

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT OF CICERO'S *LAELIUS DE AMICITIA*¹

1. LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

I begin by listing those manuscripts older than 1100 that have hitherto been known to editors.

P Kraków, Berol. lat. 4° 404; formerly Parisinus Didotianus. In my 1983 article² I reported this manuscript as missing. However, shortly after *T & T* went to press, I was informed by Mr (now Professor) M. D. Reeve that a number of former Berlin manuscripts had found their way to the Jagiellonian Library of Kraków, and, some time afterwards, that he had ascertained that the Didotianus was indeed among these. The information was apparently in the first place due to Professor B. Munk Olsen,³ who reported it in print in 1987. I myself noted the rediscovery in my 1990 edition of the *Laelius*.⁴ I have obtained a microfilm of the manuscript from the Jagiellonian Library. Since its readings are fully reported in editions, especially those of Laurand (1928) and Combès (1971)⁵, there is not much that can be added to our knowledge by a renewed study of this manuscript; but it is nevertheless reassuring to know that the Didotianus is again safe and sound, and to be able to confirm at first hand the collations of previous editors. The first page is illegible on my microfilm, and was apparently so also on Laurand's photographs.

K Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 1762, containing the excerpts of Hadoard of Corbie, ninth century,⁶ used by editors since Simbeck.

M Munich Clm 15514-II, containing *Laelius* 44–104, ninth or tenth century; **M** was discovered by Halm after the publication of the Baiter–Halm edition (1861), and later used by Baiter and subsequent editors.

L Florence, Laur. 50, 45, tenth century according to Chatelain,⁷ followed by Munk Olsen. First used for the *Laelius* text by Laurand.⁸

¹ This is the article promised in my 1990 Aris & Phillips edition (Cicero, *On Friendship and The Dream of Scipio* [Warminster, 1990], p. 25) bringing information on the MSS up to date since my article in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983) (hereafter referred to as *T & T*), pp. 121–4. I am grateful to Dr S. J. Heyworth for comments on a draft of this article, and to the anonymous referee.

² *T & T* (see n. 1 above), pp. 121–2. To the literature there cited should be added C. H. Beeson, 'The "lost" manuscript of Cicero's *De Amicitia*', *CP* 21 (1926), 120–32.

³ B. Munk Olsen, *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1987), vol. 3.2, pp. 20 and 30 (cf. vol. 1, pp. 83, 258 and 318).

⁴ See n. 1. The rediscovery was also subsequently reported by L. Holford-Strevens in *CQ* 42 (1992), 577–8.

⁵ Combès was unable to trace **P** itself, but made use of Laurand's photographs (Combès, *introd.* p. lviii, n. 4).

⁶ For bibliography see *T & T*, p. 118, n. 9.

⁷ E. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins* I (Paris 1884) p. 11, plate 42.

⁸ L. Laurand, *Musée Belge* 30 (1926), 33–42. On the *Cato Maior* text in this MS, see my edition (Cambridge 1988), p. 41 (the MS is there referred to as **M**).

Q (= **p** of previous editors) Paris lat. 544-II, eleventh century; first used by Laurand.⁹

G Wolfenbüttel, Gud. lat. 335, eleventh century; collated by Fleckeisen for Baiter–Halm.

H London, B. L. Harley 2682, eleventh century. First reported by A. C. Clark and H. Schwarz; Laurand was the first editor to use it.¹⁰

V Vienna lat. 275, eleventh century; collated by Du Rieu for Baiter–Halm.

To these may now be added two fragmentary manuscripts of early date, collations of which have been published in periodicals, but not incorporated by editors.

A, Vat. lat. 5207, is a ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript, of Italian origin according to Bischoff,¹¹ containing *Laelius* §§1–29. It was first noticed and collated by Finch.¹²

Z (my siglum) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1703/92, of the tenth century, contains two short fragments, a collation of which was published by Gerstinger.¹³

The remaining two manuscripts earlier than the twelfth century are:

O Oxford, Bodl. D'Orville 77, tenth century.¹⁴

R Paris lat. 5752-II, eleventh century.

These appear in the list of manuscripts in the edition of P. Fedeli, but it seems clear that he did not regard them as being of any particular interest, and I have no knowledge of any other edition that has utilized them, or of any published collation. Nevertheless, as will appear, they may be regarded as equal in value to those already listed.

In addition to these, I have retained for editorial purposes three manuscripts of the twelfth century. **S** (Munich Clm 15964) and **B** (Munich Clm 4611) have long had a place in editions, having been collated first by Fleckeisen for Baiter–Halm. The only other twelfth-century manuscript (of those which I have seen) that seems to me to be of importance is a new arrival, Leiden, Voss. Lat. F. 104, which I collated at Leiden in 1996 and have christened **F**: I discuss its affiliations below. Other twelfth-century manuscripts are noticed in section 3 of this paper.

2. CLASSIFICATION

It was for some time assumed that the tradition was clearly bifurcated. Mommsen's discovery¹⁵ of **P** was followed by the incorporation of the incomplete manuscript **M** and of Hadoard's excerpts (**K**). It was easily seen that these two were related to **P**: the

⁹ Laurand (n. 8), pp. 131–7.

¹⁰ For bibliography, see *T & T*, p. 119, n. 15.

¹¹ Cf. *T & T*, p. 122, n. 4.

¹² C. E. Finch, *TAPA* 95 (1964), 66–76.

¹³ H. Gerstinger, *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, III (Klagenfurt, 1952), pp. 388–91. I rely on Gerstinger's collation.

¹⁴ Cf. *T & T*, pp. 122–3.

¹⁵ T. Mommsen, *RhM* 18 (1863), 594–601.

three manuscripts **PKM** were designated by Simbeck¹⁶ as the *x* family. The readings of this side of the tradition were not altogether unknown before **P** was discovered; but they were represented only by the twelfth-century **MS E** (Erfurtensis: Berlin, Lat. fol. 252, the Ciceronian collection of Wibald of Corvey: first collated by Wunder¹⁷ and incorporated by Baiter–Halm) and the fifteenth-century **D** (Vienna 3115, collated by Michnay¹⁸ and first used by R. Klotz in his 1833 edition). Both these MSS are hybrids that happen to preserve a number of *x* readings.

