



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## The Transmission of Suetonius's Caesars in the Middle Ages

Robert A. Kaster

Transactions of the American Philological Association, Volume 144,  
Number 1, Spring 2014, pp. 133-186 (Article)

Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press  
DOI: [10.1353/apa.2014.0000](https://doi.org/10.1353/apa.2014.0000)



➔ For additional information about this article

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/apa/summary/v144/144.1.kaster.html>

# The Transmission of Suetonius's *Caesars* in the Middle Ages\*

---

ROBERT A. KASTER

*Princeton University*

**SUMMARY:** The medieval manuscript tradition (9th–13th centuries) of Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum* has not been fully understood, and no complete and accurate stemma of the earliest extant witnesses has been drawn. This paper, based upon a fresh collation of the manuscripts, describes in detail the constitution of the tradition's two main branches, the main lines of contamination that can be traced within and between them, and the "family tree" best suited to reconstructing the archetype from which all extant copies of the work ultimately descend.

THAT WE KNOW AS MUCH AS WE DO ABOUT THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE principate is due in no small part to Suetonius's *Caesars* (*De vita Caesarum*); that we know the *Caesars* at all is due entirely to the survival of one book that emerged in north-central France, late in the 8th century or very early in the 9th, to serve as the archetype of all the extant manuscripts. In view of what we owe that book it seems ungracious to stress that its text was of undistinguished quality at best, marred by many gross defects that it passed along to all its descendants: not only was the beginning of the work missing, including an authorial preface and a substantial segment of Julius Caesar's biography, but the standard edition by Maximilian Ihm—by marking certain passages as irremediably corrupt and incorporating in other passages corrections made by medieval, humanist, and modern readers—also implies that

\*My warmest thanks to Michael Reeve and Jim Zetzel, who read an earlier version of this paper as referees for *TAPA* and through their criticisms helped me to improve it substantially; and to Craig Gibson and Matthew Horrell, whose editing of the paper was dazzlingly meticulous. All the usual disclaimers apply.

the archetype was defective in nearly 500 other places.<sup>1</sup> The great chain of copying that began with this book ultimately produced hundreds of descendants, more than 200 of which still survive in the libraries of Europe and North America, all but nineteen dating to the 14th century and later. Though these later books, which contain some good conjectural emendations of the archetype's errors, have yet to be studied thoroughly, it is highly unlikely that they could contribute anything to this essay's main purpose: identifying the manuscripts most useful for reconstructing the archetype.<sup>2</sup>

The history of that transmission can be elaborated from the nineteen earliest books, and the first stage of the story they tell has been clear since systematic study of the text began in the 19th century<sup>3</sup>: the manuscripts descend from the archetype in two largely distinct branches, with roughly the same number of these early books representing each branch.<sup>4</sup> Beyond that, however, the story is murkier, because the relations of the manuscripts in each branch have for various reasons not yet been sorted out in a satisfactory way, and the stemmata previously proposed can be shown to be deficient. In what follows I set out the evidence for drawing a new stemma and so for choosing the manuscripts on which a new edition should be based. The argument unfolds in three sections, one each for the two main branches— $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ —and a third to discuss the main lines of contamination, both between the two branches and internal to  $\beta$ . There follow several appendixes that present subsidiary details.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The preface, dedicating the work to Septicius Clarus, was known to Johannes Lydus in the 6th century (*Mag.* p. 92.6–10 Bandy). The *vita* of Caesar now begins abruptly in its subject's sixteenth year (*annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit*, with no subject named in the best manuscripts) but must originally have included not only an account of the earlier years but also—to judge from the other lives—substantial remarks on the history of the *gens Iulia*: the conventional estimate that a quaternion was lost is plausible. I cite throughout Ihm's *editio maior* of 1907, though the pioneering editions of Ludwig Roth (1858) and Léon Preud'homme (1906) deserve honorable mention; the more recent Budé edition (Ailloud 1931–32; vol. 1 rev. 2008, vol. 2–3 rev. 2002) added nothing new on the text's history. For the stemmata previously proposed, see Preudhomme 1903–4: 61 and Bridge 1930a: 5.

<sup>2</sup>On the debated role of the *recentiores* see Appendix 1.

<sup>3</sup>On the history, briefly Tibbetts 1983, and esp. Preud'homme 1902 and 1903–4, Rand 1926 (highly speculative), and Bridge 1930a; the only more recent study of the tradition, J. L. Wall's London dissertation (1968), written without access to Bridge, in many ways represented a step backward.

<sup>4</sup>The branches are “largely distinct” because a certain amount of contamination has occurred between them: see section III.

<sup>5</sup>I rely throughout on my collations of eighteen of the books that survive from the 9th through 13th centuries, made for a new edition to appear in the Oxford Classical Texts

I:  $\alpha^6$

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| M | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 6115           | s. IX <sup>1/2</sup> (Tours)                  |
| G | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 4573 (Gud. lat. 268) | s. XI <sup>3/4</sup> (Eichstätt) <sup>7</sup> |
| V | Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 1904          | s. XI <sup>1/2</sup> (Flavigny?) <sup>8</sup> |
| L | Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 68.7         | s. XII <sup>2/2</sup> (France?)               |
| P | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5801           | s. XI/XII (Chartres or Le Mans?)              |
| O | Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 66.39        | s. XII <sup>med.</sup> (France)               |
| N | Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 833      | s. XII <sup>2/2</sup> (France)                |
| S | Montpellier, Faculté de médecine 117                        | s. XII <sup>med.</sup> (Clairvaux?)           |

All or nearly all the books in this family share seventy-eight errors not found in  $\beta$ , including a number both uncorrected and “uncorrectable”: errors that are unlikely to be corrected (e.g., omissions) or often even detected (e.g., reversals of word order, substitutions of synonyms, and other errors yielding construable sense) without reference to another manuscript, and that should therefore be found in the base text of any closely related book, for example:

*Jul.* 9.2 cogitarat] –taret (*recte* **NS** *per contam.*), 19.1 pollicendi] pollicenti (*post* Bibulo), 35.1 et fugientem] effu-, 49.4 ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias] *om.* (*habent* **NS** *per contam.*), 79.3 fatalibus libris (*Ihm*)] fatalibus (libris fatalibus **P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>S $\beta$** ), *Aug.* 43.1 et in saeptis] in s(a)eptis, 70.2 et deinde] et inde (et inde inde **GV**), *Tib.* 47 coactus] coactus est, *Cal.* 7 puerascens] puer nascens, *Claud.* 4.7 inter tertios] intertios (*vel* in tertios), 38.2 item] idem, *Nero* 27.3

series: my full collations will become available when the OCT is added to Oxford Scholarly Editions Online. The only one of these earlier manuscripts that I did not collate—London, BL Egerton 3055 (s. XII<sup>2/2</sup>)—was shown by Dunston 1952 to be a copy of Montpellier, Faculté de médecine 117 (s. XII<sup>med.</sup>) (= **S** below), and I ignore it in what follows. I also largely ignore here two late manuscripts used occasionally by *Ihm*—Berlin, Staatsbib. lat. fol. 337 (s. XIV, his **T**), Paris, BnF lat. 5804 (s. XV, his  $\delta$ )—and the two extant sets of medieval excerpts—those of Heiric of Auxerre (Paris, BnF lat. 8818 [s. XI] and five other manuscripts: *Ihm* 1901: 343–56, and cf. n17 below) and the version of the *Florilegium Gallicum* found in Paris, BnF lat. 7647 (s. XII/XIII) and 17903 (s. XIII, *Ihm*'s **N**; cf. n19 below)—since none has any bearing on the aim stated at the end of the previous paragraph.

<sup>6</sup>My  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  = *Ihm*'s **X** and **Y** (= Preud'homme's **X** and **Z** = Bridge's **Y** and **Z**). Otherwise I preserve *Ihm*'s *sigla* in this branch save in the case of Vatican, BAV Reg. lat. 833, which *Ihm* did not cite and to which I assign the *siglum* **N**, which he used for a different purpose (see preceding n.). Unless otherwise indicated, date and provenance are given according to Munk Olsen 1982–2009, and the text of Suetonius is complete.

<sup>7</sup>Hoffmann and Pokorny 1991: 142–43.

<sup>8</sup>Pellegrin 1975–2010, vol. 3.1: 463–66. The text of Suetonius ends mid-word at the bottom of f. 52<sup>r</sup> (*Cal.* 3.3 sua re[scindenti]); f. 52<sup>v</sup> is filled with different text by a later hand.

institorio copas] institor locopas (institor io copas **G**, institor locopas **P**), 30.3 rete] veste, 38.2 ducum] dum (deum **LS**), *Galb.* 8.2 intra] et inter, *Vesp.* 9.2 inter se] in se.

The number of such errors would surely be higher were it not for the contamination from **β** that is visible in the background of, especially, **PONS** (see section III.a).

Of these books **LPONS** uniquely share just over 300 errors and clearly form a family within this branch of the tradition: we will consider the family's internal relations below. Here the principal question is this: how are the remaining manuscripts, **MGV**, related to one another and to **LPONS**? Ihm and Preud'homme both believed **α** to be a tripartite family, with **M** and **G** and **VLPONS** each representing a distinct lineage.<sup>9</sup> That view is rendered highly implausible, however, by the fact that **M** and **G** uniquely share just over 100 errors, including a number that can be classified as uncorrectable.<sup>10</sup> John Bridge went, so to speak, to the other extreme, adopting A. A. Howard's view that **G** is descended from **M**, which of course would explain the errors just mentioned.<sup>11</sup> But this view in turn is rendered highly implausible by the fact that **M** contains many uncorrected and uncorrectable errors not found in **G**, including a striking number of places where **G** has the correct, or more nearly correct, text of a Greek word or phrase while **M** has a botch—a state of affairs that is especially eloquent in view of the rarity with which Greek is actually corrected in the medieval manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> It is most probable, therefore,

<sup>9</sup> See Preud'homme's stemma (1903–4: 61), and cf. Ihm 1907: xii–xiv.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 50.2 repetisset *post alias add.*, *Aug.* 7.1 ipse] ipsi, 41.1 nummariae] nummum mariae **M**, nummum marinae **G** (extending the error from their common source, as often), 96.2 litanti (**M<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>**)] litati **MG** (litato **VLPONS**, litante **β**), 97.3 itinere] in itinere, *Tib.* 11.3 exeruisse ius] ex servis eius, 30 libertatis] ubertatis (*corr.* **G<sup>2</sup>**), 40 perierant] pariebant, *Cal.* 45 quas] quasi, *Claud.* 21.4 quodque] quodquod **M**, quotquot **G**, 44.2 avidissimo] validissimo, *Nero* 34.1 in secessu] incesso. **MG**, alone of **α**, also share nearly seventy other errors that appear in some **β** manuscripts, in all likelihood through contamination from **G** (see section III.b).

<sup>11</sup> A. A. Howard conducted studies on the manuscripts of the *Caesars* in the 1890s and first two decades of the 20th century but died before most of his findings could be published: Bridge drew upon his papers (1930a: 1n1), which were deposited in the Harvard University Library, where they remain part of the Smyth Classical Paleography Collection (inventory D 280.70: my thanks to Robin Carlaw of the Harvard University Archives).

<sup>12</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 29.2 videret et] videret **M**, 32 harundine canens] har- carens **M**, 39.1 edidit] edidit ex **M**, 41.2 et edebat] edebat **M**, *Aug.* 8.2 in Parthos] Parthos **M**, 20 ab urbe] ad urbem **M**, 34.1 demum *om.* **M**, 37.1 viarum] viarum variarum **M**, 43.2 ipsum *om.*

that **M** and **G** are *gemelli*, sharing a number of errors derived from a common ancestor but yet independent enough to allow each often to go its own way in error while the other preserves the truth.

A few additional words on the distinct characters of **M** and **G** are appropriate here. **M**—the *Memmianus*, so called after its 16th-century owner Henri de Mesmes—is of course the great jewel among the medieval witnesses, antedating the next oldest manuscript, **V**, by nearly two centuries and, with **V**, providing the testimony that is generally the most reliable.<sup>13</sup> But **M**'s value should not be exaggerated, not just in the sense that it is liable to err, as any manuscript is, but also because despite its age it preserves strikingly few good readings that do not appear elsewhere in the tradition: though Ihm's apparatus cites **M** more than ninety times as the sole source of the reading he prints, the overwhelming majority of those instances involve orthographical matters (e.g., *prosilivit* vs. *prosiluit* or *quidquam* vs. *quicquam* or *nanctus* vs. *nactus*); the singular good readings that might be called substantive come only to about twenty—and not infrequently in those cases Ihm registers in the apparatus his suspicion that the other manuscripts offer a different reading “fort. rectius.”<sup>14</sup> By contrast, a reading is printed on the sole authority of **G** about thirty times, next most often after **M**, and though some of these readings also involve orthographical variations (e.g., *Dom.* 22 *develleret* vs. *di-*),

---

**M**, 45.1 *nihil om.* **M**. For places where **G** has the Greek correct, or more nearly correct, against **M**, e.g., *Jul.* 30.5  $\chi\rho\eta$ ]  $\chi\rho\epsilon$  **M**, 30.5  $\tau\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ] TIPP- **M**, *Claud.* 4.2  $\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\omega}\theta\alpha\iota$ ]  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\zeta\epsilon\alpha\iota$  **M**,  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\zeta\theta\alpha\iota$  **G**, 4.2  $\tau\eta\nu$  (*bis*)] T $\bar{\epsilon}$ N (*bis*) **M**, 4.2  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ ]  $\tau\eta\psi\chi\eta\varsigma$  **M** ( $\tau\eta\zeta\psi\chi\eta\varsigma$  **G**, the archetypal reading), 4.2  $\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ]  $\tau\omicron\iota\lambda\gamma\tau\alpha$  **M**, 4.2  $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ ] ΠΡΟΥΠΠΟ- **M**, 39.1  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\lambda\epsilon\psi\iota\alpha\nu$ ]  $-\Psi\iota\alpha$  **M**, 43  $\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ]  $\Theta\Omega\zeta\alpha\varsigma$  **M**. It is of course obvious, on chronological grounds, that **M** could not be descended from **G**.

<sup>13</sup> For example, only **M** and **V** preserved the numeral,  $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ , specifying the *stipendium* that Caesar imposed on Rome's new Gallic subjects (*Jul.* 25.1)—though a would-be corrector later erased the number in **M**.

<sup>14</sup> See *Jul.* 62 *se* (*secus vel om. cett.*), 79.1 *praeligata* (*-tam cett.* “fort. rectius”—and indeed I agree), *Aug.* 10.2 *translativum* (*tralaticium cett.*), 17.3 *ad desideria* (*et desideria vel desideria cett.*), 28.1 *primum* (*primo cett.* “fort. rectius”), 44.3 *muliebre secus omne* (*muliebre sexus omne vel muliebrem sexum omnem cett.*), *Tib.* 21.4 *gere* (*rege cett.*), 61.4 in *Gemonias* (*et in Ge- cett.* “fort. rectius”), 67.3 *et ex oratione* (*ex oratione cett.* “fort. rectius”), *Cal.* 24.2 *capital* (*capitale vel capita cett.*), 38.1 *deflabat* (*deflebat M<sup>2</sup>cett.*), 41.1 *districtisque* (*distruc- vel destruc- M<sup>2</sup>cett.*), *Claud.* 15.2 *culpane quis*] *culpa nequis M* (*culpam ne- vel culpa ne- cett.*), 26.2 *Urgulanillam* (*unde et Urgulanilla ibid. et 27.1: erc- vel erg- cett.*), *Galb.* 4.1 *Ser.* (*sergius cett.*), 20.2 *eum* (*eum et cett.*), *Vit.* 7.3 *iantassent* (*gen- vel ien- vel iac- cett.*), *Vesp.* 3 *delicatam* (*deliga- vel diliga- cett.*), *Tit.* 5.2 *ea* (*eam cett.*), *Dom.* 4.4 *ederentque* (*redde- cett.*), 9.1 *magna* (*magn(a)e cett.*).

the proportion that might be called substantively preferable is much higher than in the case of **M**.<sup>15</sup> The reason is surely not that **G** had unique access to a source of good ancient readings, but rather that one or more readers in **G**'s lineage were ready to tinker more or less boldly with errors inherited from the ancestor it shared with **M**, as (I believe) we see in cases such as these:

*Aug.* 46 a se frequentavit **G** : se frequentavit **MAKQ** : refrequentavit **LPONSF**<sup>2</sup> : ad se frequentavit **RCHDF<sup>1</sup>BE**, *Galb.* 5.2 habuit sed **G** : habuisset *cett.*, 18.1 terrae tremor **G** : terra et tremor **M** : terra tremore *cett.*, *Dom.* 17.1 sub ipsam **G** : bipsam **M** : in ipsam **LPONS** : ad ipsam **β** (*deest R*).<sup>16</sup>

Another striking characteristic of **G**—its origin in Bavaria, and so its status as an outlier relative to the rest of the tradition—must be reconciled with the seemingly unmistakable evidence we shall see in section III that its text influenced the **β** family through contamination: presumably that influence stems not from **G** itself but from one or more of its predecessors in the same lineage.<sup>17</sup> But we can consider that part of the story when we reach it.

To turn to the next question that must be answered: if **MG** and **LPONS** stand apart from each other, where does **V** stand? As already noted, Preud'homme believed that **VLPONS** share the same lineage, distinct from both **M** and **G**, and Bridge agreed, at least to the extent of associating **V** with **LPONS**. Now it is true that before it departs **V** uniquely shares (by my count) thirty-two errors with **LPONS** against **MGβ**:

*Jul.* 9.3 Gnaeo *om.*, 21 consul Kal. Ianuariis] Kal. ianuariis consul, 23.1 Antistio] antistitio (*vel -ticio*), 24.1 consulatus] consularis (*sic et F<sup>2</sup>*), 41.2 ac senatorii] et senatorii, 81.4 insidiarum indicem] indicem insidiarum, 86.1 †adinspectantium se **MGβ** : inspectantium se **VLPONS** : se servantium **CH**, 88 et (3<sup>o</sup>) *om.*, *Aug.* 4.1 Octavia (1<sup>o</sup>)] octavio, 4.1 Octavia (2<sup>o</sup>)] octavi, 5 C. (1<sup>o</sup>) *om.* (et **β**), 8.1 industriam] -tria, 10.2 ius ulla in re (**F Stephanus**)] ulla in re **VLPON<sup>2</sup>S**

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *Jul.* 26.2 maxima (-mae *cett.*), 31.1 esset (*sic et M<sup>2</sup>: est vel om. cett.*), 37.2 dextra sinistraque (dextraque sinistra *vel* dextra atque sinistra *cett.*), *Tib.* 52.3 creditur (crederetur *vel om. cett.*), *Cal.* 25.2 Memmio consulari (*sic et P<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>: -mi -ris vel -mio -ris vel -mi -ri cett.*), 37.2 symphonias (symphro *cett.*), *Nero* 11.2 avium (aulum *cett.*), *Dom.* 8.3 Scantinia (canti- *vel* cati- *cett.*).

<sup>16</sup> On the willingness to tinker revealed by **G**'s text see also Ihm 1907: xiii n2.

<sup>17</sup> That lineage might have included the manuscript excerpted by Heiric of Auxerre (n5 above): beyond omitting the middle septenarius in the soldiers' *carmen* quoted at *Jul.* 49.4, thereby displaying a conspicuously uncorrectable error of the α-manuscripts, the excerpts more often align themselves with **G** when they go wrong than with any other extant manuscript (*Aug.* 68 videsne] vides **GHeir.**, 76.1 ficos] ficus **GLPONSHeir.**, *Tib.* 75.1 morte] mortem **MGVRHeir.**). The evidence, however, is plainly very thin.

(una in re **N**<sup>1</sup>) : in sulla in re **MGR**, in sullanire **CHAKQDBE**, 10.3 ac (1<sup>o</sup>)] hac, 13.1 successum] successu, 13.2 voluntariam ... necem] voluntaria ... nece, 19.1 Parthina] parthica (*sic et F*<sup>2</sup>), 19.2 Epicadus] –dius, 46 a se frequentavit **G** : refrequentavit **VLPONS** (*sic et F*<sup>2</sup>) : se frequentavit **MAKQ** : ad se frequentavit **RCHDF<sup>1</sup>BE**, 51.1 ne enumerem] et ne enumerem (neemerem **M**<sup>1</sup>, nec\*mirum **G**<sup>2</sup>, *n.l.* **G**<sup>1</sup>), 66.4 consueverat **MGH**<sup>1</sup> : consuertat **VLPONS** : constituerat **β** (*sic et H*<sup>2</sup>), 72.1 in urbe] extra urbe **V**, extra urbem **LPONS** : in urbem **MG**, 83 pumilos] –lios, 89.1 contubernium **GAKQD**<sup>1</sup> (conti- **M**) : continitubernium **V**, contubernium iniit **LPONS** (innit *add.* **F**<sup>2</sup>) : contubernio **RCHD<sup>2</sup>F<sup>1</sup>BE**, 92.2 quam *om.* (quam dubitationem *add.* *ss.* **V**<sup>2</sup>**L**<sup>2</sup>**P**<sup>2</sup>**N**<sup>2</sup>, *post Graeca add.* **S**<sup>2</sup>, dubitationem *ss. pro glossemate O<sup>2</sup>), 96.2 litanti **M<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>** : –tati **MG** : –tato **VLPONS** (*sic et F*<sup>2</sup>) : –tante **β**, 98.3 missilia] –lium (*sic et F*<sup>2</sup>), *Tib.* 14.2 usque] usque eo **VL**, usque adeo **PON**, 35.2 e quaestura] quaestura, 51.2 ac mox] mox, 57.2 funere] funus (*corr.* **L**<sup>2</sup>**S**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 61.4 abiectus] obiectus.*

This is not a compellingly large number of errors for manuscripts with a common ancestor to share, even granting that **V** is extant for only half the text. More tellingly, it is the same as the number of places—thirty-two—where **V** uniquely shares an error with **MG** or (when **G** has a characteristic tinker) **M**:

*Jul.* 2 prostratae] prostatae **MV** (*corr.* **M**<sup>2</sup>**V**<sup>2</sup>), 17.1 recidit] recedit **MV** (*corr.* **M**<sup>2</sup>), 24.2 addidit] addit **MGV** (additis **LPON**), 33 quadringenis **L** : quadrigenis **M<sup>1</sup>V**, quadringentis **M<sup>3</sup>G** : quadra- **M<sup>2</sup>PONSβ** ; 56.7 et fait vero ab **MV** : et ab **G** : vero ab **LNS** : ab **PO** : et a puero ab **β**, 59 immolanti] immolate **MV**, 60 destinato sed] destinatos et **MV** ( –to set **M**<sup>2</sup>), 67.1 punitor] p(o)enitor **MGV** (*corr.* **M**<sup>2</sup>), 79.3 contineretur] detin- **MV**, 80.2 more] movere **MV** (*corr.* **M**<sup>2</sup>), 81.1 Capys (*ed. Mediol.* 1475, Capus **AKQD**<sup>1</sup>)] capiens **M**<sup>1</sup>, capians **V** (capis **M<sup>2</sup>GLPONS** **RCHD<sup>2</sup>FBE**), 81.4 obvio] ovio **MV** (*corr. in marg.* **V**<sup>2</sup>), 83.1 maximae. Quintus] maximo aequintus **MV** (maxime. ut Quintus **G**), *Aug.* 13.1 cornu] cornum **MV**, 28.2 prae se identidem **LP** : praesident idem **MV**, praesidenti dein **G** : praesidens idem **β** (*unde praesidens identidem P<sup>2</sup>ONS*), 29.4 sororisque] sororis **MV** (et sororis **G**, ac sororis **LPOS**, *om.* **N**), 31.2 a *om.* **MGV**, 33.3 at] ad **MV** (*sic et A<sup>2</sup>, a **M**<sup>2</sup>), 51.1 quot] quod **MGV** (*corr.* **M**<sup>2</sup>), 70.1 exprobrant] –bant **MV**, 70.2 supellectilis] –li **MGV** (*corr.* **V**<sup>2</sup>), 80 strigilis] –li **MGV**, 91.1 est. ipse] ipse ēi **M**, ipse ē **G**, ipse et **V** (ipse **LP**<sup>1</sup>), *Tib.* 6.4 Augusti] –to **MGV**, 14.2 ignota] –ti **MGV**, 31.1 impetravit] imperavit **MV**, 32.2 deglubere] –gluvere **MV** (deglutire **Gβ**), 33 labarent] lavarent **MGV**, 47 permodica re] permodicaret **MGV**, 50.3 non ullum] non nullum **MV**, 61.5 more tradito nefas esset] more traditione fas esset **MV**, more traditionis fas esset **G**, 75.1 morte] mortem **MGV**.*

This is just the state of affairs that we should expect to find if **MG** and **V** and **LPONS** descended independently from **α**, and it is a state of affairs that could come about in at least two ways: if **α** had two readings in a given place—the



original reading and a correction (which of course need not actually have been correct)—the scribe of (say) the common ancestor of **MG** might choose one reading, while the scribes of the common ancestor of **LPONS** and of **V** (or an ancestor of **V**) might choose the other; or if **α** had an error—in stemmatic terms, any deviation from the archetype—it might be removed by correction from (say) the common ancestor of **LPONS** before it could be passed on, while being transmitted in the lineages that led to **MG** and **V**.<sup>18</sup> These are not, of course, mutually exclusive processes, and I expect that both were at work.

