
A Munich fragment of the *Ilias Latina* (Clm 14843)

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Résumé

Cet article présente un bifolio inconnu qui transmet les vers 416-496 de l'Ilias latina, conservé comme dernier feuillet de garde du manuscrit Munich, BSB, Clm 14843 ; daté de manière hypothétique de la deuxième moitié du XIe siècle, il était le bifolio interne d'un cahier, vraisemblablement un quaternion. Bien que quelques indices puissent suggérer un lien avec Regensburg, Bischöf. ZentralB., Frag. I. 1.6, le manuscrit était un jumeau stématique du manuscrit Erfurt, BU, CA. 12^o 20. Aux arguments textuels on peut ajouter un argument tiré de leur mise en page : le fragment munichoïse, le témoin d'Erfurt et Leiden, BU, Voss. Lat. O. 89, qui en est très proche dans le stemma codicum, sont les trois seuls manuscrits de la tradition la plus ancienne à avoir vingt vers par page. Ce trait est probablement le résultat de la reproduction de la mise en page des exemplaires utilisés, une pratique bien connue du processus de copie manuscrite médiévale, particulièrement en poésie.

Abstract

This paper presents a hitherto unknown bifolium containing verses 416-496 of the Ilias Latina, now preserved as the last protective leaf of Munich, BSB, Clm 14843 ; it was the inner bifolium of a quire, possibly of a quaternion, belonging to a manuscript tentatively dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Even though some of its characteristics could suggest a connection with Regensburg, Bischöf. ZentralB., Frag. I. 1.6, it actually constituted a stemmatic twin of Erfurt, BU, CA. 12^o 20 ; the textual evidence is supported by the fact that both witnesses, as well as their close relative Leiden, BU, Voss. Lat. O. 89, are the only known codices in Marco Scaffai's stemma to have 20 lines per page ; this feature is likely the result of reproducing the mise en page of the model(s), a well-known practice in the medieval transcription process.

NOTES ET MATÉRIAUX

A MUNICH FRAGMENT OF THE *ILIAS LATINA* (CLM 14843) ⁽¹⁾

Álvaro CANCELA CILLERUELO

This paper presents a hitherto unknown bifolium containing verses 416-496 of the *Ilias Latina*, now preserved as the last protective leaf of Munich, BSB, Clm 14843; it was the inner bifolium of a quire, possibly of a quaternion, belonging to a manuscript tentatively dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Even though some of its characteristics could suggest a connection with Regensburg, Bischöf. ZentralB., Frag. I.1.6, it actually constituted a stemmatic twin of Erfurt, BU, CA. 12° 20; the textual evidence is supported by the fact that both witnesses, as well as their close relative Leiden, BU, Voss. Lat. O. 89, are the only known codices in Marco Scaffai's *stemma* to have 20 lines per page; this feature is likely the result of reproducing the *mise en page* of the model(s), a well-known practice in the medieval transcription process.

Introduction

Munich, BSB, Clm 14843 is a ninth-century codex of 136 folios transmitting Isidore's *Synonyma* ⁽²⁾ followed by two penitential poems (*Exhortatio poenitendi* and *Lamentum poenitentiae*) ⁽³⁾, a bunch of patristic and early medieval religious texts ⁽⁴⁾, as well as an

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(2) Eligus DEKKERS, Aemilius GAAR, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed., Steenbrugs, 1995, n° 1203 (from now on, *CPL*); Manuel C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Index Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum. Pars prior*, Salamanca 1958, n° 105 (from now on, *DÍAZ*); Jacques ELFASSI, *Les Synonyma d'Isidore de Séville: édition critique et histoire du texte*, PhD Thesis (EPHE), Paris, 2001, n° 250. A full reproduction of the manuscript can be found on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: www.daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00065810/images/ (checking date: 10/11/2016).

(3) *CPL* 1227, DÍAZ 304; *CPL* 1533, DÍAZ 305. On the manuscript and these poems, see Benedikt K. VOLLMANN, «I manoscritti bavaresi», in *Poesia dell'alto Medioevo europeo: manoscritti, lingua e musica dei ritmi latini: atti delle Euroconferenze per il corpus dei ritmi latini (IV-IX sec.)*, Arezzo, 6-7 novembre 1998 e Ravello, 9-12 settembre 1999, ed. by Francesco Stella, Firenze, 2000, p. 256-261. Their most recent edition was prepared by Karl STRECKER, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. IV, fasc. 2-3, Berlin, 1923 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*), p. 769-783. Along with a longer prose composition entitled *Oratio pro correptione uitae* (see *CPL* 1228, DÍAZ 306), the two poems constituted the so-called Corpus of Pseudo-Sisbert of Toledo, of which I am preparing a critical edition. The association of Isidore's *Synonyma* and Pseudo-Sisbert's works, attested by this manuscript, characterises a family in the transmission of both texts and is particularly important in the diffusion of the Corpus.

important collection of hymns, *sequentiae* and *tropoi*, which constitutes one of the oldest examples of liturgical *sequentiae* ⁽⁵⁾. It belonged to the well-known library of St. Emmeram at Regensburg (*OSB*, Bavaria) ⁽⁶⁾, even though it is not part of the set of manuscripts copied in this famous German *scriptorium*. In fact, according to Bernhard Bischoff, Clm 14843 was transcribed by several graceful French hands in the area around Toul during the ninth century ⁽⁷⁾, as its script and contents seem to indicate ⁽⁸⁾, and it travelled to

(4) Since it has not been accurately identified, I call attention to the fact that f. 83r-93v, without indication of title or author, transmit the prologue, the index (only ch. 1-8) and the text of ch. 1-11 of the third book of the work *Liber de qualitate caelestis patriae ex sanctorum patrum opusculis excerptus*, a Carolingian book attributed to a ninth-century monk called *Emmo* (*Haimo*, *Heimo*, etc.) who dedicated his work to a certain *Willelmus*, identified with William of Aquitaine, a monk attested between 806-811 (†); see Marie-Hélène JULLIEN, Françoise PERELMAN, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae, 735-987*, vol. I, Turnhout, 1994, s. v. EMMO 1. This witness is absent from the provisional list provided by M. H. Jullien and F. Perelman, and its addition could be significant for future editors of the work, since apart from Avranches, BM, 87, it is the only known manuscript dating back to the ninth century; the rest of the manuscripts transmitting this work, which still lacks a critical edition, are all at least from the tenth. Besides its chronological proximity to the author, often confused with Haymo of Auxerre, Haymo of Halberstadt and Haymo of Hirsau, the manuscript itself is highly surprising in that it transmits ch. 1-11 even though the index only arrives until ch. 8 (second half of f. 83v, blank), and it ends *in medias res* at ch. 11 at *ecce dies domini ueniet* (according to *Patrologia Latina* [from now on, *P.L.*] vol. 118 col. 939B), without continuing with the expected following words (*insanabilis, dies furoris et irae* = *P.L., ibidem*) and leaving blank 2-3 lines on f. 93v and the whole of f. 94r.

