2 Philology
The Editions of Festus

Summary
2.1. Introduction. – 2.2. Fulvio Orsini and the Codex Farnesianus. – 2.3. Editorial Evolution of Orsini’s Text. – 2.4. The Literary Fortune of Orsini’s Festus. – 2.5. The Last Renaissance Editions of Festus. – 2.6. Conclusion. – Appendix 1. – Appendix 2.

2.1 Introduction

De verborum significatione, which was compiled, edited, and annotated by the Latin grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus, was considered by Renaissance scholars to be among the most important classical sources. An epitome assembled from Verrius Flaccus’s De verborum significatu, it was essential to understand the essence of antiquity and antiquarian learning. This work had been known only through an abridged eighth century version written by the Lombard monk Paulus Diaconus, and was considered a reference for scholars from

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1 Even the titles De verborum significatione and De verborum significatu appear to be controversial, not only in contemporary scholarship, but also during the Renaissance (see “Appendix 1”).

2 Claudia Villa proposed that Paul the Deacon was the author of the glosses to Isidore of Seville’s Etymologiae (housed at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, codex Vall. A 18), today known as Scholia Vallicellianae. Festus featured among the authors used to explain Isidore’s text. See Villa 1984, 56-80; Lanciotti 2000, 237-50; Lendinara 2000, 251-78. Other glossaries that transmit Festus’s excerpts appear in four manuscripts: two housed in the Biblioteca Monastica of Montecassino (Casin. 439, and Casin. 90), and two housed in the Vatican (BAV Vat. Lat. 1469, eleventh century, and BAV Vatl. Lat. 3321, ninth century). This latter codex belonged to Panoramita and was later acquired by Fulvio Orsini. See Cavallo 1975, 357-424; Bassetti 2003, 470; Ammirati 2007, 19-21.
early medieval times\(^3\) until the rediscovery during the mid-fifteenth century of the *Codex Farnesianus* (Neap. IV.A.3), a badly damaged and mutilated manuscript that transmitted Festus’s original.\(^4\) This finding set in motion a renewed interest in this ancient author\(^5\) that led to the reconstruction of a full-length version of *De verborum significacione* to restore its spirit, at least in part. This in turn prompted an extraordinarily complex philological effort to collate the material required to re-establish its original form and content.\(^6\)

Significant differences between these two redactions were noticed immediately: in Paul the Deacon’s epitome, for example, the original lemmas were reduced and simplified. This was for the purpose of creating a vocabulary of sorts, whereas the *Farnesianus* demonstrated Festus’s intention to establish a historical perspective on Latin language and culture.\(^7\) Although Renaissance scholars soon realised that Paul the Deacon’s epitome was poorly equipped to provide even a rough outline of the original,\(^8\) the two works were mutually supportive and complementary; with the *Farnesianus* damaged and incomplete, Paul the Deacon’s epitome offered, if not a faithful reproduction, at least a stratigraphy of what could have been present in the original. This dual tradition therefore strongly influenced the

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\(^3\) Munk Olsen 2009, 237-8.

\(^4\) The rediscovery of this manuscript should be dated to between 1444 and 1457 if it is proven that Lorenzo Valla used it to compose some of his marginal notes on Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*; see Cesarini Martinelli, Perosa 1996, LXVII; Rizzo 1997; Moscadi 2001, XIV-XVI; Ammirati 2007, 23; La Regina 2010, 216; Di Marco 2015, 35-6. Given the rediscovery of a letter by Francesco Barbaro addressed to Bartolomeo Baldana on 16 August 1448, additional assumptions could be made. This short text, which was published recently (Drusi 2016, 34-5), attests the Latin expression *si te censore lustrum (con)deretur*, where the combination of the censor’s office and the ritual of lustrum condere echoes passages widely seen in Latin literature (Ogivile 1961, 31-9), including Festus as transmitted in the *Farnesianus* (Lindsay 1913, 144: *Minuitur populo luctus aedis dedicatione, cum Censores lustrum condiderunt, cum votum publice suscep tum solvit*). The letter was written in Gemona del Friuli, north-eastern Italy, which could be one of the areas in which the *Codex Farnesianus* passed through during its trip from Dalmatia to Rome.

\(^5\) Many were the copies redacted by humanists of the Roman circle: see Bracke 1995, 190-5; Mancini 2007, 137-58; Ammirati 2007, 22-7; La Regina 2010, 216. Currently, the clearest and most significant contribution to Festus’s humanist tradition can be attributed to Alessia Di Marco, who worked on the *stemma codicum* of the apographs of the *Farnesianus* in the late fifteenth century. Since these copies are widely used by scholars to arrange, improve and complete the text transmitted by the antigraph, it is vital that they are studied (Di Marco 2015, 35-61).


\(^7\) Cervani 1978; Grafton 1983, 141-2; Ammirati 2007, 16-18.

\(^8\) Paul was often considered to be responsible for the poor treatment of Festus’s text (see “Appendix 2”).
creation of the Renaissance editions of Festus, which was primarily achieved by merging the two versions.\textsuperscript{9}

Some humanistic copies of the \textit{Farnesianus} transmit only the text of Festus’s work, e.g. the copy arranged by Angelo Poliziano (BAV Vat. Lat. 3368) and another arranged by Giuliano Ceci,\textsuperscript{10} a disciple of Pomponio Leto (BAV Vat. Lat. 1549). However, an early combination of the works of Festus and Paul the Deacon also occurred in the manuscript tradition. For example, the late fifteenth century codex (BAV Vat. Lat. 3369), partially copied by Johannes Nydenna da Coblenza\textsuperscript{11} and later included in Fulvio Orsini’s library,\textsuperscript{12} features Paul the Deacon’s epitome (ff. 1r-97v), followed by Festus’s \textit{De verborum significatione} (ff. 99r-157r). The two works are divided by one blank page (ff. 98r-98v), preserving their autonomy and authorial independence, and offer an extremely faithful witness of Festus’s work.\textsuperscript{13} Nonetheless, this manuscript begins with an index (ff. 1r-24v) by Francesco Buzzacarini,\textsuperscript{14} which collects all the items attested in Paul the Deacon’s abridgment and Festus’s work, along with their page numbers, providing a double numbering system where the lemma was attested in both works. This approach reveals one of the trends that pervaded the entire editorial history of Festus’s work: the need to examine both works to understand the nature of their traditions.

This merging process was often carried out indiscriminately, as demonstrated in the manuscript, which is also known as \textit{Liber Achillis Mafaei}\textsuperscript{15} (BAV Vat. Lat. 5958). There, the scribe, once again Giuliano Ceci,\textsuperscript{16} blended the works of Paul the Deacon and Festus, but preferred to include only the lemmas featured in the \textit{Farnesianus} and its apographs when they also occurred in the epitome.\textsuperscript{17} Likewise, an analogous approach can be seen not only in the \textit{princeps} arranged

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\item Section of the \textit{Codex Farnesianus} were included in some of the early incunabula of the sole abridgement of Paul carried out in the second half of the fifteenth century; there has still been no systematic research conducted on these editions (1471, 1472, 1474, 1475, 1477, 1478).
\item Mancini 2007, 147 especially fn. 40, where reference is made to Pellegrin 1991 and Bertola 1942.
\item Active in northern Italy between 1460 and 1484.
\item At f. 1r a note reads: “Festus Pompeius epitoman et il fragmento non epitomato | Ful. Urs”.
\item Lanciotti 1989, 222-51.
\item Grandi 2019, 34-6.
\item Agustín 1559, \textit{praef}.
\item In this case, the epigram to the reader (f. 1v) explicitly mentions the name of the scribe who arranged the copy and dedicated it to Agostino Maffei: “Ad Lectorem C. IV-LIANVS Caecius”.
\item Mancini 2007, 147.
\end{itemize}
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by Giovanni Battista Pio and Conagus (1500, and reissued in 1502 and 1510), but also in other editions that followed. This was especially the case for those carried out by Aldo Manuzio (1513) and Jean Petit (1519), in which the contamination of the two authors’ works generated a series of particularly compromising interpolations and omissions.\(^\text{18}\)

It was only later, around the mid-sixteenth century, that a renewed philological approach was taken to tackling Festus’s work, with Antonio Agustín (1559) taking up the challenge.\(^\text{19}\) The need to distinguish between the entries, which had overlapped during years of sedimentation, prompted Agustín to find a page layout that would highlight the contribution of each author separately (Verrius, Festus, and Paul the Deacon). This also encouraged him to rethink the order of the work, striking a balance between Paul the Deacon’s epitome and the ancient manuscript by adopting the practical solution of setting the lemmas in alphabetical order.\(^\text{20}\) This arrangement did not fully respect the disposition of the ancient codex: once again, the original was blended with Paul the Deacon’s work. However, this time the definitions were clearly marked with the name of each author in capital letters in the margins [fig. 1].

The impact of Agustín’s text was so remarkable that he influenced the entire subsequent editorial tradition. Even his first and most celebrated successor, the French philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1575), accepted these editorial criteria without modification, proposing only new \textit{ope ingenii} conjectures in his annotations.\(^\text{21}\)

\(^{18}\) Pio 1500 (which was reprinted in Venice in 1502 and in Milan in 1510); Manuzio 1513; Petit 1519. Antonio Agustín was aware that the first editions of Festus were arranged with the same scheme of BAV Vat. Lat. 5958; see Agustín 1559, praef.: “Per-\textit{venerunt ipsae reliquiae libelli ad Aldum Manutium, qui conatus est cum Pauli epito-\textit{me eae coniungere, et unum corpus ex duplicibus membris confecer}e. Sed tam multa omissa sunt, tam multa aliter edita, ut alios emendatores desiderarit. Simili ratione ex utroque libro confectus alter liber extat apud Achillem Mafaem Bernardini Cardina-\textit{lis fratrem, qui Aldino locupletior est}”. See also Grafton 1983, 137.

\(^{19}\) Agustín 1559 and 1560; see also Ceretti 1952-53; Bracke 1995, 201-3.

\(^{20}\) Grafton 1983, 143. The intention to arrange Festus’s entries in alphabetical order was declared in the title of the French edition (Petit 1519: \textit{Sexti Pomp\textit{pei Festi Fragmenta per Ordinem Alphabeti)} and reaffirmed in the colophon (xl: “\textit{Ad Festum allici-\textit{at qua te ratione Conagus | Lector adinvent consilium ipse probes. | Fragmenta appo-\textit{suit, quae nunc super addita cernes. | Canit et ut coheant, ordine quaque suo. | Si qua Latina parum fuerint, seu dura fatetur, | Ne depravaret se variasse nihil\textit{)}}, even if it was often neglected.

\(^{21}\) Scaliger 1575 and 1576; see also Grafton 1983, 134-59.
Nequitium, & nequitur, pro non posse dicebant, Festus.

Nequitium, & nequitur, pro non posse dicebant, Festus.

Neruum appellamus etiam ferreum vinculum, quo pedes impedientur, quamquam Plautus eo etiam cervices vinciri ait, perfidiose captus, eo aedepol nerno cervices probat. Festus.

Neruum appellamus etiam ferreum vinculum, quo pedes, vel etiam cervices impedientur. Festus.

Neutiquam, cum ait sec. Dianae Auentinen.

Neutiquam, pro nullo modo. Festus.

Nexum est, ut ait Gallus Aelius, quodcumq. per aces & libram geritur, idque neeti dicitur, quo in genere sunt hae: testamenti facti datio)Etio, neni danto, neni liberando. * Nexum * liberatio) aces

Neutiquam

• cum sit poec.
• locorum aphasis.

Neutiquam

veni in mentem Riccardo Riccardio, probò & erudito adolescenti, & quem ego prodere suavitissimus ipsius mores valde diligio, legi debere, quod ad exemplum fact. Sed mihi neutiquam con sentent cum oculorum aphis. qui verus antiquus scilicet, apud eum ab Aelmaone pronuntiatus, legiitur in libro de academicis quaestionibus. qui vocatur, Lucullus duobus locis, priore integer: poëtorum dimidiatum, cum autem id verum omnino putem, volui ipsum in his meis libris memoriae proderi: iam enim bonis ingenii: iplaque, quumque ratione possum, orno. Sed erat ad Augustinum: est igitur multum grauiioribus litteris inscrutus: & ipsis demum omnibus, quae continuerunt personas episcoporum, quam suffinet, sed tamen has quoque humaniores litteras ente aduant, in hominem omnibus habiliorem ipsum est. Notabo hic ego nunc, quod illa in epistola ad Leonidem Taceulum volui mihi per eum significari. se arbitrari locum hunc Ciceronis et ilium de natura deorum. Itag. & bonis delicibus Marcus M. ex Onis dedicatam, mendum esse legi debeat pro Mario, Maio et E. Papirius M. a. significat, qui de Coris triumphatu haec prodit quod praeter fatales expositas, Pinianis & Plutarchus memoriae prodiderunt. Sed hoc etiam cognomen, vnum & multis, Fiuise Papiriorum in tellitigio indicio Ciceronis, apud quem redde nunc ad quodam illud scriptum est, quod ego inueni in opima illo exemplari, quod fecusus fum: prius enim perpetam legendarum in excus, Maio & Mafones, cuibus tamen lectionis integritatem quidam non videntis, ad vitiosem, quod eos facere non oporteat, redirentur haec igitur verba ipsius sunt ex epistola ad Parum: Deinde L. Maio aedificiis inde multum Mafones: quae ueste igitur Antonios Augustinos argumenta collegit, ut coniecturam fum confirmaret: & tamen in fatis antiquo libro, qui consuevit in diui Marcii bibliotheca Marii scriptum est quod ego ex tebant volui, non. ut idem ilium emendationis minimegerem, sed, ut acumen inductum tamque correxit angerem, Sed etsi in nominibus illis animorum, qui infra nominantur, apud eum etsi deincum nonnullum est: quae tamen nominis falsa fuit aliquid: quanquam mendi aequitum non complurerent.

Dissertation de dubiis & incertis scripturae Ciceroniani locis, in quo agitur de Dionysio Scuuli rogo.