We can take it, then, that **MG** and **V** and **LPONS** represent three independent descendants of **α**, which we can call **α<sub>1</sub>**, **α<sub>2</sub>**, and **α<sub>3</sub>**, respectively.<sup>19</sup> How, then, are **LPONS** related to one another in their descent from **α<sub>3</sub>**? The broad-brush answer is reasonably clear. First, as already noted, all five uniquely share just over 300 errors that are the legacy of **α<sub>3</sub>**, including many that are uncorrectable, for example:

*Jul.* 6.1 utraque origine] origine utraque, 14.2 quoad] quoad usque, 20.3 licerentur] ducerentur, 23.2 recepissent] pepigissent, *Aug.* 6 nisi] non nisi, 7.2 tantum] autem, 21.3 ipso] eo, 32.2 aerari *om.*, 35.1 orcivos] abortivos, 57.2 absumptae] abruptae, 71.2 id *om.*, 89.2 ad (2°) *om.*, 94.4 exigi] eximi, *Tib.* 19 casibusque] casibus, 37.2 umquam *om.*, 42.2 induxerat] indixerant, 57.2 clare *om.* (*corr.* **L<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>**), 68.2 obtegeret] subtegeret, *Cal.* 8.2 refellit] refert, 13 vel] velut, 17.1 Kal. Ian.] k(a)l. iun. (kal. *om.* **L**), 19.2 insignisque quercea] insignis quoque (a)erea (aurea **L<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>**), 22.1 ante Graeca De caelo venit nobis rex *add.*, *Claud.* 1.2 navi] magna vi, 3.2 cognoscatur] agnoscatur, 6.2 eius *om.*, 15.2 contentione] concertatione, 38.1 sibi *om.*, 42.1 nostro *om.*, 45 mors eius] eius mors, *Nero* 7.1 rea premebatur] reprimebatur, 10.1 aut (1°) *om.*, 20.3 post imbrices *add.* disceret (disceret quos **S**, *corr.* **P<sup>2</sup>**), 35.5 persancte] pers(a)epe, *Galb.* 2 Catuli *om.*, *Otho* 6.1 tulerat] erat, 7.2 concursantibus] conversantibus, *Vit.* 7.1 Venetae]

<sup>18</sup> For the former process, see section II, on the relation between text and variants in the manuscripts **A** and **K**; for an instance of the latter process at work in a tripartite family in the tradition of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, see Kaster 2010: 8–10.

<sup>19</sup> It is advisable to posit **α<sub>2</sub>** as an antecedent of **V** to allow for the possibility, noted above, that some of **α**'s errors were removed from its lineage before **V** itself was written. **α<sub>3</sub>**'s descendants include, besides **LPONS**, the source of the excerpts found in two manuscripts of the *Florilegium Gallicum* (see n5 above; the kinship was remarked by Ihm 1907, xxiv): see, e.g., *Jul.* 7.2 incitaverunt] concii- **PONS<sup>2</sup>Flor.**, 7.2 portendi] potiundi **PONSFlor.**, 58.1 perspeculatus] –tos **LPONSFlor.**, 82.2 inferiore] –ri **PO<sup>2</sup>NSFlor.** (–ris **O<sup>1</sup>**), *Aug.* 48 partisque] –temque **LPONSFlor.**, 51.3 sed] sedulo **LPONSFlor.**, though it is also clear that the florilegium's source, like most of the manuscripts in this group, was contaminated (e.g., *Jul.* 67.1 in proelio essent] es- in pr- **CHFlor.**, 81.1 litteris verbisque Graecis] li- Gr- ve- **CHFlor.**, *Tib.* 28 praetexto] –tu **CHFlor.**).

uae L, suae PONS, 15.3 sui subita] vi subito, *Vesp.* 5.2 repente *om.* (*corr.* L<sup>2</sup>), *Tit.* 4.3 legion] regioni, *Dom.* 5 et odium] et exmetodium, 7.2 in provinciis *om.*<sup>20</sup>

Next, it is evident that L is independent of PONS. Not only is L by far the least contaminated member of this family—it lacks, for example, the twenty-odd errors that PONS, alone of α, all share with some or all of β—but it also lacks both the distinctive pattern of capital initials that PONS must owe to their common source (see Appendix 2) and the sixty-five errors that those four uniquely share, including many that are uncorrectable, for example:

*Jul.* 7.2 portendi] potiundi, 31.2 constitit] substitit, *Aug.* 64.1 ad curam] curae (cur(r)am MVL), 86.1 eloquendi] eloquentiae, 89.1 per Arei (*Salmasius*, sperarei ω)] *om.*, *dein post* repletus, *nov. lin. incept.*, Philolosophi (Phy- P; ante repletus *inser. et* Py ON), *Tib.* 5 in publica] publica (*post relatum est coll.* O), 43.2 locos] iocos, 72.2 post Campaniam Asturae *add.* statim, *Cal.* 11 se natricem] seminatricem, 19.2 caetra] cathedra, 34.1 consulto et auctore se] se consulto et auctore se (se consulto et auctore β), *Claud.* 4.3 non] et non, 19 Latino] latine, 26.2 confodi] se confodi, *Nero* 15.2 admissis a] admissos (admissos *ex* admissis L<sup>2</sup>), 34.2 Baulos] baiulos (*sic et* L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>), 46.2 iam ordinum] ordinum, *Galb.* 11 Vindicis] sui vindicis (sui indicis MGL), 20.1 sunt qui] sunt autem qui, *Vesp.* 14 Mettium] et metium, *Tit.* 10.1 suum factum] factum suum, *Dom.* 17.2 ad terram] in terram.<sup>21</sup>

As for S: despite the extensive contamination in its background, which necessarily blurs some details in the picture, the cumulative evidence of its text suggests that it must be independent of PON. First, and more dramatically, the latter three share just over 200 errors that are lacking in S and all the other manuscripts, including again a number that are uncorrectable, for example:

*Jul.* 6.2 muliebri] in mu-, 27.1 cuiusque *om.*, 45.2 adsueverat] consue-, 75.1 admirabilem] mira-, 75.3 comparatas] prae-, 82.4 acta rescindere *inter* bona *et* publicare *coll.*, *Aug.* 16.2 materiam putem] pu- ma-, 40.2 pristinum ius] ius pristinum (*corr.* O<sup>2</sup>), 49.2 constituit] insti-, 75 celebrabat] exercebat, *Tib.* 21.6 ἄμφο] AMOΦΩ (-ΦO O), 34.1 usque eo] usque adeo, 43.1 in vicem in-

<sup>20</sup> Beyond these singular errors of LPONS, note also: LPONS, alone of α, share another sixty-odd errors with some or all β, presumably as a result of contamination in their common ancestor (cf. section III.a); and LPON share another thirty-odd unique errors, no doubt the legacy of their common ancestor, that were corrected out of the lineage of S, which is with N the most contaminated of these books.

<sup>21</sup> Note that ONS uniquely share another twenty-five errors that P lacks: since (as will be made clear just below) ONS cannot themselves form a sub-family independent of P, these errors most probably were found in the common ancestor of PONS but were corrected out of P's lineage before it was written.

cestarent] se in vicem incestaret (in vi- se inces- **LS**, in vi- inces- se **CH**), 54.2 convicia] vitia, *Cal.* 3.2 primus] prius, 10.1 et Syriaca expeditione] in syriacam expeditionem, 32.2 ante pectus *om.*, 39.2 cenaturum apud Caesarem] ap- Caee-, *Claud.* 4.2 ἀρτιότητα] –ΤΗΑ, 15.1 causam confestim apud se] cau- apud se con-, 21.3 auratisque] aureisque, *Nero* 5.1 comes *om.*, 5.1 obrivit] obruit, 25.3 astante] assistente, 34.3 opperiens coeptorum] ceptorum operiens, 37.3 quandoque *om.*, *Galb.* 4.1 ἡμῶν] ΜΩ **P**, ΜΩΝ **ON**, 5.2 ante] autem ante, 20.1 quemquam] quempiam, *Otho* 7.2 αὐλοῖς *om.*, 8.1 erga se praetorianorum] prae- erga se (praeter- **P**), *Vit.* 2.4 ac palam *om.*, *Vesp.* 4.2 adhuc *om.*, 5.7 solis exortu] ex- so-, 25 eum *om.*, *Tit.* 1 fortunae] naturae, 5.3 rituque priscae] priscae rituque, *Dom.* 14.2 ὄσον] **CON PN**, **ON O**, 14.2 σοί] **CO**.

Second, **S** uniquely shares with **L** some forty errors not found in **PON**, a state of affairs most economically explained by regarding them as errors of  $\alpha_3$  that were removed from the lineage of **PON** by comparison with a  $\beta$  manuscript. That comparison was involved is made certain by the fact that some of these errors are otherwise uncorrectable, for example:

*Cal.* 38.3 expergefata e] expergefata, *Claud.* 1.1 παιδία] ΠΑΔΙΑ, 43 τρώσας] ΕΡΩ-, *Nero* 35.4 Plautium] plantium (*corr.* **S**<sup>2</sup>), 38.1 μειχθήτω] MAX-, 38.2 ducum] deum, *Galba* 4.1 σὺ] **CΦΥ**.<sup>22</sup>

That the comparison involved a  $\beta$  manuscript is made next to certain by the nearly equivalent number of errors—thirty-nine—that **PON**, alone of  $\alpha$ , share with some or all of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Finally, though **S** does in general share with **PON** the distinctive pattern of capital initials noted above, it deviates from the pattern most often of the four, while the pattern is virtually identical in the other three (see Appendix 2).

One aspect of these manuscripts, however, introduces into this otherwise neat picture an awkwardness that must be acknowledged; it involves extracts

<sup>22</sup>Note also that **LS** uniquely share a gloss on the Greek quotation at *Nero* 49.3 οὐ πρέπει ... ἔγειρε σεαυτόν (non decet neronem non decet vigilare semper [semen **L**] in talibus sed [sed *om.* **L**] resuscita te ipsum [ipsum *om.* **S**]), and another eleven errors with **M**—more errors than **M** shares with all other possible pairs of **LPONS** (**LP**, **NS**, etc.) combined—which are presumptively the legacy of  $\alpha$ : e.g., *Cal.* 22.1 ἔστω] ΕΚΤΩ, *Claud.* 4.2 προῦποκειμένου] ΠΡΟΥΠΠΟ-, *Nero* 37.1 interimendi] inter emendi, 40.2 διατρέφει] -ΤΡΕΣΦΕΙ, *Vesp.* 25 successuros] successores (-soros **L**<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>23</sup>E.g., *Jul.* 58.1 itinera] loca **PONCH** (just the sort of tampering typical of **CH**: see the discussion in section II), *Aug.* 30.1 prolacionibus] prolapsionibus **PONβ**, *Tib.* 21.6 νοστήσαιμεν *recte* **POβ**, **NOCTNCAIMEH N** (**NOCTHCAIΘΘMEN MGβ**, -CAIΘEMEN **L**, -CAIEEMEN **S**), *Cal.* 38.3 expergefata e] –factae *deinde* Caesoniae **PONAKQDFBE**.

from Ausonius's *Caesares*.<sup>24</sup> These extracts are completely lacking from **L** and were originally lacking in **P**, though someone subsequently added the twelve monosticha on the emperor's deaths, followed (out of order) by the five-line dedication to Ausonius's son.<sup>25</sup> **ONS**, by contrast, all have the same set of extracts as part of their original texts, in effect reproducing the first forty-three lines of the *Caesares* immediately after the end of the *Domitian*.<sup>26</sup> It seems, then, that the textual evidence presented by **PONS**, surveyed above, points in one direction, toward the independence of **S**, while the metatextual evidence of the extracts points in the opposite direction. Given that choice, I come down on the side of the textual evidence: **S**'s text of Suetonius does descend from  $\alpha_3$  independently of **PON**, and we must assume that the extracts were grafted onto **S**'s lineage sometime before it was written in the middle of the 12th century, just as they entered the lineage of **O** and **N** sometime before those books were written in the middle and second half of the century, respectively, and sometime after **P** was written at the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th.

If we then ask whether any one of **PON** is more closely related to another than it is to the third, the answer seems to leap off the page. Among the three possible pairs, **PN** uniquely share eighteen errors—of which six are certainly such that they could be detected or corrected only through comparison with

<sup>24</sup> The extracts discussed here partly overlap the similar extracts found at the end of all but one manuscript of the  $\beta_2$ -family noted below (see at n49), but they are nonetheless clearly independent of the latter, since these extracts both comprise more of Ausonius's text and lack the incorrect attribution, "versus Sidonii," found in the  $\beta_2$ -manuscripts.

<sup>25</sup> In **P** the text of Suetonius ends three lines down on fol. 121<sup>v</sup>, followed by an explicit, with the rest of the side left blank; fol. 122<sup>r</sup> is also blank, and the verses then follow at the top of fol. 122<sup>v</sup>, in a hand different from the scribe's but of the same style and era. The monosticha include the same inauthentic versions of the first and fourth lines, on the deaths of Julius and Gaius, found in **ONS** and some other, non-Suetonian sources: for details see Green 1991: 559.

<sup>26</sup> The verses include the five-line dedication (in its proper place); three sets of monosticha on the order, lengths of rule, and deaths of the emperors (including the same interpolated verses in the second set, and the same inauthentic verses found in **P**'s version of the third set); and the first couplet (*nunc et praedictos et regni sorte secutos / expediam, series quos tenet imperii*) of the four-line introduction to the brief poems (also four lines each) on the emperors from Julius Caesar to Elagabalus. Because of the interpolations, the second set of monosticha in **ONS** comes to thirteen lines instead of twelve, for a total of forty-four verses instead of the forty-three that Ausonius wrote. **NS** also have a heading, *De cesaribus versus*, lacking in **O**.

another manuscript<sup>27</sup>—while **ON** uniquely share thirty-three errors—of which fourteen can similarly be classified as uncorrectable<sup>28</sup>—and **PO** uniquely share just over 150 errors, scores of which—including many omissions—are likewise uncorrectable.<sup>29</sup> *Prima facie*, then, **PO** are *gemelli* within this triad, and that is what I take to be the fact of the matter. It must be pointed out, however, that there is an awkwardness in these data, too; for these shared errors of **PO** are not at all distributed evenly throughout the text.

Rather, two-thirds of those 153 errors occur in the first two lives (seventy-two in *Jul.*, twenty-nine in *Aug.*), while the remaining fifty-two are distributed among the remaining ten lives. Granted, even those fifty-two are more than the errors shared by the other two pairs combined and are probably sufficient to establish that **P** and **O** have an exceptionally close relationship. Granted, too, that the first two lives are the longest, occupying not quite one third of the surviving text. It is nonetheless difficult to understand why one-third of the text should account for two-thirds of the errors, and that difficulty is only aggravated if we note that the shift might actually occur as early as *Aug.* 10, since twelve of the relevant errors occur in those first ten chapters, while only seventeen more occur in the *vita*'s remaining ninety-one chapters. If **PO** share a common ancestor, as seems clear, then that book's character must have changed radically starting somewhere early in the life of Augustus—though it is frankly a challenge to imagine why that should have been the case.

<sup>27</sup> *Aug.* 66.3 principes floruerunt] fl- pr-, 72.2 illi] ei, *Tib.* 3.1 floruit] claruit, *Cal.* 15.1 emineret] eniteret, *Nero* 24.2 eo setius] eo sed vi (eos sed vi **P**), *Vesp.* 11 iunxisset] vinxisset. **PN** also share, alone of  $\alpha$ , another nine errors with some or all  $\beta$ -manuscripts.

<sup>28</sup> *Aug.* 21.1 Albim] proprium alpbini **O**, albini cum ss. p(ro)p(ri)u(m) pr. man. **N**, 29.4 vel novis vel refectis et excultis] vel novis vel excultis vel refectis, 68 meritum] meritam (post adoptionem), 98.4 κίσθην om., *Tib.* 7.1 cuncta] cognita, 25.1 imminetium discriminum] dis- im-, 45 mora] nota (sic et **P**<sup>2</sup>), 62.2 etiam ut] ut etiam inter larga et meri coll. (ut etiam **P**<sup>1</sup>**CH**), 70.3 Minonis] milonis, 72.2 exaestuarat] –averat (sic et **P**<sup>2</sup> in ras.), *Cal.* 14.2 adversam] aversam (sic et **P**<sup>2</sup>), *Claud.* 1.4 pristinum se] se pr-, *Vesp.* 20 nitentis] –ti, *Dom.* 17.2 et Satur **G** : est et satur **MLP** : est et saturius **ON** : est et saturius **S** $\beta$ . **ON** also share, alone of  $\alpha$ , another twenty errors with some or all  $\beta$ -manuscripts.

<sup>29</sup> Many of these omissions were in fact corrected through comparison, e.g.: *Jul.* 6.1 pollut om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 10.2 nam om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>), 11 modis om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 12 nihil om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 15 impar om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 16.1 temporum (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 44.1 in dies om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>), 74.2 ex fide om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 84. 1 quia om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 84.1 urbis om., 86.2 interesse ... adeptum rem publicam om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), *Aug.* 1 et ostendebatur om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), 9 eius om. (corr. **P**<sup>2</sup>**O**<sup>2</sup>), *Claud.* 4.5 deligeret om., 15.4 *Graec.* om., *Nero* 27.3 alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria om., *Galb.* 14.1 secus om., *Vit.* 15.2 terra om. **PO** also share, alone of  $\alpha$ , another twenty-seven errors with some or all  $\beta$ -manuscripts.

Be that as it may, if we take all of the preceding discussion together, the stemma of  $\alpha$  should look like Figure 1<sup>30</sup>:

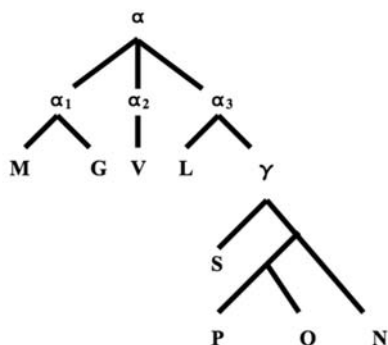


Figure 1.

## II: $\beta$ <sup>31</sup>

- |          |  |   |
|----------|--|---|
| <b>R</b> | London, British Library Royal 15 C. iii    | s. XII <sup>in</sup> . (London, St. Paul's) <sup>32</sup> |
| <b>C</b> | Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. class. d. 39 | s. XII <sup>3/4</sup> (England) <sup>33</sup>             |
| <b>H</b> | London, British Library Royal 15 C. iv     | s. XIII (England)   |

<sup>30</sup>I do not use *sigla* here to denote the ancestors of **PON** and **PO**, but see the full stemma at the end of section III.

<sup>31</sup>The multiple sets of *sigla* previously used for this branch by various editors and other scholars seem a swamp when first encountered, but I have done what I could to create a stable place to stand by adopting, where practical, the *sigla* of Ihm or Bridge. As for the details: Ihm regularly cited only three of these manuscripts—**R**, **Q**, and Paris, BnF lat. 6116, which he called **II** but I call **B** (so Bridge)—and he intermittently cited a fourth, London, BL Royal 15 C. iv, as **p** (so too Bridge), though I call it **H** (= Preud'homme's  $\lambda$ ); I also use Bridge's *sigla* for **D** and **E** but assign my own *sigla* to **A** and **F**, which neither he nor Ihm used (**A** is Preud'homme's  $\epsilon$ , **F** his  $\delta$ ), and to **C** and **K**, for which Bridge used different *sigla* (**C** = Bridge's **F** = Preud'homme's  $\eta$ , **K** = Bridge's **C** = Preud'homme's  $\zeta$ ). As in the case of  $\alpha$ , date and provenance are given according to Munk Olsen 1982–2009, and the text of Suetonius is complete unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>32</sup>Gameson 1999: 121, n° 563; Gullick 1999: 93, dates **R** somewhat earlier (s. XI<sup>4/4</sup>) and places its origin in Normandy. The text breaks off at *Dom.* 14.2 alia.