(5) On the manuscript see Karl HALM (ed.), *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, t. IV *Pars II. Codices Latinos (clm) 11001-15028 complectens*, München, 1876, p. 241; Charles H. BEESON, *Isidor-Studien*, München, 1913, p. 56; Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, Teil I: *Die bayrischen Diözesen*, 3rd ed., Wiesbaden, 1974 (Leipzig, 1940¹; Wiesbaden, 1960²), p. 256; B. BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, Teil II: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen, mit 25 Schriftproben*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 245; B. BISCHOFF (†), *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*, Teil II: Laon-Paderborn, ed. by Birgit EBERSPERGER, Wiesbaden, 2004, p. 265; Laurent MORELLE, «Enquête sur le manuscrit», in *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien. Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813-847), avec les lettres de Theuthilde, abbesse de Remiremont*, ed. by M. Parisse, Paris, 1998, p. 57-79, esp. p. 78 n. 75 and p. 58, n. 11; Henry PARKES, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 38-55. On the *sequentiae*, see Wolfram VON DEN STEINEN, «Die Anfänge der Sequenzendichtung», *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 40, 1946, p. 190-212 and 241-268, esp. p. 260-262, as well as Hermann APFELBÖCK, *Tradition und Gattungsbewußtsein im deutschen Leich. Ein Beitrag zur Gattungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher musikalischer «discordia»*, München, 1987, p. 65.

(6) There it carried the shelf-mark *Em L. 3*.

(7) During the second part of the century, according to B. BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen* (*supra* n. 5), p. 256, or around its middle according to his *Katalog*. Bischoff's chronology for the manuscript in *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen* is accepted by L. MORELLE, «Enquête sur le manuscrit» (*supra* n. 5). Before Bischoff the manuscript was dated to the tenth century, as it still is by Arturo T. RUIZ PÉREZ, *Transferencias del canto medieval: los tropos del Ordinarium Misae en los manuscritos españoles*, PhD Thesis (UCM), Madrid, 2006, p. 4, 24, 30, 152, 284 and 343.

(8) First, its script does not point to the south German style of the St. Emmeram codices, but to France, and Toul stands out if the manuscript is compared to the Toul witness of the *Epistles* of the bishop Frotharius (Paris, BNF, lat. 13090, f. 80-91). Second, its contents show regional

St. Emmeram afterwards. Its binding is modern, dating from the beginning of 1975; before that, the manuscript had a wooden binding that was too small for the dimensions of the leaves, as is indicated by a note in pencil on the front pastedown⁽⁹⁾. In any case, three protective leaves coming from two different manuscripts had been added to protect the volume: one protective leaf was placed at the beginning (f. I) and two at the end of the codex (f. II and III)⁽¹⁰⁾. The leaf placed in front of the manuscript (f. I), as well as the first one at the back (f. II), bearing titles in red and some initials in blue, come from a witness of Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum*⁽¹¹⁾.

Unlike f. I–II, the last protective leaf (f. III) was not a part of the same witness of Gratian's *Concordia*, as can be immediately noticed from the one-column verse *mise en page*, from the Greek names belonging to the Trojan Cycle present in the text, as well as from its earlier script, provided with a large number of corrections and glosses⁽¹²⁾: it is indeed a fragment of a manuscript of the *Ilias Latina* (from now on, *IL*) originally preserving v. 416–496, which is absent from the large list of complete and fragmentary witnesses provided by Marco Scaffai in his excellent overview of the tradition of the work⁽¹³⁾.

1. Codicological and palaeographical aspects

As the surface of a single folio would not have been large enough, a whole bifolium was taken from a witness of the *IL* and turned into a protective leaf for Clm 14843. Since its original dimensions were larger than the folios of Clm 14843, it was rotated and cut, the

interest: within the poetic collection preserved by the manuscript, f. 96v–97r contain a *sequentia* written in honour of St. Aper (Saint Aprus / Saint Evre), patron of Toul, which also points to this eastern region of France as origin for the manuscript. The *incipit* of the sequence is *Haec est sancta sollemnitatis cunctis ueneranda beati Aprii et adoranda*. Edition: Guido M. DREVES, Clemens BLUME (edd.), *Liturgische Prosen erster Epoche aus den Sequenzschulen des Abendlandes, insbesondere die dem Nolkerus Balbulus zugeschriebenen nebst Skizze über den Ursprung der Sequenz. Auf Grund der Melodien aus den Quellen des 10–16 Jahrhunderts*, in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. 53, Leipzig, 1911, n. 240.1 (stanzas 1–13), p. 379–381. Relevant variants also from Clm 14843 in the *apparatus criticus* of p. 382. Note that this *sequentia* has been adapted to different saints, but the dedication to *Aper* (with the variants *Aprii* in v. 3,1 and 11,2) is only found in Clm 14843.

(9) *Früher ma. Holzdeckel-Einband, zu klein.*

(10) As a matter of consequence, the volume actually consists of f. I + 136 f. + f. II + f. III.

(11) Manuscripts of this twelfth-century legal text are very widespread from the beginning of its circulation onwards; f. I *recto* starts at *pauperum, cuique non solum habita* (*P.L.* vol. 187 col. 1016B), whereas the *verso* finishes *auctoritatem conciliorum tam de oblationibus* (*P.L.* vol. 187 col. 1017B); f. II *recto* begins at *(disponen)te aliis ecclesiis fuerit assignatum* (*P.L.* vol. 187 col. 1013B) and its *verso* finishes at *Res ecclesiae principum auctoritate distribui non possunt* (*P.L.* vol. 187 col. 1016A). It can be easily inferred from the closeness of the two folios that f. I, which is now the initial protective leaf, immediately followed f. II in the original manuscript. On the tradition of this work see Anders WINROTH, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*, Cambridge, 2004.

(12) For reproductions of both *recto* and *verso*, see **Pl. 19–20**.

(13) See Marco SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*», in *In verbis verum amare. Miscellanea dell'Istituto di filologia latina e medievale*, ed. by Paolo Serra Zanetti, Bologna, 1980, p. 205–277, and the preface of his edition *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina. Introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione italiana e commento*, Bologna, 1982 (2nd edition, Bologna 1996).

original top margin being then chosen for the sewing. Consequently, an entire folio *recto-verso* (pages *A-B*) is preserved together with the inner part of the following one (pages *C-D*), as can be seen in *Fig. (1)*:

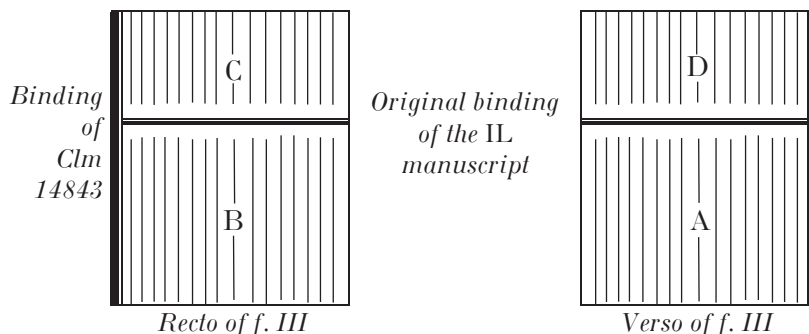


Fig. (1): Clm 14843, f. III

The text shows that the bifolium was turned over before being bound: the fragment starts at the beginning of *A* (v. 416-435); the following verses (v. 436-456) stand on *B*, which omitted v. 444.⁽¹⁴⁾ The next verses, v. 457-476, the right half of which is lost, were transmitted on *C*, whereas *D* once preserved v. 477-496 and now contains only their second part. Since there is no *lacuna* between *B* and *C*, it can be deduced with certainty that it is the inner bifolium of a lost quire.⁽¹⁵⁾ As the result of being cut, bound and rubbed, the first verse of *B* and *C* are entirely lost; the first and the last verse of *A*, and the last verse of *B* and *C* are only partially legible; the surface of *D* is undoubtedly the most afflicted area, only preserving the second part of each hexameter in almost illegible conditions, even though the verses transmitted can be identified.