C. A. P. X.

V. M. hic lococe illi: de natura deorum de Dionysio tyranno. Atque in suo loculo mortuis, in tyrannis rogam illus est, non eodem modo omnibus libris legatur, & non solum excus, verum etiam calamo exeuntis: non enim in quibus tympanidis pro tyrannis scriptum sit, ipsi non alium tyrannidis in multis eleeus, qui in sedelio exemplar, suo scriptum offendit: idem tamen faceret vi dide me librum litteris Longobardis exeuntum, in quo erat tympanidis. Cum igitur de hoc dubii animi forem, & quidquid legemerem, quod luc faceret, atente legemerem, nuncum poterem scribire hunc ex animo meo etueller. loci etiam, quos speravi hoc declarantus, me selenetur: ipsos tamquam non notabo. Athenaeus igitur in se, libro, ut didierit de admirable libribus quibusdam fabricis, citate Mochionem quondam, qui collocaverat multos maximus laudatos ob constructionem ipsarum aut accuratam descriptionem, in quibus mentionem facit Timaei historici, qui de funere Dionysii, & torg magnifici, in historia tua.

Negibundum a-ntiqui pro neganti dixerit: Cato in
ex, qua scripte
negibundus
Neutiquam pronculo modo dixi, testis est: Cicero
cum ait, Sed mibi neutiquam cor consentit, cum ocu-
lor, aspectu: Id. Indissolubiles quidem eae non posse pri-
neutiquam tamen dissoluemini. Nepos luxuriosus,
Tusciis dicitur: nam nepotes sunt luxuriosae vitae
homines appellati; quod non magis bis res
fuu famil-iaris curae est, quam hs quib, pater axis
viuunt, quod d nom ei duci ab eo, quae natus post pari-
sit, quam fil-ius. Quidam, inter quos Aristar-
chiter pres Homerii, Graecii eae voluit, ad quae
videntur ex Apollo: Nepha-
ti dies not-abani. N. littera, quae nepha est Praetori
aput quem lege agitur, fari tria verba, do, dico
addico. Nep. nota designari solent qui nephas p-
riores sunt, q-uorum pars anterior fas: bis sert
liberati sunt, delectus habentur, exercitus scrib-
untur, & in proin-eias ire licet, sacra quoque
instituta sunt, & vota nuncupata solui,
& aedes laevaris, so-lente. Nepa Aforum lingua
fidus, quod dē a nostris c-ancre, vetut quidag volui,
Icorpius. Plautus in Cassia. Recessim dabo me
ad parietem, imita-bor nequam. Nepus, non purus.
Neli pro fine posuitum est in lege dedications aerae
Dianae Auentinen-sis. Nautae ait, Op-
ilius Aurelius, herb-am esse granis cigris
qua coriarii vurrentur, cuius a nauseo duc-
tu nonem, quia naus cam fa-cit, p_mutatione. I. et
s litterarum interme-diam antiquis juentam.
Plautus in Artemone. Vngenti quod narius mu-
lionum nautae tangere
2.2  Fulvio Orsini and the Codex Farnesianus

The situation changed only in around 1580 when Fulvio Orsini decided to offer a new edition of Festus’s work based exclusively on the Codex Farnesianus. Orsini changed the general exegetic perspective, proposing a new analytical method that recovered the centrality of the ancient manuscript conceived as the sole element worthy of attention.\(^22\) He was the first and only editor in the Renaissance that felt the need for an ‘autarchic’ approach to Festus’s work: he considered the Farnesianus to be capable of standing alone, without any apparent additions from the medieval tradition. He believed Paul the Deacon’s epitome to be not only distant from the spirit of Festus’s work, but also superfluous and unable to provide the elements required to understand the textual voids in the Farnesianus; and this was because the two versions handed down were incompatible.\(^23\)

Orsini also possessed two apographs of the Codex Farnesianus. The first was a copy transcribed by Poliziano (BAV Vat. Lat. 3368),\(^24\) and the second was annotated by Buzzacarini (BAV Vat. Lat. 3369), which also transmitted a fragment of the Farnesianus known as the Schedae laetianae.\(^25\) He received the former at the end of the 1570s from Piero Vettori.\(^26\) It emerges from a letter sent from Vettori to Orsini dated 15 January 1580 that Orsini had studied this manuscript and found it to be very reliable, even though he was able to use it on-

\(^{22}\) Nolhac 1887, 44-5; La Regina 2010, 218.

\(^{23}\) This was only the case in theory. All Renaissance editors of Festus relied on Paul the Deacon’s epitome to fulfil the lacunas of the text and to imagine the order of the glosses for the missing part of the fragment.

\(^{24}\) BAV Vat. Lat. 3368, f. 1r: “Festo Pompeio scritto di mano | del Politiano, in papiro in 4° | Ful. Urs”; upon Orsini’s acquisition of Poliziano’s books, see Nolhac 1886, 145-8 (re-published with some additions in Nolhac 1887, 213-16); Moscadi 1987, 261-4; Di Marco 2015, 46.

\(^{25}\) Fulvio Orsini had access to the pagellae or schedae laetianae, a part of the Farnesianus disassembled at the end of the fifteenth century, probably by Pomponio Leto, and later lost; see Poliziano 1489, LXXIII; Bracke 1995, 190-7; Moscadi 2001, XVI-XVII; Orsini was not in possession of the originals, but held a written copy produced by a doctus chirographus (learned scribe); see Lindsay 1913, 14; Bracke 1995, 191-3.

\(^{26}\) Nolhac 1889, 34 [XXIV]: “Se V.S. havesse notitia alcuna di certi fogli che hebbe oltre questi Pomponio Leto, dai quali credo haver letto nelle Varie di V.S. che ’l Politiano trasse copia, mi verrebbe a proposito haverne copia, non dico della colonna integra, che questa fu stampata da Aldo insieme con la epitome di Paolo, ma dico della colonna fragmentata, però ne ho voluto fare avvisata la S.V. accioche sapendo dove fosse tal cosa, o havendo in questo proposito cosa alcuna, si contenti di mandarmelo che io la riconoscerò da lei, como da affettionato, et da persona bene merita gia di questo grammatico” (1 December 1579); 35 [XXV]: “Hebbi l’altro giorni li quinterni del Festo, che cominciano dalla lettera P, siche ci mancano l’M, N, O, che mi sarriano cari, se bene di esse non è copiata se non la colonna integra, et io harrei voluto la colonna fragmentata, per rispetto delle tre ultime carte, che mancano in nostro libro, che credo sieno quelle che hebbe Pomponio Leto” (15 January 1580).
ly on limited occasions.\textsuperscript{27} It is also likely that the page layout of Poliziano’s copy inspired Fulvio Orsini’s idea of textual arrangement. Poliziano had, in fact, prepared this manuscript by maintaining the same page composition as the \textit{Farnesianus}, repeating the same order and scheme, page by page, file by file, and starting with the word (or part thereof) that corresponded to the antigraph.\textsuperscript{28} Moreover, Poliziano was the only scholar to register the gaps by extension and not abstractly, matching a measurement in points, since he realised that there was an indivisible link between the text and its support. In line with Poliziano’s structure, Orsini faithfully reproduced the \textit{Codex Farnesianus} as the central part of his philological work. Orsini positioned the text of the \textit{Schedae laetianae} separately at the end: he was well aware that, although these pages derived from the lost part of the manuscript, he could not contaminate the original with them.\textsuperscript{29}

Having first considered the \textit{Farnesianus} manuscript in its physical layout, Orsini was able to see the full extent of the mutilations, thereby filling the gaps with greater awareness. The results were remarkable. All of the proposals, which had previously only been applied abstractly, sometimes very close to the textual reality, found their precise collocation in the defined space of the new page layout.

\textsuperscript{27} In the introduction to his critical edition, Lindsay affirmed that Fulvio Orsini made limited use of Poliziano’s apograph due to the difficulty deciphering it (Lindsay 1913, 14: “Ursinus, in cuius bibliothecam eae schedae venerunt, usus est iis, id quod infra demonstrabitur, sed paulo remissus, detrerrimus, credo, obscuritate scripturae, neque eae nominatim memorat”). Even Piero Vettori, in his \textit{Variae Lectiones}, documented the difficulties he experienced reading Poliziano’s calligraphy (Vettori 1568, XVII 2: “manu Politiani cognita. Tanta tamen ille celeritate in scribendo usus fuerat, litterisque adeo minutis, ac saepe etiam per notas totis vocibus indicatis, quod suum propriumque hominis erat, cum huiuscemodi aliquid, quod ipsius tantum usibus serviret, in commentaritis adnotaret, ut vix intelligi possint”). However, at least in one case Orsini relied on this codex to arrange his text of Festus; see Nolhac 1889, 35 [XXV]: “Tuttavia ci sarà qualche guadagno, et ho tanto caro haver veduto nel Tutulum che ’l Politiano copiasse forma metali; nell’antico è forma etali, et monsignor. Ant°. Augustino stampò forma e tali, et così ritenne il Scaligero. Ma si vede che fu errone et deve leggersi metali per il luogo di Varrone, nel vj: tutulati dicti hi qui in capitb. habere solent ut metali, id tutulus appel- latur. Appresso Tertulliano nel libro de Pallio, dove dice superque omnes apices ac titu- los, questi fogli, che m’ha mandati, li quali sono della medesima lettera et forma di certi altri quinterni che io ho dove sono notate varie cose del Politiano” (15 January 1580).

\textsuperscript{28} Nolhac 1887, 213-16; Moscadi 1987, 261-4.

\textsuperscript{29} Orsini 1581: \textit{praef.}: “Ab eo autem paravimus schedas illas, quas a Marullo habuisse dicitur Pomponius Laetus, quod earum archetypum exemplar non extet, et pars al- tera paginarum, quae margini proximior ab igne mutilate fuit, neglecta ab ipsis, qui tunc fragmentum descripterunt, in praesentia desidereret. Quas autem nos edidimus, sunt illae quidem et doctissimi viri exscriptae chirographo, alijs editionibus non modo emen- datiores, verum etiam aliquot locis auctiores; ut si qua praeter haec in vulgaris sint, ea plane non esse Festi credendum sit, sed e Pauli epitoma, aut aliunde petita. His omnibus ultimo loco addidimus perbreve quasdam notas earum tamum rerum, quae visae sunt ab alii praetermissaeae”.

\textit{Lexis Supplementi | Supplements 6 
Studi di Letteratura Greca e Latina | Lexis Studies in Greek and Latin Literature 3 
Atlas of Renaissance Antiquarianism, 53-98
In this light, the textual gaps became opportunities and no longer just empty sections.\textsuperscript{30}


The effectiveness of the method was manifested in the page layout, which was arranged according to: (i) the order in which Festus wrote the text; (ii) the number of lines present in each page; and (iii) the number of letters in each line, neither increasing nor reducing them, keeping them just as they appeared in the manuscript. Thanks to the creation of a measurable spatial reference that could be completed, Orsini was able to amend the corrupted parts of the text and fill in the lacunas. This can be seen from a synoptic comparison of the editions. When comparing the same passages of \textit{De veborum significatio}ne found in Antonio Agustín’s editions against Piero Vettori’s philological conjectures and Fulvio Orsini’s print [\textbf{figs 1-3}], the evolution of the concept of the lacuna is clearly noticeable in Festus’s work. While Agustín and Vettori left gaps in their texts, Orsini’s new editorial grid meant he was able to include the supplements almost perfectly. His focus on the page layout allowed him to make philological and ecdotic advancements of great interest. In fact, by identifying the precise length of the lacuna, he formulated his amendments more confidently. This method was anticipated in his introduction, where he declared his intent to facilitate antiquarian scholars’ understanding and to offer new textual hypotheses which would allow the lacunas to be interpreted more easily and with greater confidence: “omnes antiquitatis studiosi facilius ea, certiusque essent divinaturi”.\textsuperscript{31}

This new approach prevailed over all the previous philological experiences on Festus’s work: the faithfulness to the structure of the archetype (“eadem ratione servata”) was precisely what had been missing in its precursors. Moreover, Orsini respected the ancient text by graphically differentiating between what was already contained in the manuscript and what was included in italics by the editor as a distinctive trait (“varijsque characteribus distinctum”).\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{30} Orsini 1581, \textit{praef.}
\textsuperscript{31} Orsini 1581, \textit{praef.}
\textsuperscript{32} Orsini 1582: \textit{ad lect.}
Orsini’s edition, entitled *Sex. Pompei Festi De verborum significatio- ne fragmentum*, was published three times. Each was issued in consecutive years by three different printers in three different cities: the first in Rome by Giorgio Ferrario in 1581; the second in 1582 by the Giunti in Florence; and the third in Paris in 1583 by Pierre de Saint André. However, the epistolary exchanges between Orsini and Piero Vettori immediately before and after the first print (1579-82) reveal that these publications did not take a linear course. These exchanges bring to light the complexity of the entire dynamic, highlighting how the editorial layout of Orsini’s edition of Festus had to be constructed directly in line with his ideas. In fact, in a letter to Vettori dated 1 December 1579, Fulvio Orsini provided the editorial criteria for his edition, which Cardinal Alessandro Farnese wanted published that month. He made particular reference to the method he intended to follow, providing evidence for his choices on the layout of the text on the page, which should have been presented in two columns according to the appearance of the manuscript; and the gaps, which were eliminated to obtain more efficient assumptions.

Shortly afterwards, on 15 January 1580, having received Poliziano’s material, Orsini asked Vettori if he could assist him with printing his version of Festus in Florence and act as his intermediary with Giunti’s publishing house. In his letter of 3 February 1580, he asked Vettori to supervise the publication directly owing to the difficulty of the text and the complexity of its outcomes. Orsini provided not only written guidelines, but also the sample copies to offer visual parameters on the orthography and page layout.

