

The background of the book cover is a classical painting enclosed in an ornate, carved oval frame. The painting depicts a man, likely a scholar or statesman, seated at a desk. He is wearing a white tunic with a red cloak draped over his left shoulder. He has a laurel wreath on his head and is looking down, writing with a quill on a scroll. On the desk, there is a large globe and a small cup. The scene is set in a room with a window in the background, through which light is streaming. The overall style is reminiscent of 17th or 18th-century European art.

OXFORD

CYNTHIA DAMON

STUDIES ON THE TEXT OF

CAESAR'S
Bellum civile

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BELLVM CIVILE

Studies on the Text
of Caesar's *Bellum*
civile

CYNTHIA DAMON

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Part 1

Prolegomena

I

Why a new edition?

Caesar's *Bellum ciuile* needs a new edition.¹ In 1963 Wolfgang Hering published his influential *Die Recensio der Caesarhandschriften*, covering the BC and non-Caesarian *Bella* as well as the BG, but the fine Teubner edition of the *Bellum Gallicum* that he produced in 1987 has no counterpart for the BC. The edition that will appear concurrently with the present volume, relying as it does on a fresh collation of the principal manuscripts by Virginia Brown, has been a long time in the making. Her 1972 book *The Textual Transmission of Caesar's Civil War*, which is based on that collation, was not followed by the expected edition, but before her untimely death in 2009 she very generously passed her collation on to me, a debt acknowledged but hardly repaid by the dedication to her memory of the edition it made possible. Besides the new collation and the general clearing away of error that it permits, this edition presents a text based on a new stemma. The detailed argument for that stemma is presented below; here I will just say that it supports the reconstruction of the archetype in more places than was possible before.² I looked at the evidence for Caesar's text with more tolerance for stylistic liberties than has generally been applied by past editors, who tended to purge the *commentarii* of irregularities.³ I have perhaps been too willing to see development in Caesar's style beyond the usages of the *Bellum Gallicum*, but I hope that my attempt to redress the balance will promote critical work on Caesar.

¹ See Reeve (2000, 205).

² See Brown (1972, 9–10) on the accumulation of erroneous readings in the editions of Klotz and Fabre. Some of these errors surface in the discussion below.

³ As Winterbottom puts it (1983, 35 n. 1), texts of Caesar are 'marked by remarkable indifference to what the manuscripts actually read'.

The focus of modern editorial work on the *Bellum ciuile* has been on rationalizing the list of witnesses to be used in constructing the text.⁴ The project of repairing the many problem spots of the tradition's archetype is ongoing, while the problems that arose from the incomplete state in which Caesar left the work are probably beyond repair. Establishing a stemma has been an elusive goal. Indeed three fundamentally different accounts of the transmission have been proposed in the past century or so. The following paragraphs offer a survey of the major milestones.

Karl Nipperdey's 1847 edition made a content-based dichotomy in Caesar manuscripts the definition of the α and β families of the *BG*, the α family consisting of manuscripts that contain only the text of the *BG*, while manuscripts of the β family contain the five works of the *corpus Caesarianum* (*BG*, *BC*, *BAlex*, *BAfr*, *BHisp*).⁵ The oldest α manuscripts are roughly a century older than the oldest β manuscripts. The readings of the two families frequently diverge, and many of the divergences would be all but invisible were it not for the split tradition.⁶ This leaves the editor of the *BC*, which is preserved only in β manuscripts, uncomfortably conscious of the likelihood that the text is unreliable even where it is not obviously corrupt.⁷ In addition to this fundamental contribution to our understanding of the manuscript tradition, Nipperdey improved the quality of the text itself by using some of the manuscripts still used today for the constitution of the text of the *BC*, especially T (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5764), V (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 95), and a descendant of U (see below).⁸ Nipperdey also made many successful or useful alterations to the transmitted text; I have accepted eighteen

⁴ For the humanist and early-modern phases see Hering (1963, 3–6) and Brown (1976, 101–32; 1972, 1–6).

⁵ See Nipperdey (1847, 37–49) on the principal manuscripts and their classification, with Brown (1972, 6–7) for further details. The manuscript S (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamensis 33), which will figure prominently in this chapter, is an exception to the α/β split (see p. 18 below).

⁶ Meusel (1885, 182) counts more than 1500 divergences in the *BG*. According to Dübner (1867, XVI), more than 500 of these stem from deliberate innovations by β . See further p. 100 (on inversions) and p. 101 (on divergences) below.

⁷ As Nipperdey remarked earlier, concluding that the situation warrants boldness but not temerity in emendation (1847, 49).

⁸ For the readings of these manuscripts Nipperdey used collations prepared by other scholars, conscious though he was of their discrepancies and errors.

of his emendations into the text of the *BC* and mention nearly fifty for diagnostic purposes in the apparatus.⁹

The edition produced in 1867 by Friedrich Dübner for the Imprimerie impériale of Napoléon III uses Nipperdey's classification and emphasizes the defects of β , whose descendants are called Δ for *deteriores*. Dübner's imperial patronage brought him access to more than eighty manuscripts, among them U (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3324) itself.¹⁰ His edition is primarily useful as a repository of variants.

Heinrich Meusel was a central figure in late nineteenth-century work on the text of Caesar's *commentarii*. In an 1885 article he revisits Nipperdey's two-family classification, arguing that Nipperdey's labels *integri* (for the α family) and *interpolati* (for the β family) should not be the basis of editorial choices between readings: the β family, in addition to supplying text with which to fill α 's numerous omissions, has some good readings where α goes astray. The assertion that β is not as bad as Nipperdey thought is of rather limited significance for the *BC*, of course, since β is the archetype of that tradition; there is no α . But it might help restrain emendation.¹¹ Meusel also added R (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 541) to the witnesses for β as a (possible) sibling of U, identified a large number of *codices descripti*, and argued for the division of β 's descendants into two families ($TV = \pi$, $RU = \rho$).¹² From his dismissive remarks about

⁹ Emendations by Nipperdey can be found in the text at 1.11.2, 1.14.4(x2), 1.38.1, 1.40.3, 1.87.1, 2.10.4, 2.15.1, 2.23.5, 2.28.2, 3.11.1, 3.63.6, 3.69.1, 3.70.1, 3.71.1, 3.71.3, 3.78.5, 3.82.4.

