote-20) In such circumstances, the use of the fuller lemma, of the connective, and any concomitant rewriting of Servius or D to provide a smoother join of the two comments, are all integrally connected, and so are represented among the divisions in the text. For instance in 9.10, the DS lemma corythi penetravit joins together both the comment of Servius on corythi (changed to *Corythi autem* in Servius Auctus) and two comments of D, one of them on penetravit (introduced in Servius Auctus by *penetravit autem*), the other probably on extremas . . . vrbes (which the Compiler has neglected to include in the lemma). In 9.184, two comments of Servius are joined under the larger lemma, with Servius’ second lemma (mentibvs addvnt) turned into *mentibus vero addunt*. In general then, I have sought to present in the text those divergences in Servius Auctus, no matter how minor, which affect the structure of the comments.

Although it is the aim of the edition to present the text of both Servius and Servius Auctus, there are circumstances under which no editor tries to print for Servius Auctus what the Compiler must have read.[[21]](#footnote-21) The editor of Servius has a relatively clear-cut task: to print as accurately as the evidence permits what Servius himself wrote. If the MSS present Servius as writing something inaccurate, the editor must decide whether the inaccuracy is owed to Servius or to his scribes. If it appears that the scribes have erred, the editor will seek to emend the transmitted text; but if the error is of a sort more reasonably attributed to Servius or to his sources, the editor’s task is to reproduce Servius’ error. Such decisions are not often easy, but they are at least definable: we have enough evidence of the quality of Servius’ mind, of his sources, and of his style of writing to make reasonable judgments on the kind of divergence from truth in content or linguistic usage of which he is capable. The Latin that he wrote was his own composition (except where he quotes), and must conform to his standards of Latin, and to his standards of sense. But the Compiler of Servius Auctus has conflated two commentaries, which probably survived to him in single, badly corrupted MSS. Theoretically the editor who reproduced the compilation as it first existed (presumably in the seventh century) would have reproduced also all the errors which the Compiler either made himself or adopted from his corrupt MSS. But in practice the editor reproduced some errors (chiefly those which bear the imprint of the Compiler’s style) and corrected others. For instance when there was an archetypal error in Servius which the Compiler inherited, corrections made in the text of Servius are not noted as divergent from the text of Servius Auctus, unless the Compiler’s adoption of the error affected further the construction of his text. And similarly, when the Compiler shared an error with one of the two traditions of Servius proper, **Γ** and **Δ**,the correct reading of the other tradition is adopted without attribution of the scribal error to the Compiler (other than in the apparatus). For example, in 9.448 *in Capitolii pronao pars tecti*, codex F reads *in Capitolio prona pars tecti*. The error *prona*, for *pronao*, is shared with **Γ** and was probably archetypal (**Δ** has a further corruption, *una*). The conjecture *Capitolio* is shared with **Δ**. The chances are good then that the errors were already in the text of Servius received by the Compiler. But I see no advantage in dividing the page: when the text of Servius is emended, the correction is normally imposed as well on Servius Auctus. For an exception, see the comment of Servius on *A.* 10.873 (*ter saepius*), which equals the comment of Servius Auctus on 10.868 (*ut saepius*). There had been an archetypal omission of the lemma (haplography of *TER* after 10.868 *exprimitur*, the word which precedes in the text of Servius). The omission led to the conjecture *ut*, which served to join *saepius* onto the end of the comment on 868.[[22]](#footnote-22) Since in Servius Auctus comments on 869 and 871 intervene, and no comment is to be found on 873, there can be no doubt that the omission of *TER* antedates the compilation, and that the text of F, with *ut saepius* joined to the end of 868 and no comment on 873, represents the text of the Compiler. The conjecture *ut* was probably the Compiler’s own. Therefore the error (omission of *TER*) is printed for Servius Auctus, since it prompted further composition by the Compiler and determined his arrangement of scholia.

The text of the non-Servian comment in F survives to us in a highly corrupted form. This, I believe, means not that the text of the D commentary which the Compiler inherited was necessarily in a more corrupt state than the text of Servius. It may well have been more corrupt, but I assume that what the Compiler copied made sense to him, at least after he got through emending it. Rather, the corruption reflects the thin line of transmission, where, though for Servius we are usually able to compare the testimony of two or three traditions (each separately very corrupt, but not necessarily in the same way), for the D comment only one pre-Caroline source survived, and its testimony is transmitted usually by only a single MS (F).[[23]](#footnote-23) I suspect too that the versions of Servius transmitted in Servius Auctus have enjoyed some protection through occasional contamination with MSS of Servius. So for large sections of *A.* 6 and 7 codex F transmits very little of what once must have existed in D, and presumably in the Compiler’s autograph of Servius Auctus, but omits relatively little of Servius: the depravations of time were able to be repaired for Servian comment, but there was no available text of the D comment from which lacunae could be filled. In printing the text of D comment, I have assumed, unless there was evidence to the contrary, that the Compiler wrote only what would seem to him to make sense. This is not the same as saying that he always produced the right sense. Time and again we have evidence that he misunderstood the intent of the ancient commentator, whether Servius or D. It is the intent of this edition to reproduce, not correct, those misunderstandings. At times, however, when I fear lest the reader may otherwise be lost, I have adopted the stratagem of printing within double angle brackets (<< . . . >>) words I have added to clarify the sequence, although I doubt that the Compiler himself used the words;[[24]](#footnote-24) and similarly I have enclosed in double square brackets ([[ . . . ]]) words which I believe that the Compiler should have omitted. This stratagem is particularly used when the Compiler has attached his comment to the wrong lemma. It appears that he himself knew the D commentary only as marginal or interlinear scholia, and had to supply the lemma himself from his text of Vergil. He often produced the wrong lemma, and when his misjudgment has rendered the meaning of the comment unintelligible, I have sometimes intervened with double brackets marking a change which the Compiler should have made, but probably did not. The stratagem is used sparingly. Most often either the benefit of doubt is given to the Compiler, so that additions and deletions are enclosed within single brackets, or the Compiler’s mistakes are left undisturbed.