<sup>33</sup>Formerly London, Sion College Arc. L. 40.2 / L. 21: Ker 1969: 278–79 notes that a book with the same contents (besides Suetonius: Einhard's *Life* of Charlemagne, three Frankish genealogies, a *visio Karoli*, and extracts from Aulus Gellius) in the same order is listed in a catalogue compiled at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the early 14th century; the hand is dated to “about 1175” by Thomson 2003: 138.

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| A | Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale 19                | s. XIII <sup>34</sup>                                  |
| K | Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.24               | s. XII <sup>2/2</sup> (England?)                       |
| Q | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5802   | s. XII <sup>med.</sup> (Chartres?)                     |
| D | Durham, Cathedral Library C.III.18                  | s. XI <sup>ex.</sup> (England? France?) <sup>35</sup>  |
| F | Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 64.8 | s. XII <sup>2/2</sup> (France?)                        |
| B | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 6116   | s. XII <sup>med.</sup> (Normandy?)                     |
| E | San Marino, Huntington Library HM 45717             | s. XII <sup>ex.</sup> (Bury St. Edmunds) <sup>36</sup> |

That  $\beta$ , the hyparchetype of this branch, had a text inferior to  $\alpha$ 's cannot be denied: its descendants listed above unanimously share well over 300 errors that do not appear in the other branch, including scores that count as uncorrectable.<sup>37</sup> But neither can it be denied that the branch deserved more respect than it was granted by Ihm, who—despite adopting its text in scores of places—paid the manuscripts scant attention, mistakenly thought **R** superior to **Q**, and did not cite the Durham manuscript at all, though it is the oldest and best of the group.<sup>38</sup> The edition I am preparing will present a more nuanced view.

$\beta$  itself was probably written in France, like  $\alpha$ , but as a glance at the list above shows, the visible tradition that it spawned developed on both sides of the English Channel in the generations following the Norman Conquest, with the affiliations of the manuscripts mirroring the divisions of geography: of the bipartite tradition's two main families, one—**RCH**—is exclusively English, while all members of the other family, save one, were written in France.<sup>39</sup> We

<sup>34</sup> Presumably of French origin.

<sup>35</sup> Gameson 1999: 85, n° 271 ("Cs. XI/XII; Continent? [Durham (late medieval provenance)]").

<sup>36</sup> Formerly London, Sion College Arc. L.40.2 / L. 9. Bury St. Edmunds: Ker 1969: 270, Thomson 1972: 639, McLachlan 1986: 328–29.

<sup>37</sup> To cite only a selection of omissions from the first two lives: *Jul.* 4.2 ceteros *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 8 adiit *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 11 numero ... habuit Romanorum *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>; **CH** improvise a supplement, "condemnavit qui per sicariorum"), 45.2 diligenter ac raderetur *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 56.1 Caesaris *om.*, 81.1 Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni *om.* (capua coloni lege iulia coloni ad extruendas *add.* F<sup>2</sup>), *Aug.* 24.2 delictorum *om.*, 41.2 nisi *om.* (*hab.* **CH**, *corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 47 alias aut ... levavit *om.*, 52 solere *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 94.8 e *om.* (*corr.* F<sup>2</sup>), 97.3 ex *om.*; on the contamination of **F** from an  $\alpha_3$  source, see section III.c. In over fifty other places all the  $\beta$ -manuscripts save **R** agree in error, either because in those places an ancestor of **R** was corrected against an  $\alpha$ -manuscript, or an ancestor of **CH** was contaminated from a manuscript like **AKQDFBE**, or both.

<sup>38</sup> See Ihm 1907: xvii–xxi; for criticism, Bridge 1930b: 183–84. See also n44 below and Appendix 3.

<sup>39</sup> Preud'homme saw that the tradition is bipartite, though his sorting of the manuscripts in the second family was mistaken (stemma at 1903–4: 61). In his dissertation

will take up the first family's constitution, which requires little discussion, then turn to the internal relations of the second, which are more complex.

The three manuscripts **RCH** share over 150 errors that set them apart from the other books of this branch: nearly 100 of these appear in no other witnesses, while the remaining third appear in one or another **α**-manuscript thanks to contamination; all of these include a large number of errors that can be classified as uncorrectable, for example:

*Jul.* 42.1 quoque *om.*, *Aug.* 28.2 fundamenta rei publica quae iecero] r- p- q- i- f- (*corr.* **R**<sup>2</sup>), 31.4 Compitales Lares] Capitales lares **R**, Capi- lauros **CH** (Compitales lares **AKQDF**, *recte* **BE**), 32.1 palam se] se palam, 35.2 publice ius] ius publice (ius *om.* **C**<sup>1</sup>, ius p- **C**<sup>2</sup>), *Tib.* 16.2 patet *om.*, 40 Capuae *om.* (*corr.* **R**<sup>2</sup>), 61.5 esset *om.*, 70.3 historiae fabularis] f- h-, *Cal.* 15.1 lacrimis] verbis, *Nero* 23.3 in manu esse] esse in manu, 29 voces quoque] vocesque, *Galb.* 3.1 tam *om.*, *Vit.* 2.4 Parthorum regem] r- P-; cf. also *Jul.* 39.1 actorque] auctorque **RCH**<sup>2</sup>**OS** (auctor **H**<sup>1</sup>), *Cal.* 55.1 Mnesterem] M. nesterem **RCHS**, *Claud.* 18.2 invehendos] inveniendos **RCHLPONS**, *Otho* 4.2 nec minus] nec eo minus **RCHNS** (*sic et* **B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>; nec(h)ominus **MGL**, nec quominus **PO**), *Vesp.* 15 etiam et] neque etiam et **RCHNS** (etiam **KQD**, neque etiam **D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**), *Dom.* 10.5 ducem] iudicem **RCHP**.

No doubt the number of shared errors would be still larger were it not for the extensive corrections (together with other forms of aggressive tampering) that are evident in **CH**'s common background. Be that as it may, the relative age of **R** on the one hand and **CH** on the other guarantees that the former cannot descend from either of the latter, while a number of uncorrected and uncorrectable errors in **R** show that it cannot be the source of **C** or **H**.<sup>40</sup> It is further clear that **C** and **H** are more closely related to one another than either is to **R**—indeed, it is clear that **CH** had a common ancestor, a *gemellus* of **R** that I will call ζ, which was in at least three ways an extraordinary book.<sup>41</sup>

---

Bridge mistakenly thought the tradition tripartite, but he was largely correct in identifying the pairs of manuscripts that are most closely related (stemma at 1903a: 5); oddly, the published abstract of the dissertation (1930b: 186) offers a different stemma, which correctly represents the tradition as bipartite but incorrectly derives **BE** from the same hyparchetype as **RC**.

<sup>40</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 15 quos relicto] quos relictos, 23.1 superioris] –oribus, 25.1 in imperio] imperio, 42.1 maior annis] an– ma-, 69 cessit unquam] um- ces-, *Aug.* 45.1 libertorumque] –tinorumque, 53.1 de ipso] de se ipso, 66.3 suspicione] susceptione, 96.2 cum augeri] augeri, 98.3 iocandi] vocandi, 100.2 anulos *om.*

<sup>41</sup> The next few paragraphs summarize the discussion of these books in Kaster forthcoming. The dates of **C** (s. XII<sup>3/4</sup>) and **H** (s. XIII) rule out the possibility that the former was derived from the latter, while numerous uncorrected and uncorrectable errors in **C** show



It was extraordinary, first, in the sheer enormity of its unreliability, for the number of errors that **CH** uniquely share do not number in the scores or even the hundreds: there are nearly 2000 of them. It was extraordinary, second, in the character of its errors: for while some of those 2000 are inevitably the result of scribal bumbles of a typical, mechanical sort—haplographies, ditto-graphies, errors of perseveration or anticipation, transpositions of adjacent letters or words, omissions caused by *saut du même au même*—the great majority of them can best be explained not just as intentional but as the product of a single reader’s mind approaching the text with a repertoire of clear aims, preferences, and practices.

Perhaps most plainly, there are the many attempts to remedy a patent flaw in the transmitted text, where the effort is usually along the right lines, even when it is unsuccessful. For example, when recalling Augustus’s habits in attending games and shows, Suetonius reported (*Aug.* 45.1) that “he was absent (*aberat*) from the spectacle for very many hours, and sometimes whole days, though he begged [the people’s] indulgence and commended to them those who would preside in his place”—except that the archetype had, not *aberat*, but the ruinously opposite *aderat*. One would think that so obvious an error would have caught more than one reader’s eye, but the easy correction to *aberat* was not made for centuries<sup>42</sup>—except that the reader who left his mark in ζ saw what was meant and inserted *et tunc discedebat* after *aderat* (“he was present and then departed”), a repair that was correct in sense if clumsy in execution.

Now we would say that the readerly approach seen here—a perception that the text has gone astray and the willingness to do something about it—should be accompanied by a sense of where one draws the line, a sense, that is, of where the perception of error becomes mere fussiness, or where the willingness to correct error becomes mere willfulness. It is clear, however, that this

---

that it is not likely to be the source of **H**, e.g.: *Jul.* 14 protexerint] per-, 26.1 Pompeium] pompeiumque, 29.2 aut ut] ut autem, 55.3 pro Q.] ut pro Q. (*sic et Casaubon*), 56.4 erant gesta] gesta erant, 76.1 et dedit] ac dedit, *Aug.* 4.2 pistrinum] pistrinum pristinum, 10.1 non audentibus facere *om.*, 31.3 adiuravit] iuravit, 33.1 reum] reumque (reum sed **H**), 40.3 civitatis Romanae] civitati ro-, 53.3 in curia salutavit] p. c. appellavit (precibus eripuit **H**<sup>1</sup>, p. c. appellavit *in marg.* **H**<sup>2</sup>), 57.1 dilectus sit] sit dilectus, 72.1 ullius] alicuius, 78.2 fabulatoribus] –tionibus, 93 solus audiit disceptantes] solos au- dis-, 93 paulo] paulum (et paulo **H**), 96.2 eruptione] irrup-, 96.2 Nicon] venicon (necmon **H**).

<sup>42</sup> Ihm ascribes it to ζ, the *siglum* he uses to denote unspecified manuscripts of ss. XIV – XV.

reader was unburdened by such restraints and instead aggressively undertook to make the text conform to certain clear principles. For example, since things should be spelled out explicitly, *quartana* (Jul. 1.2) becomes *quartana febris* and *quattuordecim* (Jul. 39.2) becomes *quattuordecim gradibus*; since adjectival information that is merely attributive in meaning should follow the noun it modifies, *provinciae spe* (Jul. 13) becomes *spe provinciae* and *novarum tabularum* (Jul. 42.2) becomes *tabularum novarum*; conversely, since adverbial information should precede the word it modifies, *clarissimo tunc* (Jul. 4.1) becomes *tunc clarissimo* and *displicuisset ulli e tribus* (Jul. 19.2) becomes *ulli e tribus displicuisset*; and more generally, since words that “go together” should stand together, instances of hyperbaton should be removed, so that *plurium quam quisquam umquam dierum* (Jul. 24.3) becomes *plurium dierum quam quisquam umquam*. Not only do changes of all these sorts occur hundreds of times, but they are also joined by hundreds of other instances of seemingly willful tampering through which *opera ab optimatibus data est* (Jul. 19.2) becomes *optimates operam dederunt, nitentem* (Jul. 20.4) becomes *conantem*,<sup>43</sup> and—nearly 100 times—*ac* or *-que* becomes *et*.

Given this dismal record, one could reasonably ask, “Why then bother with these wretched witnesses?” The answer—which brings us to the third reason that ζ was an extraordinary book—is suggested by the following example.

The interlude that Julius Caesar passed at the court of king Nicomedes of Bithynia early in his career caused tongues to wag with allegations that Caesar had played the catamite, and among the many scraps of gossip that Suetonius records on this topic is a brief excerpt from an epigram by Licinius Calvus, which stood as follows in the archetype's text (Jul. 49.1):

... Bithynia quidquid  
et *praedicator* Caesaris umquam habuit.  
... whatever Bithynia  
and Caesar's *publicizer* ever possessed.

*praedicator* is hardly the agent noun that the context calls for, and editors of both Suetonius and the fragments of Latin poetry have long accepted the reading *pedicator* that Ihm attributes to an unnamed corrector of the 15th century, adding in his critical apparatus, “primum legi in ed. anonyma (a. 1472?) et Mediol. a. 1475” (the question mark is Ihm's; in fact *pedicator* ap-

<sup>43</sup>In this and many similar instances, the substituted synonym could be called a “gloss,” save that in most cases the word replaced could not remotely have caused difficulty or required explanation.

pears already in the earlier of the two Roman editions of 1470, to which Ihm did not have access). The emendation is bold, insofar as this agent-noun is attested nowhere else in Latin. But it is unquestionably correct.

It is also the work, not of an unknown humanist scholar, but of the same reader who left his many marks in the text passed on to **CH** from **ζ**. In fact, **ζ** is the earliest identifiable source not just of this strikingly good correction, or of this one and a few others: there are 50 *good corrections* of this sort that we owe to **ζ**, though Ihm—who did not know **C** and used **H** (his **ρ**) only fitfully—acknowledges barely a quarter of them in his apparatus, generally attributing them instead to sources more recent by 300 years or more.<sup>44</sup> To gauge the full import of this record, consider the fact that **ζ**'s fifty good corrections are half a dozen more than the contributions, recorded in Ihm's apparatus, of Erasmus, Salmasius, Turnebus, Lipsius, Casaubon, and Bentley—six of the greatest names in the history of classical scholarship—combined.<sup>45</sup> In short, the most prodigiously fertile corrector that the text of Suetonius has known seems also to have been its most willfully aggressive reader.<sup>46</sup>

The manuscripts of the remaining family—**AKQDFBE**—are united by at least four different kinds of textual and formal singularity that reveal their descent from a common ancestor. First, and most important, they share over 420 errors that appear nowhere else in the paradosis, although the lineage of **A**—the latest and most contaminated of the group—had been relieved of 163 of these errors before **A** itself was written.<sup>47</sup> Many of these errors fall into the category of the uncorrectable, for example:

<sup>44</sup> For a complete list of these readings see Appendix 3, with further detail on Ihm's reports. These good corrections are obviously of a piece with the many other instances in which this reader correctly diagnosed a corruption but devised an imperfect solution, as in the case of *Aug.* 45.1 cited above.

<sup>45</sup> Erasmus can claim 5, Salmasius 8, Turnebus 6, Lipsius 11, Casaubon 6, and Bentley 8.

<sup>46</sup> In fact, there is cogent evidence that the reader in question was none other than William of Malmesbury, medieval England's greatest historian after Bede and the most learned man in the Europe of his day: briefly, **C** can be shown to be derived from a manuscript with the same unusual contents that was prepared for *and annotated by* William (Thomson 2003: 137–50); two of the unique alterations in **CH**'s text of Suetonius reappear when William borrows phrases from Suetonius in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*; and the way Suetonius's text is made to conform to certain stylistic principles finds a precise match in William's treatment of Cicero's *Lucullus* and Alcuin's letters; more fully, see the "Epilogue" in Kaster forthcoming.

<sup>47</sup> Of the other manuscripts, the next most contaminated is **E**, which lacks sixty-one of these errors, followed by **B** (29), **Q** (28), **K** (11), and **F** (5). **D** has them all, since it is in a sense pivotal to the family's identity: for reasons that will emerge, where **D** does differ from **KQ** it is almost invariably followed by **FBE** as well.

*Jul.* 43.2 atque militibus *om.*, 45.3 nec umquam aliter quam ut super (*Graevius*)] nec ut umquam aliter quam super (ut *om.* αβ<sub>1</sub> = ω), 56.4 et quae per se ... ediderit *om.*, *Aug.* 16.1 lacum mari effecit] ma- ef- la-, 25.1 aliter *om.*, 53.3 quondam *om.*, 70.1 istorum] iustum, 99.1 ἐπεὶ δὲ] ΕΤCΔΕ (ΕΤΙCΙΔΕ ω), 99.1 πάνυ ΤΙΑΧΟΙ, 99.1 κρότον] ΚΟΡΟΤΟΝ, 100.2 in aedium] in aede, 101.3 ad vicena sestertial] ut vi- ses-.

One very large uncorrectable error is at the same time the second singularity that helps to unite the group: except (again) for **A**, in whose lineage the irregularity was removed by contamination before the book was written, all these manuscripts have a version of the “*Galba-error*,” a textual dislocation that disrupts the narrative in the life of that emperor: the dislocation occurs in two forms, one in **KQDF**, the other in **BE**, and it will become clear in due course that the former must be the antecedent of the latter.<sup>48</sup>

The other singularities that reveal the books' common origin stand outside the text itself. First, after the end of the *Domitian* all the books save **E** have the same set of brief poems labeled “*Sidonii versus*”—one on the lengths of the emperors' reigns, one on their deaths, and the couplet *Nunc et praedictos et regni sorte secutos / expediam, series quos tenet imperii*—which are in fact extracts from the *Caesares* of Ausonius.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the margins of **AKDF** contain hundreds of brief notes, which fall into two categories: on the one hand, jottings introduced by the familiar abbreviation *NT* (= *Nota*), used to draw attention to noteworthy matters in the text, like the unlovely treatment that Augustus gave the head of Brutus (*Aug.* 13.1); on the other hand, the more distinctive abbreviation *rq* (= *require*), typically unaccompanied by further annotation but often keyed by reference-signs to a specific word or phrase in the text, and used to call out items that the reader reminded himself to “check into” because they were odd or unclear and called for further research, like the term *petasatus* (*Aug.* 82.1) or the phrase *Albulae calidae* (*Aug.* 82.2). In all four manuscripts these marginal notes are in hands contemporary with the main text's scribal hand, and in fact seem to be in that same hand; and because upwards of 90% of the notes are identical in form, content, and placement in

<sup>48</sup> Briefly, in **KQDF** the continuous text breaks off in the middle of *Galb.* 8.2; the segment from *Galb.* 12.2 item Germanorum to 20.1 then follows, after which *Galb.* 8.2 resumes and the text continues through 12.2 decimavit eitam; then 20.1 resumes, and the text continues to the end of the life. Much the same state of affairs obtains in **BE**, save that the initial break occurs at *Galb.* 10.1, instead of 8.2. On the origin of the error, see Appendix 4.

<sup>49</sup> In **Q** the misattribution is corrected in the hand of Petrarch: see Berté 2011: 3. These extracts are independent of those that appear in certain books of the α<sub>3</sub>-family, which include more of the *Caesares* and lack the mistaken attribution: see n24 above.

all four books, it is clear that they were not produced independently but were derived, along with the text, from **AKDF**'s common ancestor (=  $\beta_2$ ). We have, in other words, the responses to the *Caesars* left by a reader who had the text in his hands no later than the very end of the 11th century.<sup>50</sup>

Making sense of the relations among **AKQDFBE** requires an argument in six steps, which I will first summarize here, so that it will be clear where the discussion is headed. I will then present the evidence relevant to each step of the argument in turn:

1. **A** and **K** are more closely related to each other than either is to **Q** or any other manuscript;
2. **AKQ** are more closely related to each other than any of them is to **D** or any other manuscript;
3. **B** and **E** are more closely related to each other than either is to **F** or another manuscript;
4. **FBE** are more closely related to each other than any of them is to any other manuscript;
5. **AKQD** are more closely related to each other than they are as a group to **FBE** or any other manuscript, but with very few exceptions they agree in error to the exclusion of **FBE** only in those places where the error was removed from **D** by correction;
6. The common ancestor of **FBE** was a manuscript copied from (or copied from a copy of) **D** after it had been corrected.

1. **A** and **K** uniquely share some ninety errors, including a number that are uncorrectable<sup>51</sup>; the total would no doubt be higher had not so much contamination occurred in **A**'s lineage. Particularly eloquent of a close relationship are the many places where **K** has a distinctive gloss or variant reading that appears also in **A**, usually with the word or phrase that was written in the margin or above the line in **K** standing in **A**'s text, while the reading that was in **K**'s text appears as a superscript gloss or variant in **A**, for example:

<sup>50</sup> The date is implied by the date of  $\beta_2$ 's oldest offspring, **D**; it cannot be assumed, of course, that  $\beta_2$ 's annotation originated in it. Of the other books in this family, **Q** and **E** have very few marginal notes of any kind, beyond the usual assortment of corrections and variants, and the few that are in **Q** were written in a hand noticeably later than that of the main text; the notes in **B** are more numerous but amount to no more than brief phrases indicating the topic under discussion in the text.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 56.6 d pro a] D. P. A., 58.1 perspeculatus] prae-, 59 in egressu] ingressu, 71 et abstrahentibus] ei abs-, *Aug.* 7.1 in memoriam] in memoria, 66.3 opibus] operibus, *Cal.* 6.2 per festos] profectos **A**<sup>1</sup>**K**<sup>1</sup> (profestos **R**<sup>2</sup>**A**<sup>2</sup>**K**<sup>2</sup>**DFB**<sup>1</sup>), 24.2 liberisve] liberi su(a)e, *Claud.* 24.1 equite R.] equitate.

*Jul.* 28.3 capite] † capitulo ss. in **K**, capitulo **A** († capite ss.), 35.2 in Hispania] s(cilicet) devicit ss. in **K**, in hispania devicit (s. ss.) **A**, 47 pretio] s. comparasse in *marg.* **K**, pretio comparasse (s. ss.) **A**, 52.1 Cleopatram] s. dilexit ss. in **AK**, *Aug.* 8.1 facto] † fracto in *marg.* **K**, fracto († facto ss.) **A**, 43.1 fecitque] s. spectacula in *marg.* **K**, fecitque spectacula (s. ss.) **A**, 54 ab alio] s. dictum est ss. **K**, ab alio dictum est (s. ss.) **A** 94.4 Atiam] .i. matrem augusti † atiam (athyam **A**) in *marg.* **K**, ss. **A**, *Tib.* 2.2 virginem ingenuam] .i. filiam virginii quam pater idem indignans in foro occidit in *marg.* **K**, virginem ingenuam .i. filiam virginii quam pater idem indignans in foro occidit **A**, 2.2 rursus] Post secessionem prima [sic] quae memorie [sic] agrippe sapienti facundia sedata fuerat per fabulam de dissensione mborum [sic] humanorum in *marg.* **K**, rursus post secessionem primam quae meneni agrippae sapienti fecundia sedata fuerat per fabulam de dissensione membrorum humanorum **A**, 25.3 Germanicus] nepos eius filius drusi ss. **K**, germanicus nepos eius filius drusi (.s. ss.) **A**.

The date of each manuscript rules out the possibility that **K** depends on **A**, as does the number of **A**'s singular uncorrected and uncorrectable errors,<sup>52</sup> while the degree of contamination in **A** makes it difficult to decide whether it is **K**'s descendant or its twin: on balance, I am inclined to think that the books are *gemelli*, given (for example) evidence like the second gloss at *Tib.* 2.2 cited just above (where **A**'s version could not be derived from **K**) and the number of uncorrected and uncorrectable errors unique to **K** more generally.<sup>53</sup> As we will also see, however, it hardly matters, since there is no need to include **A** among the manuscripts regularly cited in a critical apparatus.

