The Fragment of Cicero's *De amicitia* in Codex Vat. Lat. 5207

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In a catalogue of Libri manuales published in 1924 by Dr. Eva Matthews Sanford the following brief entry is included under the date saec. ix-x: "Vaticanus 5207: Cicero, de amicitia: Macrobius. Saturnalia I-II." Despite the relatively early date attributed to this codex by Sanford, however, the portion containing the De amicitia of Cicero (folios 61^v-64^v) has consistently been overlooked by editors. In fact, so far as this writer has been able to determine, nothing about this Cicero manuscript has appeared in print anywhere except the brief statement in Sanford's article quoted This is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that the codex is contained in a portion of the Vatican Library not yet covered by printed catalogues. Furthermore, contrary to the impression made by Sanford's reference, the text of De amicitia included in the manuscript is not complete but embraces only approximately the first third of the work, extending from the beginning through Pyrrho (28.9),2 and is preceded rather than followed by Macrobius, Saturnalia I-II (folios 2^r-61^r).³

Manuscripts of *De amicitia* dating from the tenth century or earlier are comparatively rare. Those employed by Simbeck ⁴ in the preparation of his critical edition are: Parisinus Didotianus, saec. IX-X (=P); Monacensis Lat. 15514, saec. IX-X (=M); Vat. Reg. Lat. 1762, saec. IX-X (=K); Erfurtensis-Berolinensis fol. 252,

¹ Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales," *TAPA* 55 (1924) 210.

² The second numeral in the citations of the text of *De amicitia* is the line number within the chapter calculated according to the line divisions in K. Simbeck, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior et Laelius* (Leipzig 1917). This will doubtless vary slightly for other editions.

³ This study of Codex Vat. Lat. 5207 is based on a microfilm copy of the manuscript contained in the holdings of *The Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University*. Citations from Codex Reg. Lat. 1762 (K) are taken from a microfilm made available by the same institution.

⁴ Simbeck (above, note 2) 44.

saec. x-xi = E; Gudianus 335, saec. x or possibly xi = G; Laurentianus 50, 45, saec. x = L; and frag. Monac. Lat. 29001, saec. x or possibly xI (=m). Laurand 5 and Venini 6 both list G as a tenth century manuscript without further qualifications. Venini also lists E as being of about the eleventh century and L as tenth or eleventh. Thus only three manuscripts—P, M, and K are credited by one or more of the above mentioned editors with possibly being as early as the ninth century.

One of these three manuscripts, K, is of relatively little importance for establishing the text of De amicitia since it is comprised of the extracts of Hadoard from Cicero and other writers and so contains only brief passages from the work under consideration. Furthermore, it has been convincingly argued by Beeson 7 that K is to be dated no earlier than the tenth century. If this argument is to be accepted, only two of the previously studied manuscripts of De amicitia can be dated saec. IX-X. One of these, M, contains only the portion of the text extending from haec igitur prima lex (44.1) to the end, or approximately the second half of the work. Hence, the only ninth century source which has thus far been utilized for the first 43 chapters of De amicitia is P-a manuscript which has had a very strange history. The existence of this document was first called to the attention of the scholarly world by Mommsen, who discovered it in 1863 in Paris in the private library of Firmin Didot and published a collation of it in Rheinisches Museum 18 (1863) 593-601. Müller made use of this collation in the preparation of his Teubner text, which was published in Leipzig in 1879. Later the manuscript made its way to London, where it was examined by Reid in 1883 while in the possession of Quaritch. Soon thereafter the document disappeared from sight and for many years defied all efforts of Ciceronian scholars to bring it back to light. In 1918 the editor Bassi expressed the fear that P may have been taken to America. Doubts about the fate of P persisted until 1926, when C. H. Beeson 8 and L. Laurand 9 announced almost simultaneously that

⁵ L. Laurand, Cicéron, L' Amitié (Paris 1928).

⁶ P. Venini, M. Tulli Ciceronis Cato Maior de Senectute Laelius de Amicitia (Torino 1959) xxiv-xxv.

