

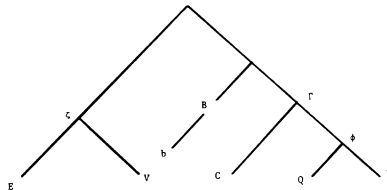
cussed these proposals elsewhere and attempted to defend the reading of the MSS, $\phi\omega\nu\eta\nu \eta \mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, taken *coniunctim*.³ The imitation in Plutarch's *Theseus*, which has now been detected, guarantees the correctness of the transmitted Plato text.

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3. Ibid.

NOTES ON THE *DIALOGUS* OF TACITUS

In a recent review article criticizing the OCT of M. Winterbottom and R. M. Ogilvie,¹ I presented evidence indicating that, of the extant MSS of the *Dialogus*, the family known as ζ ,² represented by the codices EV, is basically independent of the consensus of the other two families, whose main representatives are codices B and C. The following stemma represents the basic relationships of these codices.



The siglum ϕ is given by Winterbottom to represent the consensus of codex Q with ψ , a family made up of a group of contaminated MSS. The family ϕ is itself, despite Winterbottom, probably also contaminated.³ Winterbottom believed that

1. "The Minor Works of Tacitus: A Study in Textual Criticism," *CP* 72 (1977): 323-43. The discussion of the MSS of the *Dialogus* is on pp. 335-38. Winterbottom edited the *Dialogus*.

2. I use the sigla adopted by Winterbottom for his OCT (1975), which should be consulted for their expansion. All of the MSS descend eventually from a lost Hersfeldensis of the ninth century, but through a Renaissance archetype (see my "Minor Works of Tacitus," p. 336). The Hersfeldensis is extant for one quaternion in the *Agricola* (codex Aesinas lat. 8, published in facsimile by R. Till, *Handschriftliche Untersuchungen zu Tacitus "Agricola" und "Germania"* [Berlin-Dahlem, 1943]).

3. M. Winterbottom, "The Transmission of Tacitus' *Dialogus*," *Philologus* 116 (1972): 123, states: "It is, I am sure, by inherited resources that ϕ can avoid the following omissions of C: 12. 3. 18 *illud*; 14. 2. 16 *defendi*. . . ." But it is more likely that *illud* was already omitted by Γ ; otherwise we might expect Γ 's characteristic error, *id* (see "Minor Works of Tacitus," p. 336; Winterbottom, "Transmission," pp. 127-28). In 14. 2, for *poetas defendi*, B reads *poetas defendi poetas*, and C reads simply *poetas*. In all probability, then, the common source of B Γ had B's reading, and C's omission resulted when the scribe's eye skipped from the first *poetas* to the second. In both examples, probabilities favor ϕ 's supplying an inherited omission through contamination. Other explanations can be given, but confidence in ϕ 's purity is clearly misplaced. The examples do not indicate the source of the contamination, but the lack of shared omissions which Winterbottom's apparatus attributes to C ϕ as the fault of Γ indicates that there was some contamination. At least I do not believe that, though C, Q, and the others have many omissions, Γ omitted nothing but one monosyllable: 37. 5. 5 *in*.

Omitted from the stemma are codices c and Δ . Winterbottom believes that these codices descended from a close ancestor of C, after that ancestor had been corrected from ζ . R. P. Robinson (ed.), *The "Germania" of Tacitus* (Middletown, Conn., 1935), p. 187, believed something similar, except that he thought that the ancestor had already been corrected from ζ before C was copied from it, with C simply ignoring most of the corrections. I would not try to resolve so delicate a matter without seeing the codices.

ζ, B, and Γ were all independent witnesses to the archetype, and that the agreement of any two of them should normally establish the archetypal reading. With the above stemma, however, it should be obvious that the solitary witness of ζ is the equal of the consensus of the other codices. In the review article, I pointed out a number of places where the witness of ζ must be judged to transmit the archetypal reading more accurately than the consensus of BC or BΓ.⁴ I wish here to examine a few more readings, particularly readings of ζ that have up to now been casually dismissed by editors in the mistaken belief that they have, by themselves, little or no authority.