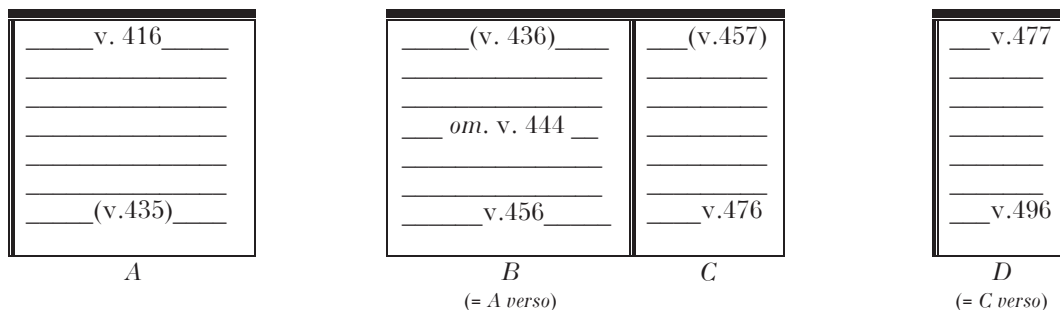


Fig. (2)

In spite of this damage, the contents of each page can be well established thanks to the extant verses, the undeniable existence of lines even if they are not wholly readable, as well as by the general arrangement of the text.

(14) The error was corrected by a second hand thanks to the collation of another exemplar; see *infra*.

(15) Otherwise there would be a *lacuna* of a length proportional to the bifolia lost between *B* and *C*.

As can be deduced from this *mise en page*, the manuscript had 20 verses per page; as it starts at v. 416, it can be assumed that the preceding 415 verses of the work would occupy *at least* 11 f. (the first one possibly not fully written), whereas the following 573 verses (v. 497-1070) would cover at least 15 f. According to this, the work is likely to have occupied 28 f., of which Clm 14843 has preserved f. 12r-v and the inner half of f. 13r-v:

[11 f. lost] + extant f. *A-B* + extant f. *C-D* + [15 f. lost at least]

This piece of information may be relevant to the kind of quire that can be hypothetically reconstructed for the lost manuscript. Since there is no textual *lacuna* between *B* and *C*, it is obvious that these two folios constituted in any case the internal bifolium of the fascicle; the coincidence of this with the fact that the preceding verses would have occupied at least 11 f. makes it highly plausible that the quires of the original manuscript were quaternions. In effect, in this case the first quaternion, made up of f. 1-8 (with the sewing between f. 4-5), would be followed by a second quire consisting of f. 9-16; its internal bifolium would have been constituted by f. 12-13, with the sewing between them, the very position that this bifolium is likely to have occupied in the original manuscript according to its 20-verse *mise en page* and the lack of a *lacuna* ⁽¹⁶⁾:

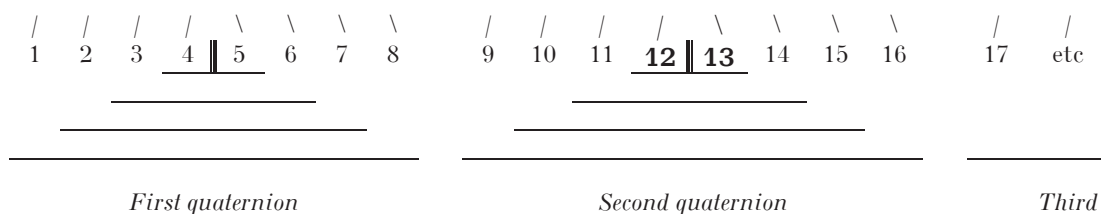


Fig. (3)

From a paleographical point of view, the writing is a late Carolingian script; its most significant feature is the absence of some of the main Gothic developments that will triumph in the later period ⁽¹⁷⁾. The writing lacks the horizontal and vertical fusion, compactness and compression as well as the treatment of the foot of the descenders of *p* or *q*, both features typical of Gothic script. As for the shape of certain letters, it has to be noted that the scribe always uses a vertical half-uncial *d*, and not the uncial type. Round *s* (in the so-called 8-type or double-curve *s*) is not employed: straight *s* appears in every position, including the final, and along with *f* it slightly extends below the baseline in a few cases. As for the letter *r*, its Carolingian shape is the only form used: low *r* shaped like a 2 does not appear, not even after *o* (the *or*-ligature does not occur) ⁽¹⁸⁾. Moreover, there is no trace of the Tironian sign for *et* (7), the ampersand ligature & being the only form in

(16) Of course, this reconstruction implies that the manuscript transmitted the whole text of the *IL* without mutilations or omissions, particularly at the beginning.

(17) On these features, see Albert DEROLEZ, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 47-55 and p. 56-71, with further bibliographical references; on the evolution of individual letter forms p. 60-65 are especially relevant.

(18) See for example at v. 442 *fore* without *o2*-ligature.

use⁽¹⁹⁾. Initials of each verse are alternatively red and brown. Notwithstanding the difficulty of dating this kind of script in the light of such a limited sample of writing, it could well be regarded as a late Carolingian script and dated tentatively to the second half of the eleventh century⁽²⁰⁾. Shortly after being transcribed, the text was glossed and corrected by a second hand (*Mon*²) that collated another exemplar in order to correct some corrupt passages. Since the script of this second hand presents the same paleographical features found in the main one in the case of *d*, *s* and *or*, it could be considered as the hand of a contemporary *diorthotes*⁽²¹⁾.

2. The stemmatic position of the fragment

The fragmentary witnesses already known to Scaffai shed no light on the relation of this fragment with the extant tradition. According to his accurate *recensio*⁽²²⁾, there is no manuscript lacking this bifolium, nor a fragment offering any coincidence with it, so the possibility of a *membrum disiectum* of an extant witness can be dismissed. Moreover, no manuscript is known to present the omission of these verses, a kind of fault that would indicate that such a manuscript would descend from the lost parts of the fragment.

