

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF SENECA'S *APOCOCYNTOSIS**

PREFATORY NOTE

References to the text are to paragraph and line of F. Buecheler's *Petronii Saturae et Liber Priapeorum*, 3rd (Berlin, 1895) edition. References to author alone are to: C. F. Russo, *Divi Claudii AΠOKOΛOKTNTΩCIC* (Biblioteca di Studi Superiori, Firenze, 2nd edition, 1955); P. T. Eden, *William Gray, Bishop of Ely, and Three Oxford Manuscripts of Seneca, Classica et Mediaevalia* xxi¹⁻² (1960), 29–42.

CONSPECTUS CODICUM

Manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order of library designation, and then, where necessary, in order of catalogue number. The date refers strictly to the cited folia or pages of the manuscript. Defective manuscripts are marked with an asterisk.

1. Antonianus (Paduensis) S.I.9, fos. 301^r–303^r, XIVth cent., parchment
2. Balliolensis 130, fos. 76^r col. 1–83^v col. 1, XVth cent., parchment
3. Balliolensis 136, fos. 87^r col. 1–93^v col. 2, XVth cent., paper
4. Baltimorensis 114, fos. 99^r–102^v, early XIIIth cent., parchment
5. Bodleianus 292 (2446), fos. 156^v col. 2–160^v col. 1, XVth cent. (after 1454), parchment
6. Casinensis 392, pp.121 col. 1–126 col. 1, XIVth cent., parchment
7. Cortonensis 81, fos. 24^r col. 2–26^v col. 2, XIVth cent., parchment
8. Cracoviensis 534 (CC VII 40), fos. 249^r–252^v, 1433 A.D., paper
9. Cracoviensis 722 (CC VIII 4), fos. 327^v–329^v, 1430 A.D., parchment
10. Dublinensis E.5.20, fos. 182^v–186^v, XVth cent., paper
11. Exoniensis 3549(B), fos. 257^r col. 2–259^r col. 2, mid-XIIIth cent., parchment
12. Guelferbytanus Extravag. 299, fos. 2^r–16^v, XVth cent., parchment
13. Laurentianus Aedilium 168, fos. 92^r col. 2–94^v col. 1, XVth cent., paper
14. Laurentianus Faesulanus 180, fos. 370^r–373^r, XVth cent., parchment
15. Leodiensis 109, fos. 33^r–41^r, XVth cent., paper
16. Londiniensis B. L. Addit. 11983, fos. 21^v–28^v, XIth–XIIth cent., parchment
17. Malatestianus Caesenas S.XX.1, fos. 175^v col. 1–177^r col. 2, XIVth cent., parchment
18. Marcianus Lat. 267, fos. 28^v–33^r, XIVth cent., parchment
19. Mertonensis 297, fos. 198^r–201^r, XIVth cent. (before 1366), parchment
20. Mertonensis 300, fos. 205^v–207^r, XIVth–early XVth cent., parchment
21. Parisinus Lat. 1936, fos. 356^r–358^v, XIVth cent., parchment
22. Parisinus Lat. 2389, fos. 58^r–64^r, XIVth–XVth cent., parchment
23. Parisinus Lat. 5055, fos. 170^r–173^v, XIVth–XVth cent., paper
24. Parisinus Lat. 6389, fos. 60^r col. 2–63^r col. 2, XIVth cent., parchment
25. Parisinus Lat. 6395, fos. 221^v–223^v, XIVth cent., parchment
26. Parisinus Lat. 6630, fos. 98^r–103^v, XIIth–XIIIth cent., parchment
- 27*. Parisinus Lat. 8501A, fos. 130^r–131^v, XIIIth cent., parchment (ends at *noli mihi invidere* 9.27)
28. Parisinus Lat. 8542, fos. 185^v–188^r, XIIIth cent., parchment
- 29*. Parisinus Lat. 8544, fos. 117^r–117^v, 1389 A.D., parchment (ends at *vocis incerto sonas* 7.33)
- 30*. Parisinus Lat. 8624, fos. 73^r–73^v, XIIIth cent., parchment (ends at *non oportet enim* 3.21–2)
31. Parisinus Lat. 8717, fos. 51^r–55^v, XIVth cent., parchment
32. Parisinus Lat. nouv. acq. 1303, fos. 9^v–15^v, 1375 A.D., paper

* I am indebted to Mr. L. D. Reynolds for scrutinizing this article and for signalling four more renaissance manuscripts, viz.

Vaticani: Arch. S. Pietro C.121, Chigi H.VIII 259, Rossi 604; and Holkham Hall 390.

33. Plagensis Cpl. (454b) 57, fos. 8^r–12^v, XVth cent., paper
34. Sangallensis 569, pp.243–51, late IXth cent., parchment
35. Turonensis 693, fos. 57^r–62^v, XVth cent., parchment
36. Valentianensis 411 (393), fos. 90^r–105^r, IXth–Xth cent., parchment
37. Valentinus 2150, pp.328–35, XVth cent., parchment
38. Vaticanus Lat. 2201, fos. 111^r col. 1–113^v col. 2, XIVth cent., parchment
39. Vaticanus Lat. 2212, fos. 284^v col. 1–287^v col. 1, XIVth cent., parchment
40. Vaticanus Lat. 2216, fos. 118^v col. 1–121^v col. 2, XIVth cent., parchment
41. Vaticanus Lat. 4498, fos. 112^v–118^v, late XVth cent., parchment

THE PRIMARY MANUSCRIPTS

S Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 569: a heterogeneous manuscript, whose last quaternion contains the *Ludus* on pp.243–51, written on parchment, 175 X 232 mm, in a small Carolingian minuscule of the end of the ninth century. The prose, and the verses (all written as such, and not continuously), are ordered in single columns of 32 lines, with the exception of p.250, where the anapaestic dimeters are written in a single column of 30 lines, with the following prose (*delectabatur laudibus suis* 13.1) occupying the right-hand column. The naked eye alone does not detect that the parchment of the *Ludus* is a palimpsest, part of whose first page (243) down to *nemo credidit* (1.16) had actually been used twice before (Russo p.20). From *quod viderit* (1.16–7) (p.243) to *pusillum temporis* (3.15) (p.244), and from *Nemo felicitatis suae* (5.29) (p.245) to *omnes nationes* (5.37) (p.246), the text is written in a larger hand, perhaps that of another scribe. The initial capitals of the prose sections and verse lines, and the Greek words, are rubricated.