17. 4 nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se *fateretur* ei pugnae
interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni arcere
litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt.

fateretur BCψ, *fatentur* Q, *fatebatur* ζ

Whether the subjunctive *fateretur* is explained as consecutive, characteristic, or potential, it is rhetorically inferior to the indicative. Aper is claiming that a man may live to be one hundred and twenty. As evidence he claims to have seen a man who himself claimed to have fought against Caesar: cf. 17. 4. 23 "qui armatus C. Caesari restitit." The subjunctive weakens the value of the evidence. Read *fatebatur*. It might be thought that a scribe would more easily convert a subjunctive into an indicative than vice versa, but this would be difficult to prove from the performance of Renaissance scribes in copying the extant archetype (the ninth-century Hersfeldensis) in the *Agricola*. At *Agricola* 31. 1. 2, the Hersfeldensis reads clearly and with perfect sense *effugerunt*. The scribe of codex A, the illustrious Pomponio Leto, wrote *effugiant*, and, despite its inferior sense, the reading went unchallenged until the archetypal reading was revealed in this century. For other examples of change to the subjunctive, see *Germania* 2. 1. 6 (*quod . . .*) *est*] *sit* Γ; 3. 2. 4 (*quod . . .*) *incolitur*] *incolatur* ζ; 4. 19 *adsueverunt*] *assueuerint* B^vEm; *Dialogus* 1. 1. 4 *appellamus* S *appellemus* BΓξN; 23. 3. 3 *consequuntur*] *consequantur* ψ; 25. 1. 7 *constat*] *constaret* E; 25. 4. 21 *differunt* Halm *differant* BΓξ. In MSS of the minor works, movement toward the subjunctive is more common than the reverse.

Note that I do not claim that the subjunctive is impossible. Examples can be found in the Latin of Tacitus' day of relative clauses in which the subjunctive is attested where the indicative might be expected, and vice versa (see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, vol. 2 [Munich, 1965], pp. 560-61). But a choice must be made, and an assumption that the subjunctive is the *difficilior lectio* does not accord with the observable performance of the scribes of the minor works. That Tacitus would use an imperfect indicative in such a clause can be demonstrated from a very similar sentence which closely follows: 17. 5 "ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepiisse congiarium narrabant." This should be strong enough evidence to support *fatebatur* even for those who believe it to be a conjecture.

23. 4 prope *abest* ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.

abest BΓ, *est* ζ

4. In "Minor Works of Tacitus," I cite 11. 1. 21 *parant enim quid*, 21. 4. 23 *illae*, 10. 8. 17 *necesse sit expressit* (pp. 336-37); 41. 3. 4 *obscurior* (p. 341); I also list the omission of *est* at 37. 5. 5 (p. 343).

Since *abest ab* is the normal idiom, the simple *est* is the *difficilior lectio*. It is supported by the only other example in Tacitus of *prope* meaning "near": *Histories* 1. 10. 1 "tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe," where the simplex is also used. Another possible parallel is *Germania* 30. 3. 5–6 *cunctatio propior constantiae est*, where *propior constantiae* is the reading of B, ζ reads *propiora constantiae*, C has *propiora constantiae*, and Robinson conjectured *propior a constantia* (with greater transcriptional probability).

27. 2 "Non sum" inquit "offensus Apri mei disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit si quid forte aures vestras *perstringit*, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre." "Perge" inquit Maternus . . .

perstringit ζφ, *perstrigit* C, *perstringat* B, *perstringet* Lips.

If Tacitus is using his words carefully (and he always does), *perstringit* should not be right. Mesalla is not asking that his audience not be offended by what has already been said, but rather that they not be offended by what he is going to say. Either B's conjecture *perstringat* or Lipsius' *perstringet* should be read. The latter is more likely to have been corrupted to *perstringit*, and should be preferred.

29. 1 horum fabulis et erroribus [*et*] *virides* [*teneri*] statim et rudes animi inbuuntur

et secl. Knaut, om. b² *virides* B(b), *uides* ζφ, *uires* C, om. b² *teneri* codd., secl. Knaut

Basically three approaches have been taken to this text. One attitude is that *teneri* is in origin a gloss or variant for *virides*, and is wrong (so Knaut, followed by Winterbottom). Although this interpretation fits the juxtaposition of *virides* and *teneri*, it fails as an explanation of *et*. The attachment of *et* to *virides* shows rather that the words were originally a marginal variant for *et rudes*. The *et* was prefixed to the variant in order to make clear the word in the text (*rudes*) for which *virides* (or *vides*) was a variant. The extant Hersfeldensis on the *Agricola* provides several examples of this method of locating the reference of the variant by including a word for which there is no variation: 21. 1. 16 *et otio* E^v *in otio* E;⁶ 22. 1. 28 *ad taum* E^v *ad tanaum* E; 35. 3. 11 *quo ceteri* E *quo steteri* E^v.⁶