ORTHOGRAPHY

The texts of Servius and Servius Auctus are used normally for utilitarian purposes. Therefore orthographic choices should be designed more to meet the convenience of the user than to reconstruct the orthography of the author. Indeed there are two main authors whose texts are presented in this edition (Servius of the early fifth century, and the Compiler of Servius Auctus of probably the seventh century), and their orthographic standards need not have been identical. They themselves quote Vergil and other ancient authors, and possibly used one standard of orthography in their lemmas (what they found in their MSS) and a different standard in their respective comments: e.g., Servius’ comment on *A.* 1.144, ‘nos dicimus ‘suscepi’, illi dicebant ‘succepi’, ut (175) ‘succepitque ignem foliis’’, supposes a different spelling in Servius from Vergil. The needs of the user are best served by adoption of a consistent spelling, except where intelligibility requires divergence (as it would in printing the foregoing comment on 1.144). This means, in general, following the orthographic standards adopted in volumes 1-2 when consistent and defensible standards had been adopted, and adopting a consistent standard when the preceding volumes were inconsistent. So I adopt such spellings as *physice* (where the MSS usually transmit *fysice*) both because this is the spelling adopted in preceding volumes and because this is the spelling with which readers will be most familiar and which they will find presented in the dictionaries.[[25]](#footnote-25) But I break with the practice of preceding volumes in a few spellings: e.g., spelling *di* and *dis* rather than *dii* and *diis*, since the monosyllabic spelling is always required in quotations of poetry (and hence the polysyllabic spelling would introduce an inconsistency between lemma and comment); further, though the medieval MSS usually present the spelling with double *i*, archetypal or hyparchetypal permutations into *hi* or *de* indicate that the pre-archetypal spelling was monosyllabic. Occasionally I diverge from accepted spellings because the sense of a comment requires a peculiar spelling: so on *A.* 11.11, ‘nam ‘eburnus’ facit ab eo quod est ‘ebur’, ‘eborneus’ ab eo quod est ‘eboris’’, the context demands the spelling *eborneus*, which is supported by the earliest inscriptional evidence, CIL 6.32333.4 (of 204 A. D.). Consistency with the spelling, *eburneus*, chosen by the editors of the comment at *A.* 1.592 (where also the sense demands *eborneus*) seemed a less compelling motive than the desire to make Servius’ comment properly intelligible. In some places Servius’ explicit statements on orthography force us to adopt a spelling different from what is usually believed to be standard: so on 9.772 Servius tells us that *ungo* and *ungentum* are spelled without *u* after *g*.

In many words the orthographic practices of the editors of volumes 2 and 3 varied from section to section. The editors of volume 2 indicated (p. xii) that they would be guided in questions of assimilation by the readings of codices C (for Servius Auctus) and Pa (for Servius). But codex C is the main codex of Servius Auctus only on *A.* 1-2 and even in these books is not always extant; the result was an inconsistency of spelling for Servius Auctus which varied not only with the vagaries of C, but with the state of preservation of the MS (the standards of orthography of the other scribal witness to Servius Auctus, codex P, were different, and the reports attributed to f and Fv had the spelling of sixteenth-century scholars superimposed). For Servius, of all the MSS that they used, no worse choice could have been made (if they aspired to reconstruct ancient spellings) than Pa. This is the most highly contaminated of the ninth-century MSS (borrowing now from **Δ** and now from **Γ** with interpolation also from DS), and the most subject to medieval editorial revision, including correction of spelling. If the desire is to identify the transmitted evidence for spellings, it is necessary to identify first the readings of the three early traditions, DS, **Δ**, and **Γ** before they had been acted upon by Caroline editorial activity. Our best chance of achieving this is for the tradition Δ, whose earliest representative, L, was copied in Corbie around 800 directly and hurriedly from the early exemplar δ (now lost). The earliness, directness, and haste of the copying mean that Caroline standards of orthography were usually imposed only by correcting hands. For the **Γ** tradition, our most accurate witness is Q (when it transmits **Γ** and not **Δ**), which copies honestly its exemplar but is yet subject to whatever deficiencies or changes were already introduced into the exemplar τ, which was the source of its family group. So, for instance, the name *uergilius* is most often found with that spelling in L (and in its fellow witness to **Δ**, J), but in θ (even when descending from **Δ**),τ(including Q), and γ is regularly written with the medieval spelling *uirgilius*. But on *A.* 8.373 we find in Q the error *uero ilius* (*uero illius* Lb). The preservation of the *e* in the first syllable when corruption (mistaking of *g* for *o*) prevented the scribes from recognizing the name, indicates that **Γ** too, or its source, spelled the name with *e*, but that by the time of our extant witnesses to the tradition a thoroughgoing process of medieval correction had eliminated the ancient spelling. Q is unable to take us back before this period of medieval orthographic correction, but it does more honestly than the other MSS transmit nonsensical readings which conceal within the errors evidence of pre-hyparchetypal orthography: e.g., 10.89 di γ dii Pa de FθQY (where not only Q, but the distribution among the families, show that *di* and *dii* are conjectural emendations of a prearchetypal error *E* for *I*); 9.276.1 omni adfectu F omnia defectu Q[**Γ**] omni affectu ΔPaγW omni ad affectum NU (PaγW have abandoned Q’s obviously incorrect reading for **Δ**’s, borrowing with it **Δ**’s assimilated spelling; U’s reading arose by conflation of **Δ**’s assimilated spelling with either the dissimilated spelling, which was the source of Q’s error, or more likely with an attempt to emend Q’s *adefectu* into *ad* *effectum*; Q most likely transmits an hyparchetypal error arising from dittography and confusion of *F* and *E*, aided by false division). For Servius Auctus, we have essentially only one witness in the later books of the *Aeneid*, codex F, whose date in the first half of the ninth century provides no guarantee against medieval orthographic intervention, but whose witness seems generally honest: e.g., it more often transmits a spelling *uergilius* than *uirgilius*, and it lacks the apparent orthographic corrections which are found in the auxiliary witness T, which has changed the spelling to the standards prevailing in Tours.