The other family (*y*) consisted of **GHVSB**: the close relationship to each other of these five manuscripts (together with the fragments in **Z**) is obvious. The five *y* MSS, so designated, share a common error over twenty times in the text,¹⁹ while **HVSB** in addition agree in error in more than fifty passages.²⁰

Something of a spanner was thrown into the works of this simple stemmatic scheme by Laurand,²¹ when he used for the first time the two manuscripts **L** and **Q**. These two were clearly very closely related to each other, presenting numerous common variants not found in the other early manuscripts. On the other hand they did not, on the whole, appear to share the characteristic errors either of **PKM** or of **GHVSB**. Strictly speaking, therefore, the conclusion ought to have been that they belonged to a third family independent of either *x* or *y*. However, successive editors felt that they must belong to either one or the other: Combès, for example, argued for attaching them to *x*, while others²² argued equally strongly for a connection with *y*. Some thought them contaminated, and I followed this line with some hesitancy in *T & T*. The fact is, however, that the wrong question was being asked. If the two families are defined as above, then **L** and **Q** do not belong to either; but if one looks without preconceptions at the pattern of readings in the text as a whole, one will find that **L** and **Q** virtually never²³ agree in error (though often in preserving the truth)

¹⁶ K. Simbeck, Teubner edition (1917).

¹⁷ E. Wunder, *Variae lectiones librorum aliquot M. Tulli Ciceronis ex codice Erfurtensi enotatae* (Leipzig, 1827).

¹⁸ A. D. Michnay, *Neue Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Suppl. 2.1 (1883), 138ff.

¹⁹ As noted by Combès in his edition, introd. p. lxii, a number of the variants of **GHVSB** (to which we may now add **Z**) are transpositions of word order: 12 *reductus ad vesperum: ad vesperum reductus* **GHVSBZ**; 13 *haec nuper: nuper haec* **GHVSBZ**; 22 *locis pluribus: pluribus locis* **GHVSB**; 32 *amicitias conglutinet: conglutinet amicitias* **GHVSB**; 35 *odia etiam: etiam odia* **GHVSB**; 58 *vera amicitia: amicitia vera* **GHVSB**. Generally speaking, where a choice can be made on grounds of sense or rhythm, the order in **GHVSB** is inferior; hence in cases of doubt we may assume that this family is less trustworthy in matters of word order. Other errors of **GHVSB**: 14 *Manilius: manlius* **GVSBZ** (*mallius* **H**); 22 *qui (potest esse): quae* **G¹HVSB**; 43 *futura: futura sit* **GHVSB**; 51 *secuta: consecuta* **HVSB**, *consecutata* **G**; 82 *pro altero: ab altero* **G¹HVS1B**; 100 *exardescit: ardescit* **GHVSB**. Additionally, in sections 71–81, where **V**'s text is missing, we have 74 *quorum: eorum quoque* **GHSB**; 78 *horum vitiorum: vitiorum horum* **GHSB**; 80 *sibi quisque: quisque sibi* **GHSB**. For agreements in error of **GHVSB** and **LQ**, see below, n. 27.

²⁰ The variants of **HVSB** are too numerous to list in full; again many of them are alterations of word order. In the first ten sections of the text alone we have 1 *multa ab eo: ab eo multa* **HVSB** (and, perhaps coincidentally, **F**); *prudenter disputata: disputata prudenter* **HVSB**; *et commode: et om.* **HV¹SB**; 5 *nemo fere: fere nemo* **HVSB**; 8 *id: hoc* **HVSB**; *ut ulla: ut illa* **HV¹SB**; 9 *hi quidem nec catoni comparantur* **HVSB** (see below); 10 *nihil: nihil enim* **HVSB**.

²¹ Laurand, articles cited above, nn. 8 and 9; Budé edition (1928).

²² P. Venini, ed. Paraviana (Turin, 1959); P. Fedeli, ed. Mondadori (Milan, 1971); id., *RhM* 115 (1972), 156–9.

²³ An exception is 99 *aperte enim adulantem: aperte enim et adulantem* **PMF¹L¹**: *apertum enim et adulantem* **Q**. This passage is discussed by Fedeli (article cited in previous note), p. 173, who argues that the intrusive *et* stood in the archetype, and proposes to restore sense by inserting a word before it, e.g. *assentantem*. This is possible, but *et* could just as well have been an error in the

with PKM against GHVSB, while in a number of cases an error is shared by LQ and the consensus of GHVSB.

The most significant of the errors that unite LQGHVSB is the obvious interpolation in §9. The correct text is, fairly clearly, *sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro*. This reading was apparently first cited by Langius; he attributed it to a manuscript belonging to Jacobus Susius (J. de Suys), which for a long time could not be identified with any manuscript more recently known. Mommsen²⁴ observed that P has a reading that differs from this by only one letter: for *in pueris* it has the nonsensical *iniueris*.²⁵ Mommsen theorized that the Didotianus itself was Susius's book; but if Langius actually had the Didotianus in front of him, he could hardly have said that it had the reading *hi in pueris*, except by a remarkable piece of wishful thinking. K and M do not have this passage at all. The collation of A revealed that it agreed almost exactly with P (it reads *hij niueris*): but A does not derive from P, and the error must go back to the parent of these two MSS at least. Manuscript attestation of the true reading had to wait to be discovered until my own examination of O, which clearly reads *hi in pueris*. I suggested in *T & T*²⁶ that O, rather than P, was possibly to be identified as Susius's book. Since then, I have found that F has the reading *hi impueris*; but O is still the only one with an entirely correct reading and it still seems the most plausible candidate to be the 'liber Susii'.