¹⁰ Nipperdey mentions U briefly as a member of the *BG* β family but is clearly unaware of its potential (1847, 46). The force of imperial patronage can be seen in the Avant-propos by the Director of the Imprimerie impériale, Anselme Petetin, who claims that 'par l'intervention gracieuse de M. le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, l'Imprimerie impériale a obtenu communication de tous les manuscrits dont la collation pouvait offrir matière, soit à des restitutions, soit à l'étude des variantes' (1867, VII). The exception was U, which had to be collated in the Vatican. Dübner himself reports that, in pursuit of a rumoured late-antique manuscript in Constantinople, 'promptissime Imperator Augustissimus meis precibus annuit et a Sultano ut Parisios perferrentur illae membranae impetravit' (1867, XVII n. 1); the manuscript was in fact fifteenth-century, not fifth. For a recent look at other Caesar-related projects of Napoléon III see Nicolet (2009).

¹¹ Meusel puts it thus (1885, 184): 'Offenbar wäre es ein bedeutender Gewinn für die Glaubwürdigkeit der Überlieferung von Cäsars bellum civile, wenn sich der Beweis erbringen ließe, daß β wenigstens nicht absichtlich gefälscht ist.'

¹² He and Felice Ramorino pursued the question of the relationship between R and U in an article published in 1891.

manuscripts with a mixed heritage, i.e., manuscripts that have α readings in the BG and switch to β for the BC and non-Caesarian *Bella*, it is clear that he did not yet appreciate the value of S, which is just such a *codex mixtus* (1885, 174; see p. 18 below).¹³ As the author of the monumental *Lexicon Caesarianum* Meusel had an unparalleled familiarity with Caesarian idiom. His many emendations, which can be reviewed in the *Conspectus editionum* provided in my OCT volume, generally offer a 'normal' expression, insofar as that can be determined.¹⁴

The work of Wilhelm Theodor Paul on the text of the BC is scattered across the editions of 1889 (the *editio maior*) and 1898 (a posthumous school edition) and Meusel's *Tabula coniecturarum*; the *Tabula* records emendations proposed but not published by Paul, who died in 1894.¹⁵ For the 1889 edition Paul based his text on URTV, using Dübner's collations, and generally preferred the reading of U, a good choice on the whole (see p. 85 below).¹⁶ His real contribution, however, lies in his clear-headed analysis of the sense of the text, which he often tried to improve by emendation and excision.¹⁷ His interventions are extra-ordinarily useful for defining the text's problems, so while I have accepted only a handful of them, I report more than fifty in the apparatus.¹⁸

In Bernard Kübler's 1894 edition the oldest witnesses were at long last taken into account: M (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. lat. 68.8) and S (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamensis 33). 'Oldest', however, is no earlier than the middle

¹³ It was only in the decade after Meusel's 1885 article that S began to attract scholarly attention (see Kübler 1898, VI). The manuscript was minutely described by Enrico Rostagno in his 1894 article.

¹⁴ Meusel's emendations appear in the text at 2.25.6, 2.41.4, 3.66.6, 3.73.6, 3.83.4, 3.85.2, 3.86.2; his suggestions are noted in more than twenty other passages.

¹⁵ For details see Kübler (1899), a review of Paul's 1898 edition, which differs from its predecessor in more than 300 places. The *Tabula coniecturarum* is a separately paginated section at the end of volume 2.2 of Meusel's *Lexicon Caesarianum* (1887–93, 37–93 for the BC). It was also published separately in 1893 as *Coniecturae Caesarianae*.

¹⁶ Paul (1889, V).

¹⁷ Paul (1889, VI), esp. 'Coniecturas . . . ubicumque aut sententia ipsa aut oratio flagitare uidebatur, consulto arripui.' Cf. the concluding comments by Kübler (1899, 686): 'Die ungemein große Zahl von Konjekturen zeugt von dem rastlosen Bemühen des Herausgebers; er suchte immer aufs neue den Text zu säubern und zu heilen. Unter seinen Vorschlägen sind gute, weniger gute und ganz verfehlt, aber kaum ganz wertlose.'

¹⁸ Emendations by Paul in the text: 1.3.1, 1.33.4, 2.15.2, 2.32.4, 3.12.2, 3.15.6, 3.33.1, 3.60.5, 3.79.3, 3.79.6, 3.110.1.

of the tenth century, a full century later than the oldest witnesses for the *BG*. For M Kübler used collations by Meusel and Helm, for S a collation by Meusel.¹⁹ Most of the good readings of M and S were already available in the vulgate, which was based on hybrid manuscripts with readings from M and a descendant of S, so the new collations served mainly to clear away innovations.²⁰ But in Kübler's text we see the first manifestation of the reliance on S that would reach its fullest development in the edition of Alfred Klotz.²¹ Kübler also had access, in Meusel's *Tabula coniecturarum*, to a vast compendium of scholarly attempts to fill the holes and correct the errors of a very imperfect archetype.

In 1898 Alfred Holder published the stemma whose fundamental articulation of the witnesses for the text of the *BC* into two families—one principally represented by S, the other by MUTV—has been the basis of all subsequent editions of the *BC* and the non-Caesarian *Bella* to date, although it was challenged in 1963 and again in 1972 (see below).²² (At this point I should mention the irritating confusion that arises from the fact that Holder gave the name β to the common source of MUTV. Holder's β is a descendant of the β of the *BG* tradition, which is roughly equivalent to the archetype of the *BC* tradition. Henceforth ' β ' will generally refer to Holder's β , unless the other is specified.) Holder also collated L (London, British Museum, Additional MS 10084) and placed it in the stemma as a sibling of S.²³ The discussion of the relationships among the

¹⁹ Kübler collated T himself and took the readings of U, V, and (for *BC* 2–3) R from Dübner's apparatus; for R's text of *BC* 1 he used a collation by Rostagno published by Ramorino (1889, 253–83).

²⁰ On the vulgate see Brown (1972, 48–49).