The result of the choice of witnesses employed in volume 2 was not simply that inferior evidence was the guide, but that the editors were doomed by their choice to be inconsistent. For instance, we find in 1.37 *inpatientiam* printed for Servius Auctus, but *imp*- for Servius; yet in 1.Praef., where, since Servius Auctus never existed and the Δ tradition had perished, **Γ** was the sole source of the readings of all medieval MSS, the editors print *inpatiens* for Servius. Again, in 1.4, where Δ is still missing and Pa’s source accordingly is **Γ**, the editors print *inpulsu*, but in 1.9, where **Δ** is the source of Pa’s readings, they print *impulit* and *impellendo*; but we find *inpellunt* again in 1.57, *inpulit* in 1.81; the assimilated spelling returns in 1.182 *impellunt* (on the authority of C; Pa is reported as having *inp*-, and W omits the word, a sign that the archetypal reading in this quotation of Vergil was ‘*i*’, and the spelled-out version was a postarchetypal supplement). In short no consistent policy was followed by the editors of volume 2 in matters of assimilation other than to follow the inconsistencies of inconsistent MSS. It is therefore necessary for us to enunciate our own policy.

ASSIMILATION

‘Atque ‘accurrere’ scribas ‘d’ne an ‘c’, non est quod quaeras atque labores’, said Lucilius (375M). But in fact the evidence of ancient inscriptions and MSS, and of the best medieval MSS, overwhelmingly supports the writing of *accurrere* with assimilation, yet almost as overwhelmingly supports non­assimilated forms with other combinations of consonants. Servius provides direct testimony in some instances. At *A.* 1.616 we find: ‘adplicat secundum praesentem usum per d prima syllaba scribitur, secundum antiquam orthographiam, quae praepositionum litteram consonam in vicinam mutabat, per p, secundum euphoniam per a tantum’. Servius need not be trusted as evidence for ancient practice (he probably found applicat in his MS of Vergil and interpreted the assimilation as ancient), but he provides good evidence that he recognized for his own day a conventional way of spelling which differed from pronunciation. No one proposes spelling *aplicat* to agree with pronunciation; spelling has to accord with attested usage, when that can be determined. Similarly Quintilian (1.7.7) says: ‘Quaeri solet, in scribendo praepositiones sonum quem iunctae efficiunt an quem separatae observare conveniat, ut cum dico ‘optinuit’ [obtinuit A] (secundam enim b litteram ratio poscit, aures magis audiunt p) et ‘immunis’ [inmunis B] (illud enim quod veritas exigit, sequentis syllabae sono victum, m gemina commutatur)’. Convention determines that we print *obtinuit*, even if the ancients pronounced *optinuit*. But what of *inmunis* / *immunis*, where modern practice (and indeed ancient and medieval practice) varies? Winterbottom in his edition of Quintilian usually standardizes *inm*-, particularly where *in*- is privative (although here, where Quintilian talks of pronunciation [*dico*], he prints *imm*-). At *A.* 12.559, the majuscule MSS of Vergil attest *IMMVNEM*, but the better MSS of Servius attest *inmunem*. In most words, late antique inscriptions more often give *inm*- than *imm*-.[[26]](#footnote-26)