In this passage, the other earlier manuscripts read as follows (instead of *sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto*): *sed cave hos praeponas catoni maximo* R, *sed nec comparantur catoni perfecto* G¹, *sed hi nec comparantur catoni perfecto* G², *sed hi ne* (L¹: non L²) *comparantur catoni perfecto* L; Q, as G² (so also O²); *sed hi quidem nec catoni comparantur perfecto* HVSB. Leaving aside R for the moment, it is clear that all the other readings have a strong family resemblance and must go back to the same original. It seems most likely that the ultimate common ancestor of LQGHVSB was a manuscript which, like P and A, had a corrupt and unintelligible reading in this passage, and that the interpolation of *nec comparantur catoni* (vel sim.) was an attempt to restore sense. It should incidentally be noted that (leaving the twelfth-century F aside) all the *recentiores* of which I have knowledge also have this interpolation, or something like it.

It is therefore probable that LQ ultimately share with GHVSB a common ancestor at one remove from the archetype. If we are to talk of a *y* family, it should be redefined to comprise LQGHVSB.²⁷ But LQ have a mass of errors not shared by GHVSB, and (as already seen) GHVSB have a considerable number that are not to be found in LQ.

The facts are inevitably not quite as simple as this. A small group of readings unites

archetype. There are also one or two perhaps fortuitous agreements of LQ with M: 53 *amicos* om. MLQ; 91 *et monere: et* om. MLQ.

²⁴ Mommsen (n. 15).

²⁵ One could surmise that this error derived ultimately from an uncial exemplar, in which *p* and *i* could easily be confused.

²⁶ *T & T* 122; Dr B. C. Barker-Benfield confirms that nothing is known of O's history which is incompatible with this identification.

²⁷ Note also: 39 *memoriae: memoria* LQGV¹SB (but V² and H correct this); 41 *potuimus* PO'FH²: *posuimus* LQGVSB together with O² and R: *possumus* H¹; 42 *in magna aliqua re* PO'F: *in magnam aliquam rem* LQGHV¹SB and O² (all MSS have the mistakenly added *p(ublicam)*), deleted by the correctors of O and V); 47 *reapse: re ipsa* LQGHVS (post corr.: *re* om. S¹) and B; 71 *si: sic* LQGSB (V unavailable in 71–81) and R¹; 81 *se diligant* LQGHSB and R; 86 *esse nullam: esse nullam sentiunt* LQGHVSB and O'R²; 99 *vidisse: vicisse* LQGHVSB and RF.

LQ in error with **G** or with the corrector of **G**, against **HVSB**,²⁸ while the reverse sometimes happens—**LQHVS** agree in error, while **G** is correct.²⁹ One may doubtless reckon with a certain amount of cross-correction as between **G**, the exemplar of **LQ**, and the common exemplar of **HVSB**. **Q** sometimes shares errors with **GHVSB** which are not to be found in **L**:³⁰ presumably these were in the exemplar of **LQ** but were corrected before they got to **L**. **L** occasionally agrees in error with the *x* family; **Q**, on the other hand, preserves the truth³¹—or at least so it appears; but these few agreements may be due to chance.

Before we proceed further, **A** and **O** should be fitted into the stemma. These two manuscripts are both, to all intents, pure members of Simbeck's *x* family. As was shown by Finch,³² **A** is very closely related to **P** (as we have seen already, the two MSS uniquely agree in error in §9). **A** seems to produce one correct reading not found elsewhere in the tradition: 9 *Galum* (spelt correctly with the single *l*), where other MSS have *gaium* or worse. Earlier editors had restored *Gallum*, while the correction of the spelling to *Galum* was due to Mommsen. Unfortunately, **A** has a habit elsewhere of writing *l* instead of *i*; so the presence of the correct name and spelling in **A** is probably accidental. (It is possible that the *l* is intended to be, or is miscopied from, *i-longa*.) **P**¹ alone reflects what must have been the archetype's reading in section 14, *verioraut* (for *veriora ut*); its second hand and **A** have *vereor aut*, and the other early MSS have *vereor ut* (*vereor ne R*).

As for **O**, it is not at all surprising that its text belongs to the *x* family, in view of the already known relationship of the Ciceronian texts in this MS to **K** (Hadoard's excerpts).³³ **O** was apparently copied in southern Germany; but it contains, in addition to the *Laelius*, a text of the *Cato Maior de Senectute* (together with the *Somnium Scipionis* and the commentary of Macrobius³⁴) that demonstrably descends from Paris n.a. lat. 454, written at Corbie, which was the manuscript from which Hadoard copied his excerpts from the *Cato*.

Our enlarged *x* family therefore comprises **PAOKM**. The five manuscripts, or those of them that are extant in any particular passage (all are incomplete except **O**), share a good number of characteristic errors, distributed more or less uniformly throughout the text.³⁵

O shows signs of the activities of medieval editors in its ancestry. However, the

²⁸ Shared errors in **LQG** or **LQG**²: 3 *induxi: introduxi LQG*²; 54 *parare: parere L'QG*; *multorum: malorum LQG*²; 81 *diligit: diligit LQG*; 97 *contione: contentione LQG*.

²⁹ Error in **LQ** and the consensus of **HVSB**, while **G** preserves truth: 23 *iunctionem PAOKG*¹: *coniunctionem LQG*²**HVS** (-e **B**); in this passage, *iunctionem* is shown to be preferable by the clausula; see also below on **R**. 41 *secuti: secuti sunt LQVSB*; 54 *videre PO'KMG*¹: *videri LQO*²**G****HVS**; 54 *fuerunt: fuerant LQHVS²; 61 *caput: de capite LQG*²**HVS** (but *caput G*¹); 63 *consecuti sint: consecuti sunt LQV*¹**SB**; 70 *maximus POMG*: *permaximus LQHVS.**

³⁰ Errors in **Q** and the consensus of **GHVSB** but not in **L**: 32 *dissentimus QVSBZ*; 40 *amicitiae QHVS*; 52 *erunt* om. **QHVS** (replaced in **VSB** immediately before *audiendi*; **H** has *audiendi sunt*); 55 *parantur QGVSB*; 88 *cum evitare QGH*²**SB**; in *sublevando QG*²**V****SB**.

