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UNPUBLISHED CONJECTURES
TO THE *APPENDIX VERGILIANA*
BY F. KORSCH, G. SAENGER, AND A. SONNY

Drafts and letters of pre-revolutionary scholars of the Russian Empire, in particular those preserved in the archives of Grigory E. Saenger (1853–1919, based in St Petersburg from 1901), contain numerous conjectures to classical authors that have not been published so far. A particularly vivid discussion, involving proposals by Fyodor E. Korsch from Moscow (1843–1915) and Adolf I. Sonny from Kyiv (1861–1922),¹ concerned the text of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, one of the ancient texts in the case of which conjectural approach seems to be particularly welcome.² While it would naturally be rash to expect each of the “guesses which we all jot down in our margins”³ to be of great value, it can be argued that in certain cases future editors might profit from these conjectures. At *Catal.* 5. 2, Sonny (see below) anticipated K. Münscher’s conjecture *rhoezo*,⁴ almost universally accepted in modern editions.⁵ At *Ciris* 79, Saenger proposed in a letter to read the line as *piscibus est canibusque maris uallata repente* (itself a modification of Korsch’s proposal; see below), that is, exactly as it is now printed in B. Kayachev’s edition who treats this version as a new combination of conjectures, one of them his own.⁶

¹ On Saenger, see Shilov 2003 [Д. Н. Шилов, “Министр поневоле: творчество и карьера в судьбе Г. Э. Зенгера”], Smyshlyaeva 2021 [В. П. Смышляева, “Зенгер Григорий Эдуардович”]; on Korsch and Sonny, respectively Smyshlyaeva 2015 [В. П. Смышляева, “Российские филологи-классики XIX века: ‘Германовское’ направление (материалы для биографического словаря)”], 213–217 and 426–429.

² See e.g. Kayachev 2021; contrast the ardent debates on the appropriateness of Saenger’s age-long conjectural work on Horace outlined in Smyshlyaeva 2021, 293–294.

³ Housman 1972, 46.

⁴ Münscher 1912.

⁵ See e.g. Westendorp Boerma 1949–1953, 1. 95; Salvatore 1963, 198; Richmond 1966, 135; Dolç 1982–1984, 2. 170, Fairclough–Goold 2000, 488; it was recommended by Housman 1972, 1170 as “excellent”.

⁶ Kayachev 2020, 49.

On a more general note, in a letter to be published soon A. E. Housman approves of one of Korsch's conjectures to Statius,⁷ and D. R. Shackleton Bailey in his edition of Statius' *Silvae*⁸ accepts eleven emendations proposed by Saenger, which is incidentally a higher number than that of Housman's conjectures accepted in the same edition, however unfair this count is. Hopefully other conjectures by the same scholars (some of them clearly not just first drafts but rather second thoughts on the already published proposals) might turn out to be also deserving attention.

In the present article, I propose to publish a collection of conjectures to the *Appendix* by the three scholars preserved in Fund 504 of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow), the main archive of Grigory Saenger's documents related to textual criticism, and Fund 558 of the same archive, containing documents connected with the scholarly activities of Fyodor Korsch. The following units are involved:

F. 504. Inv. 1. Unit 196 – a large collection of offprints of Saenger's papers with marginal notes in his hand, apparently to be dated after the corresponding papers. In particular, I quote from foll. 336v (notes on an offprint of Saenger 1901; conjectures must antedate Saenger 1911, where a related conjecture *Ciris 5 tum mea quaeret eo dignum sibi] cum mihi Gargetto dignum stet* was published on p. 157–158), 428v (notes on an offprint of Saenger 1905; conjectures must antedate Saenger 1910, where related conjectures *Catal. 13. 6 adsim] mors sim* and *as<pis> sim* were published on p. 538–539), 440v–441r (notes on an offprint of Saenger 1906), 676r–683r and 687r (notes on an offprint of Saenger 1911), 685v (undated separate piece of paper, perhaps related to the second thoughts on Saenger 1911), 754v–755v (notes on an offprint of Saenger 1910);