2. The kinship of **K** and **Q** was already seen by Bridge, and there is no need to say a great deal more.<sup>54</sup> The two manuscripts share nearly seventy errors, some of which count as uncorrectable and most of which also appear in **A**<sup>55</sup>; that **A** is correct against **KQ** in twenty-six of these places is no doubt

<sup>52</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 9.3 Romae ad res novas] ad res novas Romae, 10.1 unius Caesaris] cesaris unius, 11 populi favore] fa- po-, 11 capita pecunias] pe- ca-, 26.3 suscipere] reci-, 28.3 is] is Pompeius, 35.2 militiae laus] laus milicie, 54.3 inaurati] in avaraci, 68.3 una *om.*, 76.1 tensam] passam, 88 esse *om.*

<sup>53</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 5 super ea re] super eam rem, 14.1 municipatim] nuncupatim, 14.2 obiecta *om.*, 18.1 decessit] dis-, 20.5 praemiis] primus, 33 pro dicto] profecto, 55.3 cum *om.*, 56.7 admodum ac simplicem *om.*, 77 pro ostento] postento, 79.2 se non regem *om.*, 83.1 solitum] solum.

<sup>54</sup> Bridge 1930a: 133-45; Bridge did not include **A** in his survey.

<sup>55</sup> E.g., *Jul.* 9.2 obisse] abisse **KQ** (adisse **RCHAD1F1BE**), 56.6 commutet] commit(t)-eret **AKQ**, 82.3 ut Antistius] nec anti- **KQ** (al ut **Q**<sup>2</sup>), *Aug.* 21.1 Rheno] rheni, 23.2 diemque cladis] clausis **KQ**, 54 oportere] opportune, 54 fraudi] fandi, 65.2 de filia] filiae (filia **MGVL1P1D1** = ω<sup>2</sup>), 67.2 Polum] populum **K**<sup>1</sup>**Q** († proculum in *marg.* **K**, sicut *cett.* β),

due to the contamination that has already been remarked in that manuscript. Furthermore, since **K** and **Q** both also uniquely contain numerous uncorrected and uncorrectable errors of their own, it seems clear that neither one can be derived from the other.<sup>56</sup> So far, then, we have one well-defined family, **AKQ**, in which two manuscripts, **A** and **K**, are more closely related to each other than either is to **Q**.

3. As Bridge also saw, **B** and **E** are even more conspicuously close kin, sharing over 300 errors that appear in no other manuscripts.<sup>57</sup> Many of these can be classified as uncorrectable, for example:

*Jul.* 4.2 sociorum videretur] vi- so- (*corr.* **B**<sup>2</sup>), 30.5 *post* ΑΔΙ *Graec. om.* (*spat. relict.*), 49.1 spondam] sponsam, 59 vel] aut, 60 putaret] speraret, 65 observandum se] se ob-, 68.2 sustinebantur] sustentabantur, 73 uti] ita, 80.2 esse eum] eum esse, 82.2 etsi] et sicut, 84.4 triumphorum instrumento] in- tri-, 88 continuos dies] di- con-, 89 violaverant] vulneraverant (a[ violaverant ss. **B**<sup>2</sup>);

and since **B** and **E** both have many singular uncorrected and uncorrectable errors of their own, it is clear that neither is derived from the other.<sup>58</sup> As we will also see in section III, **E** is much the more contaminated of the two.

---

78.2 offendebatur] –bat **KQ**. In another 22 places **KQ** (again mostly joined by **A**) are alone among  $\beta$ -manuscripts in sharing an error that also appears in some  $\alpha$ -manuscripts. Since nearly half of these also appear in **M**, some are probably archetypal errors that correction purged from other families in the tradition: *Aug.* 17.1 etiam] etiam et **MVLPONSAKQ**, 25.1 appellabat] appellat **MGVLP<sup>1</sup>AKQ**, 46 a se frequentavit **G** : ad se frequentavit **RCHDF<sup>1</sup>BE** : se frequentavit **MAKQ** : refrequentavit **VLPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 47 fugato Sex.] fugatos ex **MGVLS<sup>1</sup>AKQ** (a[ Sexto *in marg.* **AK**), 62.1 Servili Isaurici] serviliis aurici **MA**, -lus au- **KQ**, 65.4 adgnosci] adcognosci **MVAKQ** (adcognosti *ex* adcogniti **L**, cognosci **GRCH**, ac cognosci **DFBE**), *Galb.* 15.2 innocentium] nocentium **MGLPOSAKQF<sup>2</sup>**, *Otho* 4.2 successione] –ni **MGAKQD<sup>2</sup>**, *Vit.* 3.1 editos] ditos **MKQ**

<sup>56</sup> For **K**, see n53 above; for **Q**, e.g., *Jul.* 26.2 largitionis] perditionis, 26.2 omisit] amisit, 27.1 aut levi] ac levi, 30.5 ἀδικεῖν] ΑΔΙΚΑ ΙΝ, 31.2 constitit] restitit, 32 apparuit harundine canens] ha- ap- ca-, 38.2 prandia] praedia, 39.4 sint *om.*, 42.1 Italia *om.*, 49.2 proscripsit] prae-, 76.3 liberti sui] sui li-, 81.2 Spurinna monuit ... 81.3 Idus avem *om.*, 82.1 ilicoque] ilico, 87 subitam] subitamque.

<sup>57</sup> Bridge 1930a: 67–93.

<sup>58</sup> For **B**, e.g., *Jul.* 8 decedens] discedens, 42.3 ut Cicero] et cicero, 55.1 atque etiam] ac etiam, 73 satisficientem] sufficientem; for **E**, e.g., *Jul.* 9.3 res novas] novas res, 13 nisi pontificem non] non nisi pon-, 14.1 quin et] quin etiam, 17.1 cognovisse *post* dicebat *coll.*, 29.1 quoque] autem, 57 traiciens *ante* nando *coll.*

4. It is equally evident that just as **Q** has an ancestor in common with **AK**, so **F** has an ancestor in common with **BE**<sup>59</sup>; for there are over 200 errors that these manuscripts share, many of them uncorrectable<sup>60</sup>:

*Jul.* 33 adhortandoque] exortandoque, 68.1 diurno] diurno, 78.1 plurimis] pluribus, 86.1 neque curasse] atque curasse, *Aug.* 13.2 uni suppliciter] sup- uni, 21.1 suis *om.*, 21.2 vellent obsides] ob- vel-, 23.1 a peritis *post* assuetis *coll.* (*corr. in marg.* **B**<sup>2</sup>), 25.4 ἐστ' ἀμείνων] ΗCΤΑΜΗΝΩΝ (ΗCΤΑΜΗΥΝΩΝ **RCHD**), 27.3 ac speculatore] et spe-, 43.1 se *post* ludos *coll.* (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>), 70.2 esse plane] plane esse, 72.1 ceteris partibus] par- ce-, 81.2 corpore] tempore **FB**<sup>1</sup>, tempore corpore **E**, 94.1 quoniam] quomodo (*corr.* **F**<sup>2E<sup>2</sup>);</sup>

The relative dates of **F** (s. XII<sup>2/2</sup>) and **B** (s. XII<sup>med.</sup>) *prima facie* suggest that **BE**'s common ancestor was not derived from **F**, but the interval is too narrow, and the dating by hands too imprecise, to be certain; furthermore, since **F**'s text was worked over with exceptional thoroughness, it has very few singular errors that were left uncorrected, and fewer still that are both uncorrected and uncorrectable.<sup>61</sup> Strictly, then, the possibility that **F** is the source of **BE**'s ancestor cannot be ruled out. But to accept that possibility we must be prepared to assume both that **BE**'s ancestor was copied from **F** before it was extensively contaminated from **L** (see section III.c)—for that contamination is absent from **BE**—and that that contamination represents a stage of correction completely distinct from and subsequent to the correction that removed nearly all of **F**'s original singular errors, which by definition are also absent from **BE**. This seems implausible.

5. Six of the manuscripts in the **β** branch thus resolve themselves into two sub-families that are mirror images of one another: while **FBE** share a common ancestor, **BE** are more closely related to each other than either is to **F**, so that at least one more proximate common ancestor must stand between themselves and the source they share with **F**; and while **AKQ** share a common

<sup>59</sup> Bridge did not take account of **F**, an omission that helps to explain why he did not correctly assemble the components of this part of the tradition, even though he was the first to demonstrate the close affinities of **KQ** and **BE**.

<sup>60</sup> **FE** share another 6 errors where **B** is correct, **FB** another 47 where **E** is correct: the errors are presumably the legacy of **FBE**'s common ancestor, the correct readings the result of contamination that proceeded much farther in **E** than in **B**.

<sup>61</sup> I can point only to *Claud.* 43 obvium sibi] sibi obvium, *Nero* 38.1 μειχθήτω] ΜΙΕΙΧΘΗΓΩ, *Galb.* 10.1 temporum statum] sta- tem-, *Vesp.* 1.4 ducta] deducta; and at *Tit.* 9.1 **F** has the correct *in adfectione* in place of the *in affectione* found in all the other **β**<sub>2</sub>-manuscripts.



ancestor, **AK** are more closely related to each other than either is to **Q**, so that at least one more proximate common ancestor must stand between themselves and the source they share with **Q**. We are left, then, with a question much like one we faced in the **α** branch: whereas there we had to decide where **V** stood in relation to **MG** on the one hand and **LPONS** on the other, here we have to decide where **D** stands in relation to **AKQ** on the one hand and **FBE** on the other. In **α** we decided that **V** most likely had its own, independent line of descent; in this case, the answer is clearly different.

In laying out the steps of this argument above I suggested that **D** is fundamentally aligned with **AKQ**, so that **AKQD** are more closely related to each other than they are to **FBE** or any other manuscript; but I added the qualification that their *unique* agreements in error are essentially limited to those places where the shared error was removed from **D** by correction. This is equivalent to positing that **D** is the pivot on which the relations of all these manuscripts turn, and equivalent to making the following prediction: when **D** shares a distinctive error with **AKQ** and remains uncorrected, **FBE** will follow **D** in aligning *with* **AKQ**, but when the shared error of **AKQD** has been removed from **D** by correction, or when **D** has a singular error of its own, **FBE** will follow **D** *against* **AKQ**. And this in fact is the plain record of the evidence.

We can take each of these scenarios in the order just given:

- First, nowhere do **FBE** agree with **AKQ** in the absence of **D**, and there are only half a dozen places where they agree with either **K** or **Q** alone: this can be no more than the background noise of coincidence or random contamination.<sup>62</sup>
- Moreover, among the 420-odd errors that **AKQDFBE** do uniquely share,<sup>63</sup> I have counted only seventeen instances in which an error removed from **D** by correction appears in **FBE**;
- At the same time, the more than 320 places where **D** and **FBE** uniquely share an error include over forty places where the error was introduced into **D** by correction.

6. Now, it might be possible in principle to explain each of these circumstances independently of the others: for example, **D** as corrected could uniquely share forty-odd errors with **FBE** if it was corrected against a com-

<sup>62</sup> See *Aug.* 18.1 *aspersis* (**L<sup>2</sup>ONHeiric**)] *aspersus* **MVL<sup>1</sup>PS**, *aspersum* **GRCHAKDF<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>**, *asperum* **QF<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>**, *Claud.* 26.1 *proneptem*] *pronepotem* **QFB<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>**, *Tib.* 37.4 *Rhascuporim* (*Ihm*, *Rhascypolim iam Beroald.*, *Rhes- Bentl.*)] *thrasci/ypolim* **αR** (*thraci- N*), *trasci-CHAQDB<sup>2</sup>*, *transci- KFB<sup>1</sup>E*, *Cal.* 6.2 *fato*] *facto* **KF<sup>1</sup>BE<sup>1</sup>**, *Galb.* 10.1 *exulantem*] *exult- KFB<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>*, 11 *afuit*] *affuit* **KFBE**.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. above in the text at n47.

mon ancestor of **FBE**.<sup>64</sup> But surely the most economical—and, I believe, only plausible—explanation for the way in which **FBE** doggedly track the text of **D** both before and after correction *and* depart entirely from **AKQ** when **D** also abandons the latter is that the common ancestor of **FBE** was copied from (or copied from a copy of) **D** after it had been corrected. The very few places in which an error removed from **D** by correction appears in **FBE** could then easily be explained by supposing that the errors were removed from **D** only after **D** served as the model for the ancestor **FBE** (**D** was unquestionably corrected more than once), or that the corrections were overlooked when that ancestor was written, or that the errors were reintroduced into **FBE**'s ancestor by contamination, or some combination of the three.

The conclusion that **FBE** descend from **D** is corroborated by many further details:

- at *Tib.* 3.2 *propraetore*, **D**'s error, *propopraetore* (the first *pro-* by abbreviation), was corrected, but the correction could easily be read as striking out both instances of *pro*: **FBE** have *prae-* (-em **F**<sup>1</sup>**E**!);
- at *Tib.* 21.4 Μούσαις (ΜΟΥΙCACAIC ω), 21.5 ἀποθυμίαν (-ΜCΙΑN ω), and 21.6 ἔσπομένοιο, **D** has, respectively, -CALC, -MCLAN, -MENOLO, with capital iota replaced by a capital Roman *L*: such a substitution occurs in no Greek passage in any other manuscript—except **FBE**, which have the same forms in the same three places<sup>65</sup>;
- *Tib.* 21.6, where **D** correctly has AMΦΩ and **FBE** have AMPΩ, **D**'s Φ is so written that it could be taken for a capital rho or *P*—but is unlikely to have been misconstrued in exactly the same way by several different scribes working independently;
- at *Tib.* 70.2 *Parthenium*, **D**'s *pacthenium* was corrected by overwriting *c* with an *r* whose vertical shaft descends well below the baseline, producing a text that could be read only as the *pap-* that **FBE** share (*papthennium* **FB**, corrected in each; *paphe(n)num* **E**);
- at *Cal.* 8.2 *mentitum*, the first syllable is abbreviated in **D** in the common way, as *m* with a small superscript stroke, but the stroke is placed between *m* and *t*: **FBE** have *interitum*, where *m* has been read as *in* and the stroke has been construed, with *t*, as forming the usual abbreviation for *ter*;

<sup>64</sup> **D** could not have been corrected against **F** or **B** or **E** because it is certainly older than any of them.

<sup>65</sup> At *Tib.* 21.4 Ihm obelized the archetype's μούισααις, but that is no more than a dittography of σα preceded by a trace, in the first syllable, of the very common confusion of upsilon and iota (see Kaster 2011: xxxvii–xxxviii); for the point of Μούσαις, see Powell 1990.

- at *Cal.* 25.4 *ludentium*, the shaft of **D**'s *l* meets the tail of an *e caudata* on the line above, producing what looks like a *p*: **FBE** have *puudentium*;
- at *Nero* 15.1, **D** correctly has *morem eum*, but the suspension stroke for the terminal *m* of *morem* floats so free of *more*—high and to the right—that a scribe using the text as an exemplar was bound to miss it: **FBE** have *more eum*;
- at *Nero* 23.2 *clausis*, where **KQD** (and **M**) have *cluisis*, a superscript *a* was used to correct **D**; the reading of **FBE** was *clausis* (later corrected in each), perhaps the result of **D**'s *a* being read as a replacement for *u* rather than a supplement; finally,
- at *Otho* 3.2 *depositum*, **D** had *deposcentem* (anticipating *reposcentem* following) before it was corrected by the expunction of *cen* and the insertion of a superscript *i*; but it seems that the deletion of the *c* was missed, because **FBE** have *deposciturum*.<sup>66</sup>

The stemma of  $\beta$ , therefore, should look like Figure 2:

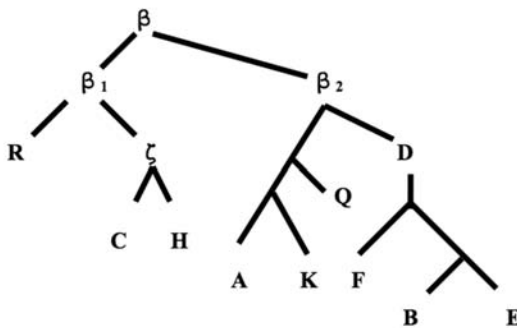


Figure 2.

As for the quality of the text in  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$ : the former appears to have had fewer singular errors, though (as already remarked) appearances there might deceive insofar as the aggressive tampering recorded in  $\zeta$  no doubt removed

<sup>66</sup> Note also that **F** initially omitted *Tib.* 35.2 *in opera ... famosi iudicii*—an error that cannot be due to *saut du même au même*—while the omitted words occupy exactly one line in **D**; that **F** initially omitted *Nero* 35.1 *sufficere illi ... eandem mox*, while in **D** *amicis*, the word before *sufficere*, stands directly above *saepe*, the word following *mox*; and that **F** initially omitted *Tit.* 6.2 *invitis omnibus* – 7.1 *in eo etiam*—again, an error that cannot be due to *saut du même au même*—while the omitted words again occupy exactly one line in **D**. Together these instances tend to suggest that **FBE**'s common ancestor suffered omissions reflecting **D**'s *mise en page*, with the error transmitted to **F** but corrected before it reached **BE**.

any number of errors that **CH** would otherwise have shared with **R**; and as we will see in the next section, there is probably not a great deal to choose between  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$  in terms of the amount of contamination each received from **a**. But we can consider briefly here some evidence that a form of corruption internal to  $\beta$  advanced farther in  $\beta_1$  than in  $\beta_2$ .

I noted above the many marginal notes—*NT* for *nota* and *rq* for *require*—that **AKDF** share as part of  $\beta_2$ 's legacy, but that is not the only inherited annotation that those manuscripts share. In several places there are marginal or interlinear notes—identical in content, even if their placement varies—that offer glosses or other forms of explanation, for example<sup>67</sup>:

at *Jul.* 75.3 *et priores*, **KDF** have the added explanation *afranius et faustus*;

at *Jul.* 80.3 *ipsius Caesaris*, **KDF** have the supplement *s(cilicet) statuae*<sup>68</sup>;

at *Jul.* 85 *perseveravit*, **ADF** make the subject explicit, *s. plebs*;

at *Tit.* 8.5 *subici*, **AKDF** explain, *s. in servos*.

In each case the explanatory material appears also in **RCH**, not in the margin or above the line, but embedded in the text itself, presumably either through contamination or because the supplementary notes in  $\beta_2$  were found already in  $\beta$  and from there were incorporated in the text of  $\beta_1$ .<sup>69</sup>

### III: CONTAMINATION

I have referred often to contamination in the foregoing discussions, and now it is time to try to gauge its reach more precisely, to the extent that the means available allow—and that last qualifying phrase is worth dwelling on, because it reminds us to reflect on how much we do not know. From the 9th through the 12th century there were certainly more copies of the *Caesars* circulating in northern Europe than we now have, and probably many more than we

<sup>67</sup> Like the annotations *NT* and *rq*, these were omitted in **Q** and the common ancestor of **BE**: see above in the text at n50; some among them are occasionally omitted also in one of **AKDF**. The annotations typically appear in the margin in **K** and superscript in **ADF**; I do not bother to note exceptions here.

<sup>68</sup> *statu(a)e* also appears as a superscript note in **B**.

<sup>69</sup> *Jul.* 75.3 *et afranius et faustus priores* (where **E** joins **RCH**, and **A** has *et priores afranius et faustus*), 80.3 *ipsius statu(a)e caesaris* **RAE**, *statuae ipsius caesaris* **CH**, 85 *perseveravit plebs* (*plebs per-* **E**), *Tit.* 8.5 *subici in servos*. Note also that at *Claud.* 38, concerning offices held by the freedman Felix, **AKDF** have the marginal note, “*Nota felicem praesidem siriae cuius fit mentio in actibus apostolorum*,” whereas **CH** have the more detailed comment, “*Hic est Felix qui in actibus apostolorum legitur apostolum Paulum eripuisse a Iudeis*,” probably written originally by William of Malmesbury (Thomson 2003: 140–41).

can even guess, and as manuscripts were compared with each other for the purpose of correction some of them surely left their mark on the tradition in ways we cannot now see, just as the mass and energy of dark matter work imperceptibly to structure our visible universe. We should not fool ourselves into thinking we can achieve anything like a complete accounting. For the most part, then, I will proceed with a fairly broad brush, examining first the ways in which contamination affected whole families of manuscripts, and concluding with a few individual manuscripts that allow for greater precision. The emphasis will naturally fall, again, on shared errors, for as anyone familiar with the ways of manuscripts knows, correctors did not only correct, they also introduced errors—sometimes even absurd errors—with abandon: while a correction properly so called might in principle come from more than one corner of the tradition, errors will more securely allow us to home in on the contamination’s source.

### a. Contamination from $\beta$ to LPONS

We can take first the most obvious case, which Preud’homme and Ihm already identified,<sup>70</sup> the nearly 140 places in which an error shared by all the  $\beta$ -manuscripts is also found in some or all of LPONS (=  $\alpha_3$ ), for example:

*Jul.* 1.1 *post annum agens add. c(a)esar PONS $\beta$ , 4.1 triumphalem] tri- virum P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 20.1 confierent] conficerentur P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 31.1 esset M<sup>2</sup>G : om. M<sup>1</sup>VLP : est P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>SN $\beta$  (nuntiatum ... suspicio om. O<sup>1</sup>, add. in marg. O<sup>2</sup>), 38.1 in equites ante vicena add. P<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 39.3 regione] in regione O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 52.1 thalamego] thalamoque L<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 53 verbum ante marci catonis est add. P<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , post est add. O<sup>2</sup>, 55.4 vix] orationem esse P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 77 exta] exacta sacra P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$  (exacta GP<sup>1</sup>O<sup>1</sup>), 79.3 fatalibus libris (Ihm)] libris fatalibus P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$  : fatalibus MGVL<sup>1</sup>O<sup>1</sup>, Aug. 5 esse] esse se LP<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 19.2 ad exercitus] ad extremum P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>N $\beta$ , 32.1 post exempli add. correxit quae P<sup>2</sup>ON $\beta$ , Tib. 2.2 diademata] cum diademate P<sup>2</sup>ONS $\beta$ , 21.6 καὶ ἐκ πύρρος αἰθομένοιο om. PON $\beta$ , 21.7 et summa] et de summa P<sup>2</sup>ON $\beta$ , Cal. 19.1 superiectoque] superiectoque aggere P<sup>2</sup>NS $\beta$ , 37.2 deceris] de cedris L<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup> $\beta$ , Claud. 39.2 nomen] nomen familiae  $\beta$ , nomen familiae suae ONS, Nero 44.2 pustulatum] postulatam L<sup>2</sup>PO $\beta$ , Galb. 5.2 praecipuum] cum prae- ONS $\beta$ , Vit. 2.5 proximo] pro maximo ONS $\beta$ , Vesp. 1.2 Petro] Petronius ON $\beta$ , Tit. 3.2 Latine Graeque] Latin(a)e Graec(a)eque lingu(a)e ON $\beta$ , 6.2 adverso rumore] adversa re ONS $\beta$ , 8.4 nihil publice nisi perisse testatus] nihil nisi sibi perisse testatus publice N $\beta$ , nihil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus OS, Dom. 10.4 filium] filium quod NS $\beta$ , filium quoque O, 14.1 post intimorum inser. conspiratione ONS $\beta$ .*

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Preud’homme 1903–4: 28–32, Ihm 1907: xvi.