³¹ Agreement of **L** in error with the *x* family, while **Q** preserves the correct reading: 38 *accident POKFL*; 48 *in sapientem: insipientem PML*¹; 74 *ingeniis et: et* om. **POKRL**; 75 *quaedam: quadam POKFL*.

³² Finch (n. 12).

³³ See *T & T*, pp. 118, 122. However, I was probably wrong to imply in that context that **O** and **K** depend on a common exemplar at one remove from the parent of the *x* family: there is nothing to prove that they are not direct copies of *x*.

³⁴ Cf. B. C. Barker-Benfield, *T & T*, p. 226.

³⁵ It should be remembered that **A** exists for sections 1–29 only, and **M** for sections 44–end; thus there is no passage where all five of these MSS are extant. But the pattern is clear enough.

exemplar of **O** does not seem to have been corrected from a member of the other family, as I at first thought:³⁶ the first hand of **O** shares none of the characteristic errors of **LQGHVSB**. Rather, we are dealing with errors arising within the *x* family and subsequently corrected back to what *x* presumably transmitted. This is obvious in section 26, where **PA** have *reciperandisque* for the true reading *recipiendisque*, while **O** has *recipiendisque l recuperandisque*; in the same section, **PA** have *princeps et ad* for *princeps est ad*, while **O**¹ reads *princeps est et ad*. It is possible that this same process of correction in **O**'s exemplar accounts for the correct transmission of the reading *in pueris* in §9, and also for two other correct readings which it contains: *diffundatur* and *contrahatur* in §48 (otherwise only in MSS of the twelfth century and later), and *comicos* in §99 (shared, it seems, by **M**; the original reading of **M** was *coamicos* as in other MSS, but the *a* seems to be expunged). These readings could, however, have arisen from intelligent conjecture, as could *vero* in §24 (adopted by Madvig from **E**, Berlin lat. fol. 252, a relative of **O**, and by me in my 1990 edition; but I am not now so sure that there is anything wrong with *autem* in the rest of the MSS).

I return now to the other side of the tradition. It is not clear that there are any passages in which **LQ** (but not **GHVSB**) or **GHVSB** (but not **LQ**) preserve a correct reading from tradition against the consensus of the remaining early manuscripts. One exception might be 81 *fit LQ*, for *sit* of the other MSS (including, despite the editors, **M**, whose reading *sit* I have personally checked). But this is an extremely easy correction, and could be accidental or conjectural; it turns up also in **F** (see below). *delabitur LQ* in §76 is doubtless better than *dilabitur*, but this hardly counts as more than an orthographical variant. **L** alone seems to provide truth in §44 *vero* (*vere Q*, *verum* cett.), though the reading in this passage is not above doubt. *vero* seems preferable on grounds of sense,³⁷ but *verum*, supported by Fedeli,³⁸ cannot be ruled out; and in any case **L**'s *vero*, even if it is correct, could again have been arrived at by conjecture or accident. **Q**'s reading *vere* is clearly wrong.

It is likely that **Q** may be right in §95 *constantem severum gravem*; this reading is also shared with **F**. In this passage, **HVSB** offer *constantem et severum et gravem* (usually accepted by editors), and the other MSS have *et* only between *severum* and *gravem*. If **HVSB** are right there, that seems to be the only instance in which either **HVSB**, or those four plus **G**, preserve truth against the rest. Fedeli,³⁹ concerned as he is (in general quite rightly) to promote scepticism with regard to **L** and **Q**, does not present a clear stemmatic picture here; neither does the negative apparatus of Combès. If the apparatus is set out 'positively', the singularity of this appearance of **HVSB** on the correct side becomes apparent. I am now inclined to follow **Q** and **F** in this passage: the asyndeton is in Cicero's manner, and would be likely to attract additions of *et* by glossators.

Apart from the instances just mentioned, I would maintain, in agreement with

For the passage where **A** is extant, note the following: 11 *minime: minimi PAO* (but also, perhaps fortuitously, **ZS**²**B**²; *quam minimi Q*); 12 *cum: quam PAO* (*quo FE*); 14 *per visum: per om. PAO¹**R**; 21 *magnificentia metiamur: magnificentiam etiam PAO¹; 22 *colare: colere PAK* (?*colore O*¹); 23 *cumque: quamque PAO¹**K**; *ex dissensionibus atque discordiis: ex dissensionibus id et excordis PAO¹**K** (see also below on **F**); 27 *lumen aliquod: lumen aliquid PAO¹**K**. After **M** begins (§44), we have e.g. 49 *animo autem: animante PO¹**KM** and **R**¹; 54 *miror: minor P¹**O**¹**M**; 59 *edixero: dixero PO¹**M** and **F**; 75 *eo quod: quod POKM* and **F**; 87 *aliquis: aliqui PO¹**KM**; *abundantiam et copiam: abundantia et copia PO¹**KM**; *ferre posset: ferre possit PO¹**KM** and **RF**¹; 97 *ut is: ut si PO¹**KM**; 100 *accipit: accepit PO¹**KM**; 101 *pervenire: pervenires PO¹**M**.**************

³⁶ T & T, p. 122.

³⁸ Fedeli (n. 22), pp. 166–7.

³⁷ Cf. my 1990 edition, p. 169.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 172.

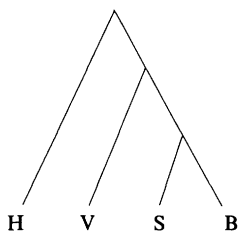


FIGURE 1

Fedeli, that whenever **L** and **Q** agree against all the other early manuscripts, they are in error. A number of readings peculiar to **L** or **Q** or both have found their way into editions; this is mainly due to Laurand, who was naturally subject to the tendency to give prominence to one's own discoveries.⁴⁰ Now that the place of **L** and **Q** in the stemma can be seen in better perspective, there is no reason why we should be detained by readings like §7 *convenissemus* (**LQ** for *venissemus*, which is perfectly acceptable, although not clearly superior), §23 *tam firma est civitas* **L** for *tam firma civitas est*, or §53 *potuisset* **LQ** for *posset*. Many of the variants in **LQ** are alterations of word order. These are very likely to be due to deliberate scholarly or pedagogic interference in the exemplar of these two MSS, perhaps in an attempt to make the order more straightforwardly grammatical. This idea was suggested by Marouzeau, who understood word order better than most, in his review of Laurand.⁴¹ Some support for it may be found in the fact that these changes are concentrated towards the beginning of the text, and tail off towards the end: scholars get tired.