2.1 Besides lacking any piece of direct evidence, a misleading indication is provided within the manuscript tradition⁽²³⁾. In 1863 a mutilated old codex containing the *IL* (today

(19) As far as the system of abbreviations is concerned, note that both *ē*- and 9- are used for *con*-; *p*- with stroke abbreviations for *prae*-, *per*- and *pro*-; *ē* for *ae*; *ⁿ* for *-us*; *-q*; for *-que*; supra-scripted *-i* for *-it* or *-ri* (*neq*ⁱ = *nequit*, *frat*ⁱ = *fratri*, *t*^{si} = *tristi*); *-t* for *-tur*; *-q*, with stroke for *quod* (unsure); *-b*; for *-bus*. Note that in these verses there is no occurrence of *non*, *enim*, *autem* or *est*, nor *-orum*, the abbreviations of which would probably have been significant.

(20) Otherwise, maybe the very beginning of the twelfth century. For a resembling script see for example the so-called *I membra disiecta* of the *Waltharius*, namely Innsbruck, UB, frag. 89-90 + München, UB, 8° 479 + Berlin, SBB, frag. 61 + Urbana (Illinois), UB, fragments without number. For further references on them see Walter BERSCHN, «Waltharius-Glossen», *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 18, 2008, p. 346-355, esp. p. 348 n. 8. I thank very much F. DUPLESSIS (IRHT) for pointing me out these fragments and discussing the script of the *Ilias* bifolium.

(21) The punctuation consists only of the *punctus* (a point on the baseline or slightly above it); it seems to have been partially added and corrected by this second hand, but it is not possible always to distinguish between the two of them.

(22) M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 239-241.

(23) *Sigla* according to M. SCAFFAI, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (*supra* n. 13):

B = London, BL, Add. 15601 (20963) [12th-13th c., North of France].

C = Saint-Claude, BM, 2 [11th c., Centre of France: St. Oyan / St. Claude?].

D = Praha, UB, VIII.H. 7 (1625) [12th c., Germany].

d = Dijon, BM, 497 (288) [end of 13th c., North of France?].

E = Erfurt, UB, CA. 12° 20 [11th-12th c., Germany].

F = Firenze, BML Plut. 68.24 [11th c., France, probably Centre].

G = Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Extrav. 301 [12th c., South of Germany].

h = Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Helmst. 349 (384), ex Misc. 32 [13th c., Germany].

L = Leiden, UB, Voss. lat. O. 89 [2nd half of 11th c., Centre/North of France, possibly Fleury].

M = München, BSB, Clm 19463 [12th c., Germany, possibly Tegernsee].

m = München, BSB, Clm 29038 [12th c., Germany, possibly Tegernsee].

Regensburg, Bischöfl. ZentralB., Fragment I.1.6) was discovered at the Frauenkloster in Obermünster, Regensburg (24). Both by its script and by the quality of its text, the so-called Regensburg fragment, *R*, caught the eye of different scholars: written in the south of Germany in the tenth or the eleventh century, according to Ludwig Traube its script can be a sample of a female hand (25); with regard to its text, it is one of the three oldest witnesses of the *IL* and it constitutes the oldest witness belonging to the β -branch of the text; thirdly, the fact that *R* preserves *magnapum* instead of *magnarum* has been taken as proof of a tradition deriving from an exemplar written in insular script (26). Given its textual relevance, it is undoubtedly a misfortune that the codex only contains v. 497-586 and 648-906 due to the loss of the rest of the folios; and although it is not an isolated witness – other manuscripts belonging to the same German family have been preserved – so far no direct descendant or twin manuscript of *R* has been identified, allowing to recover its lost readings.

When comparing the verses transmitted in *R* and *Mon*, a first enlightening piece of evidence seems to appear from the fact that the first verse preserved in *R* (v. 497) exactly follows the last verse that was once held, according to our reconstruction, by *Mon* (v. 496); astonishment grows when realising that *Mon* was attached as a protective leaf of a codex coming from Regensburg, where *R* has been held. It is highly unlikely to find in the same city, Regensburg, two fragments of the same work ending and starting at the same point without being closely related, but manuscripts are not aware of theoretical probabilities: *Mon* is not a *membrum disiectum* separated from *R*, nor disjointed from a descendant of it before it lost its previous quires, as can be confirmed by comparing their different script, glosses, *mise en page*, and codicological structure (27).

N = München, BSB, Clm 19462 [12th c., Germany, possibly Tegernsee].

O = Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Rawlinson G. 57 (Addit. 14788) [2nd half of 11th c., England].

P = Antwerpen, Mus. Plantin-Moretus, lat. 66 (ex 89) [10th-11th c., North/East of France, or Flanders].

p = Pommersfelden, Schlossb., 12 (2671) [12th-13th c., Germany].

R = Regensburg, Bischöfl. ZentralB., Frag. I.1.6 [10th-11th c., South of Germany].

V = Venezia, BN Marciana, Lat. Z.497 (1811) [end of 11th c., Centre / South of Italy].

W = Valenciennes, BM, 448 (ex 420) [10th-11th c., North of France / Flanders].

X = Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. F.2.14 (2657) [2nd half of 11th c., England (Winchester? Sherborne?)].

On their datation and origin see M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13).

(24) On *R* see Joseph STIGLMAYR, *Eine alle Regensburger Handschrift des sogenannten Homerus Latinus*, Prag, 1894, as well as Friedrich K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus. Kritischer Apparat mit Commentar und Überlieferungsgeschichte*, Munich, 1913, p. 9, and M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 221. Earlier the fragment had no number and this is the situation found in the works of M. Scaffai and A. López Fonseca; Raymond Dietrich (Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Regensburg) kindly informed me that now it is Fragment I.1.6.

(25) Traube's observation is reported by F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 9.

(26) F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 9.

(27) Writing, format, and inks are different. The script of *R* is earlier; it has no glosses or reading marks, and its initials were not finished. It seems that it was never read or used. On the contrary, *Mon* is full of annotations due to a second hand that glossed and corrected the text.

2.2 Ruling out any chance of relating *Mon* to other fragmentary witnesses, its stemmatic position can be established by analysing its textual characteristics, even though it is important to remember that the shortness of the extant verses in *Mon* massively reduces the number of relevant textual innovations⁽²⁸⁾. Of course, it derives from the same arche-

Thirdly, from a codicological point of view, *Mon* cannot correspond to the previous part of *R*. The first of the extant quires of *R* was a quinion that has lost the central bifolium and the first folio of the external bifolium of the quire, that is to say, it has lost the first folio of the quire but preserves the last one; as can be deduced, the first folio of *R*, starting at v. 497, was originally the second folio of the quire. Taking this into account, it is obvious that the *Mon* cannot be the lost part of this manuscript: our protective leaf was once a whole bifolium; as there is no textual break between the first verso and the next recto, it is granted that it was either an isolated bifolium or, most likely, the internal bifolium of a quire. On the contrary, the lost verses immediately preceding the extant parts of *R* were written on the verso of a folio; this lost folio, together with the extant f. 7 (p. 13-14) of *R*, once constituted the external bifolium of a quinion. A second possibility exists, at least theoretically, in order to explain the break at the same point of both manuscripts and the geographical agreement: to consider that the *Mon* is a descendant of *R* before it lost the preceding folios. As they do not share common parts of the text, dependence cannot be demonstrated with the support of textual proofs, but it can be discarded considering two different aspects. First of all, supposing that *Mon* depends on *R*, the coincidence on the same breaking point should be explained as an imitation of the *mise en page* of the model used: *R* would start where the *Mon* ends because the last one would be a copy that reproduced the *mise en page* of *R*; the previous parts of *R* would be lost, but on this case a descendant of it would have been preserved. This possibility, based on the typical medieval practice of reproducing the layout of the exemplar used for the transcription, is to be dismissed as well: if they break and start at the same point because of their *mise en page*, the number of lines of each manuscript would have been identical, but actually it is not: *R* has 14/15 lines per page, while the *Mon* has 20.