There have been many studies of ancient practice. Particularly useful are those by Lindsay, Buck, and Prinz, which Winterbottom used for his study of assimilation in the tradition of Quintilian. To the data that they collected I add a survey of the indices in Diehl 1931, particularly 478ff. (*Voces Dictiones Scribendi Rationes Notabiles*), which provides good evidence for late antiquity. Also consulted, but more varied in its evidence, is the index to Ribbeck’s *Prolegomena* to his edition of Vergil. For Servius, the best witnesses for orthography (as for everything else) are, as I have indicated above, codices L (for **Δ**), Q (when it transmits **Γ**), and F (for DS). Since L is extant for only one quire within the section covered by this volume, I have consulted its readings also on *A.* 5-7; where L is not extant, J is the most reliable witness to **Δ**, although it sometimes assimilates where L joins Q and F in attesting unassimilated forms. The θ family (AO) regularly assimilates readings that **Δ** transmitted unassimilated, as does θ for DS readings, and in varying proportions the other **Γ** manuscripts besides Q. Among all the sources there is consistency in assimilating the following combinations: -*cc*- in almost all environments, *comm*- (*conm*- or *cumm*- is found a minority of the time in L, Q, or F, and without consistency in choice of word), and *corr*- (more common than *conr*-). I so standardize. But except for specific words (and their cognates) dissimilation dominates in the following: *abr*-, *adf-* (but the evidence is mixed on *adfectus* and *adflictus*), *adg*- (but *agger*, *aggero*, *agnosco*), *adl*- (except *alligo*), *adm*- (but *amm*- is also found), *adn*-, *adp*- (except in *appello* and *appareo*), *adqu*-, *adr*-, *ads*- (but *aspicio*, *aspergo*, *asto*), *conb*-, *conl*- (except *colligo*, *collega*, and their relatives), *conp*- (except in *comparo* and relatives, where *comp*- is supported a majority of times), *inb*-, *inl*-, *inm*- (except *immolare* and its relatives), *inp*- (except in *impedio*, *impero*, *impetus*, *impius* and related words), *inr*-. For *adt-* / *att-*, usage varied from word to word. We find *attollit* (sometimes *adtollit*) and *attonat*, but *adtulit* (with non-assimilation preserved by the influence of *adfero*); within the same scholium and the same MS (F on 10.272) we find both *adtenderit* and *attenderit*, each at least twice, and once *atenderit*; I standardize *att*- except in *adtulit*. *subm*- is better supported in compound verbs than *summ*-, and Servius himself (at 1.144) confirms that contemporary spelling used *susc*- rather than *succ*-. We find *subf*- (but *suffusa*, *suffoso*) and *subp*- (except *supplicium*, *supprimo*). Other common spellings include *oportunus* (but in other words *opp*-, except for *obprobium*), *extinctus*, *exilium*, *exul*, *exulto*, *exultare* (but usually *exscribo*, *exsequiis*, *exsequor*, *exspecto*, *exspiro*), *suggero*. Since there is substantial agreement between the testimony of the better MSS of Servius and the other evidence available for the practice of late antiquity (in which non-assimilation seems more common than in the first centuries bce and ce), I have generally standardized to the above list, deviating only when the sense of the comment requires.[[27]](#footnote-27)

APPARATUS CRITICUS SUPERIOR

The functions of the critical apparatus have been changed somewhat from the use in volumes 2 and 3. In those editions, the upper apparatus was used to report the readings of the codices of Servius Auctus, the lower apparatus to report the readings of the codices of Servius proper. But even the latter MSS not infrequently transmit interpolation from Servius Auctus, and the main codex of Servius Auctus (F in this volume) attests also the text of Servius. Therefore I have combined the variants of both types of MSS in the lower critical apparatus, which is now a positive apparatus. Volumes 2 and 3 used a negative apparatus, which I find not well suited to a tradition in which the witnesses change frequently, not only because the earliest codices frequently perish or have lacunae, but because the sources of their texts change back and forth. The upper apparatus now contains a record of the auxiliary witnesses to Servius Auctus (codices T, v, Bod., M3),[[28]](#footnote-28) indicating where they attest a comment of Servius Auctus; sometimes even a comment of Servius inTis listed where it attests a comment on which the MSS are divided, or where F has no text. Scholia in codicesTand v which I have judged not to belong to Servius Auctus, but for which some potential uncertainty exists (usually because F has a lacuna), I have also recorded in the apparatus. But scholia which seem to descend from Tv's source of *adespota* (or at least the longer and more important ones) I have printed in Appendix A, with only a reference (e.g., *adesp. ss.**T**mg. v*) in the upper apparatus. When a scholium begins superscript (above the word or words in the text of Vergil to which the comment refers), I report it in the form ‘*ss. T*’, even when the scholium continues in the margin. For the latter Thilo used the form ‘*in marg.*’: but the important point is that a comment that begins superscript carries in its position an indication of the word to which it refers; hence a superscript scholium almost never has a lemma, a marginal comment often does, and the distinction explains some differences in wording of marginal and interlinear scholia. I therefore restrict the form ‘*mg. T*’ to scholia that begin in the margin. Superscript glosses in Tv are not reported when they do not correspond to comment found in F: the source of Tv had available an ancient glossary of separate origin from Servius Auctus. While the upper apparatus lists primarily the extent of text possessed by Tv and other auxiliary MSS, individual variants in these codices for the text of Servius Auctus (and occasionally for Servius) are recorded in the lower apparatus when they are especially worthy of note, or when that is the briefest or clearest way to record them.