²¹ Unique readings of S newly accepted into the text by Kübler include: 1.31.1 uacuas *MUTV* : u- prouincias S, Kübler; 1.39.2 nobilissimo *MUTV* : n- et fortissimo S, Kübler; 1.41.5 omne prius est perfectum *MUT* : o- pr- est per- opus S, Kübler : omne opus pr- per- V; 1.59.2 fugiebant *MUTV* : ref- S, Kübler; 1.61.6 muniuntur *MUTV* : muniunt S, Kübler; 1.70.3 ante *MUTV* : et a- S, Kübler; 1.85.4 hominum *MUTV* : -nibus S, Kübler : -ni in *Oudendorp*; 2.28.2 <cum> contumelia *Nipperdey* : -a *MUTV* : -am S : <per> -am Kübler; 3.58.2 rursus *MUTV* : -sus S, Kübler.

²² The fundamentals of Holder's stemma were already present in Kübler's (1894, XI), but Holder clarified the structure of the S-family and eliminated some *codices descripti*.

²³ He also makes a vaguely worded claim to have collated all of the relevant manuscripts apart from U and V, which were collated for him by other scholars (1898, V), but his very full apparatus seems to be the source of at least some of the errors that spread subsequent confusion (for examples see p. 22 n. 63 and p. 61 n. 123 below).

manuscripts that he promises in his very brief *praefatio* does not seem to have materialized. He records a number of useful conjectures by Franz Bücheler, whose contribution is acknowledged in the preface; some of these reappear in my apparatus.²⁴

In his 1926 *editio maior* Alfred Klotz accepts Holder's stemma and focuses his attention on two of its implications: the authority of S and the difficulty of explaining good readings found in an unexpected combination of manuscripts or at the bottom of the stemma. He broaches here the possibility of an extra-stemmatic source for some of these readings (1926, IX), a hypothesis that he develops in more detail in his 1927 edition of the non-Caesarian *Bella* (1927, X–XI). He also explores the textual manifestations of the unfinished state of the *BC*.

Ten years later Pierre Fabre added N (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.C.11) as a new witness in the family of S for the text of the *BC* and showed Klotz's extra-stemmatic source (y) contributing readings to one branch of β 's descendants.²⁵

Thus in 1963, the date of Hering's landmark study of the textual tradition of Caesar's *commentarii*, the principal witnesses for the text of the *BC* and non-Caesarian *Bella* were, in one family, SLN, and in the other, MURTV. The story thenceforth is continued in chapter II below.

As I mentioned above, the foundation of the present edition is Virginia Brown's collation of SLNMURTV. I could not hope to better her palaeographical achievements, so I did not repeat that exercise *in toto*. I did, however, verify all of the readings in her collations of

²⁴ Emendations by Bücheler in the text: 1.39.2, 2.32.13, 3.16.4, 3.42.5, 3.58.4, 3.84.1. I add a word here about René du Pontet's OCT edition of Caesar, which appeared shortly after the major advances achieved by Meusel, Kübler, and Holder. The edition was not well received. Liebenam's verdict, 'Die Ausgabe von Pontet bringt keine Förderung' (1901: 190), is generally shared. Rice Holmes (1901, 174), for example, labels du Pontet a 'reactionary' for his Nipperdey-like proclamations about the authoritativeness of the α family over the claims of β advanced by Meusel and Kübler. In the *BC* preface we find the same desire to find an authority to follow in du Pontet's assertion about the value of S (1900, [ii]): 'At cum reputabimus quanta in commentariis de Bello Gallico huius codicis [=S] exstiterit cum codicibus familiae integrae [= α] similitudo, facile apparebit quanti faciendus sit', which provoked Meusel to make explicit its false assumptions (1911, 37, see also 1901). The edition's apparatus was deemed both inadequate and obscure (Rice Holmes 1901, 177; Meusel 1911, 39–41).

²⁵ In adding N he was following the precedent set in editions of the *BG* by Bassi (1921) and Constans (1926). See further Cupaiuolo (1954, 59 n. 1).

SMUTV against photographs and, where photographs did not suffice, against the manuscripts themselves.²⁶ I also accepted her elimination of 162 *codices recentiores*, which was based on an arduous investigation that Winterbottom rightly called 'a notable advance' (1983, 36). My own effort has been devoted primarily to the stemma, text, and critical apparatus.

²⁶ Also, for BC 1.1–33, where **M** is missing, its descendants **m** and **Vall**. For further details about these manuscripts see pp. 77–95 below.

II

The history of the text

A. CORPVS CAESARIANVM

The major milestones at the other end of the history of the text are much harder to discern. Almost every claim is disputed since the scanty evidence can be variously interpreted. The account given here represents my working assumptions rather than a full argument.²⁷

When Caesar was assassinated in 44 BCE, the *BC* was in an unfinished state, or so one may reasonably judge from intratextual references to an episode not present in the text that has come down to us, and from the fact that Caesar launched but did not complete the narrative of the war in Alexandria.²⁸ In the conflict-filled months that followed the assassination members of Caesar's inner circle and officer corps, specifically Hirtius and Balbus but presumably others as well, initiated the publication of narratives of Caesar's campaigns

²⁷ The bibliography on the *corpus Caesarianum* is extensive, and has political, historical, and literary as well as textual aspects; see Cluett (2009) for a brief overview and Gaertner-Hausburg (2013) for a comprehensive review of past work and some new ideas. On the physical history of the corpus and its textual implications see Pecere (2003).

²⁸ The references to the defeat of Gaius Antonius, one of Caesar's legates, come in Book 3 (3.4.2, 3.10.5, 3.67.5), but the episode itself belongs in Book 2. Further unanchored cross-references occur at 1.48.3 (*ut supra demonstratum est*) and 3.88.3 (*docuimus*). A finished work would not have such loose ends. The hypothesis of incompleteness underlies editorial acceptance of Nipperdey's transposition of chapters 55–6 in Book 3: Caesar, it is assumed, wrote his chapters on separate pages and these two pages were reversed when the *corpus Caesarianum* was compiled. Also relevant—and difficult of precise interpretation—is the assertion by Asinius Pollio (paraphrased by Suetonius, *Jul.* 56.4) that Caesar would have revised his *commentarii*. See further Batstone and Damon (2006, 29–32), and, on Asinius Pollio, Morgan (2000, 55–60). And for the fullest argument in favour of the proposition that Caesar finished and published the *BC* see Barwick (1951, *passim*).

as a corpus. The ‘Letter to Balbus’ that introduces *BG* 8 represents one phase of that plan: its author Hirtius reports that at Balbus’ pressing request he has connected by a kind of metaphorical weaving (*contextui*) the two sets of *commentarii* written by Caesar, and completed (*confeci*) an unfinished *commentarius* about Caesar’s military campaigns ‘to the end of his life’ by finishing the narrative begun in *BC* 3 (*BG* 8 pr. 2):

Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae, non comparantibus superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis, contextui nouissimumque imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae confeci usque ad exitum non quidem ciuilis dissensionis, cuius finem nullum uidemus, sed uitae Caesaris.²⁹

It is unlikely, however, that Hirtius actually completed more than a portion of this ambitious plan, for events soon overtook the consul of 43, who died at Mutina in April of that year.