⁷Charles H. Beeson, "The Collectaneum of Hadoard," CP 40 (1945) 201–22.

⁸ Charles H. Beeson, "The 'Lost' MS of Cicero's 'De Amicitia," CP 21 (1926)

L. Laurand, "Où est le Parisinus Didotianus?" REL 4 (1926) 61-62.

the manuscript had been rediscovered in the Royal Library of Berlin. Laurand's announcement was contained in a very brief article; but in making his announcement Beeson provided a detailed account of the manuscript based on a photostatic copy which he had secured from Berlin. In the same article he also listed a number of instances in which readings of P had been wrongly cited by Müller, and hence by Simbeck, who had taken his P readings from Müller. Thus control of the text of De amicitia was placed on a much sounder basis. The joy, however, which was doubtless felt by Ciceronian scholars at the rediscovery of such an important manuscript, was destined to be of short duration. When P. Venini attempted to secure a photographic reproduction of P for use in the preparation of her 1959 edition of De amicitia, she received word from Berlin that the manuscript had been destroyed in World War II.¹⁰ Hence, it must be concluded that this source for De amicitia, which was regarded by Beeson as dating from the early ninth century, 11 is lost for all time.

The permanent loss of P renders the existence of Codex Vaticanus Latinus 5207 (henceforth designated A) all the more important. Although A was dated by Sanford as saec. IX-X, there are good grounds for assuming that it was produced during the second half of the ninth century. The text was copied by three apparently contemporary Carolingian scribes (designated X, Y, and Z) in single columns of 34 lines each. Since the manuscript in its present form comes to an end at the bottom of the verso of folio 64 in the middle of a sentence, it is obvious that the document originally contained additional portions of De amicitia—perhaps the entire work. The title is written in rustic capitals in the form M. TULLII CICERONIS DEMICITIA, with A inserted above M in the last word, apparently by the original scribe. Names of interlocutors are sometimes inserted in rustic capitals, sometimes in Carolingian characters. A few corrections have been made in the text by the original scribes (A1), and some by a contemporary corrector (A2). The portion produced by scribe X includes folios 61^v, 62^r, and the first seven lines of 62^v (De amicitia 1.1-10.7) and 63r (De amicitia 13.2-16.9). The part of folio 62^v extending from line eight to the end (De amicitia 10.7-

¹⁰ The facts about the history of P recorded here are taken from Beeson (above, note 8) 120-21 and Venini (above, note 6) xxiii-xxiv.

¹¹ Beeson (above, note 8) 124.

13.2) was copied by scribe Y. Folios 63^v, 64^r, and 64^v (De amicitia 16.9-28.9) were produced by scribe Z, whose work was marred by several serious omissions. Clubbing of the stems of tall letters such as b, d, h, and l is pronounced in all three hands, but especially in X. Open a resembling double c is very common in both X and Y. Angular n is used frequently, especially by scribe X. Words are occasionally run together by all three scribes, and word division is often faulty. Scribes Y and Z refrain from using abbreviations for the -tur ending, but X occasionally uses t with a hook resembling an apostrophe above it, as in the case of videbatur (4.6), or, in certain other instances, t surmounted by a symbol resembling the numeral 2, as in the case of interponeretur (3.8). Under ordinary circumstances, use of both of these symbols in the -tur abbreviation in the same document by the same hand would be regarded as an indication that the manuscript was copied around the year 820.12 In the portion of the Macrobius text copied by scribe X (folios 57^r-61^r), however, the 2-symbol, which points to a date after 820, is consistently used in the abbreviation of -tur. This suggests that scribe X possibly copied both Macrobius and Cicero after 820, but slavishly followed his exemplar while copying Cicero, thus retaining a few examples of the apostrophe-symbol beyond the time when this abbreviation had ordinarily ceased to be used. The fact that both loops of g are closed by scribes X and Y is another feature tending to point to a later date. But instances in which both loops of g are closed in early ninth-century manuscripts may be cited. A good example is Codex 14468 of the Royal Library in Munich, which was copied in 821.¹³ The g of scribe X very closely resembles that found in Codex 672 of St. Gall, which was copied around 888.14 In view of the circumstances just cited, therefore, it is doubtful whether A should be dated as early as 820 in spite of the use of both the apostrophesymbol and the 2-symbol in the -tur abbreviation. The palaeographical evidence taken as a whole, however, seems to point definitely to the ninth century—probably to the second half of that century. Hence, since P is lost and since M contains only

 $^{^{12}}$ Edward Kennard Rand, "On the Symbols of Abbreviations for -tur," Speculum 2 (1927) 52.