If we take all the instances together, we can draw the following conclusions:

- since the number of such readings is so large, coincidence could account for only a tiny fraction of them, and since **LPONS** cannot depend stemmatically on **β** or vice versa, only contamination provides a plausible explanation<sup>71</sup>;
- that conclusion is consistent with the fact that the shared readings are not distributed evenly throughout the work but are disproportionately common in the first three lives: for example, forty-five of the readings appear in the *Divus Julius*, which occupies forty-seven pages in Ihm's *editio maior*, while only fifteen appear in the *Claudius* and *Nero*, which together take up seventy-two printed pages. The reason is clear: contamination is caused by correction, and correctors tend to be more active in the early parts of a text, less active in the later;
- that the contamination proceeded from **β** to **LPONS** is likely on its face, given the unanimity of **β** and the variability of **LPONS**, and that supposition is in any case supported by two more specific observations;
- first, among the manuscripts that most often share these readings, **PONS**, the readings are most likely to appear as a correction in **P**, the oldest of these, and most likely to appear in the text of **N**, the latest of them: in other words, the manuscripts show the contamination unfolding over time;
- second, in several places we can see an error of **β** being made worse as it enters the **α**-manuscripts: for example, at *Jul.* 50.2, **β**'s *venial hasta e minimo* (for *hastae minimo*) becomes *hausta e minimo* in **LPNS** (*aucta O*<sup>1</sup>, *hasta O*<sup>2</sup>); at *Aug.* 7.1 **β**'s *vel quod in regione* (for *vel quod regione*) takes the form of *quod vel in regione* as a correction in **O** and in the text of **N** (*quod regione* is the common error of **LPOS**: **P** gained *in regione* by correction but not *vel*); at *Aug.* 21.1 **PONS** all have **β**'s *albini* (for *Albim*), but **N** also has the superscript note *proprium* (to mark the proper name), which appears as *abini proprium* in **O**; and at *Claud.* 39.2, **β**'s *nomen familiae* (for *nomen*) appears as *nomen familiae suae* in **ONS**;
- it is also clear that contamination entered different manuscripts at different times and in different ways: for example, it is much the most common pattern for one of these errors to be omitted entirely by **L**, to enter **P** by correction, to appear in **O** either as a correction or in the text, and to appear simply in the

<sup>71</sup> An implausible explanation was offered by Wall (1968: 93–97), who argued that the readings in question had stood as variants in the common ancestor of **LPONS**, **α**<sub>3</sub>; because he paid no attention to the structure of this family, he did not see that the book containing the fewest such readings, **L**, is the one stemmatically closest to **α**<sub>3</sub>, while the one that contains the most, **N**, is at a remove of at least two intervening copies, and probably more.

text of **NS**, but at *Cal.* 43 Clitumni, **β**'s *Clitumni in* appears as a correction in **P** and in the text of **O**, but not at all in **LNS**; though the texts of **S** and **N** are clearly the most contaminated, they are far from being contaminated in all the same places; and while **L** and **N** are the most recent manuscripts, dating to the second half of the 12th century, **N** is the most contaminated of the lot, while **L** stood largely outside the stream of influence from **β**;

- several errors in the Greek give evidence of **S**'s independence from **PON** that corroborates the conclusions about the composition of **α<sub>3</sub>** drawn in section I above: at *Tib.* 21.5 ἀποθυμίαν (*Lipsius teste Scriverio, v. et ed. Paris. 1610 col. 1548*: -ΜΕΙΑΝ ω), **MGVLS** have the correct ΑΠΟΘΥ-, but **PON** join **β** in ΑΠΘΥ- (**VLS** are further distinguished from **PON** by sharing a gloss on the Greek omitted by **PON**); at *Tib.* 21.6 καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο, **MGVLS** have the Greek but **PON** join **β** in omitting it<sup>72</sup>; at *Nero* 39.2 ἀπέκτεινε, **PON** join **β** in reading ΑΚΠΕΚ- (ΑΚΠΕΚ- **P**); at *Nero* 49.4 νήφειν, **PON** join **β** in ΜΗ- (ΝΗΦΕΙ IN **LS**); and at *Vesp.* 23.1 ὦ Λάχης, where **β** has UI for Ω, **P** has m and **N** has ui (**O** omits the Greek, **MGVLS** get it right). In such places the only alternative to concluding that **PON** acquired the error by contamination from **β** is to suppose that the error is archetypal and that the correct reading entered **MGVLS** from an unknown (and, frankly, unimaginable) source, through at least three independent acts of correction (i.e., in the common ancestor of **MG** and in the individual lineages of **L** and **S**)<sup>73</sup>;
- the pattern that we find here involving **β** is repeated in a less marked form in both of **β**'s sub-families, where there are fewer apparent instances of an error's migrating from **RCH** (or **R** or **CH** alone) or from **AKQDFBE** (or **AKQD**<sup>1</sup>, when **FBE** follow **D** as corrected) to some or all of **LPONS** alone among the **α**-manuscripts:

- for possible contamination from a **β<sub>1</sub>** source, note especially *Jul.* 39.1 actorque] auctor- **OSβ**, 58.1 itinera] loca **ONSCH** († itinera **N**), 88 in vertice additur

<sup>72</sup> It is important to remember that contamination proceeds by deletion as well as by addition or substitution: see, e.g., *Jul.* 45.3 ut super (*Bentley*)] ut ante umquam inser. **AKQDFBE**<sup>1</sup>, om. **αRCH**, del. **E**<sup>2</sup>, 62 se **M**: secus **GP<sup>2</sup>NSRCHD<sup>2</sup>F<sup>1</sup>BE**: om. **VLP<sup>1</sup>OAKQD<sup>1</sup>**, secus del. **F**<sup>2</sup>, *Aug.* 53.1 et statim] statim **G**, et del. **S<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>**, 89.2 orationes **Q**. **CHA**: orationesq(ue) **MGVKQD<sup>1</sup>**: orationes quae **RD<sup>2</sup>F<sup>1</sup>BE**: orationes **LPONS**, quae del. **F**<sup>2</sup>, *Tib.* 52.1 fluxioris] animi fluxioris **AKQDFB<sup>2</sup>**, animo fluxioris **B<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>**, animo del. **E**<sup>2</sup>, 67.1 si scio] scio **MGβ**, si del. **P**<sup>2</sup>, *Claud.* 30 semper tum] semper **R<sup>1</sup>**, tum del. **E**<sup>2</sup>. See also n13, on the deletion of the numeral in **M** at *Jul.* 25.1, and n77 below.

<sup>73</sup> If the correction had entered the common lineage of **L** and **S**, it should also have been passed on to **PON**, a fact that also shows why the presence of hyparchetypal variants cannot explain the existing state of affairs (cf. n71).

stella] additur in vertice stella **PON**, additur stella in vertice **CH**, *Aug.* 29.3 praelucentem] praeducentem **LPONSCHA**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>2</sup>, 45.1 suam vicem] sua vice (*ante* fungerentur) **PONSCH****E**, *Tib.* 42.1 Pomponio] pompeio **NS** $\beta_1$ **Q**, *Cal.* 25.3 natae] nati **LPONS** $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, 56.1 atque altera (*Ihm*)] altera **M** : et altera **G** $\beta_2$  : alteraque **LPONS** $\beta_1$ , 57.4 vomit] vomit ut **LN** $\beta_1$ , fudit vomit ut **S**, *Claud.* 18.2 invehendos] inveniendos **LPONS** $\beta_1$ , *Vit.* 16 culcita] –tra **LPNS** $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup> <sup>74</sup>;

○ for possible contamination from a  $\beta_2$  source, note especially *Tib.* 5 per bellum] post bellum **P**<sup>2</sup>**ONS** $\beta_2$ , 12.1 Augusto] ab augusto **P**<sup>2</sup>**ONS** $\beta_2$  (*recte* **E**), 32.1 contione] conditione **P**<sup>2</sup>**O** $\beta_2$ , *Cal.* 7 quotiensque] quotienscumque **LPON** $\beta_2$ , 10.2 transmittens] –mutans **P**<sup>2</sup>**ONS** $\beta_2$ , 38.3 expergefacta e] –factae *deinde* Caesoniae **PON** $\beta_2$  (–factae **M**, experre- **AKQ**), 45.3 tempestiva] intem- **PONS** $\beta_2$ , *Claud.* 24.2 nunc *om.* **ONS** $\beta_2$ , 27.1 alique] aliquo **O**<sup>2</sup>**NS** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>, quamvis ... coeptam *om.* **O**<sup>1</sup>), *Nero* 49.3 κτύπος] ΚΤΙΥΠΙΟC (*ex corr. exemplar.*?) **ONS** $\beta_2$  (ΚΤΙΠΙΟC **G**), *Dom.* 2.1 quin et e sex (*Ihm*)] qui sex **MGLPR** : in sex **ONS** $\beta_2$  (in se ex **A**) : ex **CH**.<sup>75</sup>

### b. Contamination from G to $\beta$

In just under 40 places **G**, alone of the  $\alpha$ -manuscripts, has an error that is also shared by all of  $\beta$ , for example:

*Jul.* 4.1 Moloni] miloni **G** $\beta$  (*n.l.* **R**, *corr.* **E**<sup>2</sup>), *Aug.* 7.2 tantum (*BL Add.* 12010, *edd. Rom.* 1470ab)] eum **MA**<sup>2</sup>, cum **G** $\beta$  : enim **V** : autem **LPONS**, 18.1 aspensis **ON** (*sic et excerpt. Heir.*) : –us **MVLPS** : –um **G** $\beta$ , 98.3 exercentes] et exercentes **G** $\beta$ , *Tib.* 32.2 deglubere] deglutire **G** $\beta$ , 66 contemneret] conteneret **M**, contineret **G** $\beta$ , *Cal.* 18.3 e Gelotiana **MV**, egelociana **LPONS** : lege lotiana **G** $\beta$ , 50.2 ingredi] gredi **M**, gradi **G** $\beta$ , *Claud.* 4.5 item tertiis litteris *om.* **G** $\beta$ , 32 flatum] et flatum **G** $\beta$  († eflatum *ss.* **A**, *in marg.* **K**), *Nero* 20.3 puris **P**<sup>2</sup> (*Bentley*) : pueris **MGLP**<sup>1</sup>**ONS** : pueri **G** $\beta$ , *Galb.* 10.5 retenta] tanta re **G**<sup>1</sup>, re tanta **G**<sup>2</sup> $\beta$ , *Tit.* 4.2 Tertullam] –lum **M**, –lo **G** $\beta$ , 8.5 amendatoresque] amandatoresque **G**, amandoresque  $\beta$  (*om.* **CH**), *Dom.* 10.1 spectaculis] e spec- **G** $\beta$ .<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Cf. also *Aug.* 74 quondam] quendam **LPONS** $\beta_1$ **E**, *Cal.* 27.4 igni] igne **LPONS** $\beta_1$ , and the instances already cited in the discussion of **RCH** in section II.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. also *Jul.* 20.4 accideret] accederet **S**<sup>2</sup>**NAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, 22.1 Cisalpinam] cisalpiam **N**<sup>1</sup>**AKQD**<sup>1</sup>, 30.1 conventibusque] –tibus **P**<sup>1</sup>**O**<sup>1</sup>**KQD**<sup>1</sup>, 52.1 auctam] actam **NAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, 67.1 conivebat] con(h)ibebat **MGV** : cohibebat **LPONSAKQD**<sup>1</sup> (though here the dissemination very possibly began from **G**'s *conhibebat*: see the discussion that follows in the text), *Aug.* 18.2 feraciorem] ferationem **SKQD**<sup>1</sup>, 21.2 marum] marium **SKQD**<sup>1</sup>**F**<sup>2</sup>, *Cal.* 19.3 Xerxis] sersis **PNAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, 27.2 voverat] noverat **LPO**<sup>2</sup>**NS** $\beta_2$  (inoverat **O**<sup>1</sup>, *recte* **AE**), 38.1 auctionum] actionum **S**<sup>2</sup> $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **B**<sup>2</sup>), *Vesp.* 23.1 δολικόσχιον] –KOCKION **LPON** $\beta_2$ , *Tit.* 3.2 ad extemporalitatem usque *om.* **O** $\beta_2$ , 8.4 e *om.* **LPOS** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. also *Jul.* 34.1 in dicionem] in deditionem **GRCHD**<sup>2</sup>**FBE** (in ditionem **D**<sup>1</sup>, in ditione **Q**, ditione **K**, in dictionem **A**).



Once again, since such agreements in error cannot be explained either stemmatically or as the cumulative result of coincidence, contamination is the only likely cause. The following considerations seem to demonstrate that the errors were disseminated to  $\beta$  from the line of descent represented by **G**:

- there is at least one case, *Tit.* 8.5 *amendatoresque*, in which  $\beta$ 's error, *amandoresque*, can be plausibly explained only as an extension of an error already found in **G**, *amandatoresque*;
- there are several other cases in which  $\beta$ 's reading is most plausibly understood to have begun as the response, at some point in **G**'s lineage, to an error that stood in the ancestor it shares with **M**: so at *Tib.* 66 *contemneret*, the form *conteneret* found in **M** must be the bridge between the correct reading and **G**'s *contineret*, which “corrects” *conteneret*; similarly, at *Cal.* 50.2 *ingredi*, the original error must have been the reading found in **M**, *gredi*, which was then “corrected” to **G**'s *gradi*; and at *Tit.* 4.2 *Tertullam*, **G**'s *Tertullo* began as a “correction,” before *patre*, of the incorrectly gendered *Tertullum* that stands in **M**;
- these facts—combined, of course, with the fact that **G** (s. XI<sup>3/4</sup>) is apparently older than the oldest  $\beta$ -manuscript (**D**, s. XI<sup>ex</sup>)—make it highly likely that the remaining errors shared by **G** and  $\beta$  were transmitted from the former, or an antecedent of the former, to the latter.<sup>77</sup>

Two other relevant observations can be added to this conclusion. First, since it seems clear both that **LPONS** were contaminated from  $\beta$  and that  $\beta$  was contaminated from **G** or another manuscript in its lineage, it is plausible to think that in at least some of the two dozen places where **G** and  $\beta$  share an error that also appears in one or more of **LPONS**, the error was spread by contamination first from **G**'s lineage to  $\beta$  and then from  $\beta$  to the  $\alpha_3$ -manuscripts, for example:

*Jul.* 63 fuerint] fuerunt **GP<sup>2</sup> $\beta$**  (fuere **CH**), *Aug.* 4.1 mortem obiit repentinam **MV**, mortem repentinam obiit **LPO** : -te obiit -na **G $\beta$** , -te -na obiit **NS**, 10.1 et vi] et vim **GS $\beta$** , 19.1 alias **VLP<sup>1</sup>** : italias **MA<sup>1</sup>** (*post* compressit), et alias **GP<sup>2</sup>ONS $\beta$**  (*sic et A<sup>2</sup>*), *Cal.* 51.1 maiore] maiora **GONS $\beta$** , *Claud.* 15.2 contentatione **MCH** : concertatione **G $\beta$** , concertatione **LPONS**, 40.3 Telegenius] telegonius **GO $\beta$**  (*recte A<sup>1</sup>*), *Otho* 10.1 angusticlavius] augus- **GPONS $\beta$**  (augusti- *ex* auguste- **O<sup>2</sup>**), *Tit.* 7.1-2 Berenices (-cis **Ma<sub>3</sub>**) ... Beronicen] bero- (*bis*) **GS<sup>2</sup> $\beta$** .

Second, if we look not at  $\beta$  as a whole but its subfamilies, **RCH** ( $\beta_1$ ) and **AKQD** ( $\beta_2$ ), we find only modest evidence of contamination from **G** (or, for

<sup>77</sup>This would probably add *Claud.* 4.5 item tertiis litteris and *Nero* 33.1 desisse, omitted by **G** and  $\beta$ , to our list of deletions fostered by contamination; cf. n72.

that matter, from **M** or **V**) touching either  $\beta_1$  (or **R**) or  $\beta_2$ . If we set aside orthographical slips and the like, the most cogent-seeming examples are these:

From **G** or **MG** to  $\beta_1$ :

*Cal.* 24.2 deieravit] deli(ly **G**)ravit **MGLP** $\beta_1$  (*corr.* **R**<sup>2</sup>**C**<sup>2</sup>**H**<sup>2</sup>), 35.3 proripuit se (*Roth*)] proripuit **ML**<sup>1</sup>**P** : proripuit e **G** $\beta_1$  : se proripuit **L**<sup>3</sup>**ONS** : se proripuit e  $\beta_2$ , *Claud.* 6.2 sententiae ius esset] sententiae eius esset **MGR**, sententiae ei ius esset **CH**, 13.1 nocte **GL**<sup>2</sup>**S**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>2</sup> $\beta_1$  : noctu **ML**<sup>1</sup>**PONS** $\beta_2$ ,<sup>78</sup> *Nero* 19.1 cum circumitis templis  $\beta_2$  (circuitis *codd.*) : circumitis templis cum **GLPONS** $\beta_1$  (circui- **GOS** $\beta_1$ ) : circumitis templis **M**, 24.2 in rege Mithradate] in mitri- rege **GLPONS** $\beta_1$  (*post* carmine quodam suo *coll.* **CH**), 26.1 sed ut] sed et **MG** $\beta_1$  (*dein* ut *ante* dubium **CH**), *Galb.* 3.1 elogia] eolo- **MLONB**<sup>2</sup>, eulo- **GPS** $\beta_1$  (-*gias* **CH**), *Otho* 9.2 consalutatione] consalutatione **M**, consultatione **GL**<sup>2</sup>**PONS** $\beta_1$ **B**<sup>1</sup>, *Vesp.* 23.3 pensione] pansione **M**<sup>2</sup>**G** $\beta_1$ , passione **M**<sup>1</sup>.<sup>79</sup>

From **G** or **MG** to  $\beta_2$ :

*Aug.* 66.3 patientiam] imp- **MG** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>), *Tib.* 61.6 copreas] capreas **GLPONS** $\beta_2$  (compares **CH**), *Cal.* 14.3 prae se ferens] praeferens **G** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup>, *recte* **E**), *Cal.* 55.2 in apophoretis] inaphopho- (*vel* in aphopho-) **MG** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>, inap\*opho- **B**, inampopho- **LPONSF**<sup>2</sup>), 56.1 una atque altera (*Ihm*)] una et altera **G** $\beta_2$  : una alteraque **LPONS** $\beta_1$ , una altera **M**, *Claud.* 5 domo modo] domo **G** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **B**<sup>2</sup>, hortis et ... modo in *om.* **K**), modo domo **M**, modo domo modo **RB**<sup>2</sup>, modo domi **CH**, *Claud.* 21.6 vellet] vellent **MG** (*e* vellet *pr. man.*, *ut vid.*) **KDF**<sup>1</sup>**B**<sup>1</sup>**E**<sup>1</sup>, 24.1 equite **R**.] equite **GQDF**<sup>1</sup>**B**<sup>1</sup>**E**<sup>1</sup>, equitate **AK**, 29.1 liberalitates] libertates **G** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup>), *Vesp.* 6.3 qui ... **V. Idus**] *om.* **G** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **F**<sup>2</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>),<sup>80</sup> 22 quadringenta] xl **GO**<sup>1</sup>, quadraginta  $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **E**<sup>2</sup>).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Since *noctu* is clearly archetypal, the correction *nocte* counts as an error relative to the paradigm.

<sup>79</sup> There are no instances of apparent contamination from **G** alone to **R** alone, but cf. *Claud.* 25.3 populique] –lusque **MGR**, 28 ingentibus] indigentibus **MGR**, *Nero* 26.2 publico] a publico **MG**, \*publico **R**, 45.2 plerique] plerisque **MGR**. Both Bridge (1930a: 44–66) and Wall (1968: 105–8) thought that they had demonstrated substantial contamination in **R** from **a**, but neither of them had a full view of the manuscripts and both paid too little attention to alternative explanations (e.g., that an agreement of **aR** is an archetypal error corrected in the other branch of  $\beta$ ).

<sup>80</sup> Since an easy *saut du même au même* is involved, from *Iul.* to *Iul.*, this could be coincidental.

<sup>81</sup> For possible contamination from **M** see *Aug.* 45.1 cum coniuge] coniugem **MAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, *Tib.* 5 in fastos] in fastis **M** $\beta_2$ , infantis **G**, *Cal.* 59 terrore] errore **M** $\beta_2$  (*corr.* **B**<sup>2</sup>, horrore **G**: whether **G**'s reading is a correction of *errore* or a synonymous substitution for *terrore* is not clear), *Nero* 8 consalutatus] consulatatus **M** $\beta_2$  (*recte* **E**<sup>2</sup>, consalatatus **F**<sup>2</sup>, consultatus **B**<sup>2</sup>), consalatus **GQ**, *Vit.* 14.3 opinatus] obstinatus **MKD**<sup>1</sup> *et ss. in A* (obtestatus **A**<sup>1</sup>, *sic et ss. in D*; cf. obtinatosque **G**), *Dom.* 14.2 quam] namque **M** $\beta_2$ , nam **G**.

By contrast, if we look at the true wild man of the group, the common ancestor of **CH**, the evidence of substantial contamination from, especially, **G** is unmistakable. From among the nearly forty instances I have collected:

*Jul.* 16.1 administratione (c) : abmini- **MVLPO<sup>1</sup>NSRβ<sub>2</sub>** : ab admini- **GO<sup>2</sup>CH**, 81.2 caveret] ut caveret **GCH**, *Aug.* 2.1 patricias] –cios **GCH**, *Tib.* 54.2 missus] missos **GCH**, *Cal.* 8.2 sacra] sacrata **GCH**, *Claud.* 11.3 inter festos] inter fastos **G<sup>1</sup>CHF<sup>2</sup>**, 23.1 obrogavit] abrogavit **GCH**, 29.2 amplius] et amplius **GCH**, 38.1 facientis (gen. sing.)] –tibus **GCH**, *Nero* 22.2 iam factionum] factionum iam **GCH**, 37.2 horarum spatium] iii horarum spatium **G**, trium h- s- **CH**, *Galb.* 4.2 ostentum] portentum **GCH**, *Vit.* 7.3 quoque] quosque **GS<sup>2</sup>CH**, *Tit.* 9.1 quid **GNCHE<sup>2</sup>** : quod **MRβ<sub>2</sub>**.<sup>82</sup>

The readings at *Nero* 37.2 and *Galb.* 4.2 alone seem to put the fact of contamination beyond any reasonable doubt: the willingness to intervene in the text that we saw in the lineage of **CH** was plainly not limited to freehand “correction.”