33 See the letters in Nolhac 1889, XXIV-XXXVI; XXXIX-XL; XLII-XLIII.
34 Nolhac 1889, 34 [XXIV]: “Per ordine del signor Cardinale si stamparà qui fatto Natale, se a Dio piacerà, il fragmento del Festo Pompeio, che altre volte diede fuori Monsignor Ant° Augustino, nel quale libro sarà quello di più, che si stamparà secondo l’ordine che Festo le fece, con spazi giusti di quello che manca a la colonna bruciata, et con avere li principi di molte parole, che Monsignor Ant° Augustino non intese, et potrà ognuno più sicuramente con questa nuova stampatura supplire li mancamenti, essendo in essa il giusto spatio che manca, il che non essendo nel libro del Monsignor Ant° Augustino ha causato che il Scaligero habbia fatto molti errori, siccome V.S. vedrà benissimo, perché insieme con questo libro, si darà fuori quel supplemento che ho fatto io, che credo haverne suppliti molti et con guadagno notabile, per quello che a me pare” (1 December 1579).
35 Nolhac 1889, 36 [XXV]: “Dovendosi ristampare il fragmento che ha il signor Cardinale mio di Festo, che comincia dalla lettera M per quasi tutto il T, col quale si vedono infiniti errori di monsignor Ant° Augustino et infinitissime temerarietà del Scaligero, dicami V.S. se fosse commodità di stamparlo in Firenze. Sono da dieci fogli in ottavo, cioè 8 pagine, et vi sarà guadagno di più di mille luoghi tutti bellissimi; et il signor Cardinale desidera che si stampi come cosa della sua bibliotheca” (15 January 1580).
36 Nolhac 1889, 36-7 [XXVI]: “Io ringrazio V.S. dell’officio fatto con questi stampatori per conto del Festo, et riconosco tutto questo favore da lei; l’ho detto al signor Car-
Over the following months, the Roman scholar added further details on his Florentine edition and on the delivery of the copies. However, it appears from his letter of 5 July 1580 that an agreement with the Giunti had not yet been reached and that the editorial outcome of the work was still uncertain. Nevertheless Orsini continued to send very precise directives and examples regarding the form of the text, reaffirming his intention to draw a distinction between the original and the philological additions. In the postscript of this letter, Orsini added a further interesting detail: the manuscript he forwarded was written in black and red lettering – black for Festus’s text, red for Orsini’s supplements. It is unclear if Orsini also intended to apply this same distinction in the print version; it is however likely that the choice to create a two-colour text, with the philological reconstructions in red, could be why he had opted for the Giunti
publishing house, which had specialised in this type of printing (consisting of two passages under the press) since the mid-sixteenth century. Moreover, the black and red coloured text provided evidence of his model of reference: considering the antiquarian publications of the Renaissance, only the *Fasti Consulares* appears to have an analogous layout - both in Carlo Sigonio’s edition of 1550, and in the pirated version of Onofrio Panvinio published by Jacopo Strada in 1557. In their editions, Sigonio and Strada adopted a letter-colouring system that used red for the original text of the *Fasti* and black for its reconstructions, which was the opposite of Orsini’s arrangement. In the later Renaissance editions of the *Fasti*, this two-colour printing approach was never repeated and was instead replaced by an easier roman-italic letter-type distinction [figs 4-5].

Orsini not only dictated the publishing criteria, he also sought to verify first-hand how they were applied. However, the distance between Rome and Florence complicated matters. The dialogue between the two cities continued for many months until Orsini became impatient that his orders had not been followed through. On 5 August 1580, he wrote to Vettori protesting about the inadequate graphical outcomes and philological reconstructions of the work. Nonetheless, Orsini continued to send drafts of his work on Festus to Vettori and Giunti throughout 1580, even though his concerns regarding the quality of the publication had grown, mainly owing to the multiplication of errors on the proofs, as evidenced in his letter dated 2 September 1580. His irritation, which manifested itself in sever-
al other letters – especially one dated 17 September 1580, in which Orsini adopted a very harsh tone when asking Vettori to put pressure on the Giunti\textsuperscript{46} – was to be the prelude to the inevitable dissolution of his editorial relationship with this printing house, but this would happen only several months later.\textsuperscript{47} In fact, at the beginning of 1581, after a period of approximately two years, he decided to break ties with the Giunti and move everything to Rome, where he could supervise the work directly.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} Nolhac 1889, 42-3 (XXXIII): “Questa settimana non ho lettere di V.S. et intorno al Festo le replica il medesimo, cioè che questo terzo foglio si può comportare, quelli due parmi sono pieni d’errori, si come V.S. vederà. Io conosco che l’opra è fatigosa et che lei per amor mio ne piglia più briga di quello che doveria, ma l’honor suo et mio richiede che quelli fogli si emendino. Se a lei pare che si seguiti et parte dell’errori si corregghino in fine, parte nelle annotationi, così farò; se anco pare a V.S. che si ristampino quei primi dui fogli, mi rimetto medesimamente a lei. Il più dell’errori è nelle margine, dove per non essere segnate le parole di dentro, sopra le quali si fanno le conjetture, con la nota f, fanno una confusione et obscurità grande, oltre che anco in queste sono de mancamenti non pochi. De gratia V.S., poi che ha fatto tanto per me, pigli questo restante di cura, accioché le resti maggiormente obligato, et si degni darmi avviso di quello che sarà consertato con questi signori Giunti” (2 September 1580).  

\textsuperscript{47} Orsini continued working on the edition of Festus with Vettori during the fall of 1580 and the winter of 1581, as evidenced by at least two letters; see Nolhac 1889, 43 (XXXIV): “Ho veduto per la sua come fra sei giorni erano gli Giunti per repigliare l’opera del Festo, et come V.S. per favorirmi maggiormente la rivedeva, del che la ringratio come devo cordialmente, et piacemi che si levi la conjettura servus, per che ‘l cervus è la vera lettione, della quale farò menzione delle annotationi, trovandosi questa scrittura in un Martiale che io ho antichissimo di più de mille anni” (25 November 1580); 44-5 (XXXVI): “Ho ricevuto due lettere di V.S. con li tre quinternetti del Festo, nel quale conosco la diligenza et amorevolezza sua, et insieme ancora la fatiga che dura nel rivedere et emendare l’originale. Il vi depugnare mi piace assai et più che il valde pugnare. A 138 starà bene hostijs furulis, et così a 139 ariete nonu; a 151 doverà scriversi stillar, et 153 in morem; a 159 logaturum, et nel verso seguente praetextatam, quali sono erro- ri del scrittore” (16 February 1581).  

\textsuperscript{48} Nolhac 1889, 44 (XXXV): “Alle due lettere de V.S. che mi sono tate date, l’una da messer Bernardino de Medici, l’altra da messer Jacopo Gherardini, rispondo hora con questa, et le dico come io non saprei mai a bastanza ringratiarla del favore che mi fa in materia del Festo, il quale s’ella vede che non si possa finire, da Giunti, alla fine lasci starlo, che lo farò stampare qua in qualche modo, et se pure ella vede che costà si possa condurre, degnisi di mandarmi quanto prima li fogli stampati oltre li primi tre, acciocché io possa seguitare l’annotationi” (13 January 1581).
Carlo Sigonio, Regum, consulum, dictatorum, ac censorum Romanorum Fasti, vna cum actis triumphorum. A Romulo rege vsque ad Tiberium Caesarem. Carlo Sigonio auctore. Eiusdem In fastos, et acta triumphorum explicationes propediem edentur. Qui liber erit tanquam totius Romanee historiae commentarius, Mutinae, excudebat Antonius Gadaldinus, 1550
Figure 5 Carlo Sigonio, Regum, consulum, dictatorum, ac censororum Romanorum Fasti, vna cum Triumphis actis, a Romulo rege, vsque ad Ti. Caesarem, Carolo Sigonio auctore. Eiusdem De nominibus Romanorum liber. Kalendarium uetus Romanum, è marmore descriptum: & Pauli Manutij De ueterum dierum ordine opinio, eiusdemque interpretatio literarum, quae in kalendario non ita faciles ad intelligendum videbar, Venetiis, apud Paulum Manutium Aldi f., 1555
The decision was made and Fulvio Orsini’s first edition of Festus’s work was published in Rome in 1581 by Giorgio Ferrario. The key difference was that, instead of creating a red and black coloured text, as initially planned, he used roman-italic lettering to distinguish the original from its reconstructions; furthermore, each page featured one column of the manuscript (and not two as he had originally intended). Orsini also decided to allow the Giunti to publish his work on the proviso that it would be exactly the same as that printed by Ferrario, creating a very curious aspect in the editorial history of Festus’s work. Four letters attest to this handover and show the path taken to achieve this result, which included the delivery of a copy of his version of Festus, printed in Rome, as a template for them to use to arrange their own issue.

The outcome of the Florentine edition of 1582 was positive because the text apparently adhered with its Roman counterpart. This is evident from the preface written by the printers, in which the Giunti stated that they had received the fragment of De verborum significat ione written by the ancient grammarian Pompeius Festus that had recently been printed in Rome: “Pervenit autem in manus nostras nuper Fragmentum Festi Pompei, veteris grammatici, de verborum

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49 Nolhac 1889, 48 [XXXVIII]: “Quando la S.V. ha a ordine le sue osservazioni sopra il Festo, le mandi che si metterà le mani subito, et questi Giunti l’aspettano con desiderio” (22 April 1581); 48 [XXXIX]: “Circa ‘l Festo, io non ho ancor fatto le osservazioni, essendo nella purgatione mia ordinaria, nella quale m’è prohibito da medici scrivere o studiare. Disegno intanto farlo stampare qui, perché in quel modo che è stampato costi, non è possibile che s’intenda, et lei lo vederà in faccia, et di mano in mano che si stamparà, mandarò li fogli, acciòché li Giunti possano emendare il suo, et mandarò anco a V.S. le osservazioni, in modo che in un medesimo il libro eschi fuori qua et costà, non volendo che in questa parte li Giunti si … come nell’altra. So che harrano piacere che per honor mio il libro venghi fuori tale quale deve” (9 May 1581); 48-9 [XL]: “Ho veduto per la di V.S. delli 17 la resolutione de Giunti et piacemi che loro si sieno consentati, perché sarà meglio così. Ho parlato al libraio che vuole stampare qua il Festo, et ha me ne promesso che ci metterà mano quanto prima, et ne darò avviso a V.S. di quello sarà seguito. Circa le annotationi, accetto la commodità che mi offerisce massime in questi caldi et col detto ciò, se io haverò sanità, non mancarò, secondo si stamparanno li fogli, fare le annotationi” (27 June 1581).

50 Nolhac 1889, 50 [XLII]: “Mando a V.S. questi fogli che io me ritrovo del Festo restaurato, quali come che sono fatti per mostra, così sono in cattiva carta, et serviranno alli junti per finire et correggere il loro in questo, mentre che qua si finisce quest’altro che manca, che doverà essere in questo mese et prima, non mancandovi altro che un foglio. Come sia finito del tutto ne mandarò a V.S. in buona carta, et di mano in mano questo poco restante secondo che si stamparà” (4 January 1582); 51 [XLIII]: “Circa il Festo, li Junti potranno nelle prime due carte del libro stampare la inscrittione o titolo del fragmento, et poi mettere quella prefazione che s’è fatta per avvertimento de lettori, et la potranno mettere come la sta a punto, senz’altro nome; il resto potranno seguire fino al fine come sta, avvertendo di emendare l’errori, coll’avviso di huomo diligente, et porne nel fine un foglio, sicome si farà in questo di qua, che ne anco esso è passato senza errori, con tutta la mia diligenza” (13 January 1582).

51 In practice, there are many variants if compared with the Roman print.
significatione Romae impressum”. However, no evidence was provided of the continuous exchange of information, the long struggles involved, and the great efforts that led to its publication.

Even the Paris edition of 1583 was presented in accordance with the Roman layout. Finally, a new concept for Festus’s work began to circulate throughout Europe.

2.4 The Literary Fortune of Orsini’s Festus

The uniqueness of the edition proposed by Fulvio Orsini meant that it could not escape comment from his contemporary scholars and the public. Above all, it was unlikely to pass unscathed by the two most important former editors, Agustín and Scaliger, who were severe in their criticism of Orsini’s work. In order to better understand the nature of this dispute, it is important firstly to see what Fulvio Orsini wrote in his preface about his predecessors.

The intention behind Orsini’s preface can be understood from two letters sent to Piero Vettori. In the first letter, he stated that he wanted to mention the two former illustrious philologists only once and draw attention to their merits, but also to their mistaken textural vision. Regarding Agustín, he said that his duties as archbishop had influenced the quality and result of his work, which in turn also affected the accuracy of Scaliger’s amendments. In the second letter, following Vettori’s advice, Orsini instead decided to avoid any misunderstanding by not mentioning Scaliger at all.

As already indicated by Pierre de Nolhac, Orsini made no direct reference to Scaliger in his preface, preferring an elegant circumlo-
cution that would leave him anonymous (“doctissimi viri”). In this way, Orsini ended up blaming only Agustín for having created an erroneous tradition. In fact, the Spanish archbishop was pointedly referred to negatively in Orsini’s publication. The reasoning was that his other commitments meant that he had neglected many aspects of the *Codex Farnesianus* which were worthy of additional investigation. This carelessness was more precisely attributed to the fact that his duties had detracted from the reliability of his entire work, from conception to publication, which inevitably caused a negative reaction on his part.

Therefore, in a letter dated 8 March 1582, Antonio Agustín wrote to Fulvio Orsini in very harsh tones, criticising every aspect of his work: he attacked him for his innovations, from the textual arrange-

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55 Orsini 1581: *praef.*: “Quam quidem editionem doctissimi viri postea secuti, tam multa in ea restituerunt; ut ex ijs, quae Lutetiae vulgarunt, intelligi facile possit, quid facturi fuissent, si emendatorem codicem nacti essent”.

56 Orsini 1581: *praef.*: “Vigesimus agitur annus, ex quo Antonius Augustinus Archiepiscopus Tarraconensis, Festi fragmentum, quod maiorum memoria ex Illyrico adventum in bibliotheca Farnesiana servatur, multo quam alij diligentius cum vulgatis contulit, et primus partem alteram eius libri mutilam excrispsit, commentariisque a se illustratam edidit Venetius opera Caroli Sigonij. Sed ut tunc erat Romae stillibus iudicandis XIIVIR, aliisque gravioribus curis impeditus, nonnulla clarissimo ciro, deoque litteris optime merito, in eis schedis describendis exciderunt”.

