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Estratto

MATTHIJS WIBIER

*The Breviary Part of MS Berlin lat. fol. 270
Was Copied from MS Ivrea XXXV (17)*



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INDICE DEL VOLUME

Articoli

F. CONDELLO, <i>Asius fr. 13 Davies (= Bernabé = West = Tsagalis). Note testuali e proposta di esegesi (con qualche osservazione su Duride) [Asius fr. 13 Davies (= Bernabé = West = Tsagalis). Textual Notes and Exegetical Hypothesis (with Some Observations on Duris)]</i>	» 5
I. MATIJAŠIĆ, Γεωνόμοι <i>da Cassio Dione all'Atene del V secolo a.C. [Γεωνόμοι from Cassius Dio to Fifth-Century-BC Athens]</i>	» 58
D. WARDLE, <i>Suetonius, Caesar and a Dream of World-Domination</i>	» 72
A. CANOBBIO, <i>Polarizzazione e coincidentia oppositorum nelle ville di Plinio il Giovane [Polarization and coincidentia oppositorum in Pliny's Villa Letters]</i>	» 89
T. CARBONI, <i>La scelta dei funzionari equestri: relazioni personali o competenze specifiche? Il caso degli ab epistulis del II secolo d.C. [The Selection Process of the Roman Equestrian Officials: Personal Relationships or Specific Skills? A Case Study of the Officials ab epistulis in the II Century AD]</i>	» 114
M. WIBIER, <i>The So-Called Appendices to the Lex Romana Visigothorum. Compilation and Transmission of Three Late Roman Private Legal Collections</i>	» 150
M.E. GORRINI - F. GARANZINI - S. PALTINERI - E. PANERO - B. PEVERELLI - E. SMOQUINA, <i>Prima delle risaie. Nota preliminare per una ricostruzione del paesaggio storico nel Vercellese occidentale [Before the Rice Fields. Preliminary Considerations for a Reconstruction of the Historic Landscape in the Western Vercelli Area (Piedmont, NW Italy)]</i>	» 181

Note e discussioni

M. WIBIER, <i>The Breviary Part of MS Berlin lat. fol. 270 Was Copied from MS Ivrea XXXV (17)</i>	» 225
A. MARCONE, <i>La storia di un'amicizia. Le lettere di Antonio La Penna a Emilio Gabba [The Story of a Friendship. The Letters of Antonio La Penna to Emilio Gabba]</i>	» 229
S. GRAZZINI, <i>Riflessioni e ricordi a proposito della Conversazione di Antonio La Penna con Arnaldo Marcone [Recollections and Reflections on the Conversazione of Antonio La Penna with Arnaldo Marcone]</i>	» 238

Recensioni

N. BADOUD, <i>Le temps de Rhodes. Une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions (Ch.A. Thomsen - G. Finkielsztejn)</i>	» 251
P. BROWN, <i>Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity (C. Machado)</i>	» 258
P. DE FIDIO - C. TALAMO (a c. di), <i>Eforo di Cuma nella storia della storiografia greca (F. Pownall)</i>	» 261
M.T. GALLEGÓ PÉREZ, <i>Vida y muerte en el Corpus Hippocraticum (F. Giorgianni)</i>	» 268
B. GOFFAUX, <i>La vie publique des cités dans l'Occident romain (D. Kremer)</i>	» 273
J. HAMMERSTAEDT - P.-M. MOREL - R. GÜREMEN (ed.), <i>Diogenes of Oinoanda. Epicureanism and Philosophical Debates. Diogène d'Oenoanda. Épicurisme et controverses (N. Pace)</i>	» 277
A. MARCONE - U. ROBERTO - I. TANTILLO (a c. di), <i>Tolleranza religiosa in età tardoantica, IV-V secolo (C. Santi)</i>	» 295
J.J. MARTOS FERNÁNDEZ (ed.): <i>Gayo Salustio Crispo, Obras (R. Funari)</i>	» 298
N. MASTURZO, <i>Iasos. L'area a Sud dell'agorà, I. Il tempio distilo d'età ecatomide e l'architettura ionica (L. Fuduli)</i>	» 300
M. ONORATO, <i>Il castone e la gemma. Sulla tecnica poetica di Sidonio Apollinare (A. Bruzzone)</i>	» 303
D. PANIAGUA: <i>Sexto Julio Frontino, De aquaeductu urbis Romae. Las canalizaciones de agua de la ciudad de Roma (P. Castillo Pascual)</i>	» 306
S. ROCCHI - C. MUSSINI (eds.), <i>Imagines Antiquitatis. Representations, Concepts, Reception of the Past in Roman Antiquity and the Early Italian Renaissance (G.M. Masselli)</i>	» 309
A. SASSÙ, <i>Iktinos l'architetto del Partenone (L. Fuduli)</i>	» 316