### c. Contamination in some other individual manuscripts

Here I will quickly present evidence that several other manuscripts experienced contamination either from a specific extant manuscript or from a lost manuscript very much like it.<sup>83</sup>

The first case is **F**, a member of the **β<sub>2</sub>**-family that—alone of that group—was unmistakably contaminated from a descendant of **α<sub>3</sub>**. Here first are some examples that show **F** as corrected brought uniquely into agreement with most or all of **LPONS**, for example:

*Jul.* 12 adiutore] auctore **M<sup>3</sup>GVLPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 49.3 orti] ortae **LPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 69 redierint] redirent **LPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 79.2 plebei **MV** : plebe(i)o **GR<sup>2</sup>CHβ<sub>2</sub>** : plebi **LPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 85 eam] eandem **LPOSF<sup>2</sup>**, *Aug.* 6 nisi necessario non nisi ne- **LPONSF<sup>2</sup>** (non nisi ce- **N**), 13.2 volucrum] involucrum **LPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 19.1 Parthina] -thica **VLPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 35.1 orcivos] abortivos **LPON<sup>1</sup>SF<sup>2</sup>** (ortivos **N<sup>2</sup>**), 51.3 sed violentius (*Pithoeus*)] sedulo lentius **MGV<sup>1</sup>Rβ<sub>2</sub>** (sedulo **CH**) : sedulo violentius **V<sup>2</sup>LPONSF<sup>2</sup>**, 89.1 contubernium **GAKQD<sup>1</sup>**, conti- **M** : contubernio **β<sub>1</sub>D<sup>2</sup>F<sup>1</sup>BE** : contubernium

<sup>82</sup> At *Tit.* 9.1, the reading of **GCH** corrects an archetypal error. Evidence of possible contamination from **M** is not impressive: *Nero* 42.1 intermortuus] intermortuos **MNCHF<sup>2</sup>**, *Vesp.* 4.1 in (2<sup>o</sup>) *om.* **MCH**, *Vesp.* 7.1 abesse constabat] se abesse constabat **MCH**, abesse constabat se **R<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>**, abesse se constabat **R<sup>3</sup>**.

<sup>83</sup> The formula “contamination either from [*siglum*] or from a lost manuscript very much like it” would quickly become tiresome if repeated below as often as warranted: please understand “or from a lost manuscript very much like it” every time a specific manuscript is identified as the probable source of contamination.

iniit LPONS (conti- L<sup>1</sup>), innit *add.* F<sup>2</sup>, contintibernium V, 94.4 exigi] eximi LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Tib.* 25.3 pro secespita] pro se cespiti LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 45 perductam] pro- LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 61.1 Seianum] –no LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Cal.* 14.3 huius] eius LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 24.3 ei] et LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *om.* β, 37.1 pretiossima margarita ... liquefacta] –mas –tas ... –tas LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Claud.* 15.2 contentione MCH : contentatione GRβ<sub>2</sub> : concer- LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 23.1 addito] edicto LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Nero* 27.3 imitantium] invitantium LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 32.2 ullae] illae L<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>ONSF<sup>2</sup>, 42.1 facto] fracto LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Galb.* 18.3 avolasse] evolasse LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Otho* 6.1 tulerat] erat LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Vit.* 5 substitis- set] substitutus esset LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Vesp.* 1.2 centurio] centurio incertum sponte LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Tit.* 8.5 amandatoresque M : amandatoresque G, amandoresque Rβ<sub>2</sub> (*om.* CH) : mandatoresque LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, *Dom.* 5 et odium] exmetodium LPONSF<sup>2</sup>, 20 alieno (*codd. rec.*)] alfeno MGRβ<sub>2</sub> : alieno alfeno LPF<sup>2</sup> : alieno alfeto S<sup>1</sup>, alieno alpha (*vel* alfa) beto ONS<sup>2</sup>.

Not only are there well over sixty such instances, but there are a number of additional cases that show F being brought into distinctive agreement with L as corrected:

*Jul.* 26.1 quandoque] quandomcumque L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>, 42.3 exulabant] exularent LF<sup>2</sup>, *Aug.* 28.2 prae se identidem LP<sup>1</sup>F<sup>2</sup> : praesidentidem MV, praesidenti dein G : praesidens identidem P<sup>2</sup>ONS : praesidens idem Rβ<sub>2</sub> : prae se idem CH, 53.1 in mimo] a mimo L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>, *Cal.* 15.1 is (nom. sing.)] his GPONSβ<sub>2</sub>, has LF<sup>2</sup>, *Claud.* 4.5 deligeret] delegerit LF<sup>2</sup>, 4.5 motum] morum LF<sup>2</sup>, 45 Aviola] amela LF<sup>2</sup>, *Vesp.* 8.1 et ornare] et exornare LF<sup>2</sup>, 12 adeoque] adeo qui L<sup>1</sup>, adeoque qui L<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>.

F's corrections track no other manuscript's singular errors in a remotely comparable way, so that it seems highly likely that L was the source. But it is also clear that L could not have been the only source of correction in F:

*Tib.* 5 in publica] publica PONSF<sup>2</sup> (*post* relatum est *coll.* O), *Nero* 48.1 Nomen- tanam] numen- GSβ<sub>1</sub>F<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>, momen- DF<sup>1</sup>B<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>, *Tit.* 8.3 Vesuvii (vesubii G<sup>2</sup>, vesevi F<sup>2</sup>)] velbii M<sup>1</sup>, vebii M<sup>2</sup>G, bebii β : suebii LPONS, *Dom.* 8.1 se perfusoriis] se persuasoriis ONSF<sup>2</sup>, 8.4 Oculatis] oculati LPONS<sup>2</sup> (oscu- S<sup>1</sup>), osculatis F<sup>2</sup>.

It is worth noting that a copy of F incorporating this contamination would have much the same appearance, relative to the other β-manuscripts, that N or S has relative to the other α-manuscripts.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup>That hypothetical copy would also probably lack the “Galba error,” since a reader left clear directions for its correction: fol. 57<sup>v</sup> (left marg.), “quod deest hic require inferius in iii(a) pagina ad h(oc) signum Θ” (the sign is also inserted in the text); fol. 59<sup>v</sup> (left marg.), “Θ re[—]atur superius ubi deest ad hoc signum” (the sign is again inserted in the text); and fol. 60<sup>r</sup> (right marg.) has a sign where the displaced portion of text ends.

The next case is **D**—in a sense a more consequential case, because as we have seen, as **D**<sup>2</sup> goes, so go **FBE**. In fact **D** was probably corrected more intensively than any other manuscript save **F**, and by more than one hand, so it would be pointless to expect to identify a single source, or even a single main source, of correction and contamination. That said, it seems clear that a  $\beta_1$ -manuscript, and perhaps **R** in particular, played a part:

*Jul.* 51 aurum ... effutuisti] auro ... stuprum emisti  $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE** (aurum stuprum ... emisti **D**<sup>1</sup>), 75.3 Caesar] caesaris **O**<sup>2</sup>**N** $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE** (*post caesaris om. eius CH*), 80.4 Decimo] decio **RQ**<sup>2</sup>**D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, 81.4 Decimo Bruto] decio bruto **RD**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, 83.2 Decimum] decium **RD**<sup>1</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, *Aug.* 4.2 Parmensis  $\beta_1$ **A**<sup>2</sup>**D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE** : carm- $\alpha$ **A**<sup>1</sup>**KQD**<sup>1</sup>,<sup>85</sup> 43.2 aureo] aurea **RCD**<sup>2</sup>**FBE**, 44.2 pullatorum] bulla- **P**<sup>2</sup> $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE**, 89.1 contubernium] contubernio  $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE** (innit *add. F*<sup>2</sup>, *sicut LPONS*), *Tib.* 32.1 ipsi ius] *post ipse ius* (ipse vis **D**) *add. haberet*  $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE**, *Cal.* 5 convictu megistanum] convictum egis- **MC**<sup>1</sup>**HAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, convictu egis- **RC**<sup>2</sup>**D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, *Claud.* 27.2 desponsam] desponsatam **N** $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**FBE**, *Nero* 43.2 familiarium] famulorum  $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE** (familiar[ *in marg. F*<sup>2</sup>], *Vit.* 13.1 in iantacula **MGAKQD**<sup>1</sup>, in ianct- **C**<sup>1</sup>**H** (in iact- **C**<sup>2</sup>), in ient- **L**<sup>2</sup>**RD**<sup>2</sup>**FB** (in ven- **E**) : ientacula (*om. in*) **ONS**, gen- **G**<sup>2</sup>**P** (\*\*\*)tacula **L**<sup>1</sup>), *Vesp.* 15.1 reversum se] reversus  $\beta_1$ **D**<sup>2</sup>**F**<sup>1</sup>**BE**.<sup>86</sup>

And the same conclusion appears to hold true for two of **D**'s extant descendants, **B** and **E**, for example<sup>87</sup>:

*Jul.* 86.1 Hispanorum] hispaniorum **R**<sup>1</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup>, *Tib.* 21.6 stomachor] stomachandum  $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, 21.6 valde] vade **RH**<sup>1</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>, 37.2 et ortos] exortos **L**<sup>2</sup> $\beta_1$ **F**<sup>2</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>, 37.4 ne per eos] nec per eos  $\beta_1$ **B**<sup>2</sup>**E**, 52.2 elevarit] eluderet  $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, 69 persuasionis] –ionibus  $\beta_1$ **B**<sup>2</sup>, *Cal.* 6.1 Romae quidem] roma equidem **RB**<sup>2</sup>, 26.5 †quoque paegniaris] quoque pr(a)emares  $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, *Claud.* 16.3 opulentos] epu- **RB**<sup>2</sup>, 27.2 militi] militibus  $\beta_1$ **B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup> (multi **FB**<sup>1</sup>**E**<sup>1</sup>), 30 semper tum] semper **R**<sup>1</sup>, tum *del. E*<sup>2</sup>, *Nero* 8 consalutatus] consulatatus **M** $\beta_2$  (consalatatus **F**<sup>2</sup>, *corr. E*<sup>2</sup>) : consulatus **GQ** : consultatus **RB**<sup>2</sup>, 12.3 adoravit] adornavit  $\beta_1$ **B**<sup>2</sup>**E**<sup>2</sup>, 22.3 auspicatus] auspicatus est **RB**<sup>2</sup>, 28.1 quin iusto] qui iniusto **KDF**<sup>1</sup>**B**<sup>1</sup> (qui inito **E**), quin iniusto **R**<sup>2</sup>**B**<sup>2</sup> (quin inusto **R**<sup>1</sup>), 40.4 Galliarum] gallorum  $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, *Galb.* 16.2 navatae] novatae  $\beta_1$ **E**<sup>2</sup>, 18.2 atratu-

<sup>85</sup> If *Carmensis* is archetypal, as seems evident, then **RCH**'s correction would be an error relative to the paradosis—and a very interesting correction at that.

<sup>86</sup> For indications that a source like **R(CH)** influenced the text that **D** inherited, cf., e.g., *Aug.* 8.1 vixdum] vix tum  $\beta_1$ **DFBE**, 9 Cn. f(ilium)] GN. pompeii filium  $\beta_1$ **DFBE** (filium Gn. p. S), 12 ornandum] ordinandum  $\beta_1$ **DFBE**, 45.1 aut rescribendis] ac re-  $\beta_1$ **DFBE**, *Tib.* 76 substituitque] sustinuitque **NRDF**<sup>1</sup>**BE** (sust- **F**<sup>2</sup>), *Claud.* 11.2 natali] –lis  $\beta_1$ **DFBE** (*post die coll. CH*), 17.2 confecto] confectos **RDBE**, *Galb.* 18.1 sonus] sonis **RDF**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, *Vit.* 2.2 alioqui] eloquio  $\beta_1$ **DF**<sup>1</sup>**BE** (alioquin **F**<sup>2</sup>), 10.1 Betriacensi] bebbri- **RDFBE**, *Tit.* 4.2 sed praefecto] sed de praefecto **RDF**<sup>1</sup>**BE**, *Dom.* 4.2 perspectavit] pro-  $\beta_1$ **DFBE**.

<sup>87</sup> Ihm 1907: xviii noted that **B**<sup>2</sup> (= his  $\Pi$ <sup>2</sup>) seems to bear traces of contamination from **R**.

mque] aratumque  $\beta_1 E^2$ , *Otho* 9.2 vicit] victi  $RE^2$ , *Vesp.* 7.1 Serapidis] serapis  $\beta_1 E^2$ , 7.1 abesse constabat] se abesse constabat  $MCH$ , abesse constabat se  $R^2$  (*ut vid.*), abesse se constabat  $R^3 B^2$ , *Tit.* 7.2 prolixius] pronixius  $\beta_1 B^2 E^2$ , *Dom.* 4.4 Graecanica] –aque  $\beta_1 E^2$ , 6.1 legato] legione  $\beta_1 B^2$  (sponte in Chattos ... in Dacos om.  $\beta_2$ , *add. in marg.*  $F^2 B^2$ ).

I think that we have pursued this line of investigation as far as it can profitably go: now is the time to sum up. Taking the discussion in all three sections together, we find a stemma that looks like the Figure 3 drawn overleaf, now with the manuscripts placed both chronologically and in relation to their kin.<sup>88</sup>

But of course in an edition it is neither necessary nor desirable to use all the manuscripts represented on that stemma. Instead, the practical stemma I will use looks like Figure 4:

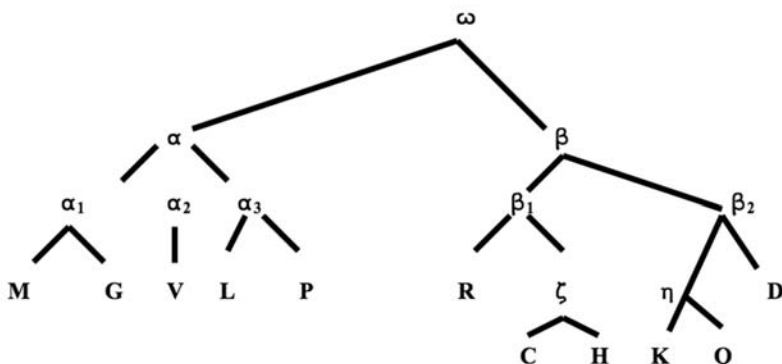


Figure 4.

That is, for the  $\alpha$ -family it will be sufficient to cite  $MGVL$  in the first half of the work, where  $V$  is extant, and thereafter to recruit  $P$  to serve as a check on  $L$ . For the  $\beta_2$ -family it is necessary to cite neither the descendants of  $D$  nor  $A$  in addition to  $KQ$ ; and though I have no intention of recording in the

<sup>88</sup> The main lines of contamination discussed in section III are indicated by the dotted lines. Given the evident contamination from  $G$ 's text to  $\beta$ 's, and given the date of  $G$  (s. XI<sup>3/4</sup>),  $\beta$  cannot have antedated its offspring,  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$ , by very much if it was contaminated directly from  $G$ . But of course any number of lost intermediaries could stand between the  $\beta$  represented here and the archetype,  $\omega$ , and the contamination could have passed to the line of  $\beta$  from an earlier member of  $G$ 's lineage: in view of  $G$ 's origin in Bavaria, that is almost certainly what happened.

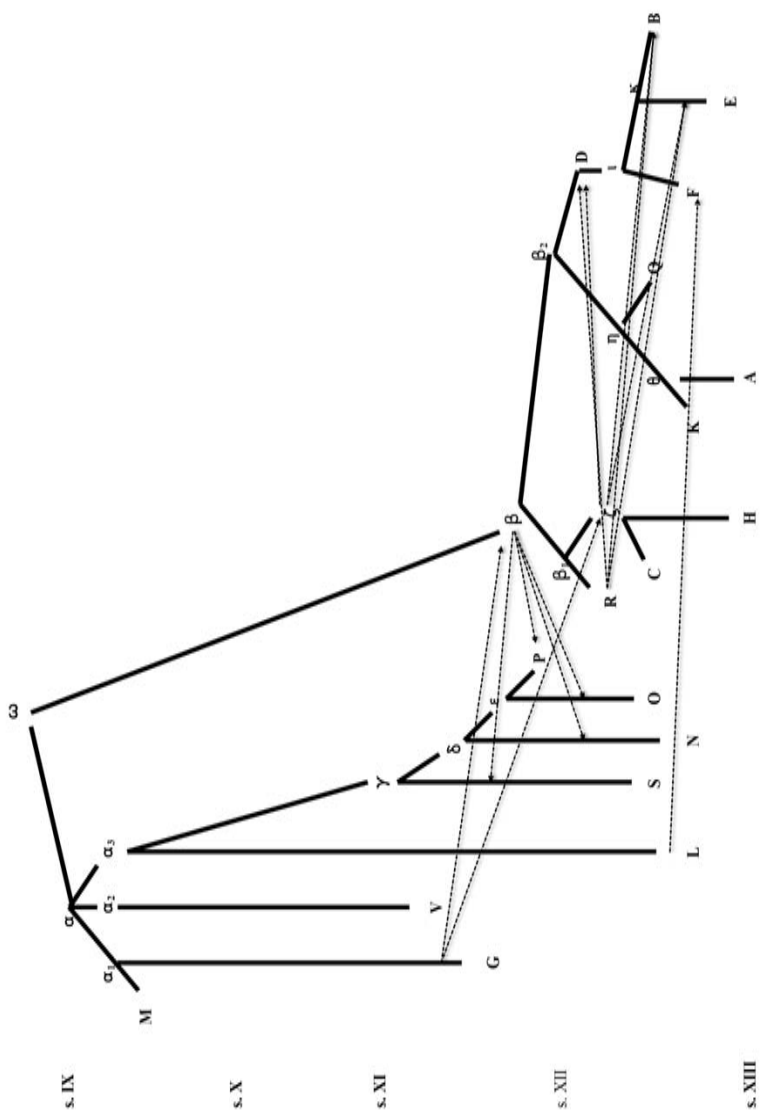


Figure 3.

apparatus all 2000 of  $\zeta$ 's peculiar errors, it will be useful to retain **CH** where they can serve as a check on **R** or stand in for **R** after it departs at *Dom.* 14.5.

#### APPENDIX 1: ON THE *RECENTIORES*

In 1901 Clement Lawrence Smith published "A Preliminary Study of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars," in which he listed and surveyed some thirty-six books, most of them necessarily of the 14th and 15th centuries, and offered what he thought was compelling evidence to show that Roth (1858: xxix) had been wrong to dismiss such late witnesses as worthless. In the same volume of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* Smith's colleague Albert A. Howard published "Notes on a Fifteenth Century Manuscript of Suetonius," in which he pointed out that a manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5809, contains an extraordinary number of good readings that Roth otherwise ascribed to Sabellicus, Beroaldus, Politian, and various incunabula of the *Caesars*, and he asserted that "these readings were certainly not invented by Beroaldus or by any fifteenth century grammarian, but pretty certainly reproduce the tradition of the parent manuscript" (that is, the archetype: 1901: 264).

Scholarly reaction was prompt. In the following year Maximilian Ihm and Léon Preud'homme published replies to Smith and Howard, arguing (correctly, I believe) that nothing they had said amounted to proof of the late manuscripts' independent worth (Preud'homme 1902: 318–28, Ihm 1902); Ihm also noted that his judgment was based on inspection (though not, it must be said, complete collation) of around 100 manuscripts, while Preud'homme was soon to publish what remains the most wide-ranging survey of the extant witnesses, a monograph in which he listed 146 manuscripts and, on the basis of sample collations, sorted them into one of the two main families (1903–4: 63–78). In 1905 Smith published a second paper with the same title, which reported five more late manuscripts and closed with a strong protest against the dismissal of such books. "Manuscripts," he said, "cannot be assembled in lots, like so much merchandise, and priced by samples [a swipe at Preud'homme]. They must be examined, each for itself, and their relations so far as possible determined; and when this has been done it will be time to pronounce judgment on their value" (1905: 13). After all, he added, we have a manuscript in Munich, written on paper in the middle of the fifteenth century, that is the twin—or copy (Ihm 1902: 593–97) or copy of a copy (Preud'homme 1903–4: 67–68)—of a manuscript written 400 years earlier (that is, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 5977 and the Wolfenbüttel manuscript known as **G**, respectively): "in the multitude of XV. century manuscripts there may be others of the same sort, which are the *sole* representative of their much earlier originals" (Smith *ibid.*, with his emphasis).

There the matter has stood for over a century. I have not much to add here about individual late manuscripts, but I can offer instead three general observations. First, Smith was unquestionably correct in principle. We have learned for generations now to say, "*recentiores, non deteriores*," and (as a referee of this paper noted), "Any ms., however later, can spring a surprise": so, for example, Ermanno Malaspina (forthcoming) has shown that two 15th-century *gemelli* of Cicero's *Lucullus*—Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale 652 and Cambridge, University Library DD.XIII.2—must descend from a lost 12th-century



copy, annotated by William of Malmesbury, that represented an independent branch in that tradition. Second, it also appears to be true that Smith had little idea of what would be entailed in showing that a late manuscript is worth reporting for anything more than the various emendations here and there embedded in it. Such a book would have to offer something more than what we already have in the extant manuscripts of the 9th through 13th centuries: it would have to be a new independent witness either to the archetype itself or to one of the two hyparchetypes,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ —a manuscript, for example, that could play the role of **V** for the whole text in the  $\alpha$ -family, or represent a third line of descent in the  $\beta$ -family (compare the *gemelli* of the *Lucullus* mentioned just above). But demonstrating that a given manuscript is such a witness would be a substantial undertaking, requiring one to show, for example, that the book has a distinctive pattern of shared errors which could not be explained as the consequence of contamination, or that it contains good readings which could neither be derived from any of the extant earlier manuscripts nor be reasonably attributed to conjecture—readings, that is, that correct “uncorrectable” errors. That is a very steep hill to climb. Smith and Howard did not scale it; they did not even make a methodologically serious attempt at the ascent.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, Smith was also correct to say that a book’s full worth can fairly be judged only when it has been thoroughly examined, and certainly the standard of proof just sketched would require such an examination. But here certain human realities intrude, and I hope that I can be permitted a personal remark. I am the first to collate fully all eighteen manuscripts on which this study is based, and the job took three years, during which I devoted to it (as my wife could somewhat unhappily attest) all the time not required by

<sup>89</sup> Howard thought that he had found such a manuscript in Paris, BnF lat. 5809, but not only did he give no grounds for supposing that its good readings must be archetypal, as he claimed, he also did not notice that the book’s gorgeously illuminated first page (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530148127/f5.image>) bears the arms of Georges d’Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, along with the cardinal’s *galero* that he wore after his elevation in 1498 (Samaran and Marichal 1962: 499): the book was written, in other words, between 1498 and the cardinal’s death in 1510, and it contains so many corrections otherwise attributable to noted scholars and books of the 15th century because it was written after all those corrections had been published and began to circulate in the *res publica litterarum*. As for Smith, he was almost certainly wrong to think Munich Clm 5977 the twin of **G**, Ihm almost certainly right to think it a copy, and therefore stemmatically uninteresting. In the *Julius*, for example, **G** has ninety-five singular uncorrected errors, many of them uncorrectable (e.g., 26.3 copia *om.*, 27.2 vel] aut, 39.2 per orchestram *om.*, 41.1 nudatos] notatos, 42.1 peregre *om.*, 49.2 cum reliquis exoletis *om.*); Munich Clm 5977 has ninety-two of those errors, including all the uncorrectables (it lacks the following, each obviously wrong in context and easily corrected: 20.3 subsidia] subsusidia, 45.2 tonderetur] non tonderetur, 80.2 curiam] curia): to believe that the latter book is the former’s twin, we must believe that the ninety-two shared errors were in their common ancestor, and that in copying the *Julius*—nearly 10,000 words—**G**’s scribe made only three trivial errors of his own that subsequently escaped correction. In other words, we must believe the unbelievable.

other obligations, six or more usually seven days a week. Collating the remaining 190 or so manuscripts would take ... a scholar much younger and much more optimistic than I, with astounding patience, a monastic disposition, and superabundant *Sitzfleisch*.