Little more needs to be said of **GHVSB** here. As already intimated, we should add the fragments in **Z** to this family: they are of little textual importance in themselves, but if their tenth-century date is correct, they provide evidence for the relatively early existence of this family, since they pre-date the four complete (or nearly complete) manuscripts **HVSB**. As for the relations of **HVSB**, they may be represented straightforwardly as in Figure 1.⁴² In *T & T*, I reproduced the view that **V** derives from **H**, but this is clearly not correct.

R, Paris lat. 5752-II, is an eleventh-century manuscript of French origin, which was probably once in the library of St-Victor.⁴³ It contains also an incomplete text of the *Cato Maior*, which is clearly contaminated from two different textual streams, though its basic affiliations are not completely obscured by this. Its text of the *Laelius* is, similarly, at first sight rather difficult to fit into the pattern so far outlined. It lacks the

⁴⁰ This was noticed already by R. Philippson, reviewing Laurand in *BPW* 49 (1929), 969ff., and reinforced by Venini (ed. Paraviana [1959], p. xxix) and Fedeli ([n. 22], pp. 156–9). The variants of **LQ** have been listed by Fedeli, and there is no reason to reproduce them here.

⁴¹ Laurand, *REL* 6 (1928), 336–7.

⁴² For the errors of **HVSB** see above, n. 20. **H** does not share all the errors of **VSB**: see, for example, 4 *maxime* om. **V¹SB**; 6 *M.* om. **VBS²** (*modo* om. **HS¹**); *iam* om. **VSB**; 7 *solitus esses: solitus es* **VSB**; 10 *decessu: discessu* **VS¹B**; 11 *fuert: fuit* **V¹SB**; 16 *si quemadmodum: si quidem quemadmodum* **VS¹B**; etc. On the other hand, there are also passages in which **H** has a more advanced corruption than is found in **VSB**; e.g. 5 *ad senem senex: ad senem te ego senex* **H**; *ad senem ego senex* **V¹SB**, *ego* del. **V²**; *te ipse: te ipsum* **QGVSB**; *tu te ipsum* **H**. In two passages an error is shared by **GVSB** but not by **H**: 82 *ipsum* om. **GVSB**; 89 *ferri: fieri* **GVSB**; cf. also 71 *si: sic* **LQGSB** but *si* **H** (**V** absent). One must assume that the writer of **H** made these easy corrections of his own accord. Cf. also Fedeli's edition (1971), pp. 22–3.

⁴³ See my edition of the *Cato Maior*, pp. 40–1.

characteristic errors of **LQ** on the one hand, and of **GHVSB** on the other; but it contains a few that are common to **LQGHVSB**: 41 *quoquo modo potuimus: quoque quem modo posuimus* **R** with **O²LQGVSB** (*quoque quem modo possumus* **H¹**); 63 *consecuti sint: consecuti sunt* **R** with **LQGV¹SB** (but *sint* **H**); 70 *maximus: permaximus* **R** with **LQVHSB** (but *maximus* **G**); 71 *si: sic* **R¹** with **LQGSB** (but *si* **H**: **V** absent); 81 *se ipsae diligent: se diligent* **R** with **LQGHSB** (**V** absent); 86 *sentiant* add. **R** with **O²LQGHVSB** and **F**; 99 *vidisse: vicisse* **R** with **LQGHVSB** and **F**; cf. also 42 *in magna aliqua re: in magnam aliquam rem p(ublicam)* **LQGHV¹SB**: *in magnam rem p(ublicam)* **R**.

Again, **R** does not generally participate in the errors of **PAOKM**, though it presents a few agreements in error with this group (14 *per visum: visum* **PAO¹R**; 32 *suspiciere: suscipere* **P¹O¹KR**; 49 *animo autem: animante* **PO¹KMR¹**; 57 *sit, sic: sit* **PO¹**, *sic* **KMR**; 87 *ferre posset: ferre possit* **PO¹KMR**).

One wonders, then, whether **R** is independent or merely contaminated. Two passages, however, point more clearly to **R**'s affiliation. In §9, which was used above as a touchstone for classification of **LQGHVSB**, **R** has an interpolation indeed, but a different one: *cave hos praeponas Catoni* (taken, clearly, from the next sentence of the text). A clearer indication still is to be found in §23, where instead of *benevolentiae iunctionem*, **R** reads *benevolentīunctionem*. This seems to preserve the origin of the error *coniunctionem* in **LQGHVSB**, the *con-* deriving from *c-*, a misreading of the last *e* of the preceding word *benevolenti(a)e*. The conclusion from these two passages would seem to be that **R** derives from a MS of the *y* branch, but one earlier than the common ancestor of **LQGHVSB**. The agreements in error with other *y* manuscripts would then be easily accounted for; while the few errors shared with *x* could be explained as coincidental, or due to contamination at an intermediate stage, or to inheritance from variants in the archetype.

R offers a few noteworthy readings. In §26, it provides an earlier authority than was previously available for the reading *quod quisque minus*, adopted by many editors, although I now incline towards *quod quis minus*, with *quod* from **R** and *quis* from **PAOKF¹G¹**, as Lahmeyer had conjectured. For the editorially restored *Maelium* in §36, **R** has *melium*, where the other manuscripts all have *am(m)el(l)ium* or *amillium*. In §62, where editors have restored *posse . . . posse* (with the slender support of the second hand of a fifteenth-century manuscript **D**: cf. n. 18 above) for *posset . . . posset* of all other known manuscripts, **R** itself has *posse* correctly in the second place, while its corrector replaces it also in the first (where **R¹** has *possit*). Finally, **R** has endeared itself to me by supporting one of my own conjectures, the deletion of *et* in §89 (for which see the Appendix to my 1990 edition).⁴⁴ The correcting hand, however, replaces *et* above the line.