F. 504. Inv. 4. Units 130 and 131 – letters from Korsch to Saenger. I specify the date every time I quote from a leaf for the first time;

F. 504. Inv. 4. Unit 241. Fol. 4–5 – a letter from Sonny to Saenger dated April 8, 1911. When quoting Sonny's conjectures, I simply specify the page of this letter;

F. 558. Inv. 4. Unit 100 – letters from Saenger to Korsch. I specify the date every time I quote from a leaf for the first time.

⁷ Shumilin 2022.

⁸ Shackleton Bailey 2003.

Like Saenger's handwritten notes in margins of his articles, the letters in question react to his published conjectures; they contain discussions provoked by offprints of his works which he used to send to various scholars.⁹ Saenger's letters to Korsch that I quote continue the same discussions.

In the following list, I use shortened references to unit numbers (e.g. 558.4.100.12r instead of F. 558. Inv. 4. Unit 100. Fol. 12 r). For the lemmata, I try to use what Saenger considered the *paradosis* (whether it is given explicitly in his papers or implied); I have accepted only those changes against it which Saenger treats as unquestionably right. The punctuation also follows Saenger's one wherever possible.

Aetna 80–81:

Hi [sc. uates] Tityon poena strauere in iugera foedum,
sollicitant illi te circum, Tantale, poena...

80 *poena strauere... foedum] strauere nouena* (Haupt)... *praedam*
Saenger (558.4.100.12r, in a letter to Korsch from October 26, 1903)

81 *illi] alui* Saenger (558.4.100.12r)

Catal. 3. 9–10:

Tale deae numen, tali mortalia nutu
fallax momento temporis hora dedit.

9–10 *nutu... hora] flatu... aura* Saenger (504.1.196.440v), *nocti... aura*
Saenger (504.1.196.441r), *luctu... aura* Saenger (*ibid.*)

10 *dedit] rapit* Korsch (504.4.130.22v, in a letter to Saenger from December 11, 1906), *tulit* Saenger (504.1.196.440v), *necat* Saenger (*ibid.*); *hora dedit] ausa necat* Saenger (*ibid.*), *orsa necat* Saenger (*ibid.*), *heu domuit* Saenger (*ibid.*), *interimit* Saenger (*ibid.*), *externat* Saenger (*ibid.*)

Catal. 5. 1–2:

Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae,
inflata rhoso non Achaico uerba.

⁹ Including even those who did not speak Russian: see Shumilin 2022, 276 n. 14; cf. perhaps Shumilin–Kostyleva–Rezvykh 2022, 256 n. 5.

2 *rhoso*] *rhoeso* or *ρoίζω* Sonny (4v), *rho sed* Korsch (504.4.131.8r, in a letter to Saenger from May 9, 1911); *inflata rhoso*] *fucata rho sed* Saenger (504.1.196.676r; the same variant is written in Saenger's hand in the margin of Korsch's letter quoted above)

Catal. 9. 15–16:

...carmina quae *prciū*,¹⁰ saeculis accepta futuris,
carmina, quae pilium uincere digna senem.

15 *prcium*] *superent* Korsch (504.4.131.8r)

15–16 *quae prcium*... | *carmina quae pilium*] *Maeonium*... *carminaque Ascraeum* Saenger (504.1.196.754v)

Catal. 9. 29–32:

non defensa diu multum certamine equorum,
obtabant grauidae quod sibi quaeque manus,
saepe animam generi pro qua pater impius hausit,
saepe rubro similis sanguine fluxit humus.

30 *grauide quod sibi quaeque*] *profugam quam* (Pomponius Laetus) *sibi Graia* Saenger (504.1.196.755v); *quaeque manus*] *quisque polus* Saenger (*ibid.*), *quisque probus* Saenger (*ibid.*)

32 *rubro similis*] *rubens Isthmi* Korsch (504.4.131.8r)

Catal. 13. 5–6:

ualent ualent mihi ira et antiquus furor
et lingua qua adsim tibi...