¹³ A facsimile of this manuscript can be found in Edward Maunde Thompson, An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography (Oxford 1912) 408.

¹⁴ For a facsimile of this codex see Thompson (above, note 13) 416.

the second half of *De amicitia*, A is probably the earliest existing copy of the first third of this work and, as such, certainly deserves to have its readings recorded.

The manuscripts of *De amicitia* fall into two families: x and y. A belongs to family x and is very closely related to P, as is indicated by the large number of cases in which it shares errors with P against all other manuscripts. In the following list of such instances most readings ascribed to P are taken from the *apparatus criticus* of Simbeck's edition. In those cases, however, in which Beeson has indicated that Simbeck's edition is in error in its citations from P, Beeson's readings have been substituted with the name Beeson appearing in parentheses to indicate the source. The first entry in each case is the reading adopted by Simbeck:

```
9.8
            hi in pueris Cato in hi in iueris Cato in PA
12.7
            quom] quam PA
13.11
            ut in] ut im PA
14.7
           per om. PA
            veriora ut] vereor aut P2A
14.12-13
14.13
            interitus] intentus P(Beeson)A
            coniunctionem] iuntionem P(Beeson)A
23.11
24.8
            efferat] ecferat PA
            uter Orestes (esset Pylades) Orestem se esse diceret]
24.11
              uter Orestes esse diceret PA
            recipiendisque] reciperandisque PA
26.8
           princeps est ad | princeps et ad PA
26.12-13
            nacti] nati PA.17
27.12
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The following are cases in which A agrees in error with P and K against all other manuscripts:

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22.11 colare] colere P(Beeson)KA<sup>18</sup>
23.1 quomque] quamque PKA
23.14 atque ex discordiis] id et excordis PKA
27.13 aliquod] aliquid PKA.
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¹⁵ Simbeck (above, note 2).

¹⁶ Beeson (above, note 8) 128-29.

¹⁷ Another possible instance in which P and A are in agreement in error is in the omission of quos (28.4). The word is definitely omitted by A, but is not reported by Simbeck as omitted by P. On the other hand, quos (28.6), which is present in A, is reported by Simbeck as omitted by P. It seems probable that the quos omitted by P is the same as that omitted by A, and that Simbeck by a clerical error reported the wrong quos as being absent from P. The fact that in both instances quos is followed by numquam would cause the error to be made all the more readily.

¹⁸ Simbeck ascribes the reading colere to P2, but Beeson (above, note 8) 131 argues that it is the reading of the first hand.

There are, of course, instances in which A agrees in error with P and one or more manuscripts other than K. It is also significant that in two instances A and P agree against all other manuscripts in retaining the correct reading: 5.1–2 ad senem senex and 24.19 si quae.

The pattern of abbreviations described by Beeson 19 as being characteristic of P is in large measure duplicated by A, as is also P's system of orthography. The custom followed by P of setting off abbreviations of praenomina with one or two points is quite prevalent in A, as, for instance, P. Sulpicio (2.5) and .C. Fannio .M. filio (3.4). On the other hand in A, as in P, praenomina are occasionally written out in full, as illustrated by Quintus (1.1). In both P and A consul (11.7) and republica (25.5) are written out in In both documents tribunus plebis (2.6) is abbreviated tr. pl. The words populo Romano (12.9) are abbreviated p. r. in P, $p\bar{r}$ in A. Most of the other abbreviations attributed to P by Beeson are to be found in A also. In addition, two are used by A which are not listed by Beeson as having been employed by P: H for enim (2.4) and \vec{P} for post (3.4), both characteristic of the ninth century.