APPARATUS CRITICUS INFERIOR

The lower apparatus is the critical apparatus proper, in which I try to record virtually all variants (that is, all readings that may have been received from one of the three pre-Caroline sources of DS, **Δ**, and **Γ)**, and all conjectures, whether of medieval or modern origin, that either stand a reasonable chance of being correct or led to conjectures that may be correct. It was the intent of the editors of volumes 2 and 3 to record all readings of all MSS used. That is not my intent, but since it was the desire of the founders of the edition that a full apparatus be given, I have been fuller in report than I otherwise might have been. In a contaminated tradition it is difficult to be certain that a reading has no authority. I therefore have recorded not only variants and possibly correct readings but also many readings that I believe to lack both authority and plausibility, especially when there is a major division among the witnesses. When this occurs, the readings of all the MSS are normally reported, but only those readings attributed to a witness marked with bold type (**F**, **Δ**, or **Γ**) are presented as transmitted variants. A bold **F** is used only when codex F is recorded as transmitting the variant of the DS tradition for (briefer) Servius. When F transmits a variant for Servius Auctus alone (that is, for a comment not belonging to genuine Servius), the codex is reported simply as F. Very rarely the variant of DS for Servius may be transmitted most accurately by a codex different from F: when that occurs, that codex is reported in bold, or ‘[DS]’ is subjoined to the siglum or sigla. As for the reading transmitted by the **Δ** and **Γ** traditions, the sigla **Δ** and **Γ**are used as compendia to indicate simultaneously these two traditions and the testimony of all regular witnesses to that tradition except those cited in opposition:[[29]](#footnote-29) e.g., 9.1 DIVERSA **F***A2N* *om*. **Γ**; 448 libere **FΣ** *om*. *NU* | exaedificare **FΔ**aedificare θ**Γ**aedificari *Pa*. In the first (from a section where, since **Δ**had not survived into the Caroline renaissance, all codices except witnesses to Servius Auctus normally transmit **Γ**) the indication is that DIVERSA is omitted by all codices that normally transmit Γ except A2N, and that this omission is the transmitted reading of **Γ**(A2N having interpolated the word from Vergil). In the second, where **Δ**is now extant, the indication is that *libere* is transmitted by all codices except NU, and that this represents the reading of all three traditions (**Σ** being the consensus of **ΔΓ**). Nevertheless I have taken care to report the omission of NU, since it remains theoretically possible that NU's omission was the version of **Γ**, and that the remaining witnesses to **Γ**, τγW, supplied the omission by contamination. In the third example (where the normal witnesses to **Δ**are listed above the apparatus as Jθ), the indication is that *exaedificare* is the reading of FJ; that F transmits the variant of DS (since it is printed in bold face); that J transmits the variant of **Δ**(as it must when it agrees with F); that *aedificare* is the reading of all normal witnesses to **Γ**except Pa, which has a conjecture *aedificari* (a reading possible in sense, but not possibly transmitted); that θ has forsaken its normal descent from **Δ**to borrow the reading *aedificare* from **Γ**by contamination. In this way I have sought to indicate both the readings of the MSS and my judgments about their authority. When the identification of a reading as coming from **Δ** or **Γ** seemed less secure, or when clarity seemed to be better served, I have identified the MSS directly, and indicated the tradition in square brackets: e.g., 9.448 discedere **Δ***PaPc* descendere **F** addicere *Q*[**Γ**] adduci se σ abscedere *EY* abscendere *Pb* | capitolii QNU[**Γ**] capitolio **FΔ***PaPcγW* | divo θ**Γ**dio *JN*[**Δ**] cliuo **F**. In the first of these, the reading of Q seems the most likely to have led to the reading of σ, and to the readings of EY and Pb (after conflation with **Δ**and DS), with Pa simply adopting **Δ**’s reading by contamination. Nevertheless, it is also possible that EY possessed the **Γ**reading, and that Q's reading is a conjecture based on Livy 1.55.3 made in the ninth century in Tours (where Livy had been copied by 810). I believe, however, that Q's reading, though in origin a conjecture (of unknown date), was based on an error proceeding from *discedere* to *discere* to *dicere*, and that therefore the readings of σ and EY, being further removed from the original error, have no authority. In the second example, I have no doubts that the reading of QNU is the reading of **Γ**, and in different circumstances I might simply have used the compendium **Γ**instead of the fuller QNU[**Γ**]. But it is possible for QNU to share peculiar errors not received from **Γ**, and the text under question seemed to call for the clearest possible mode of report, including specification of the reading of U (which is not always reported). In the third example, the agreement of N with J makes it more likely that J transmits an error of **Δ**(if not an archetypal error of **Σ** for which all codices but JN have a conjectural correction), but since the sharing of the error could be coincidental, the form JN[**Δ**] presents the identification as a judgment based on probability; the form **Δ**N would have presented the identification as virtually assured (since N normally transmits **Γ**it must be reported separately, and is not subsumed under the compendium **Δ**, even when it adopts a **Δ**reading; so too with the sigla of the other codices: when they follow F or **Δ**, or precede **Γ**, they merely specify the agreement of the codex with DS, **Δ***,* or **Γ**, and do not imply independent authority; on the contrary, this form of report most often implies contamination). Although there is no guarantee that the editor will always be right in assessing the evidence, since he has more experience of the behavior of the codices and the quality and characteristics of the tradition than the average reader is likely to have, it is important that the editor present in compact form not only the evidence but his assessment of its meaning. Most of the MSS change their relationships and value from reading to reading: so in the last three examples, within the space of four lines N has a conjecture (*adduci se*) based on a **Γ**error, a correct *difficilior lectio* (*in capitolii* where most codices choose the intelligible *in capitolio*) inherited from **Γ**, and a minor slip (*dio*) perhaps borrowed from **Δ**. But what is relatively unchanging is the value of the testimony of DS (F), **Δ**, and **Γ**, the three traditions that are the codices’ sole possible sources of variants. Where the identification of a reading as received from a tradition lacks a high degree of probability, a question mark is added after **Δ**or **Γ**within the square brackets, as in 9.84 cuius **F***A2* º om. θ*Q*[**Γ**?].[[30]](#footnote-30) This serves at least to call the attention of the reader to a reading as possibly transmitted when it might otherwise attract no attention. All of the hyparchetypes seem to have been filled with careless errors, which were quickly corrected by scribes and editors of the early ninth century. Therefore improbable readings found uniquely in one of the earlier and more sincere MSS (L, J, Q) have usually about an eighty per cent chance of being transmitted errors or variants. When there is insufficient basis to identify the source of a reading as **Δ** or **Γ**, no identification is made, and the reader should be aware that if no reading is attributed to an extant tradition, failure to indicate that a reading was inherited from **Δ** or **Γ** does not eliminate that reading as a possible variant (transmitted reading). But when the variants of all extant traditions have been identified, all other readings reported are presented as merely errors or conjectures, lacking evidential value.