6 *qua adsim*] *quam stringo* Korsch (504.4.130.11v, in a letter to Saenger from March 9, 1906), *quam uibrem* Saenger (504.1.196.428v), *qua mussem* Saenger (*ibid.*), *qua trux sim* Saenger (*ibid.*), *qua crux sim* Saenger (*ibid.*), *qua falx sim* Saenger (*ibid.*), *proscindens* Saenger (*ibid.*), *succensens* Saenger (*ibid.*), *crudelis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *fatalis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *mortalis* Saenger (*ibid.*, later cancelled by his own hand)

¹⁰ This is how Saenger represents the paradosis in Saenger 1910 [Г. Э. Зенгер, “Заметки к латинским текстам”], 534; in particular, this is the text of B².

Catal. 13.30–32:

obesam ad uxorem redis
et aestuantes docte soluis pantes
osiculisque lambis suaui.

31 *docte*] *glande* Korsch (504.4.131.8r)

Ciris 1–11:

Etsi me uario iactatum laudis amore
irritaque expertum fallacis praemia uulgi
Cecropius suaui expirans hortulus auras
florentis uiridi sophiae complectitur umbra
tum ea queret eo dignum sibi quaerere carmen 5
longe aliud studium atque alios accincta labores
altius ad magni suspendit sidera mundi
et placitum paucis ausa est ascendere collem,
non tamen absistam coeptum detexere munus,
in quo iure meas utinam requiescere musas 10
et leuiter blandum liceat deponere morem.

Sonny (4v–5r) argues for Saenger's text of these lines,¹¹ but without parenthesis,¹² sc. (with Saenger's conjectures italicized):

¹¹ According to Saenger 1911 [Г. Э. Зенгер, "Заметки к латинским текстам"], 157.

¹² His argument, clarifying his understanding of the text, is the following: "Ваше восстановление начала этой поэмы кажется мне превосходным; особенно удачным представляется мне ст. 4 *Gargetto dignum* и ст. 7 *mens tendit*. Но парентеза мне не по вкусу. Она имела бы смысл, если бы в ней содержалось объяснение предыдущего или возражение, а не простое продолжение начатой в предыдущем мысли. Нельзя ли обойтись без парентезы, сохраняя предложенные Вами исправления? Тогда *cum mihi Gargetto dignum stet quaerere carmen* указывало бы на причину, почему автора *sophiae complectitur umbra*. Απόδοσις же начиналась бы со слов *longe aliud*" ("I find your reconstruction of the beginning of this poem excellent; particularly successful are, in my view, v. 4 *Gargetto dignum* and v. 7 *mens tendit*. But the parenthesis [in lines 5–8] is not to my liking. It would be sensible if it contained an explanation of the preceding phrase or an objection to it, not just a continuation of the thought begun there. Can we do without the parenthesis, retaining the corrections you propose? *Cum mihi Gargetto dignum stet quaerere carmen* would then point to the reason why *sophiae umbra complectitur* the author. As for the apodosis, it would then begin with the words *longe aliud*").

Etsi me uario iactatum laudis amore
 irritaque expertum fallacis praemia uulgi
 Cecropius suauis expirans hortulus auras
 florentis uiridi sophiae complectitur umbra,
cum mihi Gargetto dignum stet quaerere carmen, 5
 longe aliud studium atque alios accincta labores
 altius ad magni *mens tendit* sidera mundi,
 et placitum paucis ausa est ascendere collem;
 non tamen absistam coeptum detexere munus,
 in quo iure meas utinam requiescere musas 10
 et leuiter blandum liceat deponere morem.

