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THE MEDIEVAL TRADITION OF THE FABLES OF ROMULUS

The name and the verses of Phaedrus were unknown in the Middle Ages but his fables were widespread in several prosified versions. One of these is the collection of Romulus which has a prominent importance because it preserved some lost Phaedrian fables and various other collections derived from it. This paper examines the textual tradition of these and of Phaedrus' fables. Additionally, the study attempts to localize an unpublished codex (Ms. Praed. 60, Frankfurt am Main, 15th century) in the stemma. The text of this manuscript seems to be related to the recensio gallicana, but in some cases it is more closely related to the original text of the Romulus-corporis. Accordingly, this codex seems to be an important derivative of Romulean fables.

Key words: Aesopic fable, Phaedrus, Romulus, textology

The Aesopic fable was popular from antiquity both in Greek and in Latin. A lot of exemplum-fables and collections show the currency of the genre. The first well-known Latin author of the Greek fables was Phaedrus, who did not merely use fables as examples or parables but composed an original collection of them. However, Phaedrus' name was unknown in the Middle Ages. Instead of his verses, a fable-collection in prose attributed to a certain Romulus flourished until the age of humanism. The *Romulus-corporis* is not the only fable-collection, but because of its wide-spread currency and its relationship with Phaedrus, it is highly important. This paper deals with the problems of the textual tradition of the *Romulus-corporis*. The philological examination is relevant, because this concerns the problems of the tradition of Phaedrus, and the reconstruction of the lost Phaedrian fables in particular.

The collection of Phaedrus remained in a fragmented form, but further Phaedrian fables can be found in the prose paraphrases of late antiquity

and early Middle Ages, for example, in the collection of Romulus. Scholars of Phaedrus attempted to reconstruct some Phaedrian fables from these paraphrases, for instance, Carl Magnus Zander dealt with the question of the reconstruction in the beginning of the 20th century.¹ First, he examined the prose paraphrases, and then he inquired the characteristic stylistic and metric signs of Phaedrus. Finally, he reconstituted 30 fables from the derivatives of Phaedrus and from the sources of the *Romulus-corpus*.

During the 19th century the Romulus-corpus has been edited several times. Hermann Österley published his *Romulus* in 1870,² in which he relied on various manuscripts of the *Romulus-corpus*. Österley also published the *Steinhöwels Äsop*,³ which is based on the edition of the fables by Steinhöwel (1476, Ulm).

At the end of the 19th century, Léopold Hervieux summarized the history of the Latin Aesopic fables in five volumes.⁴ In the first tome he dealt with the fables of Phaedrus, the Romulus-corpus and the derivatives of these. The second volume contains the editions of these texts. His edition has essential importance up to this day because it involves such manuscripts' texts which have not been published in a critical edition since then.

Georg Thiele's *Der illustrierte lateinische Äsop*⁵ gives the text of the *Codex Ademari* that contains prose paraphrases the most closely related to Phaedrus. In his subsequent and significant critical edition,⁶ Thiele examined the reduced derivatives of the *Romulus-corpus*.

The recent monograph of Francisco Rodríguez Adrados⁷ summarized the tradition of the Aesopic fable. In his book he studied the tradition of the Romulus-corpus in detail, its relationship with Phaedrus, the lost Phaedrian fables and the sources of the non-Phaedrian fables. Niklas Holzberg⁸ also dealt with the genre of the Aesopic fable and surveyed some textual problems in the tradition of the *Romulus-corpus*.⁹

¹ ZANDER (1897); ZANDER (1924).

² OESTERLEY (1870).

³ OESTERLEY (1873).

⁴ HERVIEUX I. (1884; 1893²); II. (1884; 1894²); III. (1894); IV. (1896) V. (1899).

⁵ THIELE (1905).

⁶ THIELE (1910).

⁷ ADRADOS I-III. (1979–1989); in English: ADRADOS I-III. (1999–2003).

⁸ HOLZBERG (2001²); in English: HOLZBERG (2002).

⁹ See also in relation to the collection of Romulus: CARNES (1986: 1–29); HENDERSON (1999: 308–329); MANN (1999²: 556–561); and to the reception of the Romulean fables: THOEN (1970: 241–322); GONZÁLES GONZÁLES (1998: 28–41); LOVERIDGE (1998); KLEIN (2000: 127–151).