57 Carbonell 1991, 630-1: “Colla lettera delli XXVI di Genaro et con il fragmento di Festo (et perché non li fragmenti?) mi sono rallegrato multo ricordandomi di quel bel tempo quando si fece quel libro che V.S. chiama mio per darmi le sferzate colli vostri schogli o schedie, e puro il libro fu sempre vostro, e sarà al vostro dispetto. Et tanto più hora che lo trataro così come cosa vostra, non come fa il Turnebo, et il Scaligero, che non nulla vengono salvo a cognoscere nihil se scire. Che volete far di lambicarvi il cervello sopra le lettere che manchano in Festo? Che se indovinate quattro, ditte cento falsè? Meglio fece quel Paulo abbreviatore che copiò quelle che intese solamente, et alcuna che intese alla roversa, et pur il suo libro è più bello, più intero, più utile del vostro. Che capriccio fu il vostro a nominarmi parlando della parola *suppernatus* dicendo che non sapete per che io dissi che il Politiano scrisse *expernata*, et così fu ripreso dal Marullo. Non posso darvi altra ragione se non la stampa del Gryphio delle opere del Politiano che così sta due volte et le parole del Mureto sopra Catullo dove recita li versi del Marullo, benché esso Mureto dubita se Politiano scrisse *suppernata* overo *suppernatis*. Se havete il originale della centuria del Politiano potreste allegarla nella terza editione del vostro Festo et non parlar delli amici a quel modo” (8 March 1582). Beyond the general concerns regarding Orsini’s work on Festus, Agustín appears to be disappointed by the way Orsini treated him, commenting the issue of the word *suppernati* (Lindsay 1913, 396-7) and to a related emendation on Catullus. Orsini, in his edition, disclaimed Agustín’s critique of Poliziano’s conjecture on the Catullian verse (Catull. *Carm.* 17.14: in fossa Liguri iacet supervenata secure); see Agustín 1559, *Annotationes*: “*Suppernati* Praeter Pauli epitomen referebat Festus Catulli versum ad Coloniam, ut Politianus optimius animadvertit. Sed in duobus verbis ut arbitrlor, aliter scripsit Festus, atque hodie librarij edere soliti sunt. In fossa Ligari iacet supervenata secure. Politianus expernata
ment to the printing layout, and for having relieved himself of responsibility for his conjectures. Agustín then attempted to free himself from the charge of having deceived Scaliger, affirming that Scaliger himself had been responsible for the errors he had identified. Finally, the Spanish bishop, demonstrating that he had not understood the spirit inspired Orsini's philological choices, questioned the appropriateness of his work, which was considered inferior even to that of Paulus Diaconus. By using the words ‘complete’ (intero) and ‘useful’ (utile), Agustín expertly explained the general perspective held by Renaissance antiquarian scholars on the role of Festus’s work, where the quality of an edition of the Latin grammarian was measured on the basis of its ‘usability’ for potential readers.

Scaliger expressed his reactions in two letters dated 21 June 1582: the first was addressed to Pierre Pithou,\(^{58}\) in which he stated that Orsini's version of Festus had not brought any new corrections to his previous version; in the second, which was addressed to Claude Dupuy, he affirmed that many of the corrections proposed as new had

maluit, quod Marullus irrisit: alij separata scripserunt. Pro Ligari autem Liguri, et Ligera alij immutatur. Nos quid opinamur Festum scripisse tradere contenti sumus. Contentiones grammaticis relinquentur. Est etiam adamas supernas scriptum in Augusti ad Maecenatem epistula apud Macrobr. Lib. II Saturn”. Orsini formulated his critique in Orsini 1581, Notae: “Suppernata] Politianus in Miscellaneis cap. LXXIII Festi scripturam agnoscit, et suppernata excripsit, ut mirer Antonium Augustinus scripisse, Politianum a Marullo irrisum, quod expernata, pro suppernata apud Catullum reponent. In fact, the position held by Poliziano in the first edition of his Miscellany coincides with Orsini’s annotations, Poliziano 1489, LXXIII: “Vocabulum quod est expernata Catullianus videri exemplaribus reponendum. [...] Ex lectione igitur ea suspicatus utique sum: verbum me Catullianus: quasi postliminio in suas sedes revocaturum: Si quidem ubi exponentur in hoc compediario vocabulum expernata [...] In fossa Liguri iacet separata securi. Nam ut de carminis residuo nihil mihi arterro temere: videbar sanes tum syllabatim quaeque ofactans: et pro explorato affere posse, expernata legendum in eo non separata”. However, according to the letter, it’s clear that Agustín was not citing directly from this edition, but from the later one published in Lyon, where Poliziano’s reading overlapped with the one he gave in his Festus; see Poliziano 1533, LXXIII: “Nam ut de carminis residuo nihil mihi arterro temere: videbar sanes tum syllabatim quaeque ofactans: et pro explorato affere posse, expernata legendum in eo non separata”. The reference to Marullus appeared in the edition of Catullus carried out by Muret, which Agustín mentioned in the letter, but not in his edition of Festus, creating the misunderstanding; see Muret 1558, 28: “Separata] Excisa. Politianus legebat expernata, aut, quod magis suspicio, suppernata, ut esset metaphora ducta ab ijs, qui bus, in morem pernarum suillarum, femina excise sunt. Marullus autem, qui quasi de dita opera, ommes Politiani emendationes irredebat, hanc exagitavit hoc epigrammate: Quid separatam, insane, supernas, roge, | Alnum Catulli nobilem? Plebi ociose scilicet risum parans | oblitus, ut soles, pedis [Marullus 1497, III 89 (De Economum)]. Non putavit igitur Marullus, in hoc versu, quarto loco spondaem recepi posse, in quo falsus est, ut infra docebimus. Usitata tamen lectionem sequendam puto”.

\(^{58}\) Botley, Van Miert 2012, 1.336-7: “Je pense qu’aies veu le Festus de Fulvius Ursinus qui n’est pas for different du nostre quant aux corrections” (21 June 1582).
been fully drawn from his edition, even though they had not been attributed to him.\textsuperscript{59}

These reactions reveal a peculiar perspective on the debate over this edition of Festus’s work, even beyond the rhetoric of invective; it is clear that the innovations carried out by Orsini in his work were not really accepted. Agustín and Scaliger, in fact, remained tied to their specific points of view: the Spaniard had focused on organising a text he perceived to be chaotic; the Frenchman, instead, had been attracted mainly by the nature of the textual emendations, of which he partially claimed paternity. Nevertheless, both scholars were unable to see that the layout of the text could provide a new antiquarian perspective on it and, at the same time, breathe new life into a philological work which had until then been relegated to the endnotes.

\subsection*{2.5 The Last Renaissance Editions of Festus}

Upon the publication of Orsini’s Paris edition in 1583, an interesting phenomenon occurred regarding the literary fortune of the text and its analysis: a new crop of publications on Festus’s work flourished. In fact, the new editions of Festus’s work combined the contributions of all three humanists (Agustín, Scaliger, and Orsini), since they had been considered almost immediately part of the same editorial history.

In 1584, Festus was reissued by two editors, Jerome de Marnef and Arnault Sittart, in Paris.\textsuperscript{60} In his preface, Sittart outlined the need to assemble all of the philological experiences that had occurred until that time regarding the text itself and the comments of the three exegetes (Agustín, Scaliger, and Orsini). This was done in order to give the readers a comprehensive overview of the studies undertaken. This procedure was justified by the fact that all three editions had their merits and had perhaps only developed through their synthesis. The structure of Agustín’s work rendered the text legible, and the works of Festus and Paul could be identified and coexist easily; a positive aspect to the work carried out by Scaliger was that he made various qualitative philological castigations; Orsini, on the other hand, ensured that the various conjectures found a real collocation in the body of the text.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} Botley, Van Miert 2012, 1.338-40: “C’est toujours le mien, sauf quelque peu de ses devinations, lesquelles il a entremeslé parmi les miennes, pour deguiser mon labeur et se l’attribuer. Aux annotations, il y a fait de mesmes” (21 June 1582).

\textsuperscript{60} Sittart 1584; Marnef 1584; Sittart’s editorial layout was used and re-proposed in Festus’s last edition of the sixteenth century; Saint André 1593.

\textsuperscript{61} Sittart 1584, \textit{praef}.: “Antonius Augustinus Hispani generis doctissimus, qui tum litibus iudicandis Romae dabat operam, post Episcopus Allianus, deinde Hilerden-
Nequam aurum est, autis quoduis vehementius ambit.

Hoc versù Lucilius significare videtur, nequam esse aurum, quod aures laxat, vel pondere inaurum cum molle invisa paru incidituri, vel etiam cupditatem pecuniar voluit significare.

Nequam, quin ne tanti undis est, quam quod habetur minimi.

Nequeunt * non eunt.

Nequinates, Narnienses.

Nequinates Narniensis decidunt, qui ne quinque oppido eiecerant colonis veteri, b. ibi habitabant Cato, in ea aedificius.

Nequinont pro nequeunt, vos soliante, ferunt pro solét, et ferunt dicebant antiqui. Litius in Odysseia: Partim errant, neque nunc Graeciam redire (nequinont).

Nequinont, nequeunt.

Nequiquam, frustra.

Nequiquam significari idem, quod frustra, plurimis auctorum exemplis manifestum est.

Nequitum, & nequitur pro non posse dixerunt.

Nequitum, & nequitur, pro non posse dicebant, vt Pacullius cum ait: Sed cum contendi nequitum, vt etiam tendenda est plaga. Plautus in Satyrione: Retrahinequitur, quoquo progrelegia est semel, & Cato Originum libro primo: Pana in eo loco compluvia fuere, ea exauguravit, praeterquam * quod termino sanum fuit, id nequitium exaugurati.

Neurum appellamus etiam ferreum vincula, quo pedes impediuntur, quasquam Plautus eo etiam ceruices vinciri ait: Persidioe captus, co e depol * nero ceruices probat.

Neurum appellamus etiam ferreum vinculum, quo pedes, vel etiam ceruices impediuntur.

Nesi pro fine postum * est in lege dedicationis are Diana Aventinensis.

Neutiquum pro nullo modo diciest fui cum ait: sed mihi neutiquum cor confestis, cum octorum aspectus esse, indigentibus quidae essent non potestis, neutiquum canee disolumemini.
The most striking innovation is that Sittart’s edition of Festus’s work incorporated the conjectures proposed in Orsini’s text with Agustín’s page layout (“et ex Fulvij libro lacunas suppleri curavimus”), filling the gaps, but losing the overall causes that had determined Orsini’s original formulation. The roman-italics format utilised to draw a distinction between the ancient and modern texts was also taken from Orsini’s edition. Therefore, it is clear that his choices had been followed, but simplified, readapted, and applied to a system that was not particularly suitable [fig. 6].

The last version of Festus to be defined as a ‘Renaissance edition’ was edited by the French jurist Denis Godefroy and published in Geneva in 1585 in a compilation of Latin grammarians entitled Auctores Latinae Linguae in unum redacti corpus. Godefroy chose to republish Orsini’s edition with a two-column layout divided by graphical signs. In order to maintain the structure of the Farnesianus, as handed down in the prints of the 1580s, he adopted the expediency...
of ending each page with a line [fig. 7]. It is worth noting that Godefroy was the only editor of Festus’s work after the sixteenth century to faithfully propose Orsini’s original structure. However, a diacritic mark (¶) was added beside each entry to highlight each word for easier consultation, mirroring Orsini’s original intention. It would appear that, immediately after Orsini, the Farnesianus was perceived to be somewhat inadequate: in fact, Godefroy even accepted Agustín’s and Scaliger’s versions of Festus in his collection to give a complete overview of his work, but in a separate section.

2.6 Conclusion

It is now clear that Fulvio Orsini’s version of Festus’s *De verborum significatione* was a revolutionary philological development. Orsini’s main innovation was to consider the Codex Farnesinus to be the central ecdotic element. It is likely that he came to this conclusion thanks to the previous work carried out by Angelo Poliziano, the only scholar during the Renaissance to deal with the Farnesianus independently from the medieval tradition. Based on this example, Orsini first approached Festus’s text from its codicological state, attempting to reproduce the actual conditions of the manuscript, its mutilations and lacunas; then, within a specific and measurable textual framework, he applied all of the conjectures that he and his predecessors had previously formulated. However, these innovations were not accepted in their original form, igniting controversy. In fact, the subsequent publications of Festus’s work, starting from Sittart’s edition of 1584, included all the amendments arranged by Orsini in accordance with his new page layout, but they were positioned in the editorial grid proposed by Antonio Agustín.

This new editorial situation reveals how Festus’s work was understood and perceived during the Renaissance; although Orsini shifted the attention from the text to its support and back to the text itself at an early stage, providing substantial ecdotic progress, antiquarian scholars generally consulted Festus’s work for the vital details it provided about classical antiquity. This implied that *De verborum significatione* was essentially conceived to be utilised as a whole, which still entailed the union of the works of Festus and Paul the Deacon. In this light, Orsini’s layout did not fulfil this task. The editorial choices of Godefroy in 1585 appear to confirm this spirit: in fact, by marking the words within Orsini’s format and then adding the versions creat-

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64 Nolhac 1889, 41-2 [XXXII]: “che ogni principio di voce si dovesse notare con qualche segno, come dire con la ¶” (2 September 1580).

65 Godefroy 1585, 141-480.
ed by the other editors, he actually admitted the essential shortcomings of this structure. Thus, with Fulvio Orsini’s edition, the bases for a new approach were set, even though they failed to create a faithful tradition, because they did not fully respond to the needs of scholars. 66

66 After the last Renaissance publication, almost a century passed before a new edition was proposed with Sittart’s structure (see Dacer 1681). The humanists of the late sixteenth century contributed to a full investigation of the matter, even to the point of exhaustion; only a new philological direction and method could have pushed forward the results acquired until that point.
Appendix 1

Notes on the Title

No full title for the historical-linguistic compendium of Sextus Pompeius Festus can be found in his manuscript tradition. This is because the first half of the *Codex Farnesianus*, the only organic witness of this work, has remained missing since its discovery. Festus’s text was an abridged version of *De verborum significatu*, the extensive treatise of Verrius Flaccus, and was subsequently abridged during the early Middle Ages by Paul the Deacon in an epitome known as *De verborum significatione*. These two titles and the lack of a reliable formulation for Festus’s work brought about variations in the head titles used throughout its entire editorial history. This phenomenon began to emerge during the Renaissance, when some scholars appear not only to have perceived semantic differences between Paul the Deacon’s epitome and the *Farnesianus*, but also attempted to represent these in the title. The purpose of this study is to investigate the reasons behind the different Renaissance titles for Festus’s work, which could offer an interesting overview on how this author was perceived in the history of the Classical tradition.