5 *tum ea queret eo dignum sibi quaerere carmen]* *cum mens*, Corycio
dignum si quid ferat antro Korsch (504.4.131.9v, in a letter to Saenger
 from May 9, 1911); *tum ea queret eo]* *iustum est Gargetto* Saenger
 (504.1.196.336v), *fas ita Gargetto* Saenger (*ibid.*), *uolt dea Gargetto*
 Saenger (*ibid.*), *uolt lyra Gargetto* Saenger (*ibid.*), *cui mens Gargetto*
 Saenger (*ibid.*), *sueta ea Gargetto* Saenger (*ibid.*)

7 *ad magni]* *acta animi* Saenger (504.1.196.336v), *aucta animi* Saenger
 (*ibid.*); *suspendit]* *se expandit* Korsch (504.4.131.9v)

Ciris 12–18:
 quod si mirificum genus omnes
 mirificum sedi modo sit tibi uelle libido,
 si me iam summa patientia pangeret artes
 quattuor antiquis heredibus est data consors, 15
 unde hominum errores longe lateque per orbem
 despicere atque humilis possim contemnere curas,
 non ego te talem uenerarer munere tali...

12 *omnes]* *o Mes[salla, uirorum]* Korsch (504.4.131.9v)

13 *sedi... uelle]* *saecli* (ρ)... *nulla* Korsch (504.4.131.9v)

after line 13 [*doctrinae praestare suae mihi lumina uellet]* Korsch
 (504.4.131.9v)

14 *artes]* *arce* Saenger (504.1.196.677v)¹³

¹³ This variant was already printed in the 1517 Aldine edition, but this fact apparently escaped Saenger's notice, as he does not mention it in his apparatus in Saenger 1911, 158.

Ciris 46–51:

accipe dona meo multum uigilata labore,
promissa atque diu iam tandem
impia prodigiis ut quondam exterruit amplis
Scylla nouos auium sublimis in aere coetus
uiderit et tenui conscendens aethera penna
caeruleis sua tecta super uolitaueit ales...

47 *promissa atque... tandem*] *promissaque... tandem* [*perlege carta*] Korsch (504.4.131.9v), *promissasque... tandem* [*perlege cartas*] Saenger (504.1.196.678v)

48 *exterruit amplis*] *exterrita* (Schrader) *sompnis* Korsch (504.4.131.9v), *exterrita sanctis* Saenger (504.1.196.678v), *exterrita flendi* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exterrita apertis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exterrita missis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exterrita obortis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exterrita triplis* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exterrita noctis* Saenger (*ibid.*)

Ciris 62–63:

sed neque Maeoniae patiuntur credere chartae,
nec malus istorum dubiis erroribus auctor.

63 *malus istorum*] *Metamorphoseon* Korsch (504.4.131.9v, with a synzesis, referring to Parthenius of Nicaea); *malus*] *meus* Saenger (504.1.196.678v)

Ciris 70–79:

siue etiam iactis speciem mutata uenenis	70
infelix uirgo – quid enim commiserat illa?	
ipse Pater timidam seu a complexus harena	
coniugium castae uiolauerat Amphitritae,	
at tamen exegit longo post tempore poenas,	
ut, cum cura tuae ueheretur coniugis alto,	75
ipsa trucem multo misceret sanguine pontum;	
seu uero, ut perhibent, forma cum uinceret omnes	
et cupidos quaestu passim popularet amantes,	
piscibus et canibusque malis uallata repente...	