Suetonius takes up the story with his report of a corpus of Caesarian texts that includes the Gallic war and the ‘Pompeian civil war’ by Caesar himself, and Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars by other variously identified authors (56.1):

reliquit [sc. Caesar] et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici ciuilisque belli Pompeiani. nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est: alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli nouissimum imperfectumque librum suppleuerit.

This corpus bears only a general resemblance to the one that Hirtius describes, which does not demarcate by military theatre the campaigns of 48–45 and which carries the story to the end of Caesar’s life.³⁰ But it matches the existing *corpus Caesarianum* in both its

²⁹ Hering’s text is given. Vielhaber proposed deleting *Galliae*, Fuchs proposed adding *et belli ciuilis* after it, and *comparantibus* is variously emended. The meaning of *confeci*, too, is a disputed aspect of this precious but puzzling document; see Canfora (1993, 45–6) and Gaertner–Hausburg (2013, 22–30) for discussion. The letter’s authenticity has been challenged: see Canfora (1993) and (2000) for the argument that it is a late-antique composition foisted upon the extant *corpus Caesarianum*. Pecere by contrast views it as genuine ‘testimonianza “prenatale” del corpus Caesarianum’ (2003, 198). Gaertner–Hausburg conclude that its evidence is inconclusive on the subject of Hirtius’ contribution to the corpus (2013, esp. 30).

³⁰ Two earlier readers of the *BC*, Asinius Pollio and Lucan, are occasionally cited directly (Lucan) or indirectly (Pollio, via Plutarch and Appian) in the apparatus for evidence relevant to the constitution of the text, but nothing can be said about the form of the text they read.

content and in the anonymity of the authors of *BAlex*, *BAfr*, and *BHisp*. Suetonius reproduces two sentences from Hirtius' Letter later in his discussion of Caesar as author, so he seems to have had an exemplar in hand, but he makes a peculiar error in the bit quoted above in applying (a lightly modified version of) Hirtius' description of *BC* 3, *nouissimum imperfectumque* (sc. *commentarium*), to the *BG*.³¹ It happens that our text of the *BG* is *imperfectum*, too, since the end of *BG* 8 has been lost together with the beginning of *BC* 1, but it is hard to know whether to invoke coincidence or to assume that Suetonius' exemplar underlies the surviving manuscript tradition. In the *BC* the only visible sign of the corpus context is the sentence *haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt*, which was added at the end of *BC* 3 to 'weave together' that work and the *BAlex*, which begins *bello Alexandrino conflato*.³²

When the corpus next comes into view, in Orosius' fifth-century *Historiae aduersus paganos*, the authorship issue has taken a new turn and Suetonius himself is deemed the author of the *BG* (6.7.2): *Hanc historiam Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cuius nos competentes portiunculas decerpimus*. (The *portiunculae* are taken from the *BG*.) Here again the presence of excerpts suggests that an exemplar of the work was at hand. Indeed it is even possible to discern that Orosius' exemplar had readings that reach us through the *BG*'s β tradition (Hering 1987, V). The assertion of (some sort of) Suetonian authorship survives in paratextual material found in the *BG*'s α family, as well, specifically in the opening *titulus* of the oldest Caesar manuscript, A (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS XV G 1), which concludes with the words *Incipit Liber Suetonii*.³³

³¹ Does Suetonius mean that Caesar started *BG* 8 and Hirtius claimed to have finished it (for which there is no warrant in Hirtius' letter), or, as Pecere rather implausibly suggests (2003, 217), that his (codex) copy of the *BG*, which Hirtius claimed to have finished, was defective at the end? I am inclined to view this as a quotation supplied by memory in an inappropriate context. Similarly Gaertner-Hausburg (2013, 30 n. 63).

³² Gaertner-Hausburg argue that *contexui* means 'continued' rather than 'wove together' (2013, 23 n. 31), but the textual evidence of 'joins' between corpus constituents (such as the concluding sentence of the *BC*, mentioned above, and the opening of the *BHisp*, 1.1 *Pharnace superato, Africa recepta*) supports a stronger reading of the metaphor. The aforementioned lacuna prevents us from seeing the 'join' most directly relevant to Hirtius' claim, namely, that between the *BG* and the *BC*.

³³ Suetonian authorship of the *BC*, *BAfr*, *BAlex*, and *BHisp* is also asserted in N (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.C.11), a copy of S, but not in S itself. Paratextual material can obviously be transmitted independently of the text.

Like the identity of the author, the names of the constituent works are various. In addition to the 'titles' suggested by Cicero (*commentarii . . . rerum suarum*: Brut. 262) and Suetonius (*commentarii belli Gallici, commentarii belli ciuilis Pompeiani*, but also *Bellum Gallicum, Bellum Africanum, Bellum Hispaniense*), we find Orosius' generic *historia*, the Greek derivative *ephemeris* in singular and plural forms (*ephemeris C. Caesaris*: Symmachus, *Ep.* 4.18.3; *Balbi ephemeris*: Sidonius, *Ep.* 9.14.7; *Caesaris historiae . . . quas ut ephemeridas condidit ipse sibi*: Arator, *ad Parthenium* 39–40), and, in the *titulus* of A, the bizarre compound *liber Gai Caesaris belli Gallici Iuliani de narratione temporum*.³⁴

This messy evidence provides us with glimpses of readerly engagement with the *corpus Caesarianum*, especially its first constituent, the BG, through late antiquity. This engagement comes most clearly into focus with the *subscriptions* in which named individuals declare themselves to have 'read' each of the eight books of the BG.³⁵ The basic formula for BG 1–7 is IVLIVS CELSVS CONSTANTINVS V(IR) C(LARISSIMVS) LEGI. This is varied by a reference to an additional reader, one Flavius Licerius Firminus Lupicinus, in BG 2, and by RELEGI in a surprising β family *scriptio* in U (see ed., p. xliii).³⁶ In the *scriptio* to BG 8 the addition of TANTVM suggests that the 'reading' ceased at the end of the BG, but also that Constantinus was aware that there was more to the corpus.