I include in the lower apparatus the following:

1) almost all errors, even if unique, of F, LJ (except unique errors which could not descend from **Δ**), Q or **τ** (except in the section 10.192-396, where **τ** descends from Δand we have better evidence for that tradition), E or γ in 10.192-396 (where E becomes a more important witness to **Γ**);

2) almost all readings shared by members of more than one family;

3) most major errors, especially omissions, of individual codices and families;

4) most other readings of individual codices and families when there is a major split among the MSS (that is, even after the true variants, the readings of DS, **Δ**, and **Γ**, are identified, the remaining readings among the codices are reported, unless the differences are very trivial);

5) any other reading whose transmission from before the Carolingian age seems possible;

6) conjectures, both of modern scholars and of medieval scribes, that might be right, or that led to conjectures that might be right.

I exclude:

1) orthography, unless I believe the variations to be of special interest, or unless the scribal reading is cited because of a more serious error (in that case I cite lemma and readings usually with the orthography best attested by witnesses to that reading);

2) most variations in citations of lemmata, quotations, and Greek that do not attest DS, **Δ**, or **Γ**(in these circumstances, I normally report only the readings that can be reconstructed as transmitted by DS, **Δ**, and **Γ**, and the compendia **Δ** and **Γ**should not be taken to indicate unanimous agreement of all normal witnesses to those traditions);

3) minor unique errors of codices A, O, Pa, E, Pb, Y, W, N, U, when the status of transmission makes it unlikely that the codex would transmit a genuine variant uniquely;

4) most minor errors of a codex of a type particularly frequent in that codex: e.g., in F misdivision of minims (*in* for *m* and such), *aduerbium* for *aduerbum*, in θ, A, or O the variation of *si* and *sed*, in Q the variation *ec* for *et* and vice versa (the variation *ci* / *ti*, also common, is not reported for any codex), in Pb, omission of final letters of words;

5) most readings of later, correcting hands that do not add to our knowledge of the evidence: e. g., corrections of L by Lb, when Lb's reading is attested already by Q, τ, or γ (but I do cite Lb in order to indicate that L's reading may be obscure or originally must have differed from Lb's); L before correction is not recorded when the correction is by L2 and L2's reading is confirmed by J, θ, or F; almost all corrections of E3 are excluded, except to explain the obscurity of E, or where there is room for doubt about the date of the correction;

6) modern conjectures that cannot be correct, unless they prompted conjectures worthy of consideration or illustrate the textual problem.

When Servius Auctus and Servius are printed in parallel columns, reference in the upper apparatus is to the text of Servius Auctus (left column), in the lower apparatus to the text of Servius (right column) unless otherwise specified. So at 9.401, reference in the lower apparatus to properet per vvlnerα is addressed to the reading of Servius (right column), and the reading of F is treated as an error (which for Servius it is, though it is correct for Servius Auctus if the Compiler in the seventh century so read).

When readings are reported in the form (e.g.) dvm parte gervntur **F***N* d. parte geruntur θ*PcQW*[**Γ**] d. p. g. *Pa*γ, it should be understood that the abbreviations “d.” and “d. p. g.” appear as such in the manuscripts. When a reading is reported in the form (e.g.) logodaedalos (-lus θ*W*) **Δ***PcWN*, it should be understood that the full form of the word in question stands in the manuscripts, while the hyphen has been used, for the sake of economy, to record only the portion of the word relevant to the entry.