70 *iactis*] *diris* Sonny (4v)

72 *seua*] *suda* Sonny (4v), *tecta* Saenger (504.1.196.679r)

75 *cura tuae... coniugis alto*] *curua freto... nauis in arto* Korsch (504.4.131.10r, in a letter to Saenger from May 9, 1911)

76 *ipsa... multo] illa... inmerito* Korsch (504.4.131.10r); *ipsa trucem] inmeritum* Saenger (504.1.196.679v), *uirgineum* Saenger (*ibid.*), *litoreum* Saenger (*ibid.*), *perspicuum* Saenger (*ibid.*), *frigidulum* Saenger (*ibid.*), *S[c]yllaeum*¹⁴ Saenger (*ibid.*)

79 *piscibus et canibusque maris uallata repente est] pristibus et canibus maris est uallata repente* Korsch (504.4.131.10r), *piscibus est canibusque maris uallata repente* Saenger (558.4.100.26v, in his response from May 17, 1911 to Korsch's letter quoted above); *canibusque malis] canibus querulis* Sonny (4v)

Ciris 133–141:

sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flectere mater
iratum potuit, quem nec pater atque auus idem
Iuppiter (ille etiam Poenos domitare leones 135
et ualidas docuit uires mansuescere tigris,
ille etiam diuos homines –, sed dicere magnum est),
idem tum tristes acuebat paruulus iras
Iunonis magnae, cuius periuria diuae
olim se meminere diu, periura puellae 140
non nulli liceat uiolauerat inscia sedem...

137 *homines] homini* Korsch (504.4.131.10r; Saenger in his response from May 17, 1911, 558.4.100.26v, finds this suggestion “brilliant” (“Блестяще”), but proposes to connect this text with what follows, *homini sed discere magnum est*, and to put an aposiopesis before it, not after it, as Korsch did)

139 *cuius] quamuis* Korsch (504.4.131.10r)

140–141 *olim se... puellae | non nulli liceat] offensae* (Saenger)... *puella* (H²) | *non ulli* (ed. Ascens. 1501) *licitam* (Mähly) Korsch (504.4.131.10r)

Ciris 174–176:

saepe etiam tristis uoluens in nocte querelas
sedibus ex altis caeli speculatur amorem
castraque prospectat crebris lucentia flammis...

175 *caeli... amorem] callem... amorum* Korsch (504.4.131.10r)

¹⁴ The manuscript actually says *Syllaeum*, which is obviously a mistake.

Ciris 184–188:

fertur et horribili praeceps impellitur oestro,
 ut patris, a! demens, crinem de uertice serum 185
 furtimque arguto detonsum mitteret hosti.
 namque haec condicio miserae proponitur¹⁵ una
 siue illa ignorans...

185 *serum*] *ferro* Korsch (504.4.131.10r)

after line 187 [*siue uolens prudensque illi dat pignora regni*] Saenger (504.1.196.682r, a modification of the supplement suggested in Saenger 1911 which had *duci* instead of *illi*)

Ciris 212–219:

tum suspensa leuans digitis uestigia primis
 egreditur ferroque manus armata bidenti
 euolat, at demptae subita in formidine uires.
 caeruleas sua furta prius testatur ad umbras; 215
 nam qua se ad patrium tendebat semita limen,
 uestibulo in thalami paulum remoratur et alti
 suspicit ad caeli nictantia¹⁶ sidera mundi,
 non accepta piis promittens munera diuis.

214 *euolat*] *ambulat* Saenger (504.1.196.685v)

217 *alti*] *ante* Korsch (504.4.131.10r, comparing 215 *prius*)

Ciris 225–227:

non tibi nequiquam uiridis per uiscera pallor
 aegrotas tenui suffudit sanguine uenas,
 nec leuis hoc faceret (neque enim pote) cura subegit...

227 *hoc faceret*] *ut*¹⁷ *fugeret* Korsch (504.4.131.10r)

¹⁵ *Miserae proponitur* ed. Ald. 1517 (treated as an uncontested standard reading in Saenger 1911, 167): *nisi ereptae ponitur* A¹: *nisi creptae ponitur* R: *nisi erepto ponitur* H: *nisi rpto opponitur* ρA².

¹⁶ *Nictantia* Scaliger (treated as an uncontested standard reading in Saenger 1911, 168): *nutantia* AH²ρ: *mutantia* RH¹.

¹⁷ *Vt* was already proposed by Greene 1780, but Korsch apparently did not know that (this conjecture was not mentioned in Saenger 1911).