Beyond that it is difficult to go. Hering expresses little enthusiasm for the oft-expressed idea, which goes back to Nipperdey (1847, 37), that the 'reading' amounted to an editorial *recensio* of BG 1–8 and therefore explains the superior quality of the *integri* over the *interpolati* (1987, VI). We have already seen that these qualitative distinctions were called into question, and in any case the 'reading' has only the slightest of connections with the manuscript tradition of the BC.

To trace the history of the text and more particularly the split between the BG's α and β after the end of antiquity Hering and Brown use palaeographic evidence (see below). Hering dates the creation of

³⁴ Many of these titles also turn up in manuscripts of the Caesarian texts; for details see Seel (1961, CXIV–CXXII).

³⁵ For the BG *subscriptions* see Hering (1987, XVI–XVII).

³⁶ For the reference to Constantinus in U see ed., p. xlii. Lupicinus has been plausibly dated to the early sixth century but Constantinus is unknown; see Pecere (2003, 184–7).

the manuscript from which α and β were copied to the sixth century and the split itself to some time after the seventh century (1963, 95–6). That is, one copy survived from antiquity into the Middle Ages and was copied at least twice some time early in the Carolingian period. For the story thenceforth see the section entitled ‘Fortuna’ in Virginia Brown’s 1976 contribution on Caesar in the *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*.

B. DIRECT TRADITION

The text of Caesar’s *BC* survives in almost two hundred known manuscript books (Brown 1972, 42–65). Of these the oldest and most independent are used for the constitution of the text: S and M from the tenth century, T and U from the eleventh, and V from the twelfth (for details see ch. IV below). All of the extant manuscripts are ultimately derived from a single archetype, as is shown by errors grave and trivial common to them all. These accumulated as the text was copied in the course of the centuries after the publication of the *corpus Caesarianum*. For the *Bellum ciuile* alone, a work of some 33,000 words, they number in the hundreds.³⁷ The most striking are the gaps (1.1.1 (the beginning of the work),³⁸ 1.39.2, 1.64.6, 3.8.4, 3.10.11, 3.22.2, 3.25.3, 3.38.4, 3.50.2), the insoluble problems (1.3.3, 1.5.3, 1.18.2, 1.35.4, 1.80.4, 3.11.1, 3.32.6, 3.48.1, 3.49.3, 3.49.5, 3.53.5, 3.69.4, 3.109.5), and the desperately garbled text of 2.29.3.³⁹ But almost every page of the apparatus criticus shows one or more spots where the reading of the archetype (ω) is not the reading in the text. After more than a millenium of repairs the number of spots where the text is lost or uncertain is down to a few dozen, including

³⁷ The word count used by Gaertner–Hausburg is 32,577, which breaks down as follows: *BC* 1, 10,992; *BC* 2, 6437; *BC* 3, 15,148 (see e.g. 2013, 286).

³⁸ The end of the corpus is missing as well: the *BHisp* stops in mid-sentence.

³⁹ The disturbances in the text of 2.29.3 are unlike those anywhere else in the tradition. What survives are discontinuous phrases about troops, municipalities, and the shifting relationships in a civil war context. These are all plausible topics for the fear-inducing *sermone*s mentioned at 2.29.1, but the train of thought is not recoverable with any certainty; see Klotz (1950, IX–X) for some attempts. Physical damage to the archetype is probably responsible.

the passages listed above and some others where it is hard to feel confident about any of the emendations on offer.⁴⁰

The date at which the archetype was produced can be established at least approximately by considering errors that arose from features of its script. The evidence of letter confusions is discussed in some detail by Brown (1972, 36–9). In addition to listing numerous confusions characteristic of copies of minuscule texts, she considers the absence of errors characteristic of copies of other early scripts (Beneventan, Visigothic, Insular) and the probable location of production. Her conclusion is ‘that ω could have been written in any of the pre-Caroline scripts used in France or even in Caroline minuscules’ (1972, 39). This gives us a rather late date for the archetype, probably no earlier than the eighth century CE.⁴¹

⁴⁰ E.g. 1.4.3 [adulatio]; 1.5.2 menses uariarum; 1.25.9 <ne>; 1.36.3 commeatusque ... si accidat; 1.48.3 *lacunam ante* neutrum *statuerim*; 1.53.2 in forum; 2.25.1 [a] theatro; 2.32.13 <an> Corfiniensem ... an ... an ... en; 2.44.1 patresque familiae; 3.8.4 Caesaris complexum; 3.10.6 ipsi ... essent; 3.10.11 urbiumque copias; 3.16.3 atque; 3.19.4 una uisurum quem; 3.21.5 uisa deque proditione oppidi appareret; 3.31.4 [prouincias] ... uenisset; 3.32.2 cuius modo rei; 3.73.5 se notum; 3.75.2 quam suetissima; 3.84.3 electos milites ad pernecitatem armis; 3.86.5 cogitauissent; 3.108.2 conscios.

⁴¹ Brown’s date is consistent with Hering’s conclusion (1963, 95–6) that our ω (the β of the BG tradition) was copied from a surviving ancient manuscript some time after the seventh century CE.

III

Constituting the text

A. HISTORY OF THE STEMMA

Over the past century or so three radically different stemmata have been proposed as representations of the descent of the extant manuscripts from ω . The bipartite stemma drawn by Holder (1898) is adopted, with some differences of detail, by du Pontet (1900), Klotz (1926, edn. 2 1950),⁴² Fabre (1936, rev. edn. Balland 2006), and Mariner Bigorra (1959–61) for the *BC*, and by Bouvet (1949, rev. edn. Richard 1997), Andrieu (1954), Pascucci (1965), and Diouron (1999) for the non-Caesarian *Bella*. Hering drew a new bipartite stemma in 1963, Brown a tripartite stemma in 1972. The new stemmata do not reflect new evidence; indeed one major development in the study of the tradition has been the elimination of *codices descripti*, so that Hering and Brown propose constructing the text on the basis of either four (Hering) or five (Brown) manuscripts where Klotz and others use as many as eight.⁴³ The rival stemmata, with current sigla and hyparchetype designations, are represented in Fig. 1.⁴⁴ (The

⁴² In his 1950 edition Klotz accepted the refinements to Holder's stemma proposed by Fabre in 1936.