S^c Contractions are few and orthodox, corrections have been made only by the original hand(s), and there are no marginal glosses. The *inscriptio* runs: DIUI CLA^vDII INCIPIT ΑΠΟΘΗΟCIC ANNEI SENECE P SATIRĀ and the *subscriptio*: DIUI CLAUDII EXPLICIT APOTHEOSIS ANNEI SENECAE PER SATURAM.

Also contained in this last quaternion, and written in the same hand as the *Ludus*, are (1) on pp.240–2 fragments of an astronomical and medical tract (= Baedae, *Opera* i.400), and (2) on pp.252–7 a work attributed to Methodius, Bishop of Patara, beginning *In χρῑ nomine incipit liber bemethodi epī ecclesiae paterensis* . . . (= Bibl. P.P. max. III.727). P.258 contains the Life of St. Mary of the Egyptians, written in a hand of the twelfth or thirteenth century; p.259 is blank.

The larger preceding part of the manuscript, pp.1–239, contains lives of saints, homilies, etc., written on parchment, 185 X 232–34 mm, in the tenth century.

There can be little doubt that the survival of this manuscript, the oldest and individually the best source of the text, is due to a librarian, whose incomplete misunderstanding of the title, and ignorance of the work itself, led him to imagine that a sprightly burlesque on the deification of a Roman pagan could appropriately be bound in with the dull biographies of Christian worthies aspiring to 'assumption'.

V Valenciennes, Bibliotheque Municipale, 411 (previously 393), parchment, belonging to the era of Hucbaldus (880–930), 167 X 132 mm., fos. 140. Originally from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle (Sanctus Amandus in Pabula Elnonensis), whose library was moved to Valenciennes in 1790. Among miscellaneous contents which include the *Liber Marii Plotii* (*de*

metris) and the 'Proverbia' of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the *Ludus* is contained on fos. 90^r–105^r. The prose and verse are written in single columns of 16 lines, with the exception of fo. 105^r of 12 lines, and of fo. 102^r where the anapaestic dimeters are ordered in two columns, one of 16 and one of 14 lines. The rubricated *inscriptio* runs: *SENECÆ LUDUS DE MORTE CLAUDII*. The *subscriptio* is missing, but the end of the *Ludus* (fo. 105^r) is followed by two verses *Damnabis numquam longum post tempus amicum: Mutavit mores sed pignora prima memento* (= Catonis *Disticha* iv.41, vol. iii.234 Baehrens).

V², V³ There are two roughly contemporary correcting hands. The first uses the same colour ink (brown) as the original, and the same script. The second uses darker ink and a less careful script, but is difficult to distinguish from the first, especially when the correction extends to one letter only. A much later humanist hand has added Greek minuscule quotations in black ink: this is probably the work of Hadrianus Iunius who claims, in his annotated edition of 1557 (Basel), to have used the manuscript of Saint Amand. On fo. 88^v there is an epitaph *In memoriam cuiusdam militis* which begins *Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris* and ends *Exemplo mihi sum primus qui talia gessi* (= Anth. Lat. i.2, c.660 Riese, carm. epigr. 427). The same epitaph occurs after the end of the *Ludus* in Parisinus 8717, Turonensis 693, Parisinus 6630, Vaticanus 2212.

L London, British Library, Additional MS.11983 (previously in the Butler Collection), parchment, late eleventh–early twelfth century, 8^o min., fos. 85. The *Ludus* is contained on fos. 21^v–28^v, preceded by the *De Clementia* and followed by the 'Proverbia'. The prose and verse are written in single columns of 29 lines (the anapaests are disposed in lines of 3 metra). The *inscriptio* runs, with contractions resolved: *INCIPIT EIUSDEM SENECAE LUDUS DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS* and the *subscriptio*: *EXPLICIT LUDUS SENECAE DE MORTE CLAUDII CAESARIS*.

L², L³ There are two correcting hands, the first contemporary, using the same script and the same brown ink as the original, the second, using greenish-black ink, belonging to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. There are two substantial glosses, on Tantalus (fo. 28^r) and Ixion (fo. 28^v), giving mythological information with allegorical moralizing, quite different from the *Glossae* edited by C. F. Russo, *La Parola del Passato* 7 (1952), 48 ff.