²⁰ Many examples of *i-longa* are to be found in A as in P. The forms ae and e-caudata are frequently interchanged in both manuscripts. In faulty division of words A resembles P very closely. The passage magnificentia metiamur virosque (21.3-4) appears in both P and A as magnificientiam etiam uirosque. The words Scaevola et vere (8.8) appear as scaevolae tu ere in P (Beeson) and as scaeuolaetuere in A.

Despite the close affinity obviously existing between P and A, neither can be regarded as having been the source of the other. As will be seen in the collation appended below, A omits the following passages included in P:

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3.8-9 ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo
10.12 si quid accidit
20.4 aut inter duos
20.16-17 et gignit et continet nec sine virtute amicitia
23.7-9 et quod difficilius dictu est mortui vivunt tantus eos honos
memoria desiderium prosequitur amicorum
28.1-2 nihil est enim virtute amabilius
28.7-8 quis . . . oderit.
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¹⁹ Beeson (above, note 8) 124–25.

²⁰ Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine* (ed. Italiane ⁴) (Milan 1949) 229, 257. Another early abbreviation employed in A is quo for quoniam. See Cappelli 317.

Other examples in which P is correct where A is in error could be cited, but the omissions listed above are sufficient evidence to indicate that A, even if it were earlier than P, could not possibly be considered as P's source.

At the same time it is quite unlikely that A was copied from P in view of the following list of instances in which A has the correct reading where P is in error:

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8.1
        multi A, multum P
10.12
       suis A, sivis or suus P(Beeson)
12.4
        dictu A, dictum P
13.12
       excessissent A, excessisent P(Beeson)
13.14
        cuique A, quique P
15.3
       fuerat A, furatae P
15.10
       sapientiae A, sapientiam P
16.4
        quaeruntur A, quaeritur P
        ex infinita societate A, ex infirmitas otietate P
20.2
22.12
        ut laudere A, laudere P
25.4
        diceres A, dicere P.
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While it is possible that the scribes of A, if copying from P, would have been able to correct some of these errors by conjecture, it is highly unlikely that this would have happened in all the instances listed above. The more probable explanation of the similarities between A and P is that these manuscripts are gemelli, copied from some common source.

From the cases of agreement between A and K listed earlier it is apparent that K is closely related to A, which in turn is closely related to P. Since, as indicated by both Simbeck ²¹ and Beeson, ²² in the second half of *De amicitia* K is closely related to M, which in turn is closely related to P, this poses the question of whether A and M are different parts of the same manuscript. The text of *De amicitia* between the end of A and the beginning of M occupies 113 lines in the Teubner edition, or about 1200 words. The average folio of A contains about 825 words. If it is to be assumed that the lost portions of A had the same format as the portions still in existence, it is obvious that the material intervening between the end of A and the beginning of M is too much to be accommodated by one folio and too little to occupy two complete

²¹ Simbeck (above, note 2) 44.

²² Beeson (above, note 7) 217.