The final addition to the picture is **F**, a twelfth-century MS but not one of the crowd (for the crowd, see section 3 of this paper below). It contains also a text of the *Cato Maior* which is less distinguished.⁴⁵ **F** immediately attracts attention, as already suggested, by its reading in the tell-tale section 9: it offers *impueris*, no doubt derived from *in pueris*. Clearly, therefore, **F** has either escaped the corruption suffered by *y* in that passage, or had the correct reading subsequently restored. In one passage, §23, **F** apparently preserves the origin of a corruption found in the *x* group. Here there were

⁴⁴ D. Knecht (*L'Antiquité Classique* 61 [1992], 386, reviewing my edition) defends the reading of the majority of MSS. I admit that it is not an open-and-shut case, but I still feel that the text reads more smoothly without *et*.

⁴⁵ See my edition of the *Cato Maior*, p. 43.

evidently two variants: *id si minus intellegitur . . . ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest*, as in **RLQGHVSB**, and *quod si minus intellegitur . . . ex dissensionibus id et ex discordiis percipi potest* found in **F** alone. But the *x* MSS **PAO¹K** (**M** is not extant in this passage) give *ex dissensionibus id et excordis percipi potest*: fairly clearly, what has happened is that *id et ex* has displaced not only *atque* but also the *dis-* of *discordiis*. It seems, therefore, that **F** here preserves a reading which had been entered as a variant in *x* or in its immediate exemplar. In other passages, too, **F** seems to show an affinity with *x*, although it does not share most of the characteristic *x* errors as defined above (n. 35), and in some cases the errors in question have also percolated through to **R**, **L**, or **Q**: 7 *hanc esse sapientiam in te existimant* **O¹F**; 10 *cum utroque loquar* **PAO¹RQF** (assuming that *cum utroque vestrum loquar* is to be preferred on grounds of rhythm); 12 *cum: quam* **PAO**: *quo* **F** (with **E**); 26 *princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam* (cf. discussion of **O** above) where **PA** have *et* for *est*, and **O** has *est et*; **F¹** reads *et ad benevolentiam princeps coniungendam*; the transposition of *princeps* is marked by the first hand, and the second hand substitutes *est* for *et*; 38 *simus si* **PO¹KRF**: *sumus si* cett. (*si simus* Madvig); *accedent* **POKLF** for *accedunt* (though it is difficult to choose between these); 59 *dixero* **PO¹MF** for *edixero* (the latter preferable on rhythmical grounds); 75 *quadam* **POKLF**; *eo* om. **POKMF**; 87 *ferre possit* **PO¹KMRF¹** (*ferre posset* **F²**). On the other hand, although again **F** is free from most of the characteristic *y* errors, there are a handful of passages in which **F** agrees in error with some or all of the *y* MSS: 1 *ab eo multa* **F** with **HVSB**; 46 *putantur* **F** with **HVSB**; 68 *est qui non* **F** with **GHVSB**; 86 *esse nullam sentiunt* with **O²RLQGHVSB**; 99 *plus vicisse* **F** with **RLQGHVSB**.

F also offers some good readings unattested earlier. One could object that its reading *indicatum* for *iudicatum* in §11 is a trivial enough emendation, though necessary for the context, and it is shared with several other MSS of the twelfth century.⁴⁶ Of more consequence is *quoquo modo potuimus* in §41, conjectured by Langius: *potuimus* occurs in the *x* manuscripts and in **H²**, but *quoquo modo* is found elsewhere only in the otherwise undistinguished twelfth-century MS Vatican, Reg. lat. 1439. Best of all, however, is section 63, where **F** provides manuscript attestation for the first time for the reading *temptatis* adopted by all modern editors (where the other MSS have the obvious corruptions *temperatis* or *tempestatis*). If these corrections are conjectural, all praise to their medieval authors; but the freedom of **F** from most of the characteristic errors of *x* or *y* might well incline one to suspect that we are in fact dealing with a *recentior non deterior*: a practically independent descendant of the archetype, affected only slightly, if at all, by contamination from either *x* or *y* (in particular, the few agreements with *y* could be put down to chance or to inheritance of variants in the archetype). The alternative hypothesis, that **F** is the product of a process of medieval editing which succeeded in eliminating most of the characteristic errors of *x* without adding those of *y*, or vice versa, is of course theoretically possible, but seems much less likely.

The relations between the manuscripts described above may be represented stemmatically as in Figure 2. Simbeck's *y* now appears as *y³* to allow for earlier intermediate copies *y¹* and *y²*.

⁴⁶ Harley 4927, Vatican Reg. lat. 1439 and 1574. On Harley 4927, a manuscript which later belonged to Petrarch, see E. Pellegrin and G. Billanovich, *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), 115–17. The reading is firmly entrenched in older editions such as those of Madvig, Baiter–Halm, and Seyffert–Müller, and is rightly supported by Fedeli (n. 22), pp. 161–2, who attributes it to *recentiores* but does not specify particular manuscripts. All older MSS read *iudicatum*.