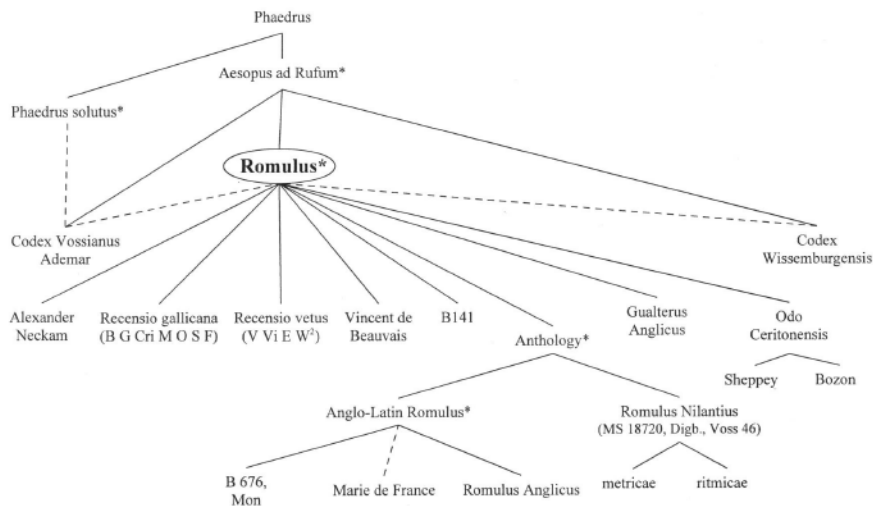
In sum, on the basis of the studies referred to above, the textual tradition of Phaedrus–Romulus is the following: the verses of Phaedrus have not survived entirely, but a prose paraphrase was made from them, the first piece of which was a dedication of Aesopus to his master, a certain Rufus. This dedication introduced a collection, the so-called *Aesopus ad Rufum*, but this does not exist today. From this the collection of *Romulus* could be derived, but this did not survive either. This *Romulus* begins with another dedication, namely an epistle, where Romulus instructs his son, Tiberinus, hence the name of the collection. A lot of manuscripts have derived from the *Romulus-corpus*. These are conventionally divided into two groups, following Thiele, the *recensio gallicana* and the *recensio vetus*. Two further manuscripts must be mentioned: the *Codex Ademari*¹⁰ and the *Codex Wissemburgensis*.¹¹ Several fables of the tenth-century *Codex Ademari* are based on the so-called *Phaedrus solutus*, in which the fables were written in continuous prose. In addition, the *Codex Ademari* also includes the texts of the *Aesopus ad Rufum*, moreover, it occasionally relates to the collection of Romulus. The derivation of the also 10th century *Codex Wissemburgensis* is problematic because certain parts of its material were derived from the *Aesopus ad Rufum*, but some fables came from the *Romulus-corpus*. Furthermore, a second hand corrected its text written in considerably faulty Latin by the *recensio vetus*. According to Adrados,¹² the tradition can be represented by the following stemma:¹³

¹⁰ *Codex Ademari* (**Ad**): Liber manualis Ademari Cabanensis monachi Engolismensis (988–ca. 1034) in quo collegit etc., Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossiani Latini O 15; f 195^v–203^v; HERVIEUX I. (1893²: 241–266); HERVIEUX II. (1894²: 131–156); BERTINI (1975); GATTI (1979: 247–256).

¹¹ *Codex Wissemburgensis* (**W**): Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 148. Gud. Lat. f 61–83; f 60^v–82^r; HERVIEUX I. (1893²: 267–327); HERVIEUX II. (1894²: 157–192).

¹² Adrados II (2001: 531, 659).

¹³ The abbreviations in the stemma are the following: **B**: Codex Burneianus 59, Burney 59, London, British Library; **G**: Cod. Guelf. 182. Gud. Lat., Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek; **Cri**: CLM 756, Munich, BSB; **M**: Ms. 84, Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon; **O**: Ms. 42, Oxford, Corpus Christi College; **S**: Aesopus, *Vita et fabulae...*, ed.: Heinrich Steinhöwel, Ulm, 1476; **V**: Cod. 303. Wien, ÖNB; **Vi**: Cod. 901. Wien, ÖNB; **E**: Ms. Lat. Oct. 87, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; **W**²: second hand in the **W**; **B141**: Romulus of Bern, Codex Arctopolitanus 141, Bern, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 141, f 11^v–12^r; **B676**: Romulus of Bern, Bern, Universitätsbibliothek Ms 676, f 80^r–96^v; **Mon**: Codex Monacensis, Munich, BSB, CLM 5337, f 250^r–266^v.