⁴³ Hering (1963) and Brown (1972) differ over the contribution of V, on which see pp. 66–77 below. In his 1987 edition of the *BG* Hering set V beside (instead of below) T in the stemma and added '(?)'. He only reports a reading from V if it is an innovation both good and unique (1987, IX).

⁴⁴ See Hering (1963, VIII) for a table listing the various sigla used for the principal mss. Those that I use are the following. M: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. lat. 68.8 (with m: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. lat. 68.6 for *BC* 1.1–1.33); U: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus lat. 3324; S: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnhamensis 33; T: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5764; V: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 95. Reference is occasionally made to N: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.C.11; L: London, British Museum,

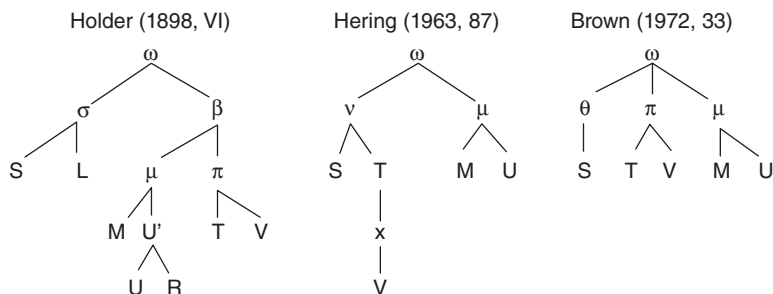


Fig. 1

hyparchetypes μ (MU) and π (TV) are relatively uncontroversial, although the precise shape of these families varies somewhat from stemma to stemma and Hering questioned the utility of π .)

Brown's tripartite stemma, which constitutes a rebuttal of both of its bipartite predecessors, was based on evidence from the *BC*. Below, using evidence from all of the relevant *Bella*, I offer a more robust argument for Hering's bipartite division, together with a discussion of the possibility of horizontal transmission between the μ and ν branches and a more precise statement about the place and contribution of V. But before launching into what will prove to be a long and involved discussion it is worth considering what is at stake in evaluating these stemmata.

To discover a stemma's branches one looks for agreement in error between manuscripts, but to reconstruct the archetype one looks for agreement, in good readings and bad, between branches. The stemma is most useful—that is, it permits reconstruction of the archetype most securely—when there is agreement between branches at the first split. The stemmata offered by both Hering and Brown place M and U (μ) in a branch separate from T and V (π), making agreements between them (whole and partial: MUTV, MTV, UTV, MUT, MUV, MT, UT, MV, UV) evidence of the archetype.⁴⁵ (Obviously not all of these agreements will always and necessarily be evidence of the archetype; the source and distribution of readings in each passage need to be taken into account.) This, given the waywardness of S

Additional MS 10084; R: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 541; and Vall.: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B. 45.

⁴⁵ In the following discussion lists of manuscripts such as 'MUTV' or 'STV' are a shorthand for 'M, U, T, and V' or 'S, T, and V.' To refer to hyparchetypes I use the sigla β , μ , ν , and π .

(see p. 88 below), is a significant difference: μ and π or constituents thereof agree against S nearly eight hundred times in the text of the BC.⁴⁶ When these four manuscripts are all regarded as descendants of β , however, as in Holder's stemma, their agreement simply offers a reading with equal weight to that of S. So if either of the new stemmata is proved correct we will have recovered much more of the tradition's archetype.⁴⁷

The evidence for Holder's β is scanty and editors have struggled to justify the family in the face of substantial contradictory evidence.⁴⁸ Its core (UT) is identical with the β family of the BG,⁴⁹ but in constituting the text of the BC and non-Caesarian *Bella* one has to take into account two additional manuscripts, M and S, which for (most of) the BG were *codices descripti* belonging to the α family. For the BC and other *Bella*, by contrast, M and S are the oldest manuscripts. Placing M in the stemma as a sibling of U in the μ family is uncontroversial (see p. 61 below), but the position of S has proved elusive.⁵⁰

The argument that μ and π had a common ancestor β rests on a small number of significant but small shared omissions (roughly a

⁴⁶ Of course with Hering's stemma it is impossible to reconstruct the archetype securely in some situations where reconstruction was possible with the S vs. β stemma, namely, where S agrees with π or T or V against μ . But these situations—again, given S's waywardness—are much less frequent than agreements among MUTV. For the numbers see p. 84 n. 166 below.

⁴⁷ The difference to the printed text is reduced by the fact that editors have generally treated S as inferior and followed (or emended) β . However, my text of the BC differs from that of Fabre, for example, in more than three hundred spots for a variety of reasons, including the new stemma. For some of the passages where the stemma has made a difference to the printed text see nn. 93 and 99 below. For the complete list of differences see the Conspectus editionum.

⁴⁸ Holder's introduction is extremely brief (1898, V–VIII). By way of explanation for the σ vs. β shape of his BC stemma he lists fourteen omissions by σ where β 's text is whole. Cf. Timpanaro (2005, 175) on 'the tendency to identify one class of manuscripts α on the basis of shared characteristics and then to call β everything that in reality is merely non- α .'

⁴⁹ The two long omissions in UT that help define the BG's β family (3.9.10, ten words, and 7.77.13, fifteen words) do not similarly define the common ancestor of MUTV, since the BG's β is the archetype (ω) of the entire tradition for the BC and other *Bella* (see p. 7 above).