Ciris 244–249:

si concessus amor noto te macerat igni,
per tibi Dictynnae praesentia numina iuro, 245
prima deum quae dulce mihi te donat alumnam,
omnia me potius digna atque indigna laborum
milia uisuram, quam te tam tristibus istis
sordibus et seonia patiar tabescere tali.

244 *noto*] *casto* Korsch (504.4.131.10v)

247–248 *laborum* | *milia uisuram*] *libenter* | *officia ausuram* Korsch
(504.4.131.10v)

248 *milia uisuram*] *auxilia ausuram* Saenger (504.1.196.683r), *commenta ausuram* Saenger (*ibid.*), *exempla ausuram* Saenger (*ibid.*), *mandata ausuram* Saenger (*ibid.*), *portenta ausuram* Saenger (*ibid.*)

Ciris 349–350:

postera lux ubi laeta diem mortalibus alnum
et gelida ueniente mihi quatiebat ab Oeta...

350 *et gelida ueniente mihi*] *egelida* (Saenger) *reuehens ignem* (G, Haupt) Korsch (504.4.131.10v); *ueniente mihi*] *ueniens* (ed. 1507) *genius* Saenger (504.1.196.687r), *ueniens diuus* Saenger (*ibid.*), *ueniens Phaethon* Saenger (*ibid.*)

Ciris 411–413:

illa ego sum Nisi pollentis filia quondam,
certatim ex omni petiit quam Graecia regno,
quam curuus e terris amplectitur Hellespontus.

413 *quam curuus e terris*] *quamque grauis Graeis* Korsch (504.4.131.10v)

Elegia in Maec. 1. 37–38:

marmora minaei, uincent monumenta libelli:
uiuatur ingenio, cetera mortis erunt.

37 *minaei*] *membranae* Korsch (504.1.196.758r, ascribed to Korsch in a note in Saenger's hand)

Priap. 2. 10–15:
 meis capella delicata pascuis
 in urbem adulta lacte portat ubera
 meisque pinguis agnus ex ouilibus
 grauem domum remittit aere dext<e>ram¹⁸
 teneraque matre mugiente uaccula
 deum profundit ante templa sanguinem.

14 *teneraque*] *tremensque* Korsch (504.4.131.8r)

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 G. E. Saenger, “Zametki k latinskim tekstam” [“Notes on Latin Texts”], *ZhMNP* 362 (November 1905, Classical section) 481–508.

¹⁸ *Dexteram* ed. Ald. 1517 (treated as an uncontested standard reading in Saenger 1910, 531): *dextram* B.

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The paper is dedicated to the publication of a set of previously unpublished conjectures to the so-called *Appendix Vergiliana* (the corpus of works ascribed to Vergil other than the three canonical ones) by three scholars of the Russian Empire, Fyodor E. Korsch (1843–1915), Grigory E. Saenger (1853–1919), and Adolf I. Sonny (1861–1922). The conjectures probably all date between 1901 and 1919 and are extant in the correspondence of the three scholars and Saenger’s marginal handwritten notes on the offprints of his papers, both types of sources preserved in the scholarly archives of Saenger and Korsch in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow (Funds 504 and 558 respectively).

В статье публикуется ряд не появлявшихся ранее в печати конъектур к т. н. *Appendix Vergiliana* (корпусу произведений, приписывавшихся Вергилию помимо трех канонических) трех ученых, работавших в Российской

империи: Федора Евгеньевича Корша (1843–1919), Григория Эдуардовича Зенгера (1853–1919) и Адольфа Израилевича Сонни (1861–1922). Вероятно, все конъектуры датируются между 1901 и 1919 гг.; они сохранились в переписке трех ученых и в рукописных записях Зенгера на полях оттисков его собственных работ в научных архивах Зенгера и Корша (Архив Российской Академии Наук, Москва, фонды 504 и 558 соответственно).

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