THE PRIMARY MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

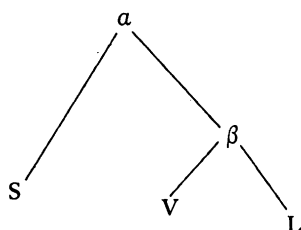
The following list details the chief divergences of reading between S on the one hand, and V and L on the other:

	S	VL
1.2–3	nihil nec offensae	nihil offensae
1.9	quaerito	quaerite
1.12	aguntur	agantur (aguntur V ²)
1.16–7	quod viderit	quid viderit
1.18–9	quae tum audiui	quaecumque audiui
1.19	certa clara affero	certe clara affero (ad- V)
2.22	iamque suam *	iamque suum
2.30	conventi *	contenti
2.2	propior nocti fessas	propior noctis fessus

	S	VL
3.6	seducit	educit
3.24	circumfuso *	circumfusa
4.26	stamine *	stamina
4.28	comes *	comas
4.21	et ex eo	et eo
5.30	sint	sunt
5.32	illuminari *	illum mirari
5.33—4	respondisse se *	respondisse
5.36	qui	quia
5.37—8	ire et explorare	ire explorare
6.21	multa milia *	et multa milia
6.23	quid diceret	quid dicebat *
6.24	ad hoc manu *	ad hoc unum
7.6	neminem romae sibi parem	neminem sibi romae parem
7.7	non haberes eodem gratiae *	non habere se idem gratiae
7.7	sterquilino	sterquilinio
7.11	si memoria repetis	si memoriam repetis
8.25	damnavit incesti	damnavit incesto *
9.5—6	non refero	non fero
9.8	famam mimum	fama nimium *
9.13	et proximo	sed proximo *
9.20	sapientiam *	sapientia
9.23	optimo	optime *
9.24	moetamorfofis* ovidi adiciendam	metamorphosis (-morf-V) ovidia dicendam *
10.30	ego inquit p.c.	om. ego inquit
10.39—40	canis adsidit	canis excidit (exsidit L)
10.40	ac talibus	actibus *
10.7	es	est *
10.9	ubi	om. ubi
11.15	istuc	istud
11.17	persequi	prosequi
11.17—8	c. (= Caius) crassi filium	c. caesar crassi filium
11.31	iniri	inveniri
11.33	vacationem	vocationem
12.40	plane ut scires	plenum ut scires
12.1	tubicinum	tibicinum
12.13	homo	iano *
13.11	perturbatur subalbam	subperturbatur* albam
13.20	convolant primi omnium	convolarunt primum omnium
13.28	huc venistis vos	vos huc venistis
14.3—4	magis iniquum	iniquum magis
14.11	spes sine effectu*	spes sine fine effectus
14.11	pertuso	percusso
15.14	missurus fratrae sonante *	missurus erat resonante
15.22—3	coepit producere	cepit (caepit V) producit

Indubitable errors are marked with an asterisk. They prove, even without information about the relative ages of the manuscripts, that S does not derive from

V or L, and that neither V nor L derives from S, because it is incredible that the truth could have been recovered conjecturally from transmitted error by scribes of the calibre evident in S and in the common ancestor of V and L. That V and L are more closely related to each other than either is to S, and descend from a common ancestor, the hyparchetype β , is proved by their shared errors, since it is implausible to assume that they could have fallen independently into the same error so often. The reading of the nearest common ancestor of all three primary manuscripts, the archetype α , is established by the agreement of S with both V and L, and by the agreement of S with either V or L. This nexus of relationships is made clear by the following stemma:



This is the 'molecular structure' of the tradition, exemplified by cases where all three primary manuscripts offer different readings:

	S	V	L
3.8—9	quid huic et rei publicae invides?	quid huic et respondit invides?	quid huic invides? et respondit
4.25	quod an fecerit	quod autem fecerit	quod ante fecerit
7.35	tergemini potens	regnanter potens	tergemini petens
7.2	adluit ripas vadis	adluit rapidas vadis	alluit ripas undis
9.20—1	sapientiam antecellat	sapientia antecellit	sapientia antecellat
10.37	ad messalae	ad me ad mesalae	á me ad messalae
10.38	pudet imperii	praecidet imperii	praecidit ius imperii
10.7	si aec uos futurus	si haec vos futurus	si hic inter vos futurus
11.16	c caesarem	ic caesarem	Illa G· caesarem
11.25	clarius	darus	durus
14.8	ex veteribus	ex veteris	ex veternis
15.24—5	adiudicatur c caesari caesar illum eaco donatis menandro	adiudicatur c caesar illum eaco donat is menandro	adiudicatur c caesari illum eacus donat Is menandro

V and L are evidently collaterals. V cannot descend from L because it is older (and if the relative ages of V and L were unknown, any such claim would be refuted by 7.2 *vadis* and 15.24—5 *illum eaco donat*: these correct readings could not have been recovered from L by the scribe of V, whose ignorance of even the most elementary words is clear from the above evidence alone). Equally L cannot descend from V because, in spite of the completely different quality of its scribe, he could not have arrived by conjecture at the correct 7.35 *tergemini* and the correct and metrical 7.2 *ripas*. The following are other cases where errors occur in V (i.e. in the manuscript twice corrected, since both correcting hands are anterior to the date of L), but not in L: 1.10 *item* V *idem* L (S gives a black smudge), 3.11 *mensis* V *mensibus* LS, 4.34 *formosa* V *formoso* LS, 6.20 *quam*

ullius mulio V *quam ullus mulio* LS, 6.25 *quod decollare* V *quo decollare* LS, 7.37 *Inachaiam* V *Inachiam* LS *mobile* V *nobile* LS, 8.17 *impetum fecisse* V *impetum fecisti* LS, 8.30 *moras* V *molas* LS, 9.37–8 *mera pamalia* V *mera mapalia* LS, 9.9 *in re* V *in rem* LS 9.10 *bis om.* V *scr.* LS, 9.12 *senatus consilium* V *senatus consultum* LS, 9.26 *in ignem* V *in igne* LS, 10.4 *duas sicilias* V *duas iulias* SL, 11.23 *et servum me ducat om.* V (*per saltum oculi* from the preceding *dicat*, cf. 4.35 *dicunt* V *ducunt* LS) *scr.* LS, 14.36 *eius convictor* V *convictor eius* LS, 15.16 *collectos* V *recollectos* LS.