⁵⁰ To complicate matters further, S makes the transition from its α exemplar to one belonging to the BG's β family in two passages near the end of the work (7.58.4–62.6 and 8.23.5 to the end of book; see Hering 1963, 12–20). Despite its move to the BG β family ($\approx\omega$ for the BC and non-Caesarian *Bella*) S retains some undue credibility from its α associations. Bouvet, for example, presents it as one of the 'manuscripts appartenant à la classe α pour la *Guerre des Gaules*' (1997 (1949), XLV), and du Pontet goes even further (1900, [ii], quoted at p. 8 n. 24 above).

dozen, none longer than two words), a paltry harvest for six substantial books of prose containing in total more than fifty thousand words.⁵¹ These are supplemented by an equally scanty list of fairly trivial shared errors.⁵² Furthermore, all of the editors who adopt Holder's S vs. β stemma acknowledge the existence of a connection between manuscripts in the σ family (now represented by S alone, but formerly including NL) and those in the π branch of the β family (TV). Various explanations for this stemmatic anomaly have been advanced, including an extra-stemmatic source (γ) for the good readings in μ that cannot be due to innovation,⁵³ contamination of π from the family of σ ,⁵⁴ and identical independent innovations by S and π .⁵⁵

Hering dismissed the omissions and errors as insignificant, particularly given S's tendency, already evident in the BG, to supplement and alter its exemplar (1963, 59–73).⁵⁶ Accordingly, he dismantled β . In his bipartite stemma the principal families are μ (represented by MU) and ν (represented by ST).⁵⁷ That is, he separated T from μ and made it a sibling of S. The connection Hering posited between S and T (his family ν) against μ allowed him to discard both the extra-stemmatic source for good readings in μ and the hypothesis of

⁵¹ Conveniently collected by Hering (1963, 61): BC 1.39.2 et fortissimo, 1.40.1 diebus, 1.41.5 opus, 1.64.6 arrepta; BAlex 57.3 legionem, 60.1 orant, 60.3 uideret, 64.2 uenit; BAfr 2.4 mandatis, 19.3 equoque, 61.5 frumentandi gratia, 83.2 plumbique itata, 86.3 cohortibus. (See p. 24 below for omissions by MUTV in the BHisp.) In no case, Hering concludes after going through this list, can one exclude the possibility that the surplus text in S is the result of a well-judged innovation or that the omission in MUTV is the result of simultaneous error by μ and π . For two significant items missed or underestimated in his list see n. 97 below on 3.75.1 impedimenta and 1.36.3 si accidat.

⁵² Also collected by Hering (1963, 69): BC 1.61.6, 3.84.5, 3.93.1; BAlex 1.1, 3.3, 28.3; BAfr 15.3, 26.3, 83.2, 98.2.

⁵³ Klotz (1950 (1926), VII; 1927, X–XI) lists more than fifty passages from the BC and non-Caesarian *Bella* in which the reading of μ is in his view to be attributed to an extra-stemmatic source. In Brown's view, however, for the BC at least these readings are 'barely right, thanks to the saving grace of one or two letters; such a slim margin hardly demands the assistance of a lost manuscript' (1972, 34). Fabre represents γ as completely independent of the ω tradition, a source preserving evidence from a pre-archetypal phase of transmission (2006 (1936), XIV).

⁵⁴ See e.g. Fabre (2006 (1936), LIII–LIV).

⁵⁵ See e.g. Andrieu (1954, LXXVI, LXXIX).

⁵⁶ Cf. the dictum of L. A. Post, cited by M. D. Reeve apropos of this issue (1989, 6): 'It is not really safe to discuss the relationship of a manuscript without a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the methods and weaknesses of the scribe who wrote it. Readings that would prove relationship in one case may mean nothing in another.'

⁵⁷ For Hering on V see p. 67 below.

contamination of π with readings from σ . But the new evidence he presented for ν in error against μ and vice versa (1963, 76–7) was itself scanty: one item where ν has an error and μ has preserved the archetype's reading (*BC* 3.105.1), four (two of them admittedly weak) where μ has an error and ν has preserved the archetype's reading (*BC* 3.60.5, *BC* 3.83.2, *BAfr* 54.5, *BAfr* 62.3).⁵⁸

Brown, after a fresh collation of *MURSNLTV* and a reassessment of the evidence for the *BC*,⁵⁹ declared the arguments for both β and ν to be untenable: 'there is no solid evidence for placing TV on the side of S, as Hering has done, or of MU, the traditional position of editors' (1972, 31). She therefore drew a tripartite stemma, with S, π , and μ independently derived from the archetype.⁶⁰

How is an editor of the *BC* to proceed? There does not seem to be much point in making a new collation; Brown has done this. Given that Brown deemed the evidence for the *BC* inadequate to justify Hering's ν , that Hering in his 1973 review of Brown could do no more for ν than restate his claims about *BC* 3.105.1, and that both Brown and Hering considered the evidence for β inadequate (Brown on the basis of the *BC*, Hering on the basis of the *BC*, *BAlex*, and *BAfr*), the one remaining line of approach would seem to be to revisit the evidence of the *BHisp*, adduced by Diouron in 1999 for β and against both Hering's ν and Brown's tripartite stemma.⁶¹

⁵⁸ He maintains, however, that it is 'nicht schwer' (1963, 76) to find such errors, pointing to lists of passages showing unexpected associations between σ and π (e.g. Klotz 1927, X–XII, Andrieu 1954, LXXVI–LXXVIII, and Bouvet 1997 [1949], XLVIII–XLIX). As we saw above, of course, Klotz et al. explained these associations differently, as the result of extra-stemmatic readings, contamination, or simultaneous error. The *BC* is strikingly absent: Fabre gave no such list.

⁵⁹ Brown also conducted a search for underappreciated manuscripts, turning up one of significance for the construction of the text where the original chapters of its parent M are missing (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 45, henceforth *Vall.*; see 1972, 10 and Appendix).

⁶⁰ Brown (1972, 23) in fact posits the existence of an intermediary θ in the transmission of S to explain how in N, which is otherwise dependent on S, a major transposition in S has been repaired (see p. 86 below). For determining the text of the archetype, however, θ and S are indistinguishable, so for convenience in this discussion I simply refer to S.