1. *Ed’.s note*: the preface that CEM drafted began with the section now labeled ‘Presentation of the Text’; for the source of this first section below, ‘The Manuscripts’, see the Foreword at n. 3. Given the nature of the tradition and of individual codices, the survey necessarily refers to some MSS that either are not extant for *Aeneid* 9-12 or do not merit inclusion in the apparatus: the principal manuscripts on which this edition is based are distinguished by bold type and are briefly described at the end of this section (pp. 000-00), where I have drawn on Murgia 1975 and other sources. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For other signs of the Compiler’s authorship, see the next section, ‘Presentation of the Text’. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. These were quires 1-4 (*E.* *Proem*.-*G.* 1.21), 11 (*G.* 4.193- *A.* 1.4.10), 17 (*A.* 1.686-2.104), 23 (*A.* 3.694-4.229), 27 (*A.* 5.573-6.39), 37 (*A.* 8.664-9.272), and 39 (*A.* 9.715-10.191); δ was probably missing another quire (45?), covering *A.* 12.524 to the end (or near the end). For a chart of the text that survives in L see Murgia 1975, 74; for a chart of the text covered by δ when it reached the ninth century, see ibid., 75-6. L’s text comprises *A*. 5.93-11.262, minus the text of δ’s quire 27 (above) and *A*. 8.664-10.775. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For a partial list, see Murgia 1975, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. According to Bischoff 1:353, it was written ca. s. IX3/4, perhaps in southwest Germany. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The notable exceptions are **A** and B. The interpolation originated in τ in the early ninth century. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. In the terminology of Murgia 1975; the Harvard editors of *A.* 1-5 call this family β2, and the family of **J**K β1. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. See Murgia 1975, 87-8. The lemmata of δ were a peculiar and unpredictable mix of uncials (majuscule letter forms with characteristic rounded form of ADEM) with occasional forms that are proper to other scripts, such as half-uncial (with a flat-topped g) and enlarged minuscule (e.g., bdefmn written in the large majuscule size, but with the shape that developed into our lowercase letters); at times **LQ**, and less often PsSc, together reproduce this varying mix with uncanny accuracy. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. See Appendix B. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. **N** contains Virgil and Servius in alternating batches, with its text of Virgil continuing to *A*. 12.82. Its text of the *Georgics*, which probably perished after copying, might originally have contained the Vatican Scholia, with V. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For a more extensive list, see Murgia 1975, 141-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. The bifolium was published and analyzed by Marshall 2000. The excerpts range from *A*. 3.561 to *A*.8.713 and also contain Anglo-Saxon glosses and other material. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Fifteen other manuscripts are cited in the critical apparatus only occasionally for the interesting reading they display: see the table of *sigla*, p. 000. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. *GRF* 533. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. I think particularly of the Compiler's penchant for regularizing Servius' word order by moving the verb to the end of the sentence; very often the changed word order destroys the emphasis which Servius had carefully structured, and so, for the reader sensitive to such things, alters the sense. This distinction in style has often been pointed out: see, e. g., Goold 1970, 107-8, Murgia 1974, 202, 269-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. For instances in volume 3 where the editors have printed separately for Servius Auctus readings which are correct for Servius, see Murgia 1968, particularly my notes (pp. 318-347) on *A.* 3.68, 4 Praef. (line 10), 5.529, 755, 791, 3.284 (*dicit*), 317.9, 4 Praef. (line 21), 57 (*sunt*), 82, 215 (*alii*), 228 (*ac*), 323 (*vi*), 5.329, 270, 687, 738 (*in usu est*), 755. In some instances the reading which the editors have incorrectly printed printed for Servius Auctus alone is shared with one of the two traditions of Servius: see my notes on 5.81, 114, 190 (omission of *re vera*), in all of which the correct reading is shared with **Δ**, and on 5.114 and 122, where the correct reading is shared with **Γ**. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. See Murgia 1968, 320 (on 3.113 and 183), 343 (on 5. 209), 346 (on 5.681). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. There are also other possible explanations of the present tense. Servius may have copied carelessly from his source, listed in the previous sentence as *Caper et Hyginus* (which probably means that Servius' proximate source was someone, such as Donatus, who quoted Caper and Hyginus); or possibly the office and the costume may have continued for a time after the function was banned. Note that within the same comment Servius is careful to refer to sacrifice in the past tense. See Murgia1974, 262-3. Here however the shortening of *pudenda poparum* might also reflect the sensibilities of the monk who compiled Servius Auctus, who may have wanted to avoid reference to priests' private parts. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. For example, see 9.138 ISTE DOLOR *om*. (=DS) F, and similar notations of divergences in F at 9.141 (F. *om*.), 239 (*aliter* <*ait*>), 486 (*pertinebat*), 521 (<*hoc* *est*> *ipse*), 570 (*dicitur hominibus*), 577 (*tegebat*), 579 (<*Et*> *leuo*), 674 (<*Et*> *montibus*), 715 (*aliam*), 737 (*non se*), 742 (*hoc* *autem* *sic* for *et*), 763 (*hostium*). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Barwick 1911, 124-132. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Note that it is the aim of the Harvard Edition to print Servius Auctus (DS), that is, a seventh-century conflation of Servius and D, not to attempt to reconstruct the ancient D comment which the Compiler used. The text therefore is intended to convey the changes in Servius and D which the Compiler adopted or inherited. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The archetypal *saepius* is found only in **Γ**. W, which shares with F *ut saepius*, probably received the reading by contamination with Servius Auctus. It is rarely possible to be sure of the direction of travel of readings that Servius Auctus and W share, but there are clear interpolations from Servius Auctus in W in the vicinity, and it was the Compiler of Servius Auctus who had the greater need to emend the text into something both smooth-flowing and intelligible. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. On the shape of the tradition as a whole see the initial section of the preface above. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. See for instance 9.214 <<solita>> fortvna, 345 <<rhoetvm vigilantem . . . tegebat>>. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. It is also likely to have been Servius’ spelling. It is the predominant use in the earliest MSS of Vergil: Ribbeck 1866, 419-20, cites only sixteen instances of *F* for *PH* in the majuscule MSS. Although in the extant MSS of Servius the most common transliteration of the Greek phi is *f*, the less common occurrences of *ph* in the earliest MSS are hard to explain if they are not survivors of transmitted orthography, resisting correction to the medieval standard. There is a greater tendency toward *ph* in L. So we find in L (often together with JT) such spellings as 11.245 *emphaticos* (*enfaticos* Γ), 11.260 *caphereus* (*cafereus* Γ) and *capereum* (sic). Though Q, when representing **Γ**, only occasionally uses the spelling with *ph* (so 12.725 *philosophi*), it does sometimes have errors that suppose such a transmitted spelling. Servius himself seems to attest a spelling with *ph* in his comment on *A.