Although I attempt to expand and correct the former statements, I do not want to invalidate these respectable and fundamental works with my observations. The examples will be rather additions and supplements and I endeavour to complement and specify the former assertions. In this paper I will examine two problems. On the one hand, I will point out the errors or imperfections of the stemma. On the other hand, I will attempt to judge the place of a manuscript in the order of derivation which has not been studied yet in relation to the collection of Romulus. Therefore, first, I will deal with the problems of the stemma, which primarily concern the *recensio gallicana*.

The *Codex Monacensis*¹⁴ – the abbreviation **Mon** in the stemma – cannot be derived from the *Anthology* and it cannot be related to either the *Romulus Nilantius*, or the *Romulus Anglicus*. Actually, the comparison of the texts testified that this manuscript is related to the *recensio gallicana* or it is the derivative of it. To prove this statement I will present only two examples. In the 5th fables in Thiele's edition (**Th** 5.) the dog accuses the sheep that owes him bread. To verify it the dog adduces *three* false witnesses, the wolf, the kite (*milvus*), and the hawk (*accipiter*). The text of the fable is given from one of the manuscripts of the *recensio gallicana* (**B**):

Canis calumpniosus dixit deberi sibi ab oue panem quem dederat mutuum. Contendebat autem ouis numquam se ab illo panem accepisse. Cum ante iudices uenissent, canis se dixit habere testes. Introductus lupus ait:

14 ADRADOS II. (2000: 650–660).

*Scio panem commendatum oui. Introductus miluus: Coram me, inquit, accepit. Accipiter, cum introisset, inquit: Quare negasti quod accepisti? Victa ouis a tribus testibus falsis iudicatur artius reddi. Coacta uero, ante tempus lanas suas uendidisse dicitur, ut quod non accepit redderet.*¹⁵

Since two false witnesses (*lupus* and *milvus*) are both in the *Romulus Nilantius* and in the *Romulus Anglicus*, hence two witnesses could have been in the *Anthology* and in the lost *Anglo-Latin Romulus*. However, the version of the *Codex Monacensis* with three witnesses does not correspond to the variant of the *Romulus Anglicus* and *Nilantius*:

Phaedrus (Ph)	1 (lupus)
Ademari (Ad)	3 (lupus, milvus, accipiter)
W	3 (lupus, milvus, accipiter)
r. gall.	3 (lupus, milvus, accipiter)
r. vetus	3 (lupus, milvus, accipiter)
Nil.	2 (lupus, milvus)
Fab. ritm.	2 (lupus, milvus)
Fab. metr.	2 (lupus, milvus)
Rom. Angl.	2 (lupus, milvus)
Mon.	3 (lupus, milvus, accipiter)

In the other example the text of the *Codex Monacensis* and the *recensio gallicana* is almost the same. The 8th fable in Thiele's edition (**Th** 8.) is about the lion's share:

Vacca et capella et ouis socii fuerunt cum leone simul. Qui cum in salto venirent et caperent ceruum, factis partibus, leo sic ait: Ego primus tollo, ut leo. Secunda pars mea est, eo quod sim fortior uobis. Tertiam uero mihi defendo, quia plus uobis cucurri. Quartam autem qui tetigerit, inimicum me habebit. Sic totam praedam illam solus improbitate sustulit.

When comparing the variants of the second sentences the differences seem to be clear:

F	Qui cum in saltibus uenarentur
B, Cri, G	Qui cum in salto venirent
M	Qui cum in saltibus venarentur
S	qui cum in saltibus venissent

¹⁵ We quote the Romulean fables in the version of the *Codex Burneianus* (**B**), Hervieux II (1894²: 195–233).