M. SCHAUER, <i>Der Gallische Krieg. Geschichte und Täuschung in Caesars Meisterwerk</i> (M. Jehne)	»	319
H. SENG - G. SFAMENI GASPARRO (Hrsg.), <i>Theologische Orakel in der Spätantike</i> (F. Ferrari)	»	322
A. STRAMAGLIA - S. GRAZZINI - G. DIMATTEO (ed.), <i>Giovenale tra storia, poesia e ideologia</i> (F. Ficca)	»	326

Notizie di Pubblicazioni

BIBLIA, <i>Vademecum per il lettore della Bibbia</i> , 2 ^a ed. riv. e ampliata a c. di P. CAPELLI e G. MENESTRINA (C. Bevegni)	»	330
S. BRIGUGLIO, <i>Fraternas acies. Saggio di commento a Stazio, Tebaide, I, 1-389</i> (A. Sacerdoti)	»	332
L. FABBRI, <i>Il papavero da oppio nella cultura e nella religione romana</i> (F. Gasti)	»	333
Pubblicazioni ricevute	»	335

NOTE E DISCUSSIONI

THE *BREVIARY* PART OF MS BERLIN LAT. FOL. 270 WAS COPIED FROM MS IVREA XXXV (17)*

ABSTRACT. This paper establishes on philological grounds that manuscript Berlin lat. fol. 270 was copied from Ivrea XXXV (17) for the text of Alaric's *Breviary* and the *Appendices to the Lex Romana Visigothorum*. This goes against the *communis opinio* of palaeographers about the relative dating of these two manuscripts.

The texts preserved in manuscripts Ivrea XXXV (17) (= **E**)¹ and Berlin lat. fol. 270 (= **B**)² overlap only minimally. While missing its first quire, **E** carries a version of Alaric's *Breviary* (or *Lex Romana Visigothorum*) that has been amplified by additions from the full *Theodosian Code* and the *Sirmondian Constitutions*³. It also contains *Appendix 2* and *Appendix 1a+b* to the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*⁴. On the other hand, **B** is a composite codex that combines sets of folios from various manuscripts⁵. The first ten folios transmit the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*, ending with a colophon on fol. 10v that probably marked the end of the original codex. The following three folios, possibly in the same hand, preserve the end of the *Breviary*⁶ followed by *Appendix 2* and *Appendix 1a*, §§ 1-19 *intesta*- (= p. 257, l. 7 ed. Krüger)⁷. Next, folios 14-16 feature excerpts from the *Theodosian Code* that are written in a distinctly different hand and that belong together with Berlin lat. fol. 636. It will be clear from this that the two manuscripts only share the end of the *Breviary* and the *Appendices* up to *Appendix 1a*, § 19.

It is perhaps not surprising, given the lack of scholarly interest in the *Appendices*, that the connection between the two manuscripts has never been clarified philologically. Thus far, scholars have proposed and defended relative datings on palaeographical grounds. The outcome of these discus-

* This paper has emerged from a comprehensive study of the textual tradition of the *Appendices to the Lex Romana Visigothorum*, published in this volume (pp. 150-180). Thanks are due to Serena Ammirati, Marco Fressura, Dario Mantovani, and the anonymous readers for «Athenaeum». This research was supported financially by the ERC (FP7/2007-2013, nr. 341102, REDHIS).

¹ Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXXV (17). A digitised microfilm reproduction of the entire MS can be consulted via <https://www.beic.it/it/articoli/manoscritti-giuridici-medievali/>.

² Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 270. A digitised microfilm reproduction of the MS can be consulted via <https://www.beic.it/it/articoli/manoscritti-giuridici-medievali/>.

³ For details, see J.M. Coma Fort, *Codex Theodosianus: historia de un texto*, Madrid 2014, pp. 146-147.

⁴ On the *Appendices* and their numbering, see M. Wibier, *The So-Called Appendices to the Lex Romana Visigothorum. Compilation and Transmission of Three Late Roman Private Legal Collections*, «Athenaeum» 108/1 (2020), pp. 150-180.

⁵ See Coma Fort, *Codex Theodosianus* cit., pp. 141-142.

⁶ From *filio familiae pecuniam dedit* of the *interpretatio* of *Codex Gregorianus Visigothicus* 10.1 (ed. P. Krüger, *Codices Gregorianus et Hermogenianus*, in P. Krüger - Th. Mommsen - W. Studemund [ed.], *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* III, Berolini 1890, pp. 221-235, at p. 231, ll. 21-22 = *C. Greg. Vis.* IX(V).1, ed. G. Hänel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, Lipsiae 1849, p. 448, l. 34).

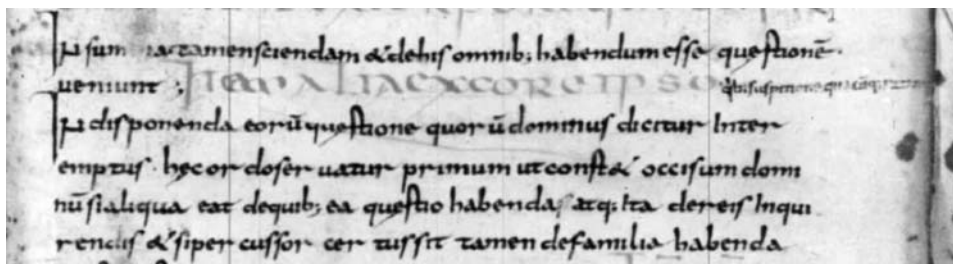
⁷ These three folios should be read in the order 12, 13, 11, as they have been bound incorrectly.

sions has consistently been to date **B** somewhat earlier than **E**. For example, Bischoff dates **B** (folios 1-13) to the first quarter of the ninth century while placing **E** in the second quarter of the same century⁸. Similarly, Liebs suggests **B** was produced in the eighth or ninth century, **E** in the ninth or tenth century⁹. Yet a philological analysis, based on collations of the overlapping texts, demonstrates beyond any doubt that **B** was copied from **E** and must hence – however slightly – postdate **E**.

The main evidence are the following two places where **E** was corrected and **B** shows anomalies that must have resulted from misreading **E**'s corrections. First and foremost, there is the case of the omitted relative clause at the end of *Appendix 2*, § 16. Krüger's edition reads (p. 263, ll. 15-17; all underscores are mine):

... quaestionem qui in suspitione quacumque ratione ueniunt.
 § 17 item alia ex corpore ipso
 in disponenda eorum quaestione...

A photo of the manuscript shows clearly that **E**'s scribe left out the relative clause, which was then added in smaller script by himself or a corrector in the partly open space following the rubrication:



Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare XXXV (17), fol. 248r

(photo: <http://www.beic.it/it/articoli/manoscritti-giuridici-medievali>)

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The relevant part can be transcribed as follows:

E (fol. 248r) qu(a)estione(m) ·
ueniunt ITEM ALIA EX COR(POR)E IP(S)O · q(ui) in suspitione quacu(m)q(ue) ratione
in disponenda eoru(m) quaestione

It should be clear that **E** was repaired (1) by inserting the missing clause in the open space underneath the word it is supposed to follow, and (2) by marking the clause and the place of insertion with a dot. However, given the placement of the missing clause on the next line, and given that the insertion marks are quite minute, it is conceivable that a copyist of **E** might

⁸ B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil I. Aachen - Lambach, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 77, 327.