The most recent critical editions adopted different solutions when naming this work: *De verborum significatione* by Karl Otfried Müller (1839) followed the model put forward in Paul the Deacon’s epitome;\(^{67}\) Emil Thewrewk (1889) and Wallace Martin Lindsay (1913) used *De verborum significatu* as the basis, evoking Verrius Flaccus.\(^{68}\) This discordance received fresh attention years later (1979-2001), stimulating debate on the original title of Festus’s work. Although this question remains open, some fascinating theories have been proposed thus far.

Since several different titles have been proposed throughout the editorial history of Festus’s work, but were not in agreement with the nature of the *Farnesianus*, Alessandro Moscadi began raising questions about its title.\(^{69}\) He argued that there were two different traditions regarding the title in Latin literature, both of which had been transmitted indirectly: the first, via Macrobius’ *Saturnalia*, was *De verborum significationibus*, which represented the earliest reference to Festus’s title in Latin literature;\(^{70}\) the second, on the basis of Paul...
the Deacon’s abridgement, was *Excerpta Pauli ex libris Festi Pompeii de significatione verborum*. Moscadi hypothesised that a metaplasm had occurred in the title *significationibus → significatione*, offering an intriguing interpretation of the spirit in which Paul the Deacon had dealt with the text of the Roman grammarian. He assumed that all of the changes carried out by Paul in Festus’s original had been intentional, calculated and were intended to simplify the work to make it structured like an encyclopaedic dictionary. It is likely that the title also received the same treatment. In fact, a comparison between Paul the Deacon’s epitome and the *Codex Farnesianus* clearly demonstrates how Festus had sought to offer an overview that ranged from the study of language to the history of culture, whereas Paul the Deacon limited his exposition merely to a lexical level. When taken from this perspective, the singular form of the title (*significatione*) provided by Paul the Deacon would explain the one-to-one interaction he had sought to establish between the lemma and its definition; the intention behind the plural form (*significationibus*) found in Macrobius, however, was for each term to act as a doorway to an understanding of the plurality of meanings they had gained over time.

Upon their publication, Moscadi’s views were immediately and widely criticised. Giuseppe Morelli led the way by attempting to diminish the relevance of Macrobius’s authority in the debate on Festus’s title, using as his philological basis the fluctuation of the singular and plural forms in the title of an analogous work, *De significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent*, which was written by another Roman grammarian, Gaius Aelius Gallus. Morelli proposed that a similar variation of the title could also have been possible for the citations of Festus’s work in other ancient sources (including Macrobius’s). In this way, he defended the singular form, as transmitted by the epitome of Paul the Deacon, who is highly likely to have had the opportunity to access a full and entire version of Festus’s work.

Mario De Nonno then added further palaeographical arguments, making reference to the *explicit/incipit* between Books 18 and 19 of the *Farnesianus*, the only part in which a script in red lettering refers to the abbreviation of the title: SEX POMPEI FES/TI DE VERBOR(um) SIGNIFICAT · LIB XVI/II · INCIPIT LIB · XVIII. According to De Nonno, the abbreviation SIGNIFICAT must not be read as significatu, since there is little sense in abbreviating only one letter – V; it should instead be read as *significatione*, given the fact that Festus himself used the word in this text: in the *Farnesianus*, the term *significatio* tus as *lapsus nostri* (see Kaster 2011, 184).

71 Moscadi 1999, 11.
72 Morelli 1984, 23 fn. 1; Morelli 1988.
appears eleven times, but *significatus* only once – and this increases the credibility of the formulation *De verborum significatione* handed down by Paul the Deacon. Moreover, De Nonno assumes that the title *De verborum significatu* adopted by Thewrewk and Lindsay was not directly inspired by Verrius Flaccus’s work, but that it derived from an incorrect reading of the word SIGNIFICAT. On the mutilated manuscript, this may have appeared as SIGNIFICATV to the two editors in question, as well as others who worked exclusively on photographic reproductions.

A similar level of attention to Festus’s title also occurred during the Renaissance, but with different dynamics, which could be perceived as a forerunner to more modern ideas. It is now clear that the *Codex Farnesianus* had circulated for at least 20 years prior to the publication of Festus’s first incunabula between 1471 and 1478 (approximately 14 editions). However, these works reproduced only the abridged version of Paul the Deacon’s text; and only two, which were edited by scholars who were part of the Academia Romana and certainly had access to the *Codex Farnesianus*, bear a title other than the general eponymous attribution. The first, *De interpretatione Linguae Latinae*, which was edited in 1471 by Giulio Pomponio Leto, had perhaps been inspired by Varro’s *De lingua Latina*. The second, *Collectanea priscorum verborum*, which was published in 1475 by Manilius Romanus, apparently referred to a passage from the *Codex Farnesianus* that reports the same syntagma (“priscorum verborum cum exemplis”), even though no influence from this manuscript can be identified in the text.

Just over ten years later, a new and original title for Festus’s fragment can be recorded, evoking this later occurrence: at the very beginning of the apograph of the *Farnesianus* arranged by Angelo Poliziano (BAV Vat. Lat. 3368), Festus’s work is entitled *priscorum verborum cum exemplis* in a marginal gloss on the lower-left side of the page. This gloss should be attributed to Poliziano, and it must

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74 Pomponio Leto 1471; Accame Lanzillotta 1980; 1998.

75 Manilius 1475; Bracke 1995, 196. This formulation derived from Fest. 242.15: “cuius opinionem, neque in hoc, neque in aliis compluribus refutare minime necesse est, cum propositum habeam ex tanto librorum eius numero intermortua iam et sepulta verba atque ipso saepe confitentibus nullius usus aut auctoritas praeterire, et reliqua quam brevissime redigere in libros admodum paucos. Ea autem, de quibus disseritio, et aperite et breviter, ut scier, scribit in [h]is libris meis invenientur, <qui> inscribuntur ‘priscorum verborum cum exemplis’.”

76 The marginal gloss reads: “Ϲη(μείον) | de his libris | qui inscribuntur | priscorum verborum | cum exemplis”; just above, the same hand of the heading writes: “Festi li(bri) de pri(scis) scis v(er)bis cum ex(em)plis”.
have influenced the denomination “Ex Fragmento Festi Pompei | de p(r)iscis v(er)bis cu(m) exe(m)pis” located at the top margin of the page. This script cannot be entirely ascribed to the same hand, and it was very likely written during two different periods: its first segment (Ex Fragmento Festi Pompei) is by Poliziano, and displays a stronger intensity of ink, apparently closer to the main body of the text; the second segment, which is also preceded by a vertical dash, ostensibly separating it from the first, is by Pietro Crinito, and presents different abbreviations, a lighter tone of ink and a faster cursive style.

Poliziano arranged his apograph in 1485. However, in 1489, in a famous passage of his Miscellanea, he argued that the antigraph from which he had transcribed his copy (the Codex Farnesianus) bore no title and was simply referred to by the name of its author (“fragmentum quoddam Sexti Pompej Festi – nam ita erat in titulo”). Even if Poliziano’s statement could be interpreted in various ways, it shows that up to 1489 he still had considered the fragment of Festus’s work to be untitled. In this light, it is reasonable to assume that Poliziano reverted to the problem of Festus’s title after the publication of his Miscellanea, i.e. in 1489. This means that Pietro Crinito had added the second part of the heading even later, when he acquired the manuscript. This new caption (De priscis verbis cum exemplis) had per-

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77. In this regard, see also Ammirati 2007, 24 (fn. 58).

78. For Crinito’s work on this manuscript, see Marchiaro 2013, 158-9.

79. According to the annotation made by Poliziano himself (f. 7r): “Ex vetustissimo fragmento Sexti Po(m)pei Festi: que(m) Rom(ae) descripti | Kal(endis) Jan(uariis) 1485”.

80. Poliziano 1489, LXXIII: “Ostendit mihi Romae abhinc quadriennium Manilius Rallo, graecus homo sed latinis litteris adprime excultus, fragmentum quoddam Sex-ti Pompej Festi (nam ita erat in titulo) sane quam vetustum, sed pleraque mutilatum, praerosusque a muribus”.

81. Alessandro Moscadi suggested that Poliziano may not be referring to the Farnesianus, which was burnt and not gnawed by mice (“praerosusque a muribus”), but instead to the so called Schedae Parisienses (BNF Rés. X 96); see Moscadi 2001, XVI; Di Marco differs from this opinion, and places the copy arranged by Poliziano (BAV Vat. Lat. 3368) in a different branch of the stemma codicum, directly depending from the Farnesianus; see Di Marco 2015, 39-40.

82. As of today, there are four known owners of BAV Vat. Lat 3368: Poliziano himself; Crinito, who probably received it from Poliziano; Vettori, who rescued it over fifty years after Poliziano’s death (Vettori 1553, 253 [XVII, ii Restitutior locus Sex. Pompeij Festi, ubi qui vocavit fuerint ludi priscatorioc doce, in excusis libris mancus et mal-culosus]: “Cum vero supra ipse affirmarim me librum habere Sex. Pompeii, ex scriptum de antiquissimo exemplari, totam rem accuratius ut fides eius auctorisatque augeat, commendare volo. Angelus Politianus in LXXIII capite Miscellaneorum narrat se Romae accepisse a Manilio Rallo fragmentum quoddam Sex. Pompeii, sane quam vetustum, nonnullasque itidem pagellas eiusdem exemplarius a Pomponio Laeto, quae omnia ut ostendit illic, com descripsisset, pauci ab hinc anni ego incidi in adversaria quaedam ipsius in taberna librorum, quibus continebantur etiam hae reliquiae Festi, atque emi, manu Politiani cognita. Tanta tamen ille celeritate in scribendo usus fue-
haps been included because it was rooted in the humanistic tradition of Festus’s work. This also found parallel occurrences in the two apographs arranged by Giuliano Ceci (BAV Vat. Lat. 1549 and BAV Vat. Lat. 5958), both adopting the formulation *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis* and was judged, at least in the early 1500s, to be very reliable. Crinito himself reused it many times in his *De honesta disciplina*. He also occasionally adopted *collectanea* and, in one case, *de verborum significationibus*.

Beyond the accuracy aspect, these attempts to establish a new title for Festus’s work apply to the nature and tradition of the text itself, and this phenomenon represents a noteworthy shift in the perspective towards Festus’s work, where the philological approach to his title demonstrates how scholars sought to cast the work in a different light after the rediscovery of the *Farnesianus*. In fact, the *editio princeps* that combined the works of Paul the Deacon and Festus, which was published in 1500 by Giovanni Battista Pio and Conagus, featured no title; there was simply a note to the reader at the end stating that the text included fragments of Festus’s work (*Fragmenta Sexti Pompei Festi*), alluding somehow to the discovery of the *Farnesianus*.

The first title that intentionally revealed the combination of the *Codex Farnesianus* and Paul the Deacon’s epitome was published in

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83 According to recent studies, codices BAV Vat. Lat. 1549 and BAV Vat. Lat. 5958 belong to branch d of the stemma, which derived from a sub-archetype of the *Farnesianus*; see Di Marco 2015, 39-40. The title in the former reads (f. 58r) *SEXTI POMPEI FESTI | PRISCORVM VOCABV | LORVM LIB XVIII* and (f. 76v) *SEXTI POMPEI FESTI | PRISCORVM VERBORV(m) | CVM EXEMPLIS LIBER | XIX – moreover, a marginal gloss (f. 32r) reports: “Inscriptio huius | Libri”, which is attested beside the passage “inscripturum autonom prisco(rum) vocabulo(rum) cu(m) exemplis”. The latter (f. 2r) *SEXTI POMPEI FESTI PRI | SCORVM VERBORVM CVM | EXEMPLIS LIBER PRIMVS*, which opened instead Paul the Deacon’s abridgement – a marginal gloss (f. 108r) also reports “Inscriptio huius librj” whereas Festus reads “inscribuntur enim priscor(m) verborum(m) cu(m) exemplis”.

84 Crinito *Homo.*, VIII xiii [Angeleri 1955, 209]: *de hac lege annaria, et in collectaneis Sexti Pompeii mention habetur*; IX xiii [225]: *Quod Sextus Pompeius in libro de priscis verbis undivigesimus insinuatae; XI x [254-5]: ut Pompeius Sextus in libro de verbis priscis XVII tradit; XV ix [311]: Nam et locum unc Sex. Pompeius signavit in libro de priscis verbis XVI; tum prolatis veterum exemplis exponit; XIX viii [381]: ac penitus diversa a Pompeio Sexto referuntur libro XVII de verbis priscis; XXVII xiii [445]: sicut ex Fest. Collectaneis ab Hermolao etiam notatum est; XXIV ix [458]: *Quod abunde pratitur, cum ex antiquis auctoribus, tum ex collectaneis Sexti Pompeii*. This relationship between the annotations present in Poliziano’s apograph and Crinito’s *De honesta disciplina* can be further enriched with IX xii [223]: *Sex. autem Pompeius leges recuperatoriam ab Aelio Gallo sic accepta tradit* [Fest. 342.9]. This passage corresponds with a manuscript gloss written in the lower margin of the first page of BAV Vat. Lat. 3368 (f. 1r): “Gallus Aelius l(ibr)os significationu(m) q(uae) ad ius pertinent”.

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1513 by Aldo Manuzio. This is the only printed edition that divided Festus’s work into books (libri), with each corresponding to an alphabetical entry (19 letters in all). The general title given to the book was *Sexti Pompeij Festi unde viginti librorum fragmenta*, while each book had the same subtitle, *Sexti Pompeii Festi De verborum veterum significatione*; however, this did not apply to Books 4 and 6, which were referred to as *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri*. As was the case in the previous edition, this text was an indiscriminate blend of Paul the Deacon’s epitome and the *Codex Farnesianus*, with the double title indicative of how the work was conceived: the word *Fragmenta* implied the existence of the *Farnesianus* and expressed its difference to the abridgement; the second title, *de verborum (veterum) significatione*, evoked the work of Paul the Deacon, indicating that the two traditions coexisted according to a dual scheme. *Antiquitatum Romanarum libri*, on the other hand, which was probably an interpolation and could be interpreted as an alternative title, was almost certainly developed for the purpose of casting Festus’s work in a new light, given the new information transmitted in the *Farnesianus*.