Mon	Qui cum in saltibus <i>venissent</i>
Nil	Cumque simul in saltibus <i>venarentur</i>
Rom. Angl.	Leo in <i>venationem</i> iturus alios habere voluit socios

In this fable not merely the texts are similar, but the verb *venio*, which can be found in some manuscripts of the *recensio gallicana*, also stands in the *Codex Monacensis*. In contrast, the *Romulus Nilantius* and the *Romulus Anglicus* contain the verb *venor*. Thus, I think that the *Codex Monacensis* cannot come from the *Anglo-Latin Romulus*, and it cannot come from the *Anthology* directly, rather it is related to the *recensio gallicana*. To judge how the *Codex Monacensis* is related to this *recensio*, it is imperative to survey the sources of the *gallicana*.

Several manuscripts and a printed edition belong to the *recensio gallicana*. The detailed comparison of their texts shows that the relationship between some manuscripts of this *recensio* can be detected. Thiele also dealt with this question¹⁶ and he thought that the **B**, **Cri** and **G** form a group within the *recensio gallicana*. In his view these three manuscripts agree in their text, and thereby he came to the conclusion that this group represents the best textual phase within the *recensio gallicana*. However, when comparing the common forms of the group (**B**, **Cri**, **G**) with the other sources of the *gallicana* and Phaedrus, it becomes clear that there are not only common forms but also common errors which could connect these manuscripts. For example, at the end of the former fable (**Th** 8.), one can find a common error in the above-mentioned group:

Ph	sic totam praedam sola improbitas <i>abstulit</i> ¹⁷
F	Sic totam predam illam improbitate sua <i>abstulit</i>
B	Sic totam praedam illam solus improbitate <i>sustulit</i>
Cri	Sic totam praedam illam solus improbitate <i>sustulit</i>
G	Sic totam praedam illam solus improbitate <i>sustulit</i>
M	sic totam praedam illam sola improbitas <i>abstulit</i>
S	Sic totam predam illam solus improbitate sua <i>abstulit</i>
W	Sic totam praedam solus inprobis <i>abstulit</i>
Mon	Sic totam predam illam improbus <i>abstulit</i>

The following example also demonstrates this problem. The text of the fable about the the old lion (**Th** 20.) in Phaedrus' version is the following:

¹⁶ THIELE (1910: CLXXXV–CXCXV).

¹⁷ We quote the verses of Phaedrus from Perry' edition. PERRY (1975: 198).

*Quicumque amisit dignitatem pristinam,
ignavis etiam iocus est in casu gravi.
Defectus annis et desertus viribus
leo cum iaceret spiritum extremum trahens,
aper fulmineis spumans venit dentibus
et vindicavit ictu veterem iniuriam.
infestis taurus mox confodit cornibus
hostile corpus. asinus ut vidit ferum
impune laedi, calcibus frontem extudit.
at ille exspirans: „Fortis indigne tuli
mihi insultare; te, Naturae dedecus,
quod ferre in morte cogor, bis videor mori.”*

When comparing the variants of the Romulean manuscripts, one can read the following forms:

Ph	Defectus annis et desertus <i>viribus</i>
F	Annis defectus et <i>viribus</i>
B	Annis deceptus <i>pluribus</i>
Cri	Annis deceptus <i>pluribus</i>
G	Annis deceptus <i>pluribus</i>
M	Annis deceptus et <i>viribus</i>
S	Annis decrepitus et <i>viribus</i>
Mon	Animo et <i>viribus</i> deceptus
Ad	Defectus annis et desolatus <i>uiribus</i>

This and the above-mentioned examples, which could be continued, confirm that the *Codex Burneianus*, *Crinitus* and *Gudanus* not merely form a group within the *recensio gallicana* but sometimes contain textual deteriorations. Returning to the question of the *Codex Monacensis*, I can ascertain that this manuscript could not be related to this group but rather corresponds to the other manuscripts of the *recensio gallicana*. Obviously, this statement is not merely valid for the presented examples but for all Romulean fables in the *Codex Monacensis*.

Now, I will deal with a yet unstudied manuscript that contains some fables of the collection of Romulus. This 15th century codex which is in Frankfurt am Main¹⁸ and its number is Praed. 60. contains theological works and parables, as well as Aesopic fables. I signify this codex by the abbreviation **Fr**

¹⁸ Available at: <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/titleinfo/3915773>.
Access date: 14.04.2013.

after its habitat. From the catalogue¹⁹ one can suppose that this manuscript essentially belongs to the *recensio gallicana*, but when comparing its text with the *gallicana*, then it seems to be problematic to judge its place in the order of derivation.