The other two approaches are therefore closer to the truth: that *virides* is a variant for *rudes* and wrong (so Halm following b²), and that *virides* is a variant for *rudes* and correct (so Gudeman). The MSS of the minor works offer ample evidence of conflated variants, with the doublets often separated from each other by a word

5. Ogilvie reports *et otio* as the reading of E², when his usual practice would require attribution to E^{2m}. Hence there is a slight error in my statistics in "Minor Works of Tacitus": on p. 330, line 15, change "six times" to "seven times" and list 21. 1. 16 *quieti et otio* E^vAB *quieti in otio* E *qui et in otio* T—probably T's reading reflects a conflation of E^v and E (*quieti et in otio*) followed by haplography of *eti*. On p. 330, line 32, the citation of 44. 4. 25 should be omitted (A^v has it), and the figures adjusted accordingly.

6. Ogilvie's apparatus is misleading here. Where Ogilvie prints Bekker's *agmen in aequo ceteri*, E has *agminae quo ceteri*. E² in the margin has the variant *quo steteri* for *quo ceteri*.

or more.⁷ Gudeman⁸ cites a number of passages that show *teneri et rudes* to be a consecrated collocation: Cicero *De legibus* 1. 17. 47 *teneros et rudes*; Quintilian 1. 11. 2 *tenerum . . . et rudem*; Seneca *Epistle* 50. 4 *teneri et rudes animi*. *Rudis* is a frequent word in Tacitus in passages of sense analogous to the current one. From Gerber and Greef's *Lexicon Taciteum* (Leipzig, 1903) we find that it is used three times modifying *animi* (as here),⁹ another three times of age (modifying *aetas* or *annis*),¹⁰ and three times as the second element in a pair.¹¹ Gudeman's reaction to such evidence was to prefer *virides*, on the ground that no one would gloss *rudes* by *virides*, but could easily do the reverse. Although it is true that *rudes* would not be so glossed, the words are close enough in appearance that one could easily be a simple slip for the other. The variants of the Hersfeldensis are, for the most part, not glosses, but readings which the corrector found in another MS.¹² Further, it is not even clear that the archetypal reading was *virides*. The reading is found only in B and its copy, b. Unless there was an archetypal variant (a variant, then, on a variant), the reading which we would have to reconstruct as archetypal is *uides*, which is found on both sides of the tradition, and which cannot even be sensibly construed (that is, it is the *difficilior lectio*). The other readings, *virides* and *vires*,¹³ make enough sense for them to be attempts at correcting *uides*: with *virides*, "even though vigorous, tender and untrained minds are promptly tainted"; with *vires*, "even their strengths, their tender and untrained minds," etc. It is unlikely that a scribe who knew *virides* or *vires* would deliberately choose to write *vides*. I concede that, if I wished to defend *virides*, I would argue for an archetypal variant (either *ir* *id* *uides* or *uires* to explain the variation between B and C).¹⁴ There is no example in the extant part of the Hersfeldensis of such superscribed letters above a marginal variant. The superscription, then, if it existed, probably appeared first in a Renaissance exemplar in which the marginal variant of the Hersfeldensis had already intruded as a conflation in the text. If so, the intrusive reading could easily have

7. In the *Agricola* we find 10. 4. 4 *sed transgressis] est transgressis sed* AB, where *est* and *sed* were in origin variants. In the *Dialogus* there are many examples, including 16. 7. 3 *sed fama] et fama sed* ζ.

Conflation is characteristic of the descendants of the Hersfeldensis (see "Minor Works of Tacitus," p. 336), but not of the Hersfeldensis itself, to whose original text a slightly later corrector (E² or E^v) has added hundreds of corrections and marginal variants. The lack of conflation in the original text of the Hersfeldensis supports the belief that the corrector excerpted from an exemplar different from the first scribe's source (see also "Minor Works of Tacitus," p. 330, n. 8).

I hope that the reader perceives beneath my arguments an underlying principle: though for any given error usually more than one explanation can be given which is logically satisfying, preference should go to the explanation which fits the known circumstances of transmission and the transmission's demonstrable effects on the text.

8. P. Cornelii Taciti "*Dialogus de Oratoribus*" (Boston, 1894), p. 284.

9. *Ann.* 1. 31, 3. 26, 6. 3.