The repercussions of this formulation are also evident in a letter sent by Ottavio Pantagato to Onofrio Panvinio dated 28 May 1558. Pantagato supported *De verborum significatione* over Aldo Manuzio’s *Antiquitatum Romanarum*, arguing that the former was more reliable while the latter was neither credible nor suitable.

In Festo è più proprio il titolo e più vero *De verborum significatione* che *Antiquitatum Romanarum* il quale non è né vero né proprio. Vi ho ditto in altre mie per che non ci ho pensato che fu perché è incerto qual sia suo e qual di quel Paolo et io non vorrei granché in libri.

Pantagato believed the first formulation to be more compatible with tradition than *Antiquitatum Romanarum* (hence the adjective ‘vero’) and therefore more suitable for this type of work (hence ‘proprio’), highlighting that it was uncertain what should be attributed to Festus and what to Paul the Deacon. This epistolary exchange was probably related to the editorial work on Festus’s text that had been carried out in the last part of the 1550s by Antonio Agustín, and brings to light the vitality of the debate on the title and its potential solutions.

Agustín entitled his edition *Sex. Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatione, lib. XX*, not drifting away from tradition; however, owing to...
the nature of the *Farnesianus*, he also sought to propose an alternative formulation that would reveal the clear discrepancies between the ancient manuscript and the epitome. As demonstrated by Pantagato’s concerns, Agustín may have perceived that his edition of Festus’s work required a new title, which drew attention to the cultural content the work may have included. It displayed a polysemy which was so distinctive that it modified the perception of the work itself and represented a break point with tradition. In fact, at the very beginning of the introduction of his edition, he gave credence to a reliable second possibility, taken directly from the *Farnesianus*, stating that Festus had written a book entitled *De verborum significatione sive Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*.88 By using the conjunction *sive*, he observed a mutual link between the two titles, suggesting that they could be interchangeable. *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis* was therefore considered to be an appropriate replacement for *De verborum significatione*, with Agustín perhaps alluding to the spirit perceived by Aldo Manuzio in his *Antiquitatum Romanarum*: the examples accompanying the entries could have offered an opportunity for antiquarian digressions and cultural analyses to be made. This editorial possibility was also supported by the title featured in a manuscript possessed by Agustín that he considered extremely reliable, the so-called *Liber Achillis Mafaei* copied by Giuliano Ceci (BAV Vat. Lat. 5958). As mentioned earlier, this codex was actually entitled *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis liber* and represented a key factor in the textual transmission. Although Agustín did not use *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis* as a title, it may have struck him as being worthy of consideration, at least from a methodological perspective, since it derived directly from the *Codex Farnesianus* and had further attestations in the manuscript tradition.

However, Agustín did not realise that these two titles referred to two different works, of which the only survivor was *De verborum significatione*; this only became known a few years later thanks to the critical analysis carried out on Festus’s work by Joseph Scaliger.89 Scaliger rejected Agustín’s opinion on different grounds, arguing

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88 Agustín 1559: *praef.*

89 Scaliger 1575, cxxxv: “In fine ita lego: ea autem, de quibus dissentio, et aperte, et breviter, ut sciero, scripta in his libris meis invenietur; qui inscribuntur: PRISCORVM VERBORVM CVM EXEMPLIS. Neque dubium est, quin ita scripsit Festud. Sed libri ii interciderunt. Nam quod doctu viri Festum de his, quos in manu habemus, luqui, et peccant ipsi, et alios in errorem inducunt. Nam neque Festus hos libros, qui extant, vocasset suos, cum sint Verrij, neque in istis libris instituit reprehensionem Verrij, praeter quam in locis admodum paucis, idque obiter, neque haec est horum librorum inscriptionio, cum a Macrobio vetere auctore, de verborum significatione citentur. His, et pluribus rationibus, atque adeo tenore verborum Festi inductus quilibet potest advertere libros PRISCORVM VERBORVM CVM EXEMPLIS non esse eodem cum his nostris de verborvm significatione”.
that there was insufficient evidence to link *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis* with the version transmitted to his times, which probably carried the original title of Verrius Flaccus’s work that had been abridged by Festus. As part of the philological analysis undertaken, the Frenchman also alluded to the passage by Macrobius which clearly referenced Festus’s work as *de verborum significatione*, presenting this reference as evidence for his position.  

Almost a decade later, in 1584, the philologist and editor Arnault Sittart raised the matter again, and agreed with Scaliger in arguing that the title *De verborum significatione* had derived directly from Verrius Flaccus’s work, as confirmed by many ancient authors. However, Sittart appears to have also revived and accepted Agustin’s hypothesis for the alternative title *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*, affirming that Festus collected not only the words in use, but also several archaic and obsolete words, from Verrius that were explained through literary examples, following the method adopted by grammarians. This implied that Sittart did not take Scaliger’s rejection of this title into account. In fact, Sittart considered the version *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*, taken directly from the *Codex Farnesianus*, to be a credible alternative to *De verborum significatione*. To support this position, he added that an analogous title, *Expositio sermonum antiquorum cum testimoniiis*, found in a short glossary compiled by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius in the fifth to sixth centuries, used Festus’s example as a basis. In this light, *Priscorum*


*verborum* and *Sermonum antiquorum* were considered correspondent forms in the same way that *cum exemplis* matched *cum testimoniiis*, inferring that the definitions of the words had all been acquired from literary sources and that a parallel method could have generated a parallel title.

However, the titles of Fulgentius’s work, which was published during the Renaissance did not correspond to what was reported by Sittart; nevertheless, there are at least two versions which may have inspired it, both edited by Giovanni Battista Pio.\(^{93}\) *Voces antiquae cum testimonio* (1498) and *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* (1513). It is therefore likely that Sittart blended these two titles to draw a direct link to *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*, thereby strengthening support for an alternative title to Festus’s work.\(^{94}\)

All of these titles pave the way for further considerations to be made. In the antiquarian culture of the late-sixteenth century, there seems

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93 Pio 1498 and 1513; Vitali 1505; Herwagen 1535; Plantin 1565; and Godefroy 1586.

94 The same denomination of Fulgentius’s work was taken from Dacer, whose views were more in line with Scaliger than Sittart; in this regard, see Dacer 1681: *praef.*: “Hic Verii de verborum significatione libros breviavit, ibique intermortua et sepulta verba praeterit. Cave tamen istos de verborum significatione libros eisdem esse credas ac eos qui discuntur priscorum verborum cum exemplis. Viros doctors qui ita existimarentur in errorem induxit hic Festi locus male intellectus in voce profundam: cuius (Verrii) opinionem, neque in hoc, neque in aliis compluribus refutare minime necesse est, cum propositum habeam ex tanto librorum eius numero intermortua iam et sepulta verba atque ipso saepo confitente nullius usus aut auctoritatis praeteritum, et reliqua quam brevissime redigere in libros admodum paucos. Ea autem, de quibus dissentio, et aperte et breviter, ut scribam, scriba in his libris meis inuentur, qui inscribuntur priscorum verborum cum exemplis. Sed haec tantum inueni debuisses Festi consilium in hunc libris de verborum significatione, Verrii Flaccii ejusdem argumenti libros in epitomen redigere, praeteritum tantum verbis intermortuis, et sepultis. Tum et alterationem volumen conficere priscorum verborum cum exemplis, ubi ea tantum referre cogitabat quae in praeioribus hisce de verborum significacione praeteritissent, et breviter ea de quibus dissentire exponere. Et haec alter intelligi non possit fatebuntur qui attendent Festum in hisce de verborum significacione libris, neque Verrii reprehensionem institutur praeter quam in locis admodum paucis, neque multa verba intermortua aut sepsula referre, quae scilicet in alium locum reservabat, quod et ipse testatur alicubui. Audi illum in voce Tatium [Fest. 496.8-12]: Tatium occissum ait Lavinii ab amicis eorum legatorum, quos interfecerant Tatiani latrones, sed sepultum in Aventino Laureto. Quod ad significacionem verborum non magis pertinet, quam multa alia et praeterita iam et deinceps quae referentur. Ubi cum dictat Festus se jam multa praeterississe quae deinceps relaturus esset, aperte significat se ea omnino in libris priscorum verborum reservasse. Neque enim multa adhuc in libris de verborum significatione, relatus erat cum jam ad eorum metavar pervenisset. Necessa est igitur scripsisse de verborum significacione, et de verbis priscis. Postieriores eius lucubrations plane interciderunt, nescio etiam an unquam in publico visae sunt. Dubitari certe potest an eas autor absolverit, vel e minibus suis emiserit, quamquam ad eam exemplum Fulgentius Placiades librum unum inscrpisisse videtur: *Expositio sermonum antiquorum cum testimoniiis*”. See also Lindemann 1832, 285-6.
to have been an awareness that the title transmitted in Paul the Deacon’s epitome (*De verborum significatione*) did not fully represent the spirit of Festus’s work. Therefore attempts were made to follow other pathways in order to restore the essence of the original. In the apographs of the *Farnesianus*, scholars actually felt free to propose alternative solutions – basically rearranging the formulation *priscorum verborum cum exemplis* (in the manuscripts copied by Poliziano and by Giuliano Ceci). However, since there was no textual evidence to support possible alternatives, no further emendations were made to the printed editions. It is possible that the citation made by Sit-tart to Fulgentius represented an important confirmation in favour of *Priscorum verborum cum exemplis*, even if it was not taken into consideration in the editions that followed. However, given that it was applied at least once in Paul the Deacon’s abridgment of Festus, the *Collectanea priscorum verborum* by Manilius (1475), this formulation has proven to be a credible alternative to *De verborum significatione*. This demonstrates how the title of *Codex Farnesianus* had been debated since its very discovery. Regarding the title *Collectanea priscorum verborum*, it would actually be more difficult to explain Manilius’s formulation if the role of the *Farnesianus* had been excluded from consideration (*Priscorum verborum cum exemplis* → *Collectanea priscorum verborum*). This was not only because he had read the *Farnesianus* manuscript himself (the only incunabula that added an original title were those of Manilius and Pomponio Leto, both of whom could access the *Farnesianus*), but also because the genitive form (*priscorum verborum*) of the syntagma *prisca verba* | *verba prisa* rarely features in Latin literature, and one of these occurrences is found referring directly to a title in the *Farnesianus*.

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Identifying Paulus Diaconus

It is commonly accepted that the epitome of *De verborum significatione* written by Sextus Pompeius Festus, which was in circulation in medieval times, was an abridged and re-invented version written by Paulus Warnefridus, generally known as Paul the Deacon. A Benedictine monk of Lombard origins, he not only lived under the reign of Charlemagne (between the eighth and ninth centuries), but also played an active role in the Carolingian Renaissance and was the author of *Historia Romana*, *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium*, *Vita Gregorii Magni* and *Historia Langobardorum*. However, it proved to be a protracted and challenging process to discover who this figure was, and to attribute his historical and lexicographic works to him. In fact, the manuscript tradition of Paul the Deacon’s *De verborum significatione* provides no direct proof of his authorship, nor in the dedicatory letter addressed to Charlemagne is it possible to find explicit data which helps the author to be identified – here the epitomist referred to himself as *Paulus ultimus servulus*, without specifying his full name, place of origin or profession.

Final confirmation of Paul the Deacon’s paternity of the epitome of Festus emerged only centuries later, precisely when Festus’s medieval work was discovered to have strong textual links with the works of a Lombard monk and historian named *Paulus*. During the nineteenth century, scholars such as Karl Otfried Müller (1839) and Ludwig Bethmann (1851) had vigorously rejected this identification – founding their primary argument on the fact that *Paulus* was never mentioned as a *diaconus* in the manuscript tradition of *De verborum significatione*, and only sporadically as a *pontifex* or *sacerdos*. They believed that this eliminated any possible association between the Lombard monk Paul and the historian.

It was the studies of Georg...
Waitz (1878) and Karl Neff (1891) which established beyond reasonable doubt that Paulus the epitomist was also Paulus the historian (known as Paulus Diaconus).

Waitz was the first scholar to attempt to frame Paul the Deacon's literary and philological work within the cultural context of the late eighth century, establishing bonds between his biography and the imperial Court.99 He suggested that the label ultimus servulus, adopted in the dedication of his De verborum significatione, echoed a letter addressed to Paul the Deacon by Charlemagne himself, in which

pediendis ita esset impar, ut etiam vitia librariorum pleraque aut improvidus describeret, aut male callidus omittendis verbis evitaret. Quod autem in iis articulis, quos recipere non designatus est, plerunque ipsa Festi verba in brevius redacta reddidit, ei sincero affect plaudimus. Pauciassima addidit, ut semel Pauli apostoli mentionem, et in universum antiqui grammatici sententias non aliter suis temporibus accommodavit, nisi ut praesentis temporis significatus in praeterita convertet, ac de multis rebus diecubatur poneter pro dicitur. Integros articulos nuncquam addidisse videtur: quae enim vocabulorum interpretationem in eius libris reperierunt, quibus locus in Festo deest: eae aluinde videntur esse transvectae. Nam quamquam in universum Paulus eundem quem Festus verborum ordinem sequitur, interdum tamen eam eam legem violavit, ita maxime, ut vocabula, quae in excercendo iam praterierat, mutato consilio ex superioribus repetere. Müller's edition accepted the denomination Paulus Pontifex". Theodore Mommsen also challenged the attribution of this work to Paul, but with more caution; see Mommsen 1864, 57: “Sex. Pompeii Festi de verborum signification libri XX integri extiterunt non solum saeculo post Christum nono, quo Paulus, sive diaconus est fuit sive alius quispiam, eorum epitome a se dedicavit Carolo regi, sed etiam saeculo undecimo, quo scriptum esse codicem, cuius pars hodie adsevatur Neapoli in bibliotheca publica” and Mommsen 1880, 55. However, the manuscript tradition acknowledged Paulus, the abridger of Festus, as Diaconus, on at least one occasion; see Neff 1891, 33-4: “Ac Bethmann quidem sententiam suam confirmavit his argumentis: primum quod inscriptio epistolarum quae Paulus illis excerptis praeposuit, in nonnullis codicibus haec est: Epistola Pauli pontifices ad Carolum regem, in alio codice Pauli Atheniensis, in nullo Pauli Diaconi; deinde quod numo illius aetatis scriptor Paulo Diacono hanc epipomam addicit; […] Is [Waitz] demonstravit in vetustioribus codicibus, ut in illo Monacensi, nomina pontifex sive sacerdos deesse et Bethmannum errare, quod putaret nullo testimonio antiquorum temporum illud Paulo Diacono addici, nam in antique catalogo bibliothecae Laureshamensis glossas Pauli Diaconi commemorari”. Furthermore, Bethmann added that Paul the Deacon’s Festus was too poor stylistically when compared to his other works. Bethmann 1849, 276: “Seine Sprache ist im ganzen richtig und rein von Barbarismen, die wenigen ausgenommen, welche dadurch, dass die lateinische Sprache im Mittelalter keineswegs eine tote war, sondern als eine wirklich lebende eine eigentümliche, nicht zu hindernde Entwicklung hatte, gewissermassen unvermeidlich und zur Regel geworden waren”.