The fables of this manuscript, which are taken from folium 40th to 46th, can be divided into four parts. The first section contains the fables of the *recensio gallicana* with the letter of Romulus, but in a confused and imperfect form. Moreover, some fables are textually different from the *gallicana*. The second part includes 12 fables which correspond to the *Codex Wissemburgensis* both in order and in text. These fables are not involved in the first part of the **Fr**. There are no Aesopic fables in the third section but some other parables and Latin sentences. Finally, the fourth part includes a fable that agrees with the *Codex Wissemburgensis* again and a table of contents.

When closely examining the first section of the fables in particular, it seems to be clear that the texts of some fables follow the **W** instead of the *gallicana*. For example, in the fable of the *Vulpis et uva* (**Th** 71.) the beginning of the story agrees more with the *recensio gallicana*, but the end corresponds to the text of the *Wissemburgensis*:

r. g. (B)	Fr	W
<i>Fame coacta uulpis uuam sursum pendentem aspexit in alta uinea, ad quam peruenire uolebat alto gradu se excutiens. Quotiens hoc uoluit, adtingere sursum non potuit. Irata dicitur dixisse: Nolo te acerbam et immaturam; et, quasi nolens eam tangere abiit. Ita, qui nihil facere possunt, uerbis tantum se posse et nolle ostendunt.</i>	<i>Fame coacta uulpis uuam sursum pendentem aspexit albam in uinea ad quam peruenire uolebat, et quotiens se iactauit ex alto non ualuit. Irata dicit: Nolo te inquit manducare acer uua, sed reuertar ad te postea dum omnis matura. Sic qui non possit uiribus uerbis se maturat facinus.</i>	<i>Quam fame coacta uulpis uuam pendentem uidit. Sursum in altam uineam ad quam peruenire uolebat quotiens se iactauit ex alto et non ualuit. Irata dici fertur: Nolo te inquit manducare aceruam sed reuertar ad te postea dum eris matura. Sic qui non potest uiribus uerbis se maturat facinus.</i>

Interpolated sentences can be found twice in the margin of the **Fr** which are only in the *Codex Wissemburgensis*, in the fable about the kid and wolf (**Th** 36, *Haedus et lupus*), on the one hand, and in the 60th fable (*Meretrix et iuuenis*) on the other.

The manuscript **Fr** not merely agrees with the *Wissemburgensis* in some cases, but often gives better text than all the sources of the *recensio gallica-*

¹⁹ POWITZ (1968: 147–148).

na. As the Phaedrian original of the fable of the *Canis et lupus* (Th 65.) is known, therefore, one can collate its text with the Fr. The text of this fable in Phaedrus' version is the following:

*Quam dulcis sit libertas breviter proloquar.
 Cani perpasto macie confectus lupus
 forte occurrunt; dein, salutati invicem
 ut restiterunt, „Vnde sic, quaeso, nites?
 aut quo cibo fecisti tantum corporis?
 ego, qui sum longe fortior; pereo fame.”
 canis simpliciter: „Eadem est condicio tibi,
 praestare domino si par officium potes.”
 „Quod?” inquit ille. „Custos ut sis liminis,
 a furibus tuearis et noctu domum.
 adfertur ultro panis; de mensa sua
 dat ossa dominus; frusta iactat familia,
 et quod fastidit quisque pulmentarium.
 sic sine labore venter impletur meus.”
 „Ego vero sum paratus: nunc patior nives
 imbresque in silvis asperam vitam trahens.
 quanto est facilius mihi sub tecto vivere,
 et otiosum largo satiari cibo!”
 „Veni ergo mecum.” dum procedunt, aspicit
 lupus a catena collum detritum cani.
 „Vnde hoc, amice?” „Nil est.” „Dic, sodes, tamen.”
 „Quia videor acer, alligant me interdum,
 luce ut quiescam, et vigilem nox cum venerit:
 crepusculo solutus qua visum est vagor.”
 „Age, abire si quo est animus, est licentia?”
 „Non plane est” inquit. „Fruere quae laudas, canis;
 regnare nolo, liber ut non sim mihi.”*

When comparing the variants of the fourth line the differences seem to be clear:

Ph	Vnde sic, quaeso, <i>nites</i> ?
Fr	Vnde frater sic <i>nites</i> et bene pinguis.
r. gall.	Vnde frater sic <i>nitidus</i> et bene pinguis es?
r. vet.	Unde, frater mi, tam <i>nitidus</i> et tam bene pinguis?
W	Unde frater sic <i>nites</i> et be[.]ne pinguis.
Ad	Unde, frater, sic <i>mitis</i> et bene pinguis?