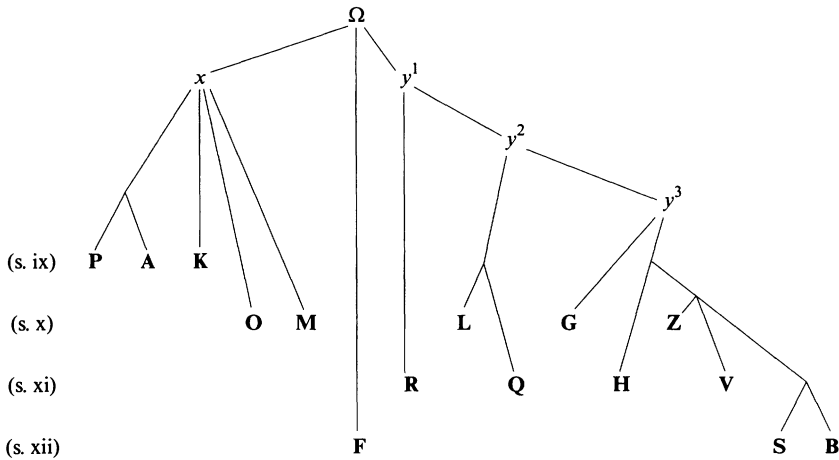


FIGURE 2

A word should perhaps be added concerning the correcting hands of the manuscripts so far discussed. Systematic affiliations are difficult to observe; there is no clear pattern as with the early manuscripts of the *Cato Maior*.⁴⁷ Corrections deriving from a different textual tradition from that of the first hand are, indeed, to be found in **O**; the second hand belongs broadly to the y family, and corrects most of the characteristic x errors of the first hand. The behaviour of **O**², and also of **G**², may conceivably cast light on the history of the y family, since they provide early evidence for readings later to be found in **HVSB**.⁴⁸ This parallels the situation regarding the *Cato Maior* text, in which **O**² shows affinities with **M** (= **L** of *Laelius*), **H** (and **H**²), **S**, and **B**; but in contrast with the *Cato Maior*, **O**² does not provide for the *Laelius* any substantial number of markedly superior readings not otherwise attested in earlier MSS.⁴⁹

In most of the other early manuscripts, corrections are sporadic when they occur at all, and generally seem to represent medieval conjecture rather than tradition; nevertheless, the conjectures are often intelligent, and sometimes, clearly enough, correct. For example, **H**² deletes the intrusive *feci* in §4, as do modern editors. **H**² provides a worthy attempt at sense in §77 *gravi auctoritate* for *graviter auctoritate*; editors are still not agreed on what to do there, though to my mind Reid's *graviter ac moderate* wins the prize. Note also the following: 23 *bona spe* **R**²**Q**²**S**²**F**² rec.; 24 *re probant* **H**²**S**² rec.; in the same section, the sentence about Orestes and Pylades is given correctly and fully (barring minor variations of word order) in **R**²**H**²**S**²**F**² only, while all the other MSS omit some part of it; 61 *de via sit* **S**²**B**; 99 *illuseris* **R**² and **L**; 102 *semper* (deleting *-que*) **O**²**R**²**V**²**H**. Needless to say, the correcting hands also provide their share of intrusive glosses, e.g. 1 *scevola* **L**²**H**²**S**², 6 *ita ut loqueris* **O**².⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See my edition of the *Cato Maior*, pp. 37–8.

⁴⁸ Cf. n. 20 above.

⁴⁹ See my edition of the *Cato Maior*, p. 39.

⁵⁰ This interpolation recurs in **E** (cf. n. 17 above), demonstrating its relationship to **O**; **GHV**²**S** have different interpolations, *ut dicis* or *sicut dicis*; cf. Fedeli (n. 22), p. 160.

3. THE *RECENTIORES*

The number of extant copies from the twelfth century alone is in the region of fifty. Since a more or less complete list of these is to be found in Munk Olsen (n. 3 above), I refrain from listing them here. A number of the twelfth-century MSS are already reported in editions or in periodical literature. Among them one may first mention **E** (cf. n. 17 above). This MS contains a text of the *Laelius* which combines elements from the two sides of the tradition, but shows particular influence from **O**. Before the discovery of **P**, as mentioned above, it was the main source of *x*-family readings. (It is worth noting that the text of the *Cato Maior* in **E** is also related to that of **O**.) However, **E** adds little to the information provided by the earlier MSS; it has no more value than the majority of its contemporaries. It is cited for the reading *et qualis* in §80 (along with Berne 514 and Munich 628).

There are a number of more or less pure relatives of **GHVSB**, e.g. Admont 363 (also closely related to **S** and **B** in its text of the *Cato Maior*), and the three manuscripts discussed by Fedeli and characterized by him as *antiquiores sed deteriores*:⁵¹ Wolfenbüttel, Aug. 51.12, Berlin Diez. C. 8° 11 and 12. Fedeli says that these three date from the eleventh century, but gives no authority for this statement; they are listed as twelfth century in their library catalogues and by Munk Olsen.

The fragment from Sélestat (Bibl. Mun. 7) also belongs to this family; it is noted in *T & T* as tenth century, but this is certainly an error (which I cannot now account for). Combès lists it in his edition as dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, as does the library catalogue itself,⁵² while Munk Olsen⁵³ lists it in his Addenda as s. XII ex. and of German origin. In any case, this fragment appears to provide little or nothing of value for the text.⁵⁴ A number of other MSS of the twelfth century present a thoroughly contaminated text, e.g. Laur. 45, 2, Berne 514, Munich Clm 19473, the fragment in Angers 1898, and the Feldkirch fragment. Readings of all of these are to be found in the edition of Combès; again, they contain hardly anything of textual value, and on the whole merely add new errors, though one may note 47 *reapse* spelt correctly in Laur. 45, 2; 54 *exsulantem, tum se intellexisse* Berne 514 and the second hand of the Sélestat MS; 55 *laborent* Berne 514, as also Munich, Clm 23579. In section 19, Fedeli⁵⁵ records the probably correct reading *sintque* as from *recentiores*, without specifying the exact manuscript source.

I have examined a few others, mostly in London, Munich, and Rome. I have not tried to disentangle their textual affiliations; given the extent of corruption and contamination in them, the value of such an attempt would be very dubious. Even as *fontes coniecturarum* they have yielded only a meagre harvest. Only in four passages have they produced new readings of any merit, and they are in all cases easy corrections: 14 *qui quidem* Royal 15 a x, 15 a xx (m.2), previously recorded as Langius's conjecture; 42 *de die in diem* for *deinde* Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus 160², which I had previously conjectured, though perhaps wrongly;⁵⁶ 44 *audeamus* Royal 15 a xx,

⁵¹ Fedeli, *Hommages M. Renard I* (Collection Latomus 101, 1969), pp. 339–49.