folios. Hence it may be assumed that A and M are parts of two entirely different manuscripts.²³

Incidentally, A cannot be regarded as the source of the *De amicitia* excerpts in K since at 20.16–17, where A omits *et gignit et continet nec sine virtute amicitia*, K retains the entire passage except the first *et*. At 26.8 K has the correct *recipiendisque* where both P and A have *reciperandisque*.

Since, as indicated above, A was almost certainly copied from the same source as P, its readings occasionally serve as a valuable supplement to P for determining the readings of the common source. Beeson 24 expresses the belief that many of the corrections made by P² were based on the archetype from which P was copied. This belief is confirmed by A. In 13.13, for instance, P, according to Beeson, 25 originally read iustissimoque. Simbeck cites its reading at this point as iustissimo, presumably because -que has been erased. Hence it is Beeson's contention that the reading iustissimo should be credited to P2. Since A reads iustissimo (without -que), it seems probable that this was the reading of the common archetype, and that the person who erased -que from P, whether this was the original scribe or P2, was making a correction based on the archetype of P and A. Another instance is found in 26.15 where coluntur is written uoluntur by P and corrected to coluntur by P2. Since A reads coluntur, it is almost certain that this was the reading of the PA archetype, and that the correction in P was derived from this source. At 16.4 where cum, the reading of the y family of manuscripts, is accepted by editors (quom in Simbeck), P has quam and ED, two other members of x family, have quae. Since A agrees with ED in reading quae at this point, this was certainly the reading of the archetype of the x family of manuscripts and probably should be accepted as the correct reading.

At first sight it may appear that A differs sharply from P in including *feci* after *Maiore* in 4.5 where Simbeck reports P as omitting *feci* against all other manuscripts. Beeson²⁶ points out, however, that Müller and Simbeck are in error in stating that *feci*

²³ The writer has no photographs of M at his disposal, but the evidence based on the format of A seems adequate to establish the fact that A and M are from separate manuscripts.

²⁴ Beeson (above, note 8) 126.

²⁵ Beeson (above, note 8) 131.

²⁶ Beeson (above, note 8) 128.

7.4

7.6

existimant

inferioresque

is absent from P, since this manuscript, like all others, has feci after Maiore. Hence P and A are in full agreement at this point.

In the collation of A with Simbeck's text appended below minor variations in orthography (such as e or e-caudata for ae, c for t, etc.) are ignored.

COLLATION 1.1 Q.] Quintus 7.8 affricani 1.4 ita om. A, added by A1 7.11 illud] illut 2.1 Scaevola om. emiciclyo A, hemiciclyo 8.1 A² 8.4 amicissummi 2.6 Pompeio] pompeo, cor-8.7 causae (with most other rected by A2 manuscripts) 2.7 9.3 desideret adcognosco 9.4 2.9 querela A, querella A² mihi om. 9.5 3.3 nemo] nomo, corrected 3.4 Marci filio] .m. filio by A² || quide ut tamquam a praesenti-9.8 hi in pueris Cato in hi in 3.8 - 9bus coram haberi sermo iueris Cato in om. 9.10 Catonii 4.9 cognatione 10.11 angi] angui si quid accidit om. 4.4 in Catone] catione 10.12 4.5 Maiore] maiore feci 11.2 minimi 4.7 loqueretur] loqueret, cor-11.4 obtare rected by A2 11.7 consul est bis] est consul 4.10 laelii 11.8 4.11 laelii rei publicae] rei b 4.13 11.9 duabus] duibus sermonem 11.10 4.15 plus] plos, corrected by delavit A² 11.11 in in matrem 5.2 11.12 sorores] sororis, correcde a 5.4 ferre ted by A2 5.6 loqueretur 11.14 iudicatum (with most 5.9 affricani other manuscripts) 6.1 laedi, corrected to laeli 12.3 celeritas] celeritatis by A¹ 12.5 P.] \bar{b} . 6.4 et (second) om. A, 12.7 quom] quam 12.9 added by A² populo Romano] pr || socis 6.8 multaque (with first et of 13.1 adsentior | adsertior | iis] next line omitted) his 7.1 suptilius 13.9 erudiuerunt