The character of the two manuscripts V and L also reveals itself. V offers an 'unstable' text, some of whose obvious errors could hardly have escaped correction if, as was not in fact the case, it had ever served as exemplar for a further copy. Readings peculiar to V, which were not in the hyparchetype β , are due to carelessness and ignorance; 4.35 *dicunt* V (*ducunt* SL), 5.29 *impresserant* V *ut vid.* (*impresserunt* SL), 7.35 *regnante* V by dittography of the preceding word (*tergemini* SL), 7.2 *rapidus* V from 7.40 *praerapido* two lines before (*ripas* SL), 8.27 *puellarium* V (*puellarum* SL), 9.19–20 *quam ipsam* V (*quam ipse* SL), 10.2 *referem* V (*referam* SL), 11.10 *regnatum* V (*regnat uni* SL), 11.27 *quanto quidem* V (*quando quidem* SL), 12.28 *venenale* V (*venale* SL), 13.2 *illa* V (*illi* SL), 15.18 *decipere* V (*decepere* SL). The individual readings of L, on the other hand, are due to a rather cavalier attempt at improvement and facilitation, based on a much greater knowledge and confident use of the language, though none of metre. Its quality and date assign it to the Anglo-Norman renaissance of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, when political unity stimulated a revival of learning on both sides of the British Channel.

The tension between truth, error, and attempted correction within the 'molecular structure' of the text is well illustrated by the following examples:

3.8–9 *a* offered the compendium for *rei publicae*. β confused it with the similar compendium for *respondit* and produced the meaningless *quid huic et respondit invides?* V repeated this uncritically. L attempted to make sense of it by transposition to *quid huic invides? et respondit*, but then, realizing that the subject of *respondit* must be Clotho and that she is specified as the speaker at 3.15, the scribe of L effected the necessary change of speaker by inserting *Tum ille* before *fac* at 3.13 (*ille* = *Mercurius* as L³ actually glossed it).

4.25 *a* offered the correct *an*, which S faithfully repeated. β probably offered \bar{a} , which was resolved with independent incorrectness by V into *autem* and by L into *ante*.

7.2 for the correct *vadis* of *a* and β , L substituted the more familiar but unmetrical *undis*.

10.37 *a* offered the correct *admessalae*, repeated by S. β , through dittography of the first two syllables, produced the nonsensical *ad me ad messalae*, duly copied by V, but corrected by L into *á me ad messalae*, producing good sense but not unexceptionable grammar (a dative with the gerund *confugiendum* would be normal).

10.38 *pudet* was correctly offered by *a*. S repeated it without fault, but β misread it as *pcidet*. V made no attempt to alter the nonsensical *praecidet imperii*. L restored the correct tense, *praecidit*, and volunteered *ius* as the badly needed object of the verb.

10.7 *a* correctly offered *siaecuos* in undivided script. S repeated it as *si aec uos*, but β emphasized the incorrectness of his word-division by producing the nonsensical *si baec vos*. This was duly transmitted by V, but provoked L to make sense of a kind by changing the gender of the pronoun (*hic* = *Claudius*) and inserting *inter* before *vos*.

11.16 *occidisti c caesarem non desiit mortuum persequi*, correctly appearing in *a*, was correctly repeated by *S. β*, through dittography of *i*, offered *occidisti ic caesarem*, reproduced by *V. L*, baffled by Augustus' sudden change from addressing Claudius in the second person to addressing the assembly about him in the third, expanded the spurious *i* to *Illa* (= *Messalina*) as the subject of the following *desiit*.

11.25 *a*'s *clarius*, preserved by *S*, reappeared in *β* as *darus* through a very common minuscule confusion (certainly common in *V* itself: 3.15 *dotho* (for *clotho*), 7.32 *dava* (for *clava*), 8.25 *clamavit* (for *damnavit*)). *V* was content to perpetuate the *vox nihili*, *L* corrected to *durus*.

14.8 *a*'s *ex veteribus* appeared in *β*, and so in *V*, as *ex veteris*. *L*'s knowledge of Latin prevented a repetition of this meaningless phrase, but led to the late Latin *veternis*.

15.24–5 *L*, confronted by *β*'s *caesar* (*i*?) *illum eaco donat*, saw, as many editors have failed to see, that this reading gives questionable sense: if Gaius had just appeared, demanded Claudius as his slave and been given him, presumably by the judge Aeacus, why should he immediately make a present of him to Aeacus? *L* emended to give an expected sense: *c caesari illum eacus donat*. Two further examples which need no comment after the above demonstration are: 11.16 *nescisti S, nesti V, nescis L*; 11.26 *pro sententia mea hoc censeo S, praesen hoc censeo V* (*tia mea* added above the line by *V*³), *praesentia mea hoc censeo L*.

There remains a small number of cases where *L* alone of primary manuscripts offers an acceptable reading: 1.10 *idem* (*item V*, *S* gives a smudge), 4.1 *intentas* (*intentus VS*), 4.25 *concacavi* (*concauavi VS*), 4.26 *concacavit* (*concauavit VS*), 7.35 *petens* (*potens VS*), 9.35 *tandem* (*tantum VS*), 9.2 *pater is designatus* (*pateris designatur VS*), 9.22 *ferventia* (*verventi S, ferventi S^cV*), 9.23 *uti ante eum* (*ut iamte eum VS*), 12.4 *quo non alius* (*qui non alius VS*). *V* and *S* cannot have fallen independently into all these errors, and the reading they jointly offer must be presumed to have been the reading of *a*, and may be presumed to have been the reading of *β* also. *L* cannot be supposed to preserve archetypal truth in these cases. It is theoretically possible that *L* had access to a manuscript which belonged to the pre-archetypal stage of transmission and which still preserved these true readings. But it is much more probable that the scribe of *L*, whose qualities are described above, himself recovered the truth by conjecture and earned recognition as the first textual critic to apply himself successfully to the text of the *Ludus*. But not always successfully: his uninhibited confidence sometimes led him wide of the mark: 1.8 *exigit* (*exegit VS*), 2.26–7 *dies i eiusdem octobris* (*dies III idus octobris VS*), 4.30 *subtegmitra* (*subtemina S^c*), 6.12 *minimo discrimine fabros* (*minime fabro VS*), 12.11 *fundite fletus edite planctus VSL*, after which *L* interpolates *fingite mugitus* which brings the number of anapaestic metra up to a round sixty and would no doubt have been accepted by some editors if it were not obviously unmetrical, 15.25 *abesset* (*esset VS*). (These cases would, incidentally, conclusively disprove the descent of *V* from *L*, if any such hypothesis could in any case be entertained.)