But should such a scholar come along, he or she will benefit from the following handlist of fifty-nine manuscripts that do not appear in the surveys of Smith and Preud'homme. I give such information about date and origin as I have and would of course be glad to receive corrections and additions. Unless otherwise indicated, the text of Suetonius is complete in each case:

- Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek 217, s. XV<sup>med</sup> (f. 133r-142r: *Jul.* 1-31.1)  
Baltimore, MD, Walters Art Gallery MS 467, ca. 1470 (Italy)  
Berkeley, CA, Bancroft Library (University of California), MS UCB 69, an. 1425 (Italy)  
Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Diez. B Sant. 61, s. XIV  
———, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek lat fol. 850, s. XV (Italy)  
Bern, Burgerbibliothek 576, s. XV (f. 12r-17v: excerpts of *Vesp.*; f. 23r-37v: excerpts of *Jul.*)  
Blickling Hall (UK) 6917, s. XV<sup>med</sup>. (Italy: Ferrara?)  
Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library (Indiana University) Ricketts 225, s. XV<sup>3/4</sup> (*Cal.* 1.1 to end)  
Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell' Archiginnasio A41, s. XV  
Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudomány Egyetem Könyvtára (University Library) Lat. 13, s. XV  
Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, MS McLean 162, an. 1443 (select images viewable online at <http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/176587>)  
Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library (Harvard University) MS Typ 2, ca. 1450 (Italy)  
———, Houghton Library (Harvard University) MS Typ 486, ca. 1460 (Italy) (excerpts of *Tib.* in 18 folia)  
Dublin, Marsh's Library Z 4.2.9, s. XV-XVI  
———, Trinity College Library 602, s. XIII<sup>1/2</sup> (f. 66r-v: excerpts from *Jul.*)  
Escorial, I.Q. 14, s. XIV (*Florilegium Gallicum*)  
Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, Conv. Soppr. F 7, 1890, s. XVII  
———, Biblioteca Riccardiana 426, s. XIII (excerpts of Suet. and others, owned and annotated by Marsilio Ficino)  
Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 156, s. XV  
Glasgow, Hunterian Museum (University of Glasgow) 413 (S. 3. 28), s. XV (Italy) (breaks off at *Dom.* 3.1 *Deinde uxorem*, ten lines onto f. 132v)  
Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska 538, ca. 1470-1490  
———, Biblioteka Jagiellonska 2457 (f. 31r-81v, 117r-120r: cited in the description of the preceding manuscript at Kowalczyk 1984: 293)  
Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Rep. I.4.48 (Leihgabe Leipziger Stadtbibliothek), s. XIV (f. 92r-96r: what began as a verbatim copy of *Jul.* soon became a series of excerpts, with the excerpts becoming ever more succinct down to the end of the life, after which another hand added epitomes of the other Caesars plus Trajan and Jovianian, down to f. 98r)  
London, British Library Add. 19835 s. XI/XII<sup>1/2</sup> (f. 1-4: excerpts made by Heiric of Auxerre)  
———, British Library Add. 57911, s. XV ex.  
———, British Library Yates Thompson 39, an. 1469  
Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 7805, s. XV (f. 51-76: excerpts)  
———, Biblioteca nacional 10025, s. XV (an. 1434?)

- Messina, Biblioteca del Museo Nazionale, s.n. formerly II E 12, an. 1470
- Milan, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta Papadopoli no. 129, an. 1477
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Fondo Estense, 421 (Alpha W 1, 3), n.d.
- New Haven, Beinecke Library (Yale University) Marston MS 48, post an. 1457 (Italy) (f. 78v–80r: excerpts)
- , Beinecke Library (Yale University) Marston MS 52, s. XV<sup>med.</sup> (Bologna)
- Oxford, Bodl. Add. C. 154, s. XV<sup>1/2</sup> (Netherlandish?)
- , Exeter College 186, s. XIV<sup>med.</sup> (Italy) (some marginalia in the hand of Petrarch)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5808, s. XV
- , Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5814, ca. 1475/1485
- Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale 651, s. XV<sup>ex.</sup>
- Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, MS Lewis E 195, s. XVI (f. 3r–10v: *Jul.* 1.1–46 inchoatam mag[noque])
- , Van Pelt Library (University of Pennsylvania) MS. codex 856, s. XV<sup>2/2</sup> (Italy) (f. 1r–42v: excerpts of Suetonius and of Ausonius's *Versus de XII Caesaribus*, viewable online at [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/record.html?id=MEDREN\\_3178020&](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/record.html?id=MEDREN_3178020&))
- Princeton, NJ, Firestone Library (Princeton University) Kane 44, an. 1433 (Milan?)
- Saint Petersburg, Publičnaja biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina Lat. F XVII 53, s. XVI (f. 166ff.: excerpts)
- Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 538, s. XV (excerpts only, in a MS of Martial)
- Sandaniele del Friuli, Biblioteca comunale 92, s. XV
- Stratfield Saye (Reading), Stratfield Saye House (Duke of Wellington) no. 2, s. XV
- Toledo, Libreria del Cabildo 49–11, s. XV
- , Libreria del Cabildo 49–12, ca. 1462
- , Libreria del Cabildo 49–13, s. XV
- , Libreria del Cabildo 49–14, s. XIV
- Trento, Biblioteca comunale 153 (W 3218), s. XV (before 1486)
- Valencia, Biblioteca universitaria de Valencia 2237, s. XV
- Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi H. V. 159, s. XV
- , Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi H. VI. 196, s. XV
- , Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi H. VI. 197, s. XV
- , Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Chigi H. VIII. 263, s. XV
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek cod. 13033, s. XV (excerpts)
- Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library V.b.40, s. XV (Italy)
- , Library of Congress MS 23, ca. 1470 (Naples?)
- Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th. q. 45, s. XIII/XIV (excerpts)

Less happily, I can also report that three books previously known were destroyed in World War II:

- Leuven/Louvain, Bibliothek der Katholieke Universiteit / Bibliothèque de l'Université catholique G 229, an. 1411 (Gruter's *Palatinus secundus* [Preud'homme 1903–4: 68], formerly Vatican Pal. lat. 897 = Phillipps 7829: see Vernet-Boucrel 1949: 381–84, Cagni 1960: 41, and Cagni 1964. I have confirmation from Leuven/Louvain and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes that microfilm of only a small remnant—ff. i–iiiiv, 1, 82v–85, 100v–101—survives in the Institut's collection)

Wrocław (Breslau), Stadtsbibliothek (Rehdigeriana), R 78, s. XV

———, Stadtsbibliothek (Rehdigeriana), R 126, s. XV (the collection no longer exists: some items it contained are now in the city's University Library, but an inquiry confirmed that these books were lost in the war; Roth (1858: xxxi n20) knew partial collations of these books published in 1817 by K. Schneider, which I have so far been unable to locate; it appears, however, that they would be of very limited utility, for as Roth remarked, "excerptas quasdam lectiones edidit, sed (nescio cur tam sinistro consilio usus) tantum eas quas nemodum in aliis libris observasset").

Finally, drawing upon auction catalogues from the early 19th century on, the University of Pennsylvania's Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (<http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/index.html>) reports twenty-one manuscripts that I have so far been unable to identify with books otherwise known: at least some of these no doubt reside in private collections; in any case, I would again be grateful for any corrections, clarifications, or additions. I list the books here by their Schoenberg number (where there are multiple entries for the same book I list only the first, from which the rest can be traced), and I give such information about date, provenance, and physical make-up as the database extracted from its sources (such information is of course only as accurate as the catalogue from which it was taken; note that the date "1450" evidently serves for any book generally datable to the 15th century):

2230 (1450, southern France? paper, ff. 262, 213 x 130 mm.), 2729 (1463, Italy, paper, ff. 179, 232 x 158 mm., 30 lines/page), 3937 (1500, France), 5076 (1450, Italy, vellum, ff. 167, 253 x 171 mm., 31 lines/page), 5699 (1465, paper, ff. 192, 210 x 130 mm., 29 lines/page), 6718 (1450, Italy, vellum, ff. 158, 273 x 178 mm., 34 lines/page), 35469 (1450, Italy, paper), 35472 (1420, vellum), 38359 (1450, Italy, vellum: it seems that the same book, containing Suetonius and Caesar "Bellorum civilium Bk Vi" [*sic*], was subsequently sold from the Phillipps Library; cf. Schoenberg 60939 = 193521 and Phillipps 2001, no. 2665, where it is described as "saec. xiv"), 38878 (variously dated in auction catalogues to 1410 or 1415 or 1450, Italy, paper, ff. 257, 215 mm., 26 lines/page), 60713 (1460, Italy?, vellum, ff. 154: owners of this books included Mario Maffei [d. 1537], Michael Wodhull [d. 1816], and Howell Wills, whose library was sold by Sotheby's in 1894; the same three names occur in the provenance of Schoenberg 14628 et al. = Harvard, Houghton Library MS Typ 2 listed above, though the latter manuscript reportedly differs in date and foliation [1450, ff. 158]), 63799 (1450, France?, paper, ff. 225, 400 x 100 mm., 2 coll.: Julius Caesar with excerpts from Lucan and Suetonius), 64662 (1400, paper), 65892 (1550, Italy, paper, ff. 266, 300 x 230 mm.), 68996 (1350, Italy, vellum), 69451 (1350, Flanders?, paper, ff. 192: Suetonius and Florus), 70047 (n.d., vellum), 72495 (1450, paper), 75762 (1467, Italy [Cremona], paper, scribe Johannes Placentinus), 97285 (1450, vellum).

## APPENDIX 2: THE CAPITAL INITIALS IN PONS

Not only do these four manuscripts have texts that plainly derive from a common ancestor, but their use of capital initials also distinguishes them from the other manuscripts in the  $\alpha$ -branch of the tradition and must reflect the style and appearance of that ancestor. We can start with the oldest of the manuscripts, **P**, and use the longest of the *Lives*, the *Augustus*, as our sample.

In the *Augustus* **P** has eighty-three large and thickly drawn initial capitals that are aligned flush left: save the first (“G” at *Aug.* 1), which is lightly decorated and stands six ruled lines high, they are undecorated and generally stand three (occasionally two) lines high; ascending and descending shafts sometimes extend farther up or down in the margin. Another fifteen “bold” capitals occur in the body of **P**’s text.<sup>90</sup> These capitals are thickly drawn like the marginal capitals, but because they are embedded in the text they occupy only the space between two rulings. Both the marginal and the embedded initials give the appearance of emphatic, “bold” type, and though they are unevenly distributed in the text,<sup>91</sup> they tend to stand at points that coincide with the beginnings of chapters or sections as they are defined in modern editions.<sup>92</sup>

This pattern is reproduced and, in a sense, augmented in **O**. All of **P**’s eighty-three large capitals are answered by a bold capital in **O**, though two of these now stand embedded in the text (*Aug.* 54 In, 92.1 Auspicia: in each case the capital extends between the two rulings).<sup>93</sup> Of **P**’s embedded bold capitals, three recur as embedded capitals in **O** (*Aug.* 9 Bella, 72.1 In, 94.11 Apud), while eleven of the remaining twelve reappear as large initial capitals standing flush left—the “augmentation” of **P**’s pattern referred to above. Only one of the ninety-eight bold capitals in **P**—94.8 Quintus—is not matched by a bold capital in **O**.

The situation is much the same in **N**. In three cases, the bold capital is flush left as in **PO**, though a bit smaller (*Aug.* 2 Ea, 57 Pro, 95 Post); in three cases space was left for a capital that was not provided<sup>94</sup>; and in a few more cases, the placement of the capital differs from that in **P** or **O** or both.<sup>95</sup> But in only two cases is a bold capital found in **PO**

<sup>90</sup> The first is the “B” of *Bella civilia* in *Aug.* 9, on fol. 18v: this does not correspond to a modern chapter-division, though it does mark the beginning of what is set as a new paragraph in Ihm’s Teubner. The others are found in *Aug.* 28, 31, 41, 43, 66, 69, 71, 72, 84, 91, 94 (*ter*), 96.

<sup>91</sup> E.g., four appear in *Aug.* 61–63 on fol. 30<sup>r</sup>, while none occurs between *Aug.* 71 and *Aug.* 81 on fol. 32<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> The *Augustus* has 101 chapters in modern editions: some of these are not marked with a capital in **P**, and conversely some capitals in **P** do not correspond to modern chapter divisions.

<sup>93</sup> At *Aug.* 94.9 M. Cicero, the space was left for the capital *M*, but it was not provided (it is present in **N**); at *Aug.* 28, **P**’s *Vrbem* is answered by **O**’s *Orbem*, with a smaller *v* inside the *O* as an apparent correction.

<sup>94</sup> *Aug.* 7 Infanti, 89.3 Ingenia, 94.4 In: cf. preceding note.

<sup>95</sup> At *Aug.* 9, *Bella* is flush left in **N** but embedded in **PO**; at *Aug.* 54, *In* is embedded as in **P**, though it is flush left in **O**; at *Aug.* 92.1, *Auspicia* is embedded, though it is flush left in **PO**.

not present in **N** (*Aug.* 94.11 Apud, embedded in **PO**; *Aug.* 96.2 Circa, embedded in **P**, flush left in **O**).

Only in **S** is there much deviation from the basic pattern of capital initials, as in fact we find more deviation from **PON** in **S**'s text. Some of the deviations are of the sort, and on the scale, found in the other books: for example, at *Aug.* 22 Ianum, the capital is embedded in the text, whereas it is flush left in **PON**, while in a handful of cases **S** aligns itself with the practice of one or two of **PON** against the other(s).<sup>96</sup> But in sixteen places either the capital found flush left in **PON** is answered by no capital at all in **S**,<sup>97</sup> or **S** has a capital flush left that has no match in **PON**.<sup>98</sup>

This record stands in clear contrast to the pattern found in the other  $\alpha$ -manuscripts that use bold initials, **MGV**.<sup>99</sup>

- **M**, the oldest manuscript of the *Caesars*, uses bold initials at the margin only, including thirteen of those that are embedded in the text in **P**.<sup>100</sup> Beyond those cases, there are thirty-five places at which the usage of **P** and **M** diverges: these include eight places where **M** lacks an initial that **P** has,<sup>101</sup> and twenty-seven places where **M** has an initial that **P** lacks.<sup>102</sup>
- **G** uses bold initials of different sizes, both marginally and embedded in the text. At the margin, **G** lacks eleven initials that **P** has<sup>103</sup> and has over fifty initials that **P** lacks. As for embedded initials, apart from the seven places where an embedded initial in **P** appears in **G**'s margin and another eighteen places where a marginal initial in **P** is embedded in **G**'s text, there is one initial embedded in **P**'s text that is absent from **G**'s and eight initials embedded in **G**'s text that are not found in **P**'s.

<sup>96</sup> *Aug.* 54 In and 92.1 Auspicia, flush left as in **PN** (vs. embedded in **O**); 72.1 In, embedded as in **PO** (vs. flush left in **N**); 94.11 Apud, no capital as in **N** (vs. embedded as in **PO**).

<sup>97</sup> Ten instances: *Aug.* 15 Scribunt, 21.1 Alias, 25.4 Proelium, 35.1 Quo, 36 Auctor, 38.3 Equitum, 40.2 Populi, 67.1 Patronus, 84 Eloquentiam, 94.9 M.

<sup>98</sup> Six instances: *Aug.* 70.1 Sexque, 72.2 Ex, 76.2 Ex, 81.2 Quasdam, 94.2 Velitris, 100.2 Corpus.

<sup>99</sup> The remaining  $\alpha$ -manuscript, **L**, does not use bold capital initials but instead offers slender capitals drawn with modest elaboration (double tracing, filigree, and the like). In seven places **P** has a marginal capital that is unanswered in **L** (*Aug.* 15. 21. 25. 59, 89, 94 [bis]), while **L** has dozens and dozens of marginal capitals that do not appear in **P** (or **OSN**); it thus resembles **G** (below) in the degree of its difference. Note that some of the additional use of capitals in **L** might be attributable to the fact that its page is laid out in two columns, thus offering twice as many line-initial positions per side. Yet **S**, the only other book in this branch with a two-column format, shows no use of additional capitals comparable to **L**'s, while **G**, the book that is most comparable to **L** in this regard, has a single-column format like **MVPON**.

<sup>100</sup> These are found at *Aug.* 9, 28, 31, 41, 56, 66.4, 69.2, 71.4, 72.1, 84.1, 91, 94.4, 96.2

<sup>101</sup> *Aug.* 2.1, 15, 18, 21.1, 25, 35, 49, 89.

<sup>102</sup> *Aug.* 34, 38, 46, 59, 65, 66, 70, 79, 80, 81.2, 85, 86 (bis), 87, 88, 89, 90, 94 (septies), 98.2, 100.2.

<sup>103</sup> *Aug.* 2, 10, 18, 21, 25, 35, 58, 70, 89 (bis), 94.

- **V**'s layout is so different from that of the other manuscripts that no significant distinction can be drawn between marginal and embedded initials. Among the bold initials that appear in **V**'s text of the *Augustus*, fourteen appear in **V** but not in **P**,<sup>104</sup> and ten found in **P** are absent from **V**.<sup>105</sup>

As noted above, these capitals were generally used to mark the beginning of a discrete unit of text, often corresponding to a chapter or section in a modern edition, and because readers' perceptions of such units will tend to overlap significantly, we should expect a fair degree of overlap in the use of these capitals even in manuscripts that have no proximate formal model in common. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the uniformity found in **PON**, and to a lesser degree in **S**, combined with their difference from **MGVL** in this regard, shows that they reflect the appearance of the book or books from which their similarly uniform texts were derived.

### APPENDIX 3: THE GOOD CORRECTIONS OF ζ

The list below records all the good readings whose earliest occurrence can be traced to the text of ζ, the common ancestor of the manuscripts **C** and **H** discussed in the body of this paper.<sup>106</sup> Ihm knew thirteen of these readings from the latter manuscript (his ρ), which he cited only sporadically before using it to replace its kinsman **R** after the latter manuscript breaks off at *Dom.* 14.2 non alia.<sup>107</sup> Bridge identified another dozen of these readings from **C** (his **F**), but he was hobbled by the lack of a full collation of **H**.<sup>108</sup>

In the list the reading of ζ printed by Ihm stands to the left of the square bracket, with a quotation in parentheses of Ihm's apparatus from the *editio maior*<sup>109</sup>; the reading of

<sup>104</sup> *Aug.* 1, 4, 16, 22, 23, 24, 38, 46, 53, 67, 78, 79, 81, 85.

<sup>105</sup> *Aug.* 8, 15, 25, 35, 49, 58, 89, 94, 97, 98.

<sup>106</sup> Beyond the readings listed below note also *Aug.* 66.1 *Salvidienium* (ascribed by Ihm to the Basel edition of 1533) and *Cal.* 39.1 *libertos* (ascribed by Ihm to ζ and Beroaldus), where **H** has the correct emendation, against the archetypal errors (*salvidenium* and *liberos*) shared by **C**; similarly *Aug.* 36.1 *quaestura*, which Ihm judged "more correct" ("hoc loco rectius opinor," ascribing it to ζ), though he printed the archetype's (and **C**'s) *quaesturam*.

<sup>107</sup> In his preface Ihm noted the good readings and blandly remarked, "propter talia coniectando inventa a viro non indocto fortasse dignus liber qui totus excutiatur" (1907: xxn5): this *vir non indoctus* was in fact almost certainly William of Malmesbury; see n46.

<sup>108</sup> See Bridge 1930a: 35–36; Bridge also remarked (p. 6n3) that he planned a full study of the relation between **C** and **H**, but it seems that the study was not completed.

<sup>109</sup> Most of Ihm's *sigla* are the same as those I have used in the body of this paper, but note that his ρ = my **H**, his Π = my **B**, his ε = my **A**, and that he uses **N** for Paris, BnF lat. 17903 (s. XIII), a collection of excerpts (not the manuscript, Vatican, BAV Reg. lat. 833, which **N** represents in the body of this paper), **T** for Berlin, Staatsbib. lat fol. 337 (s. XIV), **δ** for Paris, BnF lat. 5804 (s. XV), and ζ for one or more unspecified books of s. XIV or XV; **L**<sup>3</sup> is a humanist corrector of that manuscript.

the archetype stands to the right of the square brackets. In the footnotes I indicate later medieval manuscripts that came to acquire the good readings, typically as corrections of their original texts: most of these corrections can doubtless be taken to represent the circulation of ζ's improvements via contamination.