(28) On the textual tradition of the *IL*, and for further bibliography, see F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), esp. p. 141-151, M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), the prefaces of his first edition, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina* (*supra* n. 13), and the *addenda* to his second edition in p. 468. A brief survey of the tradition is provided by Peter K. MARSHALL, «*Ilias latina*», in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of Latin Classics*, ed. by Leighton D. Reynolds, Oxford, 1993, p. 191-194. On the list of witnesses see also Birger MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, t. I, Paris, 1982, p. 413-420 and t. III, Paris, 1989, p. 60-61. Vollmer's division of the tradition into two branches (α vs β , that is to say *PW* vs the rest) is accepted by Scaffai, but the *stemma codicum* of the second branch (= Vollmer's β) stated by the Italian editor largely differs from that of his German predecessor, both by the addition of very significant manuscripts (particularly, *O X d B*, the stemmatic position of which is very relevant), as well as by locating elsewhere *M N*, which had been overrated by Vollmer. Among the older editions, Emil BAEHRENS, *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1881, has been the most influential. The Spanish tradition has been analysed by Antonio LÓPEZ FONSECA, «La *Ilias latina* en los manuscritos S III 16, Biblioteca del monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial; 122, Archivo Capitular de Burgo de Osma; 72, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca», *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 2, 1992, p. 41-56, whom I thank for his help and for the materials that he provided; Tomás GONZÁLEZ ROLÁN, Felisa DEL BARRIO VEGA, Antonio LÓPEZ FONSECA, *Juan de Mena, La Iliada de Homero: edición crítica de las Summas de la Yliada de Omero y del original latino reconstruido, acompañada de un glosario latino-romance*, Madrid, 1996, edited Juan de Mena's fifteenth-century Spanish translation and studied his Latin model. After the publication of Scaffai's second edition the oldest indirect tradition has been analysed by Marco GIOVINI, «Le riprese dall'*Ilias Latina* nei *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris* (X sec.)», *Maia*, 50,

type as the extant tradition⁽²⁹⁾, and regarding its two splits, *Mon* does not derive from the hyparchetype α (= exemplar of only *PW*), but from the hyparchetype β , which is the origin of rest of the tradition⁽³⁰⁾. More accurately, it can be undoubtedly shown that, within the two main branches of β , *Mon* is independent from *OXdB* and depends upon a source common to *RCEFLV*, as demonstrated by errors common to these witnesses; it belongs, therefore, to the so-called German branch of the tradition⁽³¹⁾. Within this group two innovations indicate that *Mon* is closely connected to the manuscript *E*, that is to say Erfurt, UB, CA. 12^o 20⁽³²⁾:

(a) *IL*, v. 433:

Phegeum (or Phregeum) megestus uastisque horridus armis

433 uastis *E Mon* : uastisque *rell*.

So the text of the archetype; the right one, *Pedaeumque Meges. Tum uastis*, is a conjectural restoration due to Schrader and supported by the Homeric parallel⁽³³⁾. The textual tradition of the passage presents the first name corrupted in different ways, though the

1998, p. 499-510, who studied the use of the *IL* by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*, a poetic panegyric written in the honour of Berengar I of Italy and dating back to the early tenth century; on this poem and the *IL* see now the important recent contributions by Frédéric DUPLESSIS, *Réseaux intellectuels entre France et Italie (IX^e-X^e s.): autour des Gesta Berengarii imperatoris et de leurs gloses. Édition critique, traduction, commentaire du panégyrique de Bérenger Ier et des annotations du manuscrit Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, lat. XII 45*, PhD Thesis (EPHE), Paris, 2015, as well as «Les sources des gloses des *Gesta Berengarii* et la culture du poète anonyme», *Aevum*, 89.2, 2015, p. 205-263; a new critical edition will be provided by F. DUPLESSIS in *Panégyrique de l'empereur Bérenger. Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris, présentation, notes et traduction*, Paris, to be published (*ALMA*). In order to collate *Mon* I have used the apparatuses of Vollmer and Scaffai, which are to be considered the source of the readings here mentioned with the exception of *R*, read using an excellent digital reproduction provided by the Regensburg Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek.

(29) Even though the *Mon* text is short, it contains errors common to the whole tradition, probably because they were already in the archetype: in the v. 432, the right text, *Phreclum* is an emendation by Polyardus to solve the corrupt *puerum* transmitted in the manuscripts, *Mon* included. Besides this corruption and a second one that will be cited below (v. 433 *Pedaeumque Meges. Tum uastis*), *Mon* shares with the extant tradition other general innovations such as v. 430 *merid(i)one satum* instead of *Maeonidem Phaestum* (Polyardus, then Schrader), v. 446 *thoantem* instead of *Thoonem* (Bondam), or v. 471 *sidereo* instead of Schrader's right *sidereae* (in this case, the whole corruption is *sidereo* ... *marli* instead of *sidereae* ... *matri* supported by *Il.* 4, 370-1 ἦ δ' ἐν γούνασι πῆπτε Διώνης δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη / μητρὸς ἑῆς, but in *Mon* the second part of the f. has been cut off).

(30) Both α and β are Vollmer's, not Scaffai's terminology.

(31) See for example 442 *mediasque* -*que om.* *CEFLV Mon*. As already mentioned, *R* starts at v. 497. On the closer relation of *R L E* see F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 148-149, whose conclusions are accepted by Scaffai, adding to them *h* and *D*.

(32) Formerly the *collectio Amploniana* – the personal library assembled by Amplonius Rating de Berka, † Cologne 1435 – was at the *Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek Erfurt* (so Scaffai) and at the *Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek Erfurt*, but in 2001 it was transferred into the University Library in Erfurt.

(33) *Il.* 5, 69: Πήδαυον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε Μέγης, Ἀντήνορος υἷον.

archetype is likely to have read *Phegeum* (or *Phregeum*) *megestus uastisque horridus armis*. This obviously implies that the right *Meges tum* corrupted into *Megestus* (perhaps through *Megestum*, lately changed into *Megestus* through lack of a nominative) and, as a consequence, the absence of a nexus caused the transposition of *-que* ⁽³⁴⁾. According to both Scaffai's and Vollmer's *stemma*, the omission of *-que*, shared only by *E* and *Mon*, must constitute no doubt an innovation.