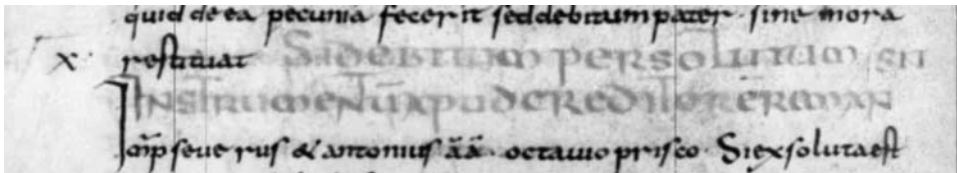
⁹ D. Liebs, *Die römische Jurisprudenz in Gallien (2. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin 2002, pp. 99, 110. For a convenient overview of various dating proposals, see <http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/mss/codices/berlin-sb-lat-fol-270/> and <http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/mss/codices/ivrea-bc-xxxv-17/>.

proceed linearly and keep the inserted clause immediately after the rubrication. This is where **B** draws our attention:

B (fol. 13v) qu(a)estione(m) ueniunt IT(EM) ALIA EX COR(POR)E IP(SO)
qui in suspitione quacu(m)q(ue) ratione in disponenda eor(um) quaestione

That is, **B** misplaces the relative clause precisely at the point where a linear reading of **E** might have led us. For this reason, it is very hard to imagine that **B** did not rely directly on **E** for this part of the text. If we also consider that **B** failed to preserve the insertion marks and as such contains less information, we must conclude that **E** was **B**'s exemplar.

A second case can be added. When filling in the *titulus* of *Gregorianus Visigothicus* 11¹⁰, **E**'s rubricator reached the end of the second line – and, it seems, the end of the space left for him by the copyist of the body text – when he finished the penultimate syllable (PERMAN-). Rather than simply carrying on by adding the last syllable (-SIT) in the margin, he decided to write it in the little open space right above the penultimate syllable. The photo will make things clearer than the transcription alone:



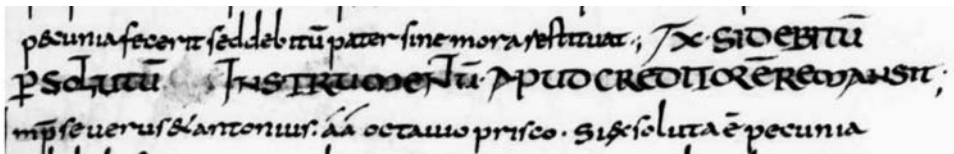
Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare XXXV (17), fol. 245v

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E (fol. 245v) SI DEBITUM PERSOLUTUM SIT
INSTRUMENTUM APUD CREDITOREM REMAN-

Now, **B** bears traces of how the positioning of -sit in **E** might have led a linear reader-copyist astray:



Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 270, fol. 12r

(photo: <http://www.beic.it/it/articoli/manoscritti-giuridici-medievali>)

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¹⁰ This is the numbering of Krüger, *Codices Gregorianus et Hermogenianus* cit. (= *titulus* X(I) in the ed. of Hänel, *Lex Romana Visigothorum* cit.).

B (fol. 12r)

SI DEBITU(M)

P(ER)SOLUTU(M) SFF INSTRUMENTU(M) APUD CREDITORE(M) REMANSIT

It must be noted the B's scribe or rubricator had before him a text that had the word *sit* after *persolutum* – an element that on linear reading is unlikely to strike anyone as a grammatical oddity. However, once he reached the end of the *titulus*, he must not simply have noted the incomplete form REMAN-, but he must also have been able to repair the text in the correct way on the basis of his exemplar. If we accept that it is not obvious to move *sit* to the end of the line without the kind of visual clue that E contains, we must conclude that B's scribe or rubricator here had E in front of him.

These two cases should suffice to establish the dependency of B on E for the *Breviary* part of B¹¹. It is harder to say what the exact consequences are for the absolute dating of E and B's *Breviary*. However, considering that palaeographical studies appear to vary more widely in their dating of E than they do for B¹², I am inclined to think that E should be somewhat backdated, probably to the early ninth century.

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¹¹ Beyond these two cases, the manuscripts preserve exceedingly similar reading and as such do not yield much significant evidence for establishing their relation.

¹² See the overview at <http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/lex/lex-romana-visigothorum/>.

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