10. *Ann.* 4. 8, 13. 16, 15. 13.

11. *Agr.* 21. 1. 16 *ut homines dispersi ac rudes*; *Dial.* 5. 7. 3 *inexercitatum et . . . rudem Helvidii sapientiam*; *Dial.* 19. 2. 15 *populus ut imperitus et rudis*.

12. See "Minor Works of Tacitus," p. 330, n. 8, and supra, n. 7.

13. Codex c is reported to have *uiles*, which is, I am sure, another attempted emendation, though it is not clear what the scribe thought it meant.

14. The latter is Winterbottom's suggestion ("Transmission," p. 125, n. 30), and the more likely, since for the former we would expect *uides*.

been *uides* or *uires*, with *uirides* a Renaissance conjecture.¹⁵ The only other example of *viridis* in Tacitus (*Agr.* 29. 4. 1 *viridis senectus*) is a Renaissance conjecture
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for *uiris* (*uiris* by Stefano Guarnieri, the Renaissance corrector of the Hersfeldensis). In short, although I suspect that in *Dialogus* 29. 1. 16 the Renaissance archetype had *et uides teneri*, we cannot be certain whether the marginal variant of the Hersfeldensis was *uirides* or simply *uides*. If the latter, it could be a slip for *rudes* through miscombination of the minims. If the former, it is still close enough to *rudes* to be an accidental slip (psychologically influenced by *teneri* for a scribe thinking of vegetation). The choice between *virides* and *rudes*, then, should be made on the basis of appropriateness, and not on the supposition that only one could have led to the other.

Not only is *rudes* supported by Tacitean vocabulary, and the combination *teneri et rudes* by the consecration of the phrase,¹⁶ but both words are supported by parallels in sources of similar sentiment. Gudeman cites several examples:¹⁷ (a) [Plut.] *Moralia* 3E εὑπλάστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρόν ἢ νεότης καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἀπαλαῖς ἐτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντῆκεται—here ψυχαῖς ἀπαλαῖς is the equivalent of *teneri animi* and ἐντῆκεται of *inbuuntur*; (b) Seneca *Dialogi* 12. 18. 8 “altius praecepta descendunt quae teneris imprimuntur aetatibus”; and (c) Quintilian 1. 1. 5 “natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus.” To these may be added: (d) Vergil *Georgics* 2. 272 “adeo in teneris consuescere multum est”; and (e) Quintilian 1. 1. 36 “Prosequitur haec memoria in senectutem et impressa animo rudi usque ad mores proficiet.” The last passage, together with the three examples of *rudes animi* in Tacitus, provide good support for the *rudes animi* of this passage. When in the *Agricola* Tacitus talked of “green old age,” he used a familiar¹⁸ and appropriate image, which contrasts with old age’s usual “whiteness.” I am less than charmed with the image of “green minds,” though in combination with *teneri* it is tolerable.¹⁹ For the Romans, the normal connotations of *viridis* were of vigor,²⁰ rather than of impressionableness. We should follow b² in reading simply *teneri statim et rudes*.²¹

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15. *Vides* would, in this context, prompt such conjecture more readily than *uires*.

16. Gudeman, “*Dialogus*,” p. lv, cites fifteen examples of familiar pairs of words used in the *Dialogus*: that is, the employment of well-worn pairs is characteristic of the style of the *Dialogus*.

17. Ibid., p. 284. Gudeman (pp. xcix–cii) argues that Pseudo-Plutarch, Quintilian, and Tacitus all use Chrysippus’ lost treatise on the education of children. Quint. 1. 1. 4 cites Chrysippus by name. R. Güngerich, “Der *Dialogus* des Tacitus und Quintilians *Institutio Oratoria*,” *CP* 46 (1951): 159–64, has proved that among Tacitus’ sources was Quintilian himself.

18. E.g., Verg. *Aen.* 6. 304.

19. Sen. *Epist.* 66. 1 uses *viridem animo ac vigentem* of an old friend who was still young and vigorous of mind.

20. This is the only connotation (besides youth) recognized in Lewis and Short; so also Ae. Forcellinus, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, vol. 4 (Padua, 1940), p. 1008: “II. Translate ¶1. Generatim refertur ad iuventam, vigorem, robur.” No examples are cited illustrating the common English meaning of “green” as “inexperienced.”

21. I am indebted to Professors R. F. Renehan and R. H. Rodgers for reading and criticizing this paper.