⁵² *Catalogue générale des départements III* (1861), 548.

⁵³ Munk Olsen (n. 3), 3.2, pp. 42–3.

⁵⁴ This MS was another of Laurand's discoveries (*CPh* 21 [1926], 149). Combès attributes to it the correct reading *neutris* in section 53, otherwise found only in **S**, but *neutri* Sel. according to Laurand; *neutris* Laur. 45.2 according to Laurand. I suspect confusion of sigla.

⁵⁵ Fedeli (n. 22), p. 162.

⁵⁶ In my 1990 edition, before I had consulted this MS, Knecht (n. 44) objected that *de die in diem* does not occur in Cicero; I now try *diem e(x) die*, cf. *Att.* 7.26.3, which could even more easily be corrupted to *deinde*.

and 68 *cum* Harley 4927, Royal 15 a VIII: both previously recorded in editions, but not from any specified manuscripts.

4. EDITORIAL MATTERS

The manuscripts discussed above provide a secure basis for editing the text. Only in a small number of passages do they fail to provide either a clearly correct reading or a choice of two readings of which it is likely that one is correct. Editorial intervention is needed mostly in the matter of personal names and especially *praenomina*, a matter in which medieval manuscripts are notoriously unreliable. Apart from that, I accept conjectures in 19 *aequitas* Lambinus for *aequalitas* MSS; 34 *uxoriae* Turnebus (cf. *luxoriae* P and now also F¹); 38 *si simus* Canter; 42 *in magna aliqua re* Ernesti; 50 *immanis* Fedeli; 51 *atqui* Kleine; 60 *in deligendo* Victorius (*ut in deligendo* P); 68 <fore> Meissner; 77 *graviter ac moderate* Reid; 101 <ex alia> Orelli. I propose my own corrections in §§35 *non inveteratas modo*, 41 *Publio Nasica* and *diem e die*,⁵⁷ 69 *per se ipsos esse*. In §74 I postulate a lacuna that is not simply to be filled by inserting a suitable gerundive after *sunt*.⁵⁸

That is about all. Doubtless, further study of the large number of manuscripts dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries might reveal that some of the above conjectures had been anticipated by medieval or Renaissance scholars. Perhaps, indeed, some future researcher will triumphantly produce a late manuscript, independent of our archetype, which contains the true restoration of §74. However, one must have a sense of proportion. There may be things to be discovered from the later manuscripts about the medieval and Renaissance circulation of this text, but from an editorial point of view the benefit of reattributing (one can hardly say 'confirming') a maximum of a dozen conjectures is not commensurate with the labour involved in obtaining access to and collating four or five hundred manuscripts. As for the possibility that a late but independent witness to the text may still emerge, one cannot of course rule it out, but the chances are slight. The text that circulated in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance was a 'vulgate', the product of a continuous process of corruption and contamination. The presence of numerous readings from such manuscripts in existing editions has, on the whole, done nothing but overload the *apparatus* and obscure the pattern of transmission. What was needed was to clear away this luxuriant foliage and to distinguish the true relationships of the early manuscripts, as far as this could be done.⁵⁹ That is the only way in which one has any chance of deciding on rational grounds which readings come from true tradition, which are merely variants of a particular family, and which are conjectural.

Finally, an editor always runs the risk of introducing new corruptions by accident or mistaken conjecture, or of unjustly casting doubt on passages that are in fact probably sound. I have pleasure in offering the following corrections and changes to the text of my 1990 edition; these will be incorporated (unless I am persuaded otherwise in the meantime) in my forthcoming Oxford Classical Text.

⁵⁷ See n. 55.

⁵⁸ On most of these points see the Appendix to my 1990 edition, pp. 167–72.

⁵⁹ This is the same policy as I followed, in dealing with a somewhat similar tradition, in my edition of the *Cato Maior de senectute* (Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, 28 [1988]). P. Fedeli (*Gnomon* 62 [1990], 689–92) criticized this policy; but I should make it clear that I deliberately confined myself (after an exhaustive search through the library catalogues available to me) to a thorough examination of the earliest manuscript sources for the text, and did not simply rely on those manuscripts that had been used by previous editors.

- 7: read *quidem etiam* for *quidem*. Only **QVSB** omit *etiam*.
- 8: read *causae* for *causam*. The latter reading is found in Harley 4927, B.L. Royal 15 a XX (m.2), and Vat. Reg. Lat. 1439, of the MSS which I have examined, and was previously known from a fifteenth-century MS, **D** (cf. n. 18 above); **H**² deletes *causae*; but apart from that, the earlier tradition is uniformly in favour of *causae*, which can be accepted as an idiomatic predicative use of the partitive genitive.⁶⁰
- 24: read *autem* for *vero* (see above, p. 510)
- 26: read *quis* for *quisque* (see above, p. 513)
- 41: read *diem e die* (see above, n. 56)]
- 42: read *fecerat* for *fecisset* (an unaccountable error on my part)
- 52: read *diligatur* for *diligitur* (similarly)
- 54: read *indulgeri* for *indulgere* (*indulgeri* is supported by MS authority, by the parallel with *immutari* and *sperni* earlier in the sentence, and by the rhythm)
- 95: read *constantem severum gravem* (see above, p. 511)
- 100: read *defluxit* for *deflexit* (I adopted *deflexit* from previous editions; but the consensus of MSS is for *defluxit*).

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⁶⁰ See R. Freundlich, '*Aliquid causae est . . .*', in S. Perlman and B. Shimron (edd.), *ΔΩΡΟΝ: sive Commentationes . . . Benzioni Katz . . . dedicatae* (Tel-Aviv, 1967), pp. 7–20; I am most grateful to Professor John Glucker and Mr Ivor Ludlam for providing me with an English translation of this article (published in Hebrew).