S is entitled to be considered the *codex optimus* by the ingenuousness of its failings. Its orthographic peculiarities are negligible: 2.24 *bacho*, 2.26 *octuber*, 2.28 *filosofos*, 3.15 and 3.21 *inquid*, 7.34 and 8.22 *capud*. Many of its errors would, in an uninflected language, be mere spelling mistakes: 4.1 *intentus* (as also *V*: here *S* reproduced an error of *a*), 6.13 *solatum* (*sola cum β*), 6.24 *iuuebat*

(iubebat β), 9.35–6 morentibus (morantibus β), 9.27 adiebat (aiebat β), 10.36 indignatione (indignationem β), 11.34 inter (intra β), 12.5 et tenebris (e tenebris β), 12.6 illi (ille β), 12.19 qui (quo β), 12.27 maiestis (maestis β), 13.26 c̄ sanguine (consanguinei β). And many errors of this type are corrected by S^c : 2.27 ce'tam, 2.3 obliquū (an attempt to change *u* to *o*, resulting in an *a*), 3.4 exim'tium 3.7 umquam, 4.30 subtemine^a, 4.18 feciā^a, 5.2 implic'tam, 7.10–1 nominaturis^v, 7.15 uidēris^a, 9.15–6 nummariolis^v (numulariolus β), 9.22 fueruenti, 10.33 grau'orem, 10.9 antequē^m, 11.25 gressi (punctum delens S^c), 11.25 nullā^a, 12.12 fugā^ais, 14.7 succu'tretur. The truth at 5.32 illum minari can more easily be recovered from S 's unmischievous illuminari than β 's specious illum mirari. S , unlike β , preserves a memory of an earlier stage of transmission when the script was not only undivided (7.7 non haberes eodem gratiae S , non habere se idem gratiae β), but also of uncial or capital form (11.18 vefuit S , vetuit β , 15.14 fratrae sonante S , erat resonante β).

Neither of the correcting hands of V had access to truth unknown to the archetype: 1.10 caelo V caelum V^2 , 1.12 agantur V aguntur V^2 , 2.23 biemps V biems V^2 , 3.15 dotho V clotho V^2 , 3.21 tres V tris V^2 , 4.18 multos annos V annos multos V^2 , 5.32 illum mirari V mari V^2 in marg. (= -inari? i.e. illum minari), 5.32 capud V caput V^2 , 5.38 herculus V hercules V^2 , 6.21 et multa milia V et multa alia V^2 , 7.27 herculus V hercules V^2 , 7.9 docere V dicere V^2 , 7.9 herculus V hercules V^2 , 10.35 qui dicam V quid dicam V^2 , 10.39 extitare V excitare V^2 , 11.20 assarionem V assirionem V^2 , 11.35 cillemus V cillenius V^2 , 13.15 hi erat V hic erat V^2 , 13.21 berti V liberti V^2 , 15.21 sisifilo V sisifio V^2 , 15.23 ab illa V ab illo V^2 . 3.4 Cladius V Claudius V^3 3.15 meberculus V mebercules V^3 , 3.16 supersunt V semper supra scr. V^3 , 5.29 impresserant V (ut vid.) impresserunt V^3 (ut vid.), 5.39 quid etiam V qui etiam V^3 , 8.25 clamauit V damnaui V^3 , 8.27 vocarent V vocant V^3 , 8.29 stulde V stulte V^3 , 11.10 quo V qui V^3 , 11.21 hunc nunc facere V hunc nunc deum facere V^3 , 11.26 praesen hoc censeo V praesentia mea hoc censeo V^3 , 11.28 appiam V appium V^3 , 12.3 ambulare V ambulabat V^3 , 12.4 Quo V Qui V^3 , 12.26 Crete tenens V Cretea tenens V^3 , 13.8 prociua V procliua V^3 , 13.17 narciosum duci V narcius ducius (ut vid.) V^3 , 13.25 sororis filia om. V suppl. V^3 , 14.33 edit V cedit V^3 , 14.38 magis V magnis V^3 14.5 quid illum om. V suppl. V^3 .

The same is true of the correcting hands of L : neither the contemporary L^2 , nor L^3 of circa 1400 A.D., shows any signs of pre-archetypal truth: (the frequent cases where L^2 has drawn a bar to join parts of a word incorrectly divided by L are omitted); 1.10 cladium L claudium L^2 , 1.12–3 augustus et diuum L diuum et augustum L^2 , 2.28–9 tamen inter sextam om. L add. in marg. L^2 , 3.24–5 concentus (ut vid.) L contentus L^2 , 4.33 uirilis (?) L uilis L^2 , 4.16 forma L formosa L^2 , 4.21–2 exsprauit L exspirauit L^2 , 5.37–8 iubet explorare L iubet ire explorare L^2 , 7.27 fuatuari (?) L fatuari L^2 , 7.39 obverso L obuerso L^2 , 7.14 aurem L audirem L^2 , 7.14 incisses L incidisses L^2 , 9.25 sentia uincere L sententia uincere L^2 , 10.29 sententiae loco L sententiae suae loco L^2 (? or L^3), 10.1–2 omittam illa L illa omittam L^2 , 10.2–3 ego nescio L ego scio L^2 , 10.7 si inter uos L si hic inter uos L^2 (? or L^3), 11.30 sibi ouo L sibi quam ouo L^2 , 11.34 olimpo diem L olimpo intra diem L^2 , 13.2 nontius L nuntius L^2 , 13.23 rusius L russius L^2 , 14.3 cladio L claudio L^2 . 3.13 Tum ille L Mercurius supra scr. L^3 , 10.6 silanum L sillanum L^3 .