(b) *IL*, v. 441-443:

iuuenis Calydonius ira
in mediasque acies animosi *more* leonis
fertur

442 more] forte *E*^l : fore *Mon* : more *Mon*^{2 s. l.}

The obviously correct *more* («like a fierce lion») is transmitted in the whole manuscript tradition, except from *E* and *Mon*, although in both cases it was corrected by second hands. According to Vollmer, the first hand of *E* wrote *forte*: it cannot be a mere coincidence that *Mon* reads also *fore*. Such an error is not likely to be committed in an independent way, because the authentic text is here so obvious that it seems extremely unlikely to be separately corrupted into two almost identical forms.

However, *Mon* is not likely to be a descendant of *E*. Despite their common innovations, some errors of *E* are in fact absent from *Mon*: for example, in v. 420 the correct reading is *plaudit sua*, whereas *E* transmits *plangit sua*; although it is difficult to distinguish whether *Mon* reads *-is* or *-it* given the current state of the surface, it is clear that it does not read *-gi-*, but *-di-* ⁽³⁵⁾. In addition, *Mon* does not share some of the typical errors transmitted by *E* ⁽³⁶⁾. The stemmatic independence of *Mon* from *E* is in fact consistent with the features of some of their common innovations: in the v. 442 *fore* in *Mon* is undoubtedly closer to the correct reading *more* than *E*'s variant *forte*; if *Mon* derived from *E*, explaining *fore* starting from *forte* would provide serious difficulties, because *fore* has no syntactic role in the passage (and consequently it cannot be taken as an emendation) and it would be paradoxically more similar to *more* than *forte*. On the contrary, it is more consistent that *more* was corrupted into *fore* in the common source of *E* and *Mon*; faced with the *fore* of their common exemplar, the scribe of *Mon* reproduced this absurd text, whereas the copyist of *E* corrupted it more writing the *facilior* misreading *for<t>e* ⁽³⁷⁾.

(34) F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 72.

(35) Apparently, it seems to read the third person.

(36) See 434 fundit] fudit *E*, 436 pandarus] pindarus *E* (*et al.*), or 446 t(h)oantem] t(h)oant(h)um *E* (*et al.*). It could be pointed out that v. 436 or 446 may have been corrected by a wise scribe (on the first error and the name *Pindarus*, see M. SCAFFAI, *Baebii Italici Ilias Latina*, 2nd ed., p. 468-469, note to p. 35-36); in spite of this, the error of v. 434 is too subtle to be detected and, as *forte E*: *fore Mon* do, has separative value.

(37) Given this relation with *E*, an innovation common to the second hand of *E* (*E*²) and *Mon* may suggest that *Mon* could descend from *E* after the correction of this second hand:

429 Idomeneum] Idoneum (yd- *E*²) V *E*³ *Mon*

As has been already mentioned, the text of the *Mon* was corrected and glossed by a second hand (*Mon*²). Corrections emend some of the clearest mistakes from the main hand: the fact that it reinserted between the lines a whole verse omitted by the first scribe (v. 444) conclusively proves that at least in part they are not the result of conjectural practice, but of the collation of a second exemplar. As regards its stemmatic origin, the fact that it restores the right text does not permit one to establish its textual origin with certainty. However, given that *Mon fore* : *E forte* are likely to derive from their common source and *Mon*² restores the right *more*, it is quite sure that the second scribe did not correct the text by reviewing the exemplar used by the first one nor a third copy transcribed from it. The same hand *Mon*² also introduced abundant glosses clarifying the understanding of some passages⁽³⁸⁾; the character of this kind of notes, largely attested in the manuscript tradition of this text, allows to suggest a school origin for them.

2.3 Furthermore, the link connecting *Mon* to *E* is supported by a second piece of evidence: their *mise en page*. Scaffai's *recensio* is based on the 23 *antiquiores* manuscripts known to him, all of them written between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries⁽³⁹⁾. As it has been already pointed out, each page of *Mon* has 20 verses; if we compare the number of lines per page of each witness⁽⁴⁰⁾, we find that there are only two other codices with 20 lines: the manuscript Leiden, BU, Voss. Lat. O. 89 (*L*), closely connected to *E* and *Mon* in the *stemma codicum* and, significantly, the *Erfurtensis E* itself⁽⁴¹⁾. Given the textual innovations shared by these manuscripts, this codicological resemblance can hardly been considered the result of chance: if their agreement in the number of lines were a matter of pure coincidence, it would be impossible to explain why in such a widespread tradition

Since *E*² is a twelfth-century corrector, the chronology of both hands could be too narrow to dismiss this possibility. However, it does not seem to constitute an innovation conclusive enough: (1) a change such as *Idomeneum* > *Idoneum* can be polygenetic, especially when the archetypal reading *Idomeneum* is likely to be written with abbreviations such as *Idomêeû*, which would easily lead to *idomeuû* > *idoneû*; (2) *L*¹ reads *Idomeum*, proving that the corruption can be independent or even that it was already transmitted by the hyparchetype of the family; (3) there are errors of *E*¹ (such as those listed above) not corrected by *E*² and not shared by *Mon*, which offers the right texts; and finally (4) some corrections by *E*² are moreover not present in *Mon*, such as v. 424 *alter E*¹ *Mon* : *ater E*² : *acer E*³ *et al.* In this case it is not relevant the fact that Scaffai regards *alter* as the right reading, whereas Vollmer thought that *acer*, «natürlich Conjectur» (so F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* [*supra* n. 24], p. 71), is the authentic one. What matters is that *Mon* do not agree with *E*². Of course it is impossible to exclude that in some these cases *Mon* had preferred to write the reading of *E*¹; but these four reasons taken together rather point to the independence from *E* after being corrected by *E*². Finally, the influence of *E*³ can be dismissed, because it is a later hand from the thirteenth or the fourteenth century (see M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» [*supra* n. 13], p. 212-213) and *Mon* does not share the main part of its corrections (428 *transfixerat*; 431 *dismisit*; 443 *Elpenora*; 454 *tuncque*).

(38) See v. 439 cornu] arcu *Mon*^{2 s.l.}, or v. 454 Calidonius heros] diomedes *Mon*^{2 s.l.}

(39) Besides this selection, he listed and studied more than a hundred *recentiores* (s. XIV-XV), five fragments, nine anthologies and four glossaries.

(40) The number of lines in each manuscript is provided by M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 209-241.

(41) See *infra* the *stemma* of the family.

this feature is specifically confined to this particular branch of the *stemma*, so closely linked by shared innovations. On the contrary, it constitutes evidence that at least some of the lost antigraphs probably had also 20 lines per page and the *mise en page* on *L E* and *Mon* is likely to be the result of reproducing the layout of their common exemplar(s). Needless to say, this well-known medieval practice was extremely useful for the composition of the manuscript books: the transcription of a text according to the line and page disposition of the model allowed to know *a priori* how many folios and quires were necessary to prepare in order to transcribe a certain work; in a world where the production of books demanded expensive materials and involved a long and onerous process all conducted by hand, it is out of question to what extent this procedure provided an extremely useful method for the preparation of materials⁽⁴²⁾.