The adjective *nitidus* can be equally found in the manuscripts of the *re-censio gallicana* and *vetus*, but the **Fr** corresponds to the Phaedrian version, and both contain the word *nites*. This word can be encountered in the *Codex Wissemburgensis* as well, and in a corrupted form in the *Codex Ademari (mitis)*.

The fable about the dog and the lamb (**Th** 32.) did not survive in the versions of the **W** and the **Ad**, but again one can take the Phaedrian original into consideration:

Inter capellas agno palanti canis
 „Stulte” inquit „erras; non est hic mater tua.”
 ovesque segregatas ostendit procul.
 „Non illam quaero quae cum libitum est concipit,
 dein portat onus ignotum certis mensibus,
 novissime prolapsam effundit sarcinam;
 verum illam quae me nutrit admoto ubere,
 fraudatque natos lacte ne desit mihi.”
 „Tamen illa est potior quae te peperit.” „Non ita.
 beneficium sane magnum natali dedit,
 ut expectarem lanium in horas singulas!
 unde illa scivit niger an albus nascerer?
 age porro, parere si voluisset feminam,
 quid profecisset cum crearer masculus?
 cuius potestas nulla in gignendo fuit,
 cur hac sit potior quae iacentis miserita est,
 dulcemque sponte praestat benevolentiam?
 facit parentes bonitas, non necessitas.”
 [His demonstrare voluit auctor versibus
 obsistere homines legibus, meritis capi.]

However, the form *balanti* can be found in all four manuscripts of Phaedrus, it was emended to *palanti* in some editions.²⁰ The word *balatum* which comes from the verb *balare* stands in the **Fr**, whereas other manuscripts of the Romulus contain the word *vaganti*.

The Phaedrian original of the fable about the philomela and the hawk (**Th** 55.) does not exist today, but its Romulean version is known:

*In nido lusciniam, dum cantaret, assedit accipiter ut specularetur auras,
 paruos illic inuenit pullos. Superuenit cito luscinia, et rogabat parcere
 suis. Faciam quod uis, inquit, si bene mihi cantaueris. At illa, quamuis*

²⁰ See also: POSTGATE (1918: 95).

animus excideret, tamen metu coacta et pauens et dolore plena, cantauit. Accipiter qui predam inuenerat: Non bene cantasti, inquit, et apprehendens unum de pullis deuorare coepit. E diuerso quidam auceps uenit, et calamis lento uelato, accipitrem contractum uisco in terram demersit.

Although the phrase *specularetur auras* can be found in all the manuscripts of the two recensions, in the *Codex Ademari* as well as *Wissemburgensis*, and in the **Fr** the phrase *specularetur auritum* stands. However, Carl Zander reconstructed the verses of this fable²¹ and accepted the form *auras*, the word *auritum* seems to be textologically better.²² Since the phrase *auritum* stands both in the **Ad** and **W**, this word must be in the *Aesopus ad Rufum* as well. Thus the error (*auras*) had to occur later than the collection of *Aesopus ad Rufum*. Because the **Fr** here and in other places gives better text than the *recensio gallicana* and *vetus*, one has to place this manuscript higher in the stemma.

The fables in the second part of the manuscript are also worth considering. This part is closely related to the fables of the *Codex Wissemburgensis*, but the fables in the **Fr** cannot originate directly from this manuscript. The text of the **W** was corrected or erased by a second hand in the 11th century, thus the original text could not have been legible in the 15th century. Furthermore, sometimes there are lacunas in the **W**, which, nonetheless, cannot be encountered in the **Fr**.

The fourth part of the manuscript contains a table of contents which does not agree with the fables copied in the manuscript **Fr** regarding either their order or titles, but it is similar to the table of contents of the *Codex Wissemburgensis*. Both manuscripts divided the fables in five books, and the titles of these are alike with some differences, for instance, the order of the fables in the fourth book is the following:

²¹ ZANDER (1924: 24–29).

²² THIELE (1910: XXXIV; CLVII–CLVIII).

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