*Iul.* 24.3 cedentibus (“ρ, succed- ζ, ei cedentibus *Casaubon*, dein ced- *Graevius*”) de-  
cedentibus

*Iul.* 27.1 prosequatur (“L<sup>2</sup>Tζ”) persequatur<sup>110</sup>

*Iul.* 49.1 pedicator (“*corr. saec. XV (primum legi in ed. anonyma [a. 1472?] et Mediol. a. 1475)*”) praedicator<sup>111</sup>

*Iul.* 56.6 velit (“ρ (*Ernesti*)”) vellet

*Iul.* 75.4 permisit (“Nρζ”) permiserat

*Iul.* 82.1 et gestu (“Qεζ”) et gestum<sup>112</sup>

*Iul.* 85 Helvium (“*Egnatius*”) heulium (*vel* heulium)

*Aug.* 2.1 Servio (“*corr. ζ, ed. Rom. II 1470*”) servilio

*Aug.* 3.1 Thurinum (“*ed. Bonon. 1488*”) Thuringum

*Aug.* 4.1 profiteri (“ρζ, *Stephanus*”) confiteri

*Aug.* 17.2 iudicato (“*corr. L<sup>2</sup> vel L<sup>3</sup>, ζ*”) indicato<sup>113</sup>

*Aug.* 17.3 repetita Italia (“ρ, *Scheffer*”) repetit alia

*Aug.* 25.3 Sicilia (“Tζ”) cilicium (*vel* cilicia)

*Aug.* 29.2 ultione (“ρζ”) visione

*Aug.* 57.1 consensu (“*in R ces in ras. fort. corr. ex consensu, ut est in edd. vet. (ed. Rom. II al.)*”) concessu<sup>114</sup>

*Aug.* 64.2 diurnos (“Nδ”) diuturnos<sup>115</sup>

*Aug.* 84.2 absumeret (“S<sup>2</sup>ζ”) ad(*vel* as)sumeret

*Aug.* 89.2 orationes Q(uinti) (“ζ”) orationesque<sup>116</sup>

*Aug.* 99.1 ab urbe (“L<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>e”) ad urbem<sup>117</sup>

*Tib.* 8 Trallianos (“*corr. ζ, ed. Rom.*”) trailianos<sup>118</sup>

*Tib.* 34.2 strenam (“*corr. L<sup>2</sup>S<sup>2</sup>*”) strenuam<sup>119</sup>

<sup>110</sup> *prosequatur* is found also in **N** and **E**: the latter especially shows signs of contamination from a source with ζ's readings; see the discussion in section III.c.

<sup>111</sup> **H** has *predicator* in the text, with a superscript *e* (for *pedi-*) in the hand of the original scribe. *pedicator* also appears as a marginal correction in **F**.

<sup>112</sup> *gestu* is found also in **K**, **A**'s older sibling.

<sup>113</sup> **C** has *indicato* with superscript *iu* in what appears to be the original hand.

<sup>114</sup> **Ihm**'s suggestion that **R** originally had the correct reading *consensu* may well be right, in which case it was already in the common ancestor of **R** and ζ, as the correct *strenam* (for the archetype's *strenuam*) in the text immediately following certainly was.

<sup>115</sup> **C**'s text reads *diuturnos vel diurnos*, which perhaps gives a glimpse of ζ's text, with *diurnos* entered as a variant.

<sup>116</sup> **C** and **H** both have *orationes quinti*, spelled in full.

<sup>117</sup> *ab urbe* also appears as a correction in **F**.

<sup>118</sup> **LPONS** have *tracilianos*.

<sup>119</sup> *strenam* appears as a variant added in **D**; cf. the marginal note, *Nota strenas † strenuas*, in **K** and its sibling **A**.



- Tib.* 45 obscaenitate oris (“*TO<sup>2</sup>ζ*”) obscaenitatem oris<sup>120</sup>  
*Cal.* 9 ioco (“*ρ, Beroaldus*”) loco  
*Cal.* 19.2 insignisque quercea (“*ρ, Roth*”) insignisque qu(i)ercica<sup>121</sup>  
*Cal.* 23.3 oboluisse (“*Beroaldus*”) obolevisset  
*Cal.* 36.1 neque suae neque alienae (“*Νρς*”) neque alienae  
*Claud.* 5 Sigillaria (“*L<sup>3</sup>ζ, edd. Rom., Ven. I*”) sigillari  
*Claud.* 10.2 studio (“*e om. G, del. Madvig*”) e studio<sup>122</sup>  
*Claud.* 17.1 principali (“*ς, ed. Bonon. 1488*”) principalem  
*Claud.* 17.2 Stochadas (“*ς, ed. Ven. pr.*”) stochadas  
*Claud.* 20.2 effoso (“*Sς*”) exfosso (*vel ex fosso*)  
*Claud.* 38.3 tamen (“*I. F. Gronovius*”) ante  
*Nero* 5.2 ioco (“*ς, Sabellius, et sic iam in R ss. pro v. I*”) loco<sup>123</sup>  
*Nero* 9 et consecravit (“*ς, Roth*”) consecravit  
*Nero* 21.2 an privatis (“*ρς, I. F. Gronovius*”) in privatis<sup>124</sup>  
*Nero* 28.2 ab obtrectatoribus (“*Qε*”) obtrectatoribus  
*Nero* 35.4 ceteros (“*inter videtur delendum cum ρ*”) inter ceteros  
*Nero* 50 colli (“*Stephanus*”) collo  
*Otho* 1.1 Salvius (“*Stephanus*”) silvius  
*Otho* 10.2 et ad (“*Torrentius*”) sed ad  
*Vit.* 12 solvit (“*ed. Basil. 1533*”) coluit  
*Vit.* 15.2 reclamantibus (“*SA*”) declamantibus  
*Vesp.* 2.1 vesperi, Q(uinto) (“*ς*”) vesperique  
*Vesp.* 8.4 Trachiam Ciliciam (“*Bentley (Tracheam Turnebus)*”) thraciam ciliciam  
*Vesp.* 8.5 plebi] plebis<sup>125</sup>  
*Vesp.* 10 centumvitalia (“*corr. Π<sup>2</sup>*”) centum virilia<sup>126</sup>  
*Vesp.* 15 reperietur (“*ε (ss. † reperiretur) Salmasius*”) reperiretur  
*Vesp.* 16.3 adeptum (“*S<sup>2</sup>Tς*”) adeptum<sup>127</sup>  
*Dom.* 14.4 audendam (“*ρ et sic corr. L<sup>3</sup>*”) audiendam  
*Dom.* 17.3 Phyllis nutrix (“*ρς*”) phy(l)lix (*vel phi(l)lix*) nutrix

<sup>120</sup> Ihm’s report has **O** wrong: the original reading was *obscaenitate moris*, which was changed to the archetype’s *-tem oris*.

<sup>121</sup> **LPONS** have *insignis quoque (a)erea*.

<sup>122</sup> This correction very possibly originated in **G** or its lineage, from which **ζ** certainly received some readings by contamination; see section III.b.

<sup>123</sup> *ioco* is added as a variant in **R**, as Ihm reported, and in **AKDF**.

<sup>124</sup> **LPONS** read simply *privatis*.

<sup>125</sup> Ihm’s text has *plebi[s]*, indicating deletion of the *-s*, but there is no note in the apparatus.

<sup>126</sup> **LPNS** have *centum iuralia*. **H** has *centumvicalia*, which implies the correct *-vitalia* in its exemplar, with the common error of minuscule *c* for *r*. Besides appearing in **Π** (= **B**) as a correction, *-vitalia* also appears as a correction in **Π**’s sibling **E** and in **F**.

<sup>127</sup> *adeptum* is also the reading of **K**.

APPENDIX 4 TABLE

|           |                    |   |   |  |
|-----------|--------------------|---|---|--|
| <b>DF</b> | 8.2 publicam puero | <b>D f. 63v – 65r / F f. 57v – 58v:</b><br>12.2 item Germanorum –<br>20.1 hi ob recens<br>908 words | <b>D f. 65r – 65v / F f. 58v – 60r:</b><br>8.2 e ministris acceram –<br>12.2 decimavit etiam<br>613 words | <b>D f. 65v ff. / F f. 60r ff.:</b><br>20.1 meritum quod se (e.q.s.) |
|-----------|--------------------|---|---|--|

On f. 63v in **D**, at the point of the dislocation (hereafter “seam”), there is a *signe de remoi* in the text answered by one in the margin with a note in a medieval hand, “hic deest r(e)q(ui)re” (there is also a note in a later, illegible hand, and a still later note, “vide p. 129,” in the hand that numbered the pages); at the seams on f. 65r and 65v there are similar symbols, but the only marginal annotation is in the illegible later hand. For the clear directions given in **F**, see n. 84 above.

|          |   |   |  |             |
|----------|---|---|--|-------------|
| <b>K</b> | f. 87r to:<br>8.2 ipsum neroni +<br>20.1 hi ob recens | f. 87r – 88v:<br>12.2 item germanorum –<br>20.1 germaniciorum [sic] vexillatione<br>905 words | f. 88v – 89v:<br>8.2 non multo post –<br>12.2 decimavit etiam<br>590 words | f. 89v ff.: |
|----------|---|---|--|-------------|

There is no annotation intended to repair the dislocations, nor are any of the seams marked as such; but at the seam between 8.2 and 12.2, besides the stray phrase *hi ob recens* from 20.1, a *signe de remoi* was copied in the text before 12.2 item germanorum, suggesting that **K**'s exemplar contained some annotation.

|          |                                     |   |   |             |
|----------|-------------------------------------|---|---|-------------|
| <b>Q</b> | f. 54v to:<br>8.2 capite canesceret | f. 54v – 55v:<br>12.2 Germanorum ( <i>om.</i> item) –<br>20.1 germaniciorum [sic] vexillatione<br>904 words | f. 55v – 56r:<br>8.2 nec defuerunt –<br>12.2 decimavit etiam<br>604 words | f. 56r ff.: |
|----------|-------------------------------------|---|---|-------------|

The seams on foll. 54v, 55v, and 56r were later marked with minute marginal annotation in a humanist hand.

<sup>128</sup> I give folium-numbers for **D**, though the pages were later numbered individually in a modern hand, so that (e.g.) f. 63v = p. 126.

Appendix 4 Table, continued

|                                    |  |   |                               |
|------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| f. 101r to:                        | f. 101r – 102v:  | f. 102v – 103r:   | f. 103r ff.:                  |
| <b>B</b> 10.1 astante nobili puero | 12.2 item germanorum -<br>20.1 hi ob recens<br>908 words | 10.1 quem exultantem -<br>12.2 decimavit etiam<br>375 words | 20.1 meritum quod se (e.q.s.) |

At the seam on f. 101r there is the note “Defi(cit) R(equire) ad si(mi)le sign(um) i(n) proximo fol.,” followed by a *signe de remoi*; at the seam on fol. 102v the promised *signum* appears, with the marginal note “hoc superius deficit”; and at the seam on f. 103r there is another *signum* with the note “Item germanorum cohortem (= 12.2) Require in superioribus.”

|                                    |  |   |                                   |
|------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| f. 96r to:                         | f. 96r – 97v:  | f. 97v:   | f. 98r ff.:                       |
| <b>E</b> 10.1 astante nobili puero | 12.2 item germanorum -<br>20.1 germaniciorum [sic] vexillatione<br>908 words | 10.1 quem exultantem [sic] -<br>12.2 decimavit etiam<br>375 words | 20.1 hio brecens meritum (e.q.s.) |

At the seam on f. 96r there is a *signe de remoi* with the letter “B” and a note (now partially obscured by the tight binding), “in .ii(do). folio ... signum”; at the seam on fol. 97v the letter “A” is in the margin with “Hii ob recens meritum” (= 20.1) and the note “Q(uae)re in .iii(a). pagina [= column] sequ(e)nte”; and at the seam on f. 98r, the letter “C” is in the margin with the phrase “Item germanorum cohortem” (= 12.2) and the note “Q(uae)re s(ignum) in .ii(o).fol(io) ad[ ...”

#### APPENDIX 4: THE “GALBA ERROR”

The textual dislocation known as the “Galba error” occurs in two forms, one found in **KQDF**, the other found in **BE**: the facts of the matter are set out in the table shown on the previous two pages, where it will be clear at a glance that the primary distinction concerns the point at which the dislocation begins, in the middle of *Galb.* 8.2 (**KQDF**) or the middle of *Galb.* 10.2 (**BE**). There have been three attempts to explain the error, by Smith, who thought that a scribe’s wandering eye was the first cause, by Preud’homme, who believed that the error originated when a scribe skipped one or two leaves in copying, and by Rand, who correctly showed why both of the earlier explanations were implausible and insufficient and went on to pin the blame on the displacement of one or more leaves.<sup>129</sup> I believe that Rand was in principle correct, although the specific scenario he went on to sketch—through a series of increasingly implausible calculations, leading ultimately to the error’s origin in a manuscript with only fifteen or sixteen lines to the folium—was no more credible than the explanations he exploded.<sup>130</sup> In each case the attempt to provide an explanation was hobbled by the fact that the relations among the affected manuscripts had not been worked out in detail. Now, however, it should be possible to use what we know about this family to reach some more reliable conclusions:

- the error arose in or was transmitted by  $\beta_2$ , the hyparchetype from which all the affected manuscripts descend;
- since we know that **BE** are descended from **D** by way of an intermediary that served as their common ancestor, the form of the error in **D** must be antecedent to the form found in **BE**, which is presumably the product of a botched attempt at correction at some point in their shared lineage;
- since we also know that **F** descends from **D** and have seen other ways in which its errors seem to reflect **D**’s *mise en page*,<sup>131</sup> it is not surprising that it matches **D**’s version of the error exactly;
- by contrast, **Q** and **K** both differ slightly from **DF**’s version, in that **Q**’s text breaks off at *Galb.* 8.2 with the words *capite canesceret*, **K**’s with *ipsum Neroni* (followed by the odd snippet *hi ob recens* from 20.1), whereas the last words in **DF** before the dislocation are *publicam puero*<sup>132</sup>: since the latter phrase is isolated and nonsensical

<sup>129</sup> Smith 1901: 48–49, Preud’homme 1903–4: 57n2, Rand 1926: 1–12.

<sup>130</sup> After first positing a book with “leaves of about 22.5 lines each” or “perhaps ... a leaf of 23.5 lines” (1926: 6), Rand settled on an explanation involving “leaves of 15–16 lines each” (*ibid.*). This would be codicologically implausible even if “leaf” were used to mean “page” or “side,” but the context makes clear that by “leaf” Rand meant “folium,” a piece of parchment with writing on both sides: not even the late antique capital manuscripts of Vergil, which were plainly luxury items, contain so little text per page, and such a format is inconceivable in a manuscript that on any reckoning was the product of a medieval monastery.

<sup>131</sup> See n66 above.

<sup>132</sup> *Galb.* 8.2 *acciditque, ut cum prouinciam ingressus sacrificaret, intra aedem publicam puero e ministris acerram tenenti capillus repente toto capite canesceret, nec defuerunt qui interpretarentur significari rerum mutationem successurumque iuueni senem, hoc est ipsum Neroni.*

standing where it does, while the discrepant versions in **Q** and **K** both coincide with the end of a full sense-unit (a clause or sentence), the version in **D** is very likely the original error—according to the familiar principle that when two or more errors occur in the same place, the one that makes less (or least) sense is probably the original—while the versions in **Q** and **K** represent minor efforts at repair made somewhere in their backgrounds, with supplementary bits of text used like spackle to fill a crack.<sup>133</sup> The fact that **D** is the oldest manuscript of this group by at least half a century is of course consistent with its being more likely to preserve the original form of the error;

- the error was surely caused by the physical displacement of a segment of text, as Rand thought, but the displacement must have involved one leaf only, not multiple leaves. For a parallel, consider two *gemelli* in the tradition of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, Cambridge University Library Ff.3.5 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College 71, both written in England in the 12th century: the former lacks the end of Book 3 (from 3.18.9 Plautus to 3.20.8 *discessio est*), while the same chunk of text in the latter is displaced, so that it stands between *monstruosae* and *magnitudinis* in 3.17.18; both deformities are to be explained by supposing that a leaf containing ca. 900 words of text had come loose in the manuscripts' common ancestor, was reinserted incorrectly before Corpus Christi College 71 (or an antecedent) was copied, and then was lost before University Library Ff.3.5 was written;
- we are left to decide whether a leaf containing 12.2 *item Germanorum* – 20.1 *hi ob recens*—just over 900 words, as in the Macrobian case just noted—was displaced to follow a page ending with 8.2 *publicam puero*, or a leaf containing 8.2 *e ministris acceram* – 12.2 *decimavit etiam*—just over 600 words—was displaced to follow a page ending with 20.1 *hi ob recens*. Here I do not see much ground for choice, since either is quite possible codicologically<sup>134</sup>: to consider only the manuscripts in this family that have the error, it happens that **K** and **E** average about 600 – 650 words to the leaf, **F** averages around 950, and **Q** a bit over 1000, while **D** and **B** follow the not uncommon pattern of allowing the text to be a bit more spacious in the early going (around 700 words to the leaf for **D** in the *Julius*, under 500 for **B**) but more cramped later on, so that in the vicinity of the *Galba* error **D** has a bit under 900 words to the leaf, **B** around 650.

<sup>133</sup> *Mutatis mutandis* much the same point can be made about the isolated and non-sensical phrase *hi ob recens* that stands at the end of the first segment of dislocated text in **DF**: though it has been allowed to remain there in the latter books, it has been removed from that spot in **Q** and **K**, where the end of the segment has been made to coincide with the end of a full sentence (the words are missing from **Q** and displaced in **K**, where the displacement is probably to be explained as a consequence of the sort of marginal annotation found in **E**, for which see the preceding table). Compare the similar job of tidying that has been done in **E**, where *hi ob recens* has been moved to stand where it belongs, with *meritum quod se ...* in 20.1.

<sup>134</sup> The figures about to be cited are derived from examining three passages in each manuscript, one near the beginning (in the vicinity of *Jul.* 34), one near the middle (in the vicinity of *Cal.* 22), and one at the beginning of the *Galba* error itself.

Finally, though I am at a loss to explain precisely how the botched repair reflected in **B** and **E** took the form it did, the fact that both in the original version of the error and in **BE**'s version the text breaks off at the word *puero* seems unlikely to be a mere coincidence; so too the fact that at 8.2 *publicam puero*, **B** and **E** both omit *puero*.<sup>135</sup>

#### WORKS CITED

- Ailloud, H. 1931–32. *Suétone. Vies des douze Césars*. 3 vols. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Berté, M. 2011. *Petrarca lettore di Svetonio*. Messina: Università degli studi di Messina.
- Bridge, J. 1930a. "De quibusdam libris Suetonianis qui ex fonte Z emanaverunt." Diss. Harvard University.
- . 1930b. Dissertation abstract ("De quibusdam libris Suetonianis qui ex fonte Z emanaverunt"). *HSCP* 41: 183–86.
- Cagni, G. M. 1960. "I Codici vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Gianozzo Manetti (1396–1459)." *La Bibliofilia* 62: 1–43.
- . 1964. "Le vicende di due manoscritti ex Vaticani: Lo Svetonio Pal. lat. 897 e il Giustino Pal. lat. 900." In *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*. Vol. 1. Verona: Stamperia Valdonega. 217–40.
- Dunston, A. J. 1952. "Two Manuscripts of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*." *CQ* 2: 146–51.
- Gameson, R. 1999. *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Green, R. P. H. 1991. *The Works of Ausonius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gullick, M. 1999. "Manuscrits et copistes normands en Angleterre (XIe–XIIe siècles)." In Bouet, P. and Dosdat, M. eds. *Manuscrits et enluminures dans le monde normand (Xe–XVe siècles)*. Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen. 83–93.
- Hoffmann, H., and Pokorny, R. 1991. *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms: Textstufen, frühe Verbreitung, Vorlagen*. Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- Howard, A. A. 1901. "Notes on a Fifteenth Century Manuscript of Suetonius." *HSCP* 12: 261–65.
- Ihm, M. 1901. "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton: 1–2." *Hermes* 36: 343–63.
- . 1902. "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Sueton: 3." *Hermes* 37: 590–97+633.
- . 1907. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli opera*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Kaster, R. A. 2010. *Studies on the Text of Macrobius' Saturnalia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2011. *Macrobius Ambrosii Theodosii Saturnalia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . Forthcoming. "Making Sense of Suetonius in the Twelfth Century." In Grafton, A., and Most, G. eds. *How to Do Things with Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ker, N. R. 1969. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kowalczyk, M. 1984. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Medii Aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur. Volume 3: Numeros continens inde a 445 usque ad 563*. Bratislava: Institutum Ossolinianum.

<sup>135</sup> In place of *puero* **E**'s scribe incorporated what was evidently a marginal note in his exemplar (perhaps not entirely understood by the scribe himself, now cancelled and partly illegible,): "e(?)i(n) alio lib(ro) dub[??]ne feci."

- Malaspina, E. (forthcoming). "La tradizione manoscritta del *Lucullus* di Cicerone: Dal *Corpus Leidense* a William of Malmesbury e alla fortuna in età umanistica."
- McLachlan, E. P. 1986. *The Scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the Twelfth Century*. New York: Garland Press.
- Munk Olsen, B. 1982–2009. *L'Étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. 4 vols. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Pellegrin, E. 1975–2010. *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque vaticane*. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Phillipps, T. 2001. *Phillipps Manuscripts: Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bt., impressum Typis Medio-Montanis, 1837–1871*. Reprinted with an introduction by A. N. L. Munby. London: Orskey-Johnson.
- Powell, J. G. F. 1990. "Augustus and the Muses (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 21.4)." *CQ* 40: 579–80.
- Preud'homme, L. 1902. "Première étude sur l'histoire du texte de Suétone, *de vita Caesarum*." *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et sciences morales et politique et de la classe des beaux-arts*. No. 3. Brussels: Hayez. 299–328.
- . 1903–4. "Troisième étude sur l'histoire du texte de Suétone, *de vita Caesarum*." *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par L'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*. Vol. 63. Brussels: Hayez. 3–94.
- . 1906. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli de vita Caesarum libri VIII*. Groningen: J. B. Wolters.
- Rand, E. K. 1926. "On the History of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages." *HSCP* 37: 1–48.
- Roth, L. 1858. *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- Samaran, C., and Marichal, R. 1962. *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*. Vol. 2. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Smith, C. L. 1901. "A Preliminary Study of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars." *HSCP* 12: 19–58.
- . 1905. "A Preliminary Study of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars. Second Paper." *HSCP* 16: 1–14.
- Thomson, R. M. 1972. "The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 47: 617–45.
- . 2003. *William of Malmesbury*. Rev. ed. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.
- Tibbetts, S. J. 1983. "Suetonius: *De vita Caesarum*." In Reynolds, L. D. ed. *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 399–404.
- Vernet-Boucrel, M. Th. 1949. "Quelques manuscrits de classiques latins à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Louvain." In *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat. Volume 2: Diplômes et chartes. Manuscrits et bibliothèques. Varia*. Paris: En dépôt chez Mme. Pecqueur-Grat. 351–86.
- Wall, J. L. 1968. "Prolegomena to the Study of the MSS. of *The Lives of Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius, with a critical edition of the *Lives* of Nero and Claudius." Diss. University of London.