99 Waitz affirmed that Paul composed the abridgement of Festus after the year 783, when Charlemagne’s wife Hildegard died; see Waitz 1878, 10-11: “Tunc etiam excerpta ex libris Pompei Festi facta crediderim, quae Karolo transmissa; sine causa alteri cuitam Paulo recentiores tribuere voluerunt: noster certe in Historia Langobardorum ius usus est. Sed etiam majus opus ‘Paulo diacono familiari clientulo nostro’ rex inuenit, quod tractatus, ut ait epistola ipsius nomine scripta, ‘atque sermontes diversorum catholicorum partum perlegens et optima quaeque decerpens, in duobus voluminibus per totius anni congruentes cuique festivitati distinctae et absque vitis oblitit lectiones’”. Waitz identifies some parallel occurrences featuring in Paul the Deacon’s dedication of his Festus (10 fn. 5): “Urbs Romulea’ etiam Hist Lang. II. 23 et G. Mett. P. 265 dicitur; extremus b. Benedicti servulorum scribit Paulus in Homilia, Migne XCV p. 1577.”
Paul was defined “diacono familiari clientulo nostro”.\(^\text{100}\) In this light, \textit{servulus} and \textit{clientulus}, two hypocorisms expressing endearment, represented two different views of the same dynamic: the close relationship between the two.\(^\text{101}\) Moreover, Waitz pointed out that in the same letter Charlemagne talked about Paul the Deacon’s work as an abridger, mostly of sacred texts (“sermones diversorum catholico-rum Patrum perlegens, et optima quaeque decerpens”): this inclination was perfectly compatible with what Paul the Deacon declared regarding Festus’s text and what he actually did with it.\(^\text{102}\)

Neff acknowledged the fundamental role of Waitz in the progress of the debate on the authorship of the epitome of Festus. This was despite believing that his forerunner had not solved the question, merely reopening it, paving the way for more thorough investigations to be conducted.\(^\text{103}\) Thus, Neff devoted special attention to Paul the Deacon’s works (historical, religious, poetic and epistolographic), analysing their grammar, syntax and phrase structure in order to understand his \textit{usus scribendi}.\(^\text{104}\) Afterwards, having delineated exact

\(^{100}\) PL 98 0896C [Carolus Magnus, \textit{Epistola IV, De Homiliario Pauli Diaconi, monachi Casinesi} (anno 788)]: “Denique qui ad nocturnale officium copulatas quorumdam cas-so labore, licet recto intuitu, minus tamen idoneo, reperimus lectiones, quippe quae et sine auctorum suorum vocabulis essent positae, et infinitis vitiorum anfractibus scaterent, non sumus passi nostris in diebus, in divinis lectionibus, inter sacra officia, in-consonantes perstrepere solocismos, atque earumdem lectionum in melius reforma-re tranitem, mentem intendimus, idque opus Paulo Diacono familiari clientulo nostro eli-mandum injunximus: scilicet, ut studiose catholicorum Patrum dicta percurrens, veluti e latissimis eorum pratis certos quosque flosculos legeret, et in unum, quaeque essent utile, quasi sertum aptaret. Qui nostre celsitudini devote parere desiderans, tractatus atque sermones diversorum catholicorum Patrum perlegens, et optima quae-que decerpens, in duobus voluminibus, per totius anni cirriculum, congruentes cuique festivitati, distincte et absque vitiis, nobis obtulit lectiones”.

\(^{101}\) Waitz 1878, 11 (fn. 2): “Extrema epistolae verba, haec in primordiis initae cum Karolo familiaritatis ponenda esse, ostendunt”.

\(^{102}\) Lindsay 1913, 1: “Sextus denique Pompeius Romanus studii affatim eruditus, tam sermonum abditorum, quam etiam quarundam causarum origines aperiens, opus suum ad viginti usque prolixa volumina extendit. Ex qua ego prolixitate superflua quaeque et minus necessaria praetergrediens et quaedam abstrusa penitus stilo proprio enu-cleans, nonnulla ita, ut erant posita, relinquens, hoc vestrae celsitudini legendum con-perduum optuli”.

\(^{103}\) Neff 1891, 3 (fn. 2): “Paulus Diaconus, quem Festi librum in epitomen contraxisse ut olim plurimi putaverunt ita post O. Muller, Bethmanni, Mommsenii dubitationes Georgius Waitz optime demonstravit [Goetz 1887, 7]. Equidem Waitz nihil demonstrasse, sed viam ad solvendam quaestionem monstrasse; see also Neff 1891, 34: Sed Waitz non solum Bethmanni sententiam refutavit, sed viam nobis monstrare conabatur, qua contro-versia in perpetuum tolli posset”.

\(^{104}\) This analysis was extremely detailed and complex, involving a plethora of aspects of Paul the Deacon’s work (see Neff 1891, 4-33), including the disposition of words featured in the phrase (\textit{de verborum collocatione} [4-5]), the disposition of pronouns (\textit{de pronominum collocatione} [5]), the disposition of adverbs (\textit{adverbia} [5-6]), some rhetorical aspects, such as chiasm and parallels (\textit{chiasmus et paralellismus} [6]), the use of locutions, idioms and metrics within the phrase (\textit{ad verborum ambitus} [6-9]), the use of
parameters in terms of style and methodology, Neff cross-referenced the results of his survey with *De verborum significatione* and noticed, thanks to a granular comparison, that many phenomena occurring in the works universally attributed to Paul the Deacon very often resurfaced in his abridgement of Festus, sometimes in the form of literal quotations, and vice versa.\(^{105}\) This confirmed beyond doubt his authorship of Festus’s epitome.

The nineteen-century debate on the attribution of Festus’s medieval epitome to Paul the Deacon appears to find its prefiguration in the Renaissance. In fact, it was only after the rediscovery of the *Codex Farnesianus* around the mid-fifteenth century that some scholars began to cast doubts on which *Paulus* had abridged Festus’s original, having noticed substantial differences between the medieval text and the surviving *Codex*. In French erudite circles around the 1570s, the epitomist was first believed to be Paul the Deacon. It is likely that the antiquarian studies conducted on Charlemagne and the origin of the French monarchy in late-sixteenth century France made this connection possible.\(^{106}\) The purpose of this appendix is to understand the dynamics and reasons behind the Renaissance identification of Paul the Deacon as the author of the abridgement of Festus’s *De verborum significatione*. In this way, the cultural path carried out by the antiquarians and philologists who were able to make this important discovery *ante litteram* will be followed.

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... synonyms and repetitions (*abuntantia sermonis* [9-11]), the variations (*varietas dicendi* [11-14]), the nature of the syntax (*de syntactica ratione* [14-19]), the disposition of complements and their function within the phrase – such as interrogative clauses (*de enuntiatis interrogativis* [19-20]), relative clauses (*de enuntiatis relativis* [20]), conditional clauses (*de enuntiatis conditionalibus* [20-1]), temporal clauses (*de enuntiatis temporales* [21]), concessive clauses (*de enuntiatis concessivis* [21]), comparative clauses (*de enuntiatis comparativis* [21]) – prepositions (*de praepositionibus* [21-3]), other language particles (*de particulis* [23-5]), negative forms (*de negationibus* [25]), numeral adjectives (*de numeralibus* [26]), pronouns (*de pronominibus* [26-8]), nouns (*de substantivis* [28-9]), adjectives in general (*de adiectivis* [29-30]), and verbs (*de verbis* [30-1]).

\(^{105}\) Neff 1891, 35-7: “Haec de quaestione universa locutus primum omnes illos locos colligam, unde cognoscitur Paulum Diaconum haud ignarum fuisse Festi excerptorum. […] His locis satis demonstrator Paulum penitus pernovisse Festi epitomam. Praeterea autem illius opera referta sunt locis, unde elucet, quando fuerit studio etymologicam significationemque verborum interpretandi. Atque raro invenitur vocabulum minus notum, quod non interpretetur. Quo fit, ut collectis illis glossarium ante oculos habeamus. Unde sumperit illas interpretationes non semper constat, pleraque sunt ex Isidoro sumptae. […] Hoc quasi parvulo glossario satiis demonstravisse mihi vereor, quam penitus vernovit Paulus Diaconus Festi epitomam, quantopere delectatus sit vocabulum interpretatione”.

\(^{106}\) Regarding the French erudite environments and their antiquarian investigations, see Cooper 2013.
In all the early incunabula of the epitome of *De verborum significatione*, Paul was never acknowledged as the author of this work. He was systematically replaced by Festus, even when the text of the *Codex Farnesianus* was not included in the publications.\(^{107}\) The first to give an articulated opinion on the still unidentified epitomist was Manilius Romanus.\(^{108}\) In his prefatory letter dedicated to Pomponio Leto, which was found in his edition of *De verborum significatione* (1475), Manilius did not refer to the author’s name, instead alluding to him only as the person responsible for irreparably damaging the original. Here, he described Paul as a figure of no value, with no name or culture, who had transformed the extensive and rich volume of Festus into a sterile compendium. He added that the discovery of the *Farnesianus* had made it possible to understand several aspects which had been rendered unclear for the abridgement of the text. In his view, these were fundamental to understanding antiquity, and Renaissance scholars somehow had to manage the disparities with the original created by this epitome.\(^{109}\)

A similar position was also taken by Angelo Poliziano, who declared in the first book of his *Miscellanea* (1489) that Festus’s work had been abridged and damaged by a despicable and ignorant interpreter whose name was not worthy of mention.\(^{110}\) Furthermore, neither the *editio princeps* of Festus published by Giovan Battista Pio (1500) nor the subsequent editions carried out by Aldo Manuzio (1513) and Jean Petit (1519) made any direct or indirect reference to

\(^{107}\) This happened in all the early incunabula.

\(^{108}\) Sometimes identified as the Greek scholar Manilius Cabacius Rhallus, but is now more likely to be identified with Sebastiano Manilio; see Lamers 2013, 374-8.

\(^{109}\) Lindsay 1913, 11; Manilius 1475, *praef.*: “Manilius Romanus Pomponio Leto salutem. Nuper cum legissem Pompei Festi mutilatos libros qui priscorum uerorum inscribuntur, uheometerol dolui quod tantum opus integrum non remanserit. Scripsit ille quidem ad totius antiquitatis cognitionem et posteritatis utilitatem, sed puto inscitia superioris etatis tam preclarum munus nobis eripuit. Nam quidem nullius momenti sine nomine sine litteris ad Carolum Regem volumen diffusum et copiosum in sterile compendium redegit et credibile est reliquisse que magis necessaria erant, ut sepe numero tu mecum questus es. Quod superest imprimendum curaui, ne alius forte audax et temerarius in peius reddat, et pro uirili parte emendari castigarique euigilaui, ut saltem si non integer fidelis tamen legatur. Vale. De Romaulis”.

\(^{110}\) Poliziano 1489, LXXIII: “Ostendit mihi Romae abhinc quadriennium Manilius Rallus, Graecus homo, sed Latinis litteris adprime excultus, fragmentum quoddam Sexti Pompeij Festi (nam ita erat in titulo) sanequam uetustum, sed pleraque mutatum praerorumque a muribus. Quod me magnopere tenuit, siquidem reliquia illae quaescunque ex integro ipso volumine superabant, quod autor Festus composuerat, non ex hoc autem compendiario, quod nunc in manibus coactum wieuenter et decurtatum, scilicet ab ignobili et indocto quodam, nec isto quoque nomine satis bene de litteris merito. Nonnullas quoque ex eodem fragmento Pomponius Laetus, uir antiquitatis et litterarum bonarum consultissimus, sibi pagellas retinuerat, quas itidem legendas mihi describendasque dedit.”
Paul the Deacon.\footnote{Pio 1500; Manuzio 1513; Petit 1519.} In these cases, the work appears to have been again attributed entirely to Festus (even the parts belonging to the epitome). This was perhaps because the philologists of the time had sought to diminish the value of the medieval tradition and to increase the importance of the ancient manuscript. Ostensibly this was to strengthen the link between \textit{De verborum significatione} and the ancient world.

In the preface to his editions, the Spanish archbishop and scholar Antonio Agustín was the first to make direct reference to Paul the Deacon’s name, but still referred to him generically as an unspecified figure (“Paulus nescio quis”), perhaps somewhat reproachfully.\footnote{Agustín 1559, \textit{praef}.: “Cumque liber ipse totus extare Caroli Regis tempore, Paulus nescio quis operaepretium fore ratus est, si epitomen quandam efficeret eorum, quae ipsi magis placuerunt.”} As declared in a letter to Fulvio Orsini dated 24 January 1559, Agustín was unable to uncover the identity of Paul the epitomist, especially after his studies on the manuscript tradition of the abridgement, in which Paul was generally addressed with no title, or only sometimes referred to as \textit{pontifex}.\footnote{This approach anticipated the critique that Waitz and Neff moved to Müller’s edition. Soon after, Agustín rejected the identification of Paulus the Pontiff with Pope Paul II, denying any possible identification between the epitomist of Festus and the Roman Pope; see Carbonell 1991, 301: “Del Festo sono senza pensiero, pure vederò volentieri la stampa et vorrei che fosse finito, non che cominciato. Avisate il Sigonio che stampa la lettera di Paolo abbreviatore di Festo, come credo li avisai che la stampassi avanti le parole sue di Paolo et Festo, non bisogna chiamarlo Pontefice perché non si trova in molti libri scritti, quel titolo et in vero penso che più presto sia detto così, volendo dir altro cognome, ovvero nome di patria, perché non so qual vescovo christiano si chiamà pontefice, se non il Romano, et Paolo II fu posteriore assai, et non badava a questo” (24 January 1559). Indeed, Paul is not referred to as \textit{pontifex} in Agustín 1559: \textit{EPISTOLA PAVLI AD CAROLVM REGEM.}} However, Agustín was the first to consider this epitome from a historical perspective. In fact, he stated that Paul the Deacon’s intention when abridging Festus’s work was to create a more successful epitome of the original. He then added that the general success of the abridgement had led to Festus’s work gradually being replaced by a more simplified version, since the public was no longer able to accept or even understand the original form.\footnote{Agustín 1559, \textit{praef}.: “Is liber indoctis viris adeo placuit, ut pro Festo in omnibus bibliothecis substitueretur”}

Therefore, the transformation and consequent deterioration of Festus’s original was not only caused by the actions of one person, but instead converged with the cultural spirit of the period, generating unexpected consequences as a result.