THE BASIC RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SECONDARY MANUSCRIPTS

The grass-root affiliations of the secondary manuscripts can be detected by the extent to which any single manuscript preserves the characteristic readings of one of the primary manuscripts. The following test-samples can be taken as representative:

	S	V	L
3.8-9	quid huic et rei publicae inuides	quid huic et respondit inuides	quid huic inuides et respondit
7.2	ripas uadis	rapidas uadis	ripas undis
10.37	ad messalae	ad me ad mesalae	á me ad messalae
10.38	puDET imperii	praecidet imperii	praecidit ius imperii
11.16	nescisti . . . occidisti c caesarem	nesti . . . occidisti ic caesarem	nescis . . . occidisti illa G ^r caesarem
11.26	pro sententia mea	praesen	praesentia mea
15.24	caesari caesar illum eaco	caesar illum eaco	caesari illum eacus

It is immediately remarkable that not one of the secondary manuscripts preserves any of the peculiar readings of V, and Russo's stemma (p.33), is misleading in its implication that V had any influence on the subsequent tradition.

Hardly less remarkable is the fidelity of individual manuscripts to one or other side of the tradition. All of the peculiar readings of S reappear (occasionally with further corruption, but of a kind which betrays no influence from the L tradition) in the following manuscripts: Casinensis 392, Cracoviensis 534, Cracoviensis 722, Laurentianus Aedilium 168, Laurentianus Faesulanus 180, Marcianus Lat. 267, Parisinus Lat. nouv. acq. 1303, Plagensis Cpl. (454b) 57, Valentianus 2150, Vaticanus Lat. 2201, Vaticanus Lat. 2216. Dublinensis E.5.20 differs from S in one place only where its reading is that of L (11.26 *Ego presentia*) and not a further corruption of S (3.8-9 *Quid huic exire preinuides*, 7.2 *aluit ripis uadis*: a degree of illiteracy which renders this manuscript quite worthless). Antonianus S.I.9 likewise deserts S for L once only (3.8-9), Vaticanus Lat. 2212 twice (3.8-9, 10.37; at 11.15-6 it omits *nescio . . . occidisti*). (Those of the above manuscripts which write *rei publicae* by a compendium could theoretically agree with V, but in view of their consistent agreement with S elsewhere it would be perverse to assume that they do.)

The characteristic readings of L are reproduced (occasionally with further corruption, but of a kind uninfluenced by the S tradition) in the following manuscripts: Balliolensis 130, Balliolensis 136, Baltimorensis 114, Bodleianus 292, Cortonensis 81, Exoniensis 3549(B), Leodiensis 109, Malatestianus S.XX.1, Mertonensis 300, Parisinus Lat. 1936, Parisinus Lat. 2389, Parisinus Lat. 5055, Parisinus Lat. 6389, Parisinus Lat. 6395, *Parisinus Lat. 8501A, *Parisinus Lat. 8544, *Parisinus Lat. 8624, Parisinus Lat. 8717, Turonensis 693, Vaticanus Lat. 4498. Guelferbytanus Extravag. 299 and Mertonensis 297 and Parisinus Lat. 6630 agree in all places with L except at 7.2 where they offer *uadis* with S (Parisinus Lat. 6630, the oldest of the three, gives L's *undis* as a marginal variant). Parisinus Lat. 8542 deserts L for S not only at 7.2 but also at 10.37. (At 10.37 Balliolensis 136 offers *ad me ad*, Balliolensis 130 and Guelferbytanus Extravag. 299 offer *a* (followed by an erasure) *me ad*: this is the reading of V,

but these manuscripts are more likely either to be guilty of independent error, or even perhaps to preserve a memory of the suspension over the first *a* discernible in L).

The geographical distribution of the manuscripts of the two groups rouses immediate attention. As regards their present-day library location, they present, with few exceptions, a picture of waves of influence emanating from the Alps (the S group) and the British Channel (the L group) respectively as their centres. How far this picture reflects the actual course of transmission between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, and how significant the deviants are (notably Parisinus Lat. nouv. acq. 1303 in the S group, and Cortonensis 81 and Vaticanus Lat. 4498 in the L group) are questions which may repay investigation.

ELIMINATIO CODICUM DESCRIPTORUM

Detailed collation makes it possible to discard two manuscripts from each of the two groups (cf. Eden p.34 n.4).