13.10

13.11

tum] dum

ut in] ut im || sed] set

13.12	iisque] hisque	18.6	ea**m
14.2	qui quidem] quique idem	18.10	M° .] M . Ti .] . T .
11.2	(with the other	18.11	maiores madores
	manuscripts) prae-	19.2	sit om.
	sagitaret	19.3	audcia sintque] sitque
14.3	adessent	13.3	(with other manu-
14.5	re publica] reque		scripts) $\parallel ii \rfloor hi$
14.7	per om.	19.8	natos] n*tos, corrected
14.11	quocirca] quocita	10.0	by A ² interer esset]
14.12	autem] autem aut (with		esse
	most other manu-	19.13	propinquitati benevo-
	scripts)		lentia
14.12-13	veriora ut] vereor aut	20.4	aut inter duos om.
14.13	interitus] intentus	20.7	$humanaque \parallel benevolentia$
14.15	quasi natus written	20.8	haud
	twice	20.9	diis
15.2	optume	20.12	superiora] superior
15.3	aequius] equus	20.14	virtute] veritate
15.7	$cur * \parallel de \text{ om., added by}$	20.16-17	et gignit et continet nec sine
	A^1		virtute amicitia om.
15.8	communis] commonis,	21.3	eam] enim
	corrected by A ²	21.3-4	magnificentia metiamur
15.10	tam] tamen		virosque] magnificen-
15.14	quattuor] IIIIr nomi-		tiam etiam uirosque
	nantur] nominant, cor-	21.5	Galos] gaios (with the
15 16	rected by A ²		other manuscripts)
15.16 16.3	laelii	00.1	Scipiones] scipios
16.4	quem] quidem quom] quae	22.1	viros] uoros
16.5	Scaevola inserted in rus-	22.2 22.4	tantas] tatas
10.5	tic capitals before	22.4	in om.
	sic, but omitted from	22.7	aequae
	16.7	22.10	sunt] s (obviously with abbreviation sign
16.6	existimes		omitted)
16.7	Scaevola om. (see above	22.11	colere
	16.5) gratum] gra-	22.13	fungare] fungere, cor-
	tiam	22.10	rected by A ²
16.8	antevertit	22.16	molesta] molecta
17.5	iis ponatur] his ponat	22.20	nominantur] nominentur,
17.8	petatis] pietatis		corrected by A2
17.10	huma*nis	22.21	partiens] paciens
18.2	id ad vivum] ad vium	23.1	quomque] quamque com-
18.4	naegant		moditantes

23.7–9	et quod difficilius dictu est mortui vivunt tantus	26.7 26.8	adque recipiendisque] reciperan-
	eos honos memoria de- siderium prosequitur		disque quod quisque] quoquis
	amicorum om.	26.9	vicisimque
23.9	beata] beatos	26.10	esset] etet
23.11	coniunctionem] iuntionem	26.12-13	princeps est ad] princeps
23.12	nec agri (with the other		et ad
	manuscripts)	26.14	iis] his percipiuntur]
23.14	atque ex discordiis] id et		perciuntur saepe] sae
	excordis	26.17	id est] id .e.
23.16	civita est	27.2	or[ta] (with -ta con-
24.2	carminibus] carnibus		cealed in the bind-
24. 8	ecferat		ing)
24.11	uter Orestes <esset pyla-<="" td=""><td>27.6</td><td>anima adverti se natos]</td></esset>	27.6	anima adverti se natos]
	des> Orestem se esse		enatos
	diceret] uter Orestes	27.7	quodam eis] heis
	esse diceret	27.8	aearum
24.16	altero] alterum, correc-	27.10	dirimi] dimmi detesti-
	ted by A ²		bili [sce]lere (with
24.19	dic[ere] (final -ere con-		sce- concealed in the
24.00	cealed in binding)	0= 40	binding)
24.20	iis] his	27.12	nacti] nati
25.1	Fanius	27.13	in eo] meo aliquod]
25.2	saepae Scaevola in-	0	aliquid
	serted before non, but	27.14	virtutis] ***tistis vide-
05.4	omitted from 25.4	00.1.0	mur
25.4	Scaevola om. (see above	28.1-2	nihil est enim virtute
	$(25.2) \parallel tum \parallel tam \parallel$	00.0	amabilius om.
05.5	fani	28.2	adliceat
25.5 25.7	hortis] hostis	28.4 28.5	quos om.
	Phili] pili	28.7–8	fabricii .m. curii
25.8 25.10	Fannius om. iustitia Scaevola om.	20.7-0	quis autem est qui Tar-
25.10	coeperit		quinium Superbum qui Sp. Cassium Sp. Mae-
26.2	ratione] natraone		lium non oderit om.
26.6	illud] iilud	28.9	
40.0	maaj maa	40.3	pyrro.