This situation changed only with the 1575 edition of the French philologist, Joseph Juste Scaliger. In his preface, he referred to Paul as a deacon and a Lombard for the first time (“Paulum Diaconum Lon-
gobardum”), broadening the historical context in which he lived. Scaliger set Paul the epitomist in the reign of Charlemagne and stated that, after the fall of Desiderius – the last of the Lombard kings – he attempted to win the approval of the new king by offering him an abridged version of Festus’s text, which resulted in irreparable damage being caused to posterity.\footnote{Scaliger 1574, praef.: “De veteribus enim epitomarum concinnatoribus loquor, quos ut ego valde improbo, ita etiam ut omnibus modis improbandum inter eos ponam Paulum Diaconum Longobardum, hominem, meo iudicio, confidentissimum, ac, vitia res ipsa docet, ineptissimum. Is victo ac profligate Desiderio, qui ultimus Longobardorum Rex fuit, captus a Carolo Magno Imperatore, magnam et a victore, et a posteritate se initurum gratiam putavit, si Sex. Pomp. Festum, quo scriptorem utiliorem lingua Latina non habet, mutilaret, et tanto posteritatis damno se a victore redimeret”.

It remains unclear how Scaliger identified Paul the Deacon as the author of Festus’s epitome. The first known Renaissance allusion to Paul as an epitomist can be found in Marco Antonio Sabellico’s Enneades sive Rhapssodia Historiarum,\footnote{Sabellico 1498, cxcvii: “Viri ingenio clari, ea tempestate fuerunt. Paulus Aquileiensis ecclesiae Diaconus qui Langobardorum scripsit Historia. Hunc Carolus ever- so Desyderii regno in Galliam duxit: fuitque regi ab initio carus donatusque est ab eo libertate, compertus inde novarum rerum, et quia de Desyderii regis fuga consilia agitaret, in Diomedis insulam relegatus post aliquos annos ad Arachim se contulit, ubi Adelperga, eius coniugis, rogatu (fuerat haec Desyderii filia) Eutropii historiae duos adiecit libros; historiae filo a Iuliano Principe ad primi Iustiniani tempora exten- so. Caeterum Arachi defuncto in Cassinensi Coenobium reliquum vitae egit, unde saepe ad Carolum dedit litteras et accepit. Huius illud est in divinis. Ut queant laxis resona- re fibris, tradunt et in alia simul figura ab eo edita”.

This last statement perhaps referred to his abridgements and commentaries, and probably relied on the abovementioned letter in which Charlemagne referred to Paul the Deacon’s homilies (“optima quaeque decerpens”).\footnote{The same formulation was also reused by Josse Bade in the introduction of the De origine et gestis Regum Langobardorum; see Petit 1514, praef.: “Qualis autem Paulus ipsi- se vir fuerit cum alii tum M. Antonius Sabellicus Rhapsodiae historiarum enneadis IX lib. IX ita nobis prae- scribit”; Sabellicus’s description of Paul the Deacon’s life was also the source of Maffei 1506, ccl: “Paulus Diaconus Aquileiensis patria genere longobardus. Desideio regi ob ingenium ac doctrinam admodum carus a Carolo magnu captus unacum vita libertate est donatus ac in honore apud eum habitus est, verum cum postea Carolus illum comperisset Desideri libertatem quaerere, in Diomdis insulam relegavit, unde post aliquot annos auctu cognosci et ad Arachim pervenient, rogatu Adelperge Desideri filae et Arachis uxoris, historiae Eutropii duos addidit libros a Iuliano principi- pe usque ad primi Iustiniani tempora perscribunt. Defuncta deinde Arachi, Cassinense Coenobio reliquum vitae tempus monachum egit, litterasque ad Carolum regem plenas humanitatis scriptis gratias agens quod ab eo a quo prius fuerat conservatus rursus vi- tam acceptat”; however, Maffei omits the reference to the abbreviations.}

However, Scaliger could not have uti-
lised the information contained in Sabellico’s short biography with any confidence in his introduction since it does not provide sufficient data or any explicit connection between Paul the Deacon’s works and *De verborum significatione*.

One hypothesis could be that Scaliger obtained this information from his friend, Pierre Pithou, who in his *Adversariorum subsecivorum libri* referred to a *Paulus monachus* as the author of both the *De gestis Langobardorum* and the *De verborum significatione*. Regarding the latter, Pithou did not directly refer to the title as proof of this identification, but instead alluded to the word *burrum* (red vest), which among all of Paul the Deacon’s works can be found only in the abridgement of Festus’s work. In 1569 Pithou edited and published this letter as well, in consideration of Charlemagne’s words (“Paulo Diacono familiari clientulo nostro”).

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119 Pithou 1565, *Index: Pauli Diaoni lib. I* cap. 1, 14, 16; 2 [I, 1 Filius per arma, per capillos, per sacras preces]: “Paulus Monachus lib. VI de gestis Langobardorum; 23 [I, 14 Clusurae, Burgiae, Lusoriae]: Dicuntur et Burgi, a quibus olim Burgundiones Paulus monachus, Luiprando diaconus, et Isidorus episcopus tradiderunt”; 68 [II, 20 *Bantum, Herbannum, Bandum, Rerum prolatio*]: “Paulus monachus lib. I Histor. Longobard. cap. XIII”; 26 [I, 16 *Burra, Beri, Bera, Colobum, Campaghus regius, calcei aurati et sericei*]: “Paulus monachus, Cyripanum byrrho indutum fuisset referre cum ad supplicium duceretur”. It is unclear why Pithou mentions *Paulus monachus* as the source for the episode of Cyprian’s life; in fact, the passage of Cyprian comes from Pontius the Deacon of Carthage’s *Vita Cypriani*, attested in PL 3 1503B (*Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani Episcopi et Martyris C, S* V. *Coram magna populi turba decollatur. Eius corpus a fidelibus noctu sublatum sepelitur*), and reads: “Et ita idem Cypriani in agrum Sexti productus est, et ubi se lacerna byrrho expoliavit”. This version, which is accepted for example in Desiderius Erasmus’s edition published by Froben (Erasmus 1521), does not correspond to the gloss from *De verborum significatione* [Paul. Fest. 28.5-7: “Ballenae nomin a Graeco descendit. Hanc illi φαλάνθανα dicunt antiqua consuetudine, qua πυρρόν burrum, πυξὸν buxum dicebant. Burrum dicebant antiqui, quod nunc dicimus rufum; unde rustici burram appellant buculam, quae rostrum habet rufum”]. It rather echoes Pontius the Deacon’s edition arranged by Paolo Manuzio and published shortly before Pithou’s *Adversariorum Libri*; see Manuzio 1563, *Actus passionis: “Perductus autem gloriösus martyr, exuit se lacernum birrum, quem indutus erat: complicans, et posuit ad genua sua”. This may imply that Pithou attributed the quotation of Pontius the Deacon to Paul the Deacon (*Paulus monachus*), which was sometimes repeated by scholars during the seventeen century (Hofman 1698, 538°); a more precise interpretation was given by Fell 1700, 14-15 and Du Cané 1883-87, 1:664°. In his work, Pithou also refers generally to a *Paulus* when citing the epitome of Festus, creating a bond between this *Paulus* and the *Paulus monachus*; see Pithou 1565, 5° [I, 6 *Ver sacrum*]: “Ver sacrum quid si Paulus ex Festo sic explicat [Paul. Fest. 519.31-2]. Ver sacrum voveret mos fuit Italis. Magnis enim periculis adducti vovebant quaequecumque vero proximo nata essent apud se animalia immolaturos. Sed cum crudele videretur pueros ac puellas innocentes interficere, peructos in adultam aetatem velebant, atque ita extra fines suos exigebant. Idem Sex. Pompeius in Mamertin. [Fest. 150.13] ut si vellent (inquit) eo malo liberari ver sacrum voverent, id est, quaequecumque vero proximo nata essent immolaturos. Quem locum librariorum incuria in Augustiniana editione corruptum arbitror”, 15 [I, 8: *Barto, dux*]: “Ut autem Barones sive Varones, ita et Ambactos apud Ennium lingua Gallica servos dictos ex Sex. Pompeio, Paulus scripsit [Paul. Fest. 4.20]”; and 17-18 [I, 10 *Spinturnicia, Resecro, apud Flautum et Marcellum*]: “Resecrare ex Festo, Paulus sic exposcit. Resecrare solvere religione, utique cum reus populum comitis oraverat per deos, ut eo periculo liberaretur, lubebat magistratus eum resecrare [Paul. Fest. 353.9-11] id
the *Historiae miscellae*, a historiographic dissertation begun by Paul the Deacon ("a Paulo Aquilegensi diacono primum collectae") and completed by Landulfus Sagax; he also worked on French medieval history, focusing on the reign of Charlemagne and on legislation (the works he published included the volumes of *Annales et historiae Francorum* in 1588 and *Historiae Francorum* in 1596, in which he collected primary sources on the matter). This implies that he was well acquainted with many of Paul the Deacon’s works, and that he may have been aware of all the complex parallel occurrences within the epitome of Festus’s work, and consequently verified their common authorship. It is therefore likely that the cultural environment shared by Pithou and Paul the Deacon, with the information passed from the former to the latter, triggered the realisation that Festus’s epitome should be attributed to Paul the Deacon.

Unfortunately, this hypothesis is not yet supported by tangible evidence. However, after Scaliger’s edition, Renaissance scholars ascribed the authorship of *De verborum significatione* to the Lombard monk. For example, in 1576, only one year after the publication of Scaliger’s edition of Festus (1576), the Flemish philologist, Louis Carrion assigned the extended name of Paul the Deacon to the epitomist of Festus in his *Antiquarum Lectionum commentarii III*. This acknowledgement was also accepted by the French printer, Arnault Sittart, in his 1584 edition of Festus’s work. Paul was identified as the historian of the Goths and Lombards and as a scholar who had commented on many ancient authors, aiding comprehension of their works but at the same time creating a series of interpolations.

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120 Pithou 1569, praef.: "[…] Paulus Longobardus (quem Eghinardus Pisanum Diaconom, plures Aquilegensem vocant) […]"; see also Pithou 1609, 700: *Praefatio in Paulum Diaconum*; Pithou 1588 and Pithou 1596.

121 Carrion 1576, 16 [I, 6 *Libertatem perdimus*]: “neque ea quam vel Festus habet, vel eius depravator Diaconus”; 16-17 [I, 7 *Exilia et ilis unde dicta ina. Festus castigatus*]: “Scribit Festus ex Verrio seu potius ex Festo Paulus Diaconus, homo, quod cum bona istorum pace dicere liceat, bonis libris corrumpendis natus, […]”; 103 [III, 1 *Ius trium librorum in V.V. capiunda legis Papiae verba correcta*]: “Festus, seu potius, Diaconus […]”.

122 Sittart 1584, *ad lect.*: "Et haec quidem Verrij epitome a Festo$conn

est, populum religione absolvere: scilicet, ut ita demum populus religione teneretur, si is qui per Deos oraverat insons innocensque esset. Ita Festum sensisse Farnesiani libri vestigia indicant [Fest. 352.31] […] Plautus in Aulularia, Nunc te obsecro | Fac mentionem cum avunculo mater mea | Resero que mater quod dudum obsecraveram [Plaut. Aul. 681.3]. Sic vulgo legitur in libris a doctissimo Camerario editis, sed resero omni-

no legendum Pauli locus indicat, hoc sensu".

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97

Lexis Suplementi | Supplements 6

Studi di Letteratura Greca e Latina | Lexis Studies in Greek and Latin Literature 3

Atlas of Renaissance Antiquarianism, 53-98
The rediscovery of the *Codex Farnesianus* changed the perception of the authorship of the *De verborum significatione* among the Renaissance antiquarian scholarship. The editions of this work were initially ascribed to Festus, marginalising the Lombard monk and his impact on the tradition. It is in fact evident from the first opinions on *Paulus* that his role, which was strongly criticised, diminished the interest of scholars in discovering his real identity. This was the case not only for the editions that included the *Farnesianus*, but also for those which reproduced only the epitome. It is likely that this situation began to change when Antonio Agustín combined the works of Festus and Paul the Deacon in his innovative editorial layout, clearly marking each definition with the name of each author in the margins. The Spaniard was the first scholar to raise doubts over the identity of the epitomist of Festus but was unable to find a conclusive answer. Nevertheless, along with the studies carried out on the historical works of the Lombard monk, this new perception may have led Pierre Pithou to believe that the epitomist of Festus was in fact Paul the Deacon. This is probably how Joseph Scaliger connected *Paulus* to Festus from the information passed on to him from Pithou, which was then repeated in later editions. This perception of the authorship that had developed during the Renaissance eventually influenced and prefigured the debate over the authorship which reopened during the nineteenth century.

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123 Dacer 1681, *praef.*: “Libri de verborum significacione integri extitere usque ad tempora Caroli Magni, queis Paulus Diaconus Longobardus, homo confidentissimus et inepissimus eos mutilavit, corruptit. Victo enim ac profligate Desiderio qui ultimus Longobardorum rex fuit, captus a Carolo Magno Imperatore, magnum et a victore et a posteritate se initurum gratiam putavit, si Sexto Pompeio Festo faceret quod ipse Verrio Fecisset. Sed homo barbarus hunc scriptorem quo utiliorem lingua Latina non habet, ita accept, foede laniavit, et inhonestis volneribus confectit, ut cadaver pro homine, truncum pro corpore, semianimem pro vivo nobis reliquerit.”