If this hypothesis were to be accepted, it would imply that an exemplar with 20 lines to the page, twin of *R* and dating no later than the first half of the eleventh century, was copied twice, in both cases reproducing the textual disposition of the exemplar: one descendant of it is represented by our *Leidensis Vossianus L*, transcribed in the centre or north of France, possibly Fleury; another descendant remained in the German area and ultimately led to the development our manuscripts *h E D Mon*, all of them of German origin. In the same way as *L*, both *E* and *Mon* probably preserve the line disposition of their exemplar⁽⁴³⁾. Given that *R* was copied in the south of Germany and *h E D Mon* are also of German origin, the head of the whole family was probably found in this area as well⁽⁴⁴⁾.

In the textual tradition of the *IL* reproducing the *mise en page* of the exemplar – or, at least, its number of lines – is not only a theoretically plausible explanation in the particular case of *E L Mon*; it could also have been in use in other branches of the *stemma codicum*, thereby confirming the validity of this external linking feature. In Scaffai's 23 manuscripts *stemma codicum* there are only two witnesses having 31 lines per page: *m* and *N*, and they are extremely related to each other: *N* and its twin *M* depend on a lost common exemplar

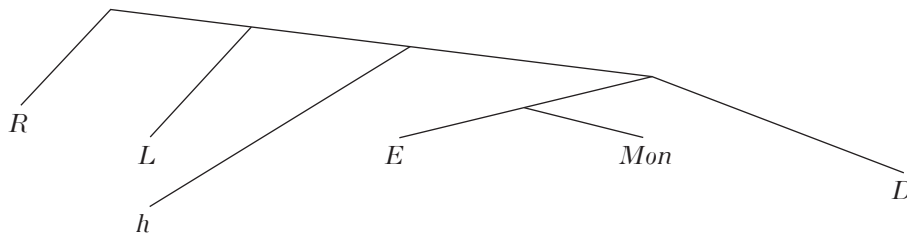
(42) This process of reproducing the *mise en page* of the exemplar is probably more often employed when copying a verse text, where the number of lines could be maintained very easily. But in the case of prose works there are also a good number of examples of manuscripts copied following this principle. The stemmatic consequences of these remarks are not without importance: if two manuscripts share common innovations and an omission found in one of them constitutes an exact line of the second one, the first is not always a copy of the second, for in some cases an eventual lost common hyparchetype could have the same line disposition. On this practice and its stemmatic problems, see Michael D. REEVE, «*Eliminatio codicum descriptorum: A Methodological Problem*», *Editing Greek and Latin texts*, ed. by John N. GRANT, Toronto, 1989, p. 1-35, esp. p. 11-15 (reprinted in *Manuscripts and Methods. Essays on editing and transmission*, Rome, 2011, p. 145-174) and, in particular, the masterly article by Giovanni ORLANDI, «Apografi e pseudo-apografi nella *Navigatio sancti Brendani* e altrove», *Filologia mediolatina*, 1, 1994, p. 1-36 (reprinted in *Scritti di filologia mediolatina*, ed. by Paolo CHIESA, Anna M. FAGNONI, Rossana E. GUGLIELMETTI, Giovanni P. MAGGIONI, Firenze, 2008, p. 63-94).

(43) The fact that *h* and *D* do not share this characteristic is not surprising: whereas *L* and *E* are of similar size and, as *Mon*, have only one column, *h* and *D* are both larger codices (285 × 110 mm the first one, 310 × 210 mm the second one); moreover, in the case of *D*, although its script is very similar to that of *E*, the text is, unlike *L h E Mon*, written in two columns.

(44) In that case, *L* would constitute a French branch that was introduced to the Fleury area.

(let us call it μ), which was a twin of m ; both μ and m derived from a lost source (let us call it μ^0). These three manuscripts, $M N m$, linked also by paleographical features, were copied in the Bavarian area and belonged to Tegernsee Abbey (*OSB*) in Bavaria. Given this textual and historical relationship, it seems very plausible that μ^0 had 31 lines per page and its *mise en page* was reproduced both by m and by μ ; when μ was copied twice, N still maintained the original number of lines, whereas M reduced it into 21, probably according to its smaller size⁽⁴⁵⁾. The French branch of the β tradition offers another plausible case: F and t are twins that depend on a common source (let us call it φ); this lost exemplar and the extant codex C derived from a second exemplar (let us call it φ^0). Since these three manuscripts $F t C$ were copied in the same area (Centre of France) and are closely related to each other on paleographical grounds as well, it is difficult to regard as a matter of coincidence the fact that both C and t have also the same number of lines (28), while the *mise en page* of F (29 lines) is also very similar. Rather, it seems very likely that φ^0 had also 28 lines per page, a *mise en page* that was retained both by C and φ ; when the last one was copied twice, one apograph (t) exactly kept its number of lines, whereas the second one (F) slightly modified it by adding one line per page. The reproduction of the layout of the exemplar(s) postulated to link *Mon* to E and L could consequently have been employed in, at least, two other families in the β branch of the tradition of the *IL*.

2.4 According to these data, the stemmatic relation of the branch of *R L h E D Mon* can be modified and depicted as showed in the following *stemma*⁽⁴⁶⁾:



Conclusion

When offering a list of the manuscripts transmitting the *IL*, M. Scaffai was aware that his *recensio* would not be in any way comprehensive⁽⁴⁷⁾. This paper presents an unknown fragment preserved as a protective leaf of the Clm 14843, a manuscript copied in the eastern French area around Toul during the middle or the second part of the ninth century and belonging to the library of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Emmeram (Regensburg,

(45) Note that m and N are also of a very similar size.

(46) The stemmatic relation of $R E L$ was already established by F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homer Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 149-150, and the addition of h and D is due to M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 259, accepting Vollmer's conclusions; to this picture I add *Mon* and the common source of *Mon* and E .

(47) M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 205.

Bayern). In order to protect the codex, a bifolium of a manuscript of the *IL* transmitting v. 416-496 was employed together with the rests of a testimony of Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum*. The fact that there is no break in the sequence of verses of the *IL* implies that it must be the inner bifolium of the quire; the number of folios that can be postulated to contain the preceding verses allows to suggest that the manuscript could possibly be made up of quaternions.

On paleographical grounds, the script of the fragment, lacking some of the typical Pregothish developments, could be tentatively dated to the second half of the eleventh century; according to such a chronology, this fragmentary witness belongs to Scaffai's *antiquiores* group. The origin of the codex is probably to be found in south Germany: the branch of the tradition that this fragment is attached to spread in this region and certain pieces of evidence could point to the Regensburg area. The oldest testimony of the branch, *R*, today also conserved at Regensburg, was also copied in southern Germany and its script still preserves Insular traces, a feature easy to explain within a region where Insular monastic centres were common⁽⁴⁸⁾. *E*, the closest relative of the *Mon*, was copied also in the southern Germany region and its script is similar to that of Munich, BSB, Clm 7804, f. 77v, a manuscript copied in or near Regensburg in 1125⁽⁴⁹⁾; moreover, according to the Italian editor, the graphic resemblance between *E* and *D* is out of question. The stemmatic and paleographic relationship of these manuscripts strongly suggests that the South of Germany, and in particular the Regensburg area, could be the origin or at least the diffusion centre for this branch of the tradition.