* 9.82: ‘nam ecce Ripaei, montes Arcadiae, non scribuntur cum aspiratione: quam addimus cum Riphaeos, montes Scythiae, significamus’. But some uncertainty is injected by his comment on *G*. 3.382, where he derives the name from ῥιφή. Since the Greek word is actually ῥιπή (ῥιφή is attested, but not with the meaning *impetus* given by Servius), it is possibly the tradition that is confused, not he, and the aspiration in question is of *r* (*Rhipaei*). Yet the variation in orthography that prompted his comment is probably the one that our earliest codices of Vergil present: Riph- AMPR at G. 1. 240 (with only γω having ripaeas) and MRγ at G. 4.518; Rip- MP at G. 3.382 (Riph- M2γω, Rif- c, Rhip- R). Therefore only R, a codex probably later in date than Servius, shows, in one passage, a variation of *r* / *rh*; the attested variations in our earliest codices are of *P* (G. 3.382) and *PH* (G. 1.240 and 4.518): this problem of spelling is surely the one that Servius sought to answer by insisting on the need for an aspirate; since he defines the difference as addition of an aspirate, and not change to *f*, it follows that he used *ph* in words of Greek origin. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Winterbottom does standardize *optinuit* in Quintilian, and Lindsay standardizes *opt*- in Plautus, but not in Martial. Spellings in *opt*- are not uncommon in the MSS of Servius and Vergil, but are not the rule. For the distinction in spelling privative *in*- I find no justification in the evidence which I have examined; cf. Lindsay 1904; Buck 1899; O. Prinz 1949-50 and 1953-4; Winterbottom 1970. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. For *susc*- instead of *succ*-, see above. The only possible exception to *acc*- in the testimony of Servius is *adcumulo*: in 11.107, we find the MSS’ *accumulat* in L, but *adcumulat* in Q. Diehl’s index gives *acc*- in all relevant words except *accumulo*, for which we find (in the only two occurrences) *adtumulatus* and *ad*[*c*]*umulata* (both therefore support non-assimilation in that word). Prinz noted both assimilation and non-assimilation in *accelerare*, *accommodare*, *accumulare*, *accurrere*, and a preference for non-assimilation in *adclamare*, *adclinis*, *adcliuis*, *adcredere*, and *adcrescere* (none of which occurs in this volume of Servius). I standardize *acc*- throughout. Diehl’s index shows six examples of *adfectus*, but two of *affectus*. Buck 1899, 159, found sixteen examples of *adfectus* in inscriptions (one, *CIL* 12.1724, from the end of the fifth century), but only one example of *affectus*. The evidence of the MSS of Servius is similar: *adfectus* is most common, but *affectus* is sometimes transmitted by one tradition or another, or even by their consensus. I standardize *adf*- throughout. Servius’ day seems to have marked a period of change. As Buck pointed out (160), the earlier grammarians claim that *d* is both pronounced and written before *f* (including *adfectus*). But Servius in his *Comm. in Don*. (4.443.2-3) claims that the spelling with two *f*s is just coming in: ‘affero, quod scribebatur per a et per d, incipit scribi per a et f’. Ancient evidence supports *ann*- only in *annuo*, though even here *adnuo* is more common. Lindsay accepted also *appeto*. The exceptions in ancient evidence are *arripio* and *arrigo*. Other exceptions in ancient evidence are *ascendo*, *aspiro*, *aspernor*, sometimes *ascribo* and *ascisco* (though *adscribo* and *adscisco* are also found). That is, assimilation is resisted when a vowel follows *ads*-, but *as*- is more common before *c*, *p*, and *t*. Lindsay favored *conp*- in all words, but Buck recommended *comp*- in all, which Winterbottom standardized. The scribal evidence varies in all periods, since there was little detectable difference in pronunciation between *conp*- and *comp*-. The better MSS of Servius transmit *conp*- substantially more often than *comp*- in most words. *Comparo* and *comparatio* are more common than *conp*-, and *compositio* and *compello* are also common, though not dominatingly so. Similarly, in Diehl’s index we find five examples of *conplector* to one of *complector*, twenty-five of *conpleo* to six of *compleo*, three of *conpono* to two of *compono*, and two examples each of *conprimo* and *comprimo*. We also occasionally find *impetro*, which I take to result from confusion with *impero*. I standardize *inpetro*. The evidence of the MSS of Servius is also varied on *impedio* and *impedimentum*, though *imp*- is slightly more common than *inp*-, and is standardized. As with *conp*-, there was little difference in pronunciation between *inp*- and *imp*-, and there is considerable variation in scribal spelling. Lindsay preferred *inp*- in most words, but Buck recommended standardizing *imp*-. The better MSS of Servius strongly favor *inp*- in most words. The ancient exception is *irrumo*. In 11.258 we find *supplicia* L[**Δ**] *subp*- Q[ **Γ**]. The evidence of both MSS and inscriptions is divided on *extruo*, but I standardize the spelling without *s*: we find *extructo* in both L and J at *A.* 5.290 but both *ext*- and *exst*- in F at *A.* 9.324 (a DS comment). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Bod. = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 1. 16 (s. XI); M3 is a correcting hand in M that drew on a DS source. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. I use the term ‘tradition’ of **Δ**, **Γ**, and DS, rather than ‘hyparchetype’, because when the codices are contaminated and change in state of preservation, the latest common exemplar that their concerted testimony reconstructs may vary from reading to reading and section to section. Nevertheless the quality of the testimony is essentially the same if we can identify the line of transmission that these codices preserve. I use the term ‘tradition’ to refer to such a line of transmission. There was originally a pre-Caroline MS that was the source of the **Δ**tradition, a lost codex δ that we can reconstruct from the consensus of codices L and J; but for most of the text in this volume we lack the witness of L, and sometimes the witness of J; the siglum **Δ**nevertheless identifies the reading which was inherited from δ, and that readings witnesses. Similarly there must have been a lost hyparchetype that was the source of the tradition which I call **Γ**: the siglum **Γ**identifies the reading inherited from this hyparchetype, and that reading’s witnesses. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. The siglum º is a compendium of convenience, indicating the consensus of PaγY (without implying a single latest common exemplar as the regular source of the readings which these codices share). Here the implication is that A2PaγY have all adopted *cuius* by contamination with Servius Auctus, or possibly by conjecture (since the word is demanded by the context). Very likely there was a single source, a MS of the τ family that was corrected against an exemplar of Servius Auctus; but what unites PaγY in frequent agreement is not so much access to the same line of interpolation (they all have access to several lines of interpolation) as a shared preference for the *facilior lectio*. When there is only one *facilior lectio* known or possible, they usually unite in a single reading; but when more than one *facilis lectio* was available, they often diverge. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)