I. (1) Cracoviensis 534

(i) The following conjunctive errors, common to this manuscript and Cracoviensis 722 but absent from the rest of the manuscript tradition, indicate that these two manuscripts are more closely related to each other than is either to any other manuscript: 2.25 *uuas uindemiator*, 3.5 *qui ingenio ei [sic] delectatus fuerat*, 4.41 *Electus* (for *et laetus*), 4.20 the ignorant attempt to copy some of the Greek and to latinise the rest (. . . *cepit* . . . *moribus*) is exactly the same in both manuscripts, 6.25–6 both manuscripts omit *iusserat* . . . *curabat*, 7.29 after *tragicus sic [sic] et ait* both manuscripts have the words *Seneca cordubensis Seneca cordubensis*, 7.4–5 *mentis non est suae continet*, 7.6 *intellexit neminem patrem sibi Rome parem fuisse*, 8.17 *non miror quod in curia impetum fecisti impetum tibi nichil clausum est*, 8.18–20 both manuscripts omit the Greek (as also at 8.33–4), 8.28–32 both manuscripts omit *quare* . . . *plagas*, 10.30 *contra summam facundiam*, 11.32–3 *rerum mendicandarum aduocationem*, 12.3–5 both manuscripts omit *cecidit* . . . *orbe* and continue (12.6–8) *Ille eccatho parthos cursu uincere poterat celeres* (722; colores 534) *Ille rebelles fundere dacos*, 14.5–6 *erat qui diceret Tantalum siti periturum (om. Sisyphum diu laturam fecisse)*.

(ii) The relative dates of the two manuscripts (722, 1430 A.D.; 534, 1433 A.D.) prove that 534 is not the parent of 722. (If the manuscripts had been undated this would be proved by separative errors at 2.21 *tempora* 722, *opera* 534 and 15.23 *flagris scr.* 722, *om.* 534).

(iii) Separative errors of 722 against 534, viz. 4.12 *orbum* (*ut vid.*) 722, *orbem* 534; 5.6 *phylologie* 722, *philologos* 534; 15.15 *utrūque* 722, *utraque* 534, are too slight to prove conclusively that the two manuscripts are brothers. To suppose that in these cases the scribe of 534, copying 722, inadvertently blundered into the truth is quite consistent with the disregard he shows elsewhere for terminations, e.g. 6.14 *ista* for *iste* 722, 9.23–4 *eademque rem* for *eamque rem* 722, 12.15 *caeruleas* for *caeruleos* 722. If 534 was directly copied from 722, a not uncommon type of error would be explained. The script of 722, apart from its general illegibility, offers *es* formed very like *os*; in the following cases what appears to be an *o* in 722 is such quite unmistakably in 534: 4.4

demite 722, *domite* 534; 4.22 *comedos* 722, *comodos* 534; 5.10 *homericus* 722, *honoricus* 534; 12.7 *celeres* 722, *colores* 534.

(iv) Whether 534 is the irresponsible son, or (less likely) the wayward younger brother of 722, its testimony has no independent value.

I. (2) Laurentianus Faesulanus 180

(i) Numerous conjunctive errors prove the closest affinity between this manuscript and Laurentianus Aedilium 168: 1.13 *ad celum* (for *ad deos*), 2.21 *hosturi* (for *obscuri*), 2.23 *carpiat ut* (for *carpebat*), 2.31 *inquirent* (for *inquietent*), 2.1 *coeli* (for *curru*), 3.15 *sed doce me hercules* (for *sed Clotho 'ego mehercules'*), 4.15 *mundus* (for *nitidus*), 5.35 *secundum linguam* (for *se linguam*), 6.12–3 *et imposuerunt Herculi in mero discrimine fabulam ubi fuisset illic Febris quae filio suo relicto . . .*, 6.15 *Martis* (for *Marci*), 7.35 *edixere* (for *edissere*), 7.10 *rationem* (for *notorem*), 9.37–8 *ego inquit p.c. interrogare permiseram uobis nos mores turbastis*, 10.36 *non inuenio: inferi uerba digna sunt*, 10.38–9 *hic qui nobis p.c. non posset muscam excitare*, 10.1 *calamitates* (for *clades*), 11.32–3 *rerum uendicandarum actionem*, 12.31 *petitis* (for *parastis*), 15.15 *fluebat* (for *fugiebat*). In addition, both manuscripts, and they alone, omit all of the following passages: 3.12–3 *nemo enim . . . faciendum est*, 7.3 *estne . . . tui*, 7.11–12 *ego eram . . . totis*, 9.14–5 *Diespiter Uicae Potae*, 10.8–9 *de causa cognosceres antequam*.

(ii) Separative errors at 4.41 *Est letus Aed.* (for *et laetus*), *Est locus Faes.* and 12.38 *interrogat Aed. (vera lectio)*, *interrogauit Faes.*, and the omission in Faes. of two passages which occur in Aed., viz. 7.37–9 *Inachiam . . . obverso*, and 9.2 *designatus erat*, prove that Faes. is not the parent of Aed. At 14.12 in Faes. the scribe's eye leapt from *fritillo* to the *fritillo* of 15.14, and after it he wrote *Utraque subducto fluebat tessera fundo*; realizing his error, but not wishing to spoil the undoubtedly pleasing appearance of his manuscript by an ugly deletion, he returned to 14.12 *et iam coeperat . . .* and continued without omission. There is no such intrusive verse at the same place in Aed.

(iii) There are no separative errors of Aed. against Faes., and the direct copying of the latter from the former can be proved beyond doubt. Aed. is written in an ugly illegible cursive script and is obviously not the work of a professional copyist. Faes. is executed in a neat, well-written hand using that Italian Renaissance style which revived one of the most attractive scripts of the twelfth century (exemplified by e.g. the Florence manuscript of Sallust's *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, B. L. Addit. manuscript 16422, from the same period and area). The scribe of Faes. was very faithful to his exemplar, but his knowledge of Latin was sadly inadequate to help him make sense of it. Some of his mistakes are the results of quite common confusions: at 7.13 *tu scis* is misread as *tristis*, at 11.29 *crassum frugi* as *crassum fingi*, at 13.17 *narcissus* as *narassus*. The peculiarly distinctive form of the *e* (e) in Aed. caused 8.25 *Sillanum eim* (= *enim*) *generum* to reappear in Faes. as *Sillanum omnium generum*, 14.11 *alea* as *alia*, 15.19 *alea* as *alta*, 9.9 *ne uidear* as *ut uidear*. Aed. uses the compendium *ꝥ* for final *-rum*, which explains 12.1 *senatori* and 12.2 *fori* in Faes. The misformed *p* at 7.40 *ꝑrapido* and *r* at 2.29 *erat* in Aed. account for *ꝑrerabido* and *earat* at these places in Faes. The scribe of Aed. used no hyphen or other mark when he divided words between the end of one line and the beginning of the next; the scribe of Faes. sometimes did not realise that a whole word had been so divided:

hence 1.8 *iurato/res* Aed. reappears as *iurato res* in mid-line in Faes., and 9.16 *ciui/taculas* Aed. as *ciui taculas* in mid-line in Faes. The most unusual mistake, which would alone suggest direct copying, occurs at 7.28–9: in Aed. initial *ex* is written as *τ*, which is usually (as at 9.1 *existimabit*) correctly understood by the scribe of Faes.; but at 7.28–9, because the compendium is badly written and out of vertical alignment *excuiam* reappears as *percutiam*.

II. (1) Turonensis 693

(i) In this manuscript in Parisinus 8717 the *inscriptio* is the same: *Annei lucii senece de morte claudii qui dicitur ludus senece liber incipit*; and in both manuscripts this is followed by Martial 5.42 *Callidus e fracta nummos fur auferet arca . . . Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes*. The *subscriptio* is the same in both: *Annei luci senece de morte claudii liber explicit qui dicitur ludus senece*; and in both this is preceded by the epitaph of the soldier Soranus, *Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris* etc. (as in V: see above, p.151).

The closest affinity between the two manuscripts is proved by numerous conjunctive errors: 1.1 *Factum* (for *Quid actum*), 1.2–3 *nihil offerens vel* (for *nihil nec offensae nec*), 1.5 *scio diem* (for *suum diem*), 1.12 *es* (for *est*), 3.5 *om. delectatus*, 3.15 *ego mehercule inquit pusilli pusillum temporis*, 3.18 *aliquo* (for *aliquos*), 4.41 *plectus* (for *plectra*), 4.3 *neutre* (for *neuere*), 4.9 *Quaque* (for *Qualis*), 5.34 *per turbam* (for *perturbato*), 5.2 *inprivatam* (for *implicatam*), 6.17 *auitoria* (for a Vienna), 7.1 *Aratque dubitatis* (for *Ararque dubitans*), 8.22 *om. iam . . . habet*, 9.1 *existimauit*. *Illo dimissi* (for *existimabit*. *Illo dimisso*), 9.23 *om. ita uti . . . sit*, 9.27 *agebat* (for *aiebat*), 10.31–2 *semper et meum meum negotium*, 10.33 *gratiorem* (for *grauiore*), 10.39 *om. canis*, 10.40 *atribus* (for *ac talibus*), 10.4 *docens* (for *latens*), 11.17 *et gñs* (for *hic et generum*), 11.20 *infatuum* (for *fatuum*), 11.22 *iratum* (for *iratis*), 12.6 *rem uincerent* (for *reuiuiscerent*), 12.10 *meta* (for *nenia*), 12.7 *celestes* (for *celeres*), 13.5 *narcissimus* (for *Narcissus*), 14.32–3 *om. Aeaci . . . nomen*, 15.14 *resona fatillo* (for *resonante fritillo*), 15.18 *refugosque ipsos* (for *refugit digitosque per ipsos*). Some of these errors could have been committed independently, but this is highly unlikely because of exact coincidence in so many, and even in abnormally idiosyncratic spelling: 1.19 *fellicem* (cf. 4.31 *fellici* and 5.29 *fellicitatis*), 3.21 *interualis*, 3.22 *dimitam*, 4.10 *bysperus*, 8.27 *puelarum*, 11.35 *cylenius*, 12.15 *bregantos* (for *Brigantas*).

(ii) The relative ages of Parisinus 8717 (XIVth cent.) and Turonensis 693 (XVth cent.) prove that the latter is not the parent of the former, and if the manuscripts could not be dated on palaeographical grounds, this would be strongly suggested by separative errors of the latter against the former: 6.25 *iussa* Tur., *iussera* [sic] Par.; 9.37 *promis eram* Tur., *permisseram* [sic] Par.; 13.2 *Talabius* Tur., *Taltibius* [sic] Par.

(iii) Separative errors of Par. against Tur. are hardly more than simple spelling mistakes, and hardly sufficient to prove that the two manuscripts are collaterals: 10.39–40 *exidit* Par., *excidit* Tur.; 14.5 *orporteret* Par., *oporteret* Tur.

(iv) If, as seems highly probable, Tur. was copied from Par., a number of singularities would be explained. At 5.32–3 Par. has *pe ~~tem~~ dem dextrum* with an erasure covering the space of two letters as marked; Tur. leaves a blank space at precisely the same position in the word. At 6.25 Par. has *quo dec ~~tem~~ homines*, with an erasure as marked; Tur. offers *quo ~~tem~~ homines*, a meaningless symbol. At 7.26–7 Par. has *Tum behercules*, a miswriting of the first syllable *herc-*

without subsequent deletion; Tur. offers *Tum bec* (= *haec*) *hercules*. At 13.2 Par. has *Taltibius* with *-ti-* looking very like *a*: Tur. has *Talabius*.

II. (2) Bodleianus 292

No additional evidence to that assembled in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21¹⁻² (1960), 29–42 needs to be adduced to prove that this manuscript was directly copied from Balliolensis 130 (with which Balliolensis 136 is cognate).

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POSTSCRIPT

The information provided in this article tacitly corrects many but not all of the errors both in the apparatus of Otto Rossbach's edition (Bonn, 1926), and in Russo's Introduction, pp.27–33, and should be of service to the next editor of this work.