After being copied, a second hand corrected some evident errors of the manuscript using a different exemplar and glossed the text; even if this is a different scribe, his graphic features are similar and his hand can be regarded as contemporary. This fact obviously implies that the manuscript was used, read, and corrected in a context where other exemplars were available. In this sense, both date and origin are consistent with the time when the manuscript tradition spread and the text became a common school text: although some mentions of the work date back to the ninth century⁽⁵⁰⁾, it is during the tenth-eleventh centuries that the school canon expanded and the *IL* became popular as a school text, as demonstrated by Walter of Speyer's explicit mention in his *Libellus Scolasticus* (967-

(48) For an instance of Insular traces see F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 9.

(49) A reproduction of this manuscript is provided by Stephen HARRISON THOMPSON, *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages 1100-1500*, Cambridge, 1969, Pl. 30 (Germany 1125, left page), with a brief palaeographical commentary. On the resemblance of both manuscripts, M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 212.

(50) A letter from Ermenrich of Ellwangen (ca. 814-874) to Abbot Grimald of St. Gall recently reedited by Monique GOULLET, *La lettre d'Ermenrich d'Ellwangen à Grimald abbé de Saint-Gall (vers 850): introduction, texte latin, traduction française et notes*, Paris, 2008 (Sources d'Histoire Médiévale, 37), quotes *IL* v. 7. On this quotation see B. BISCHOFF, «Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule», in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1972 (Settimane de studio, 19), p. 385-415, esp. p. 406-407 (= *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 213-233, esp. p. 227).

1027)⁽⁵¹⁾; in fact, some of the glosses of *Mon* seem to be school explanations (*realia*, commoner synonyms, etc.)

Concerning its stemmatic position, no manuscript lacks such a bifolium nor omits its corresponding verses. Surprising as it is, it breaks at the point (v. 496) where the so-called Regensburg fragment starts after the loss of its previous parts (v. 497), but both codicological and paleographical reasons enable us to rule out the possibility that the *Mon* could be a *membrum disiectum* of *R* or a descendant of it. In spite of the limited number of verses preserved in this fragment, two clear textual innovations relate this bifolium to the manuscript *E*, Erfurt, UB, CA. 12° 20, a codex belonging to the German branch; rather than an apograph, *Mon* seems to be a twin manuscript derived from the same model as *E*. Additionally, a second piece of evidence is provided by the fact that both *E* and *Mon*, as well as its close relative *L*, are the only codices that share a 20-lines *mise en page*: in such a widespread tradition, this kind of feature cannot be taken as casual fact. It is probably the result of the reproduction of the *mise en page* of their common exemplar(s), a copying technique that seems to have been in use in at least two other branches of the manuscript tradition.

The loss of the rest of *Mon* constitutes an unfortunate fact for our understanding of some aspects of the history of the text. As it was pointed out by Vollmer and accepted by Scaffai⁽⁵²⁾, *E* is not only an important witness of the β -branch, but it also contains, together with *h*, some passages that can only be accounted for if an ancestor of *E* was contaminated with an α -branch codex: this is the easiest way to explain why *E* has some readings in which the scribe seems to have misread in its model a main β -type reading provided with an α -type marginal or supralinear correction. This fact is not insignificant, because α is only represented by two manuscripts and the recovery of other α readings could have stemmatic value. Whether the common exemplar of *E* and *Mon* was the manuscript having these α -type corrections misread by *E* or whether *Mon* also had access individually to such a witness, as its close relatives *E* and *h* did⁽⁵³⁾, cannot be stated conclusively: most of the clearest cases of this contact with α are not in the verses transmitted by *Mon* and, unfortunately, two relevant examples of this phenomenon included among the preserved verses were lost when the right section of the bifolium was cut⁽⁵⁴⁾. In the preserved verses there is one case of agreement of *P* and *Mon*: *sparsit P Mon p*, *spargit rell. (recte)*. Nevertheless, it does not constitute a sure sign of contamination: *sparsit* is an error; and even if,

(51) Birger MUNK OLSEN, «L'étude des textes littéraires classiques dans les écoles pendant le Haut Moyen Âge», in *Itinerari dei testi antichi*, ed. by Oronzo Pecere, Roma, 1991, p. 105-114, esp. p. 106. On the school readings see Günter GLAUCHE, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen der Lektürekans bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, München, 1970; the case of *IL* is mentioned in p. 99, 110 and 124.

(52) F. K. VOLLMER, *Zum Homerus Latinus* (*supra* n. 24), p. 248 and M. SCAFFAI, «Tradizione manoscritta dell'*Ilias Latina*» (*supra* n. 13), p. 221 and 234.

(53) Since some agreements of *E* and *h* with α are individual, Scaffai had to establish two different ways of contamination.

(54) As the external part of the right folio was cut off, it is not possible to know the reading of *Mon* at v. 461 moverent *P h* : -ebant *rell. (varia lectio: levarent)*, or v. 463 humi *P W E h* : humo *rell.*

as Pasquali pointed out, mistakes can also be transmitted by contamination, the fact that *sparsit* is also the reading of *p*, another β -branch German manuscript, independent from the *R L h E Mon D* group and more closely bound to *m M N*, seems to indicate that it could be an independent innovation and not the result of a contaminating contact between α (= *P*) and *Mon* ⁽⁵⁵⁾. Be that as it may, such questions will only be answered if other folios of this manuscript come to light. Are there other fragments hidden among the large number of manuscripts coming from St. Emmeram at Regensburg that are being newly catalogued at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek?

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un bifolio inconnu qui transmet les vers 416-496 de l'*Ilias latina*, conservé comme dernier feuillet de garde du manuscrit Munich, BSB, Clm 14843; daté de manière hypothétique de la deuxième moitié du XI^e siècle, il était le bifolio interne d'un cahier, vraisemblablement un quaternion. Bien que quelques indices puissent suggérer un lien avec Regensburg, Bischöf. ZentralB., Frag. I.1.6, le manuscrit était un jumeau stématique du manuscrit Erfurt, BU, CA. 12° 20. Aux arguments textuels on peut ajouter un argument tiré de leur mise en page: le fragment munichoïse, le témoin d'Erfurt et Leiden, BU, Voss. Lat. O. 89, qui en est très proche dans le *stemma codicum*, sont les trois seuls manuscrits de la tradition la plus ancienne à avoir vingt vers par page. Ce trait est probablement le résultat de la reproduction de la mise en page des exemplaires utilisés, une pratique bien connue du processus de copie manuscrite médiévale, particulièrement en poésie.

(55) In fact, Scaffai did not establish any contaminating link between *p* and *P/α*. It is certainly true that *p* is close to the branch of *Mon* and belongs to a German family related to that of *E* and *Mon*, but stronger evidence would be necessary to postulate a contact with α ; the corruption of *spargit* into *sparsit* could have taken place in an independent way; moreover, note that *p* dates from the 13th or 14th century and, after round *s* was introduced, confusion between *s* and *g* can be even more frequent.