⁶¹ Cf. Winterbottom (1983, 36 n. 8): 'Hering . . . was right to say [sc. in his review of Brown] that the evidence of the other *Bella* (including the *B.G.*) should have been taken into account.' In my view, the evidence of the *BG* at least is unlikely to help establish either β or ν because the relationships among the manuscripts are different for the *BG*. As was mentioned above, S and M move from the α family to the β family at or near the beginning of the *BC*. Furthermore, in the two *BG* passages where S is

Before starting, a clear statement of what we are looking for will be helpful. The argument for a tripartite stemma in an uncontaminated tradition needs to show that two branches *never* share significant innovations against a reading in the third that is unquestionably archetypal.⁶² (A 'significant' innovation is an error that could not be corrected by a medieval scribe or an innovation that is unlikely to arise simultaneously in unrelated manuscripts or families.) Our attention will be focused on passages that might offer evidence of S and π joined in innovation against μ or μ and π joined in innovation against S, since the remaining possibility, μ and S joined in innovation against π , has not been suggested as the basis for a stemma (see further n. 71 below). 'Never' is a difficult thing to prove, of course, especially when, as will become clear below, virtually every analysis involves relative probabilities rather than absolute yes/no results.

So we will also look for positive evidence for a tripartite stemma, namely, the presence of apparently unstable relationships. If the first split in the stemma has the three branches S, μ , and π , we will sometimes find μ agreeing in a correctable error with S, and sometimes with π , and sometimes S will agree in a correctable error with π against μ ; the exact distribution will depend on the character of each family. These errors have been inherited from the archetype by shifting pairs of its descendants (μ and S, μ and π , S and π); the reading of the other branch in each case will be a correction. It is important to note that the errors relevant for this kind of demonstration are trivial errors, correctable by scribal conjecture, quite unlike the significant innovations mentioned above, which are by definition incapable of correction by scribal conjecture. For a positive demonstration of a tripartite stemma it is important that all three 'occasional relationships' be represented by a respectable number of instances. On the other hand, evidence of a necessary or stable relationship

dependent on a β source the only innovations reported by Hering show S going its own way (7.60.1, 8.28.4). So although UTV stay in fixed positions relative to one another throughout the corpus, the altered positions of S and M make it seem unlikely that solid evidence will emerge from the BG tradition for either ν (STV) or β (MUTV). Certainly one would expect Hering to have found any evidence there was in the BG for his novel ν family. See also n. 50 above.

⁶² This assumes that the archetype had a single reading at any given spot. Since, as will become clear below, our archetype contained double readings such as variants, glosses, and probably corrections, the dichotomy between 'innovation' and 'unquestionably archetypal' is not always relevant.

between two branches of the three will constitute an argument for a bipartite stemma. We will have a necessary relationship if two branches agree in an innovation when the third has a reading that is both good and archetypal (i.e. a reading that couldn't have been reached via conjecture), and a stable one if two branches agree with each other in innovation far more often than either agrees in innovation with the third.

The argument is perforce somewhat lengthy; if the relationships among our principal manuscripts were easy to see, we wouldn't still have three fundamentally different stemmata in play more than 150 years after Nipperdey started the discussion.

To justify looking at the evidence of the *BHisp* for β and ν , and to show how difficult it is to reach an unqualified verdict such as 'never' or 'cannot', I begin with *BC* 3.105.1, the foundation of Hering's ν family and therefore of his bipartite stemmata (μ vs. ν). In his view this passage offers a separative error 'der allen Ansprüchen an Unbes-treitbarkeit genügen dürfte' (1973, 764).

BC 3.105.1 reperiebat (sc. Caesar) T. Ampium conatum esse pecunias tollere Epheso ex fano Dianae.

ampium *U* : appium *MS* : apium *TV*⁶³

Titus Ampius is not mentioned elsewhere in the *corpus Caesarianum*, and his nomen is relatively rare. This means, says Hering (1963, 77), that his name cannot have been supplied by conjecture, but must come from the archetype.⁶⁴ However, the very rarity of the nomen might have led scribes to alter it, even independently, to the much more familiar Appius, particularly if in the archetype the first syllable was written ā-.⁶⁵ Hering's explanation, based in part on unreliable reports about the reading of *M*, is that μ preserved the archetype's

⁶³ Hering, relying on contradictory and inaccurate reports about *M* at this spot, presents the evidence thus: 3.105.1 ampium *M*¹*U* : appium *M*⁵*S* : apium *TV* (thus Klotz; Fabre says *M* has *ampium*). According to Brown's collation and my own autopsy there is no correction here in *M*, which reads *Appium*, although it is true that the unevenly faded ink of this part of the manuscript makes it more difficult to distinguish between original text and correction here than it is elsewhere (see p. 78 below). Page images of *M* (Plut. lat. 68.8) are available on the website of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana <<http://teca.bmlonline.it>>; *Appium* is on f. 132v, line 7.

⁶⁴ Unless we want to return to the hypothesis of the extra-stemmatic source. But this is a counsel of despair.

⁶⁵ Of course Appius is familiar as a praenomen, not a nomen (although it exists as such as well), and as a praenomen it would not be paired (as it is here) with Titus, but

ampium and that ν changed it, either inadvertently or deliberately, to *ap(p)ium*. This is neater than the alternative hypothesis (needed for either the S vs. β or the tripartite stemma) of an archetypal *ampium* preserved by μ and independently altered to *appium* and *apium* by S and π . But it is hard to feel that this one example is enough to define a family, particularly since a more accurate collation shows that one has to assume identical independent alterations of *ampium* to *appium* in M and either ν or S anyway.⁶⁶ Further evidence seems desirable.⁶⁷

B. THE EVIDENCE OF THE *BELLVM* *HISPANIENSE* FOR β AND ν

1. The evidence for β

In this section we are looking for the agreement of μ and π in a significant innovation against an archetypal reading in S. Diouron (1999, XCIII) lists three omissions common to μ and π against S. (I give Diouron's text throughout section B, and report the readings of the individual manuscripts rather than of hyparchetypes. Bold font in the text indicates the relevant problem spot(s) of each passage.)

1. *BHisp* 5.2 cum Pompeius **cum** suis copiis uenisset
cum² S : om. *MUTV*

If S preserves the archetype's reading here, either haplography or the pursuit of elegance might explain the omission of the second *cum*. But it is at least equally plausible that S inserted *cum* to justify the case of *copiis*. Both usages are Caesarian (Meusel 1887-93, 2.2280), but the few examples in *BHisp* are all of the *cum copiis* variety, including one

Appius is a praenomen that looks and functions a lot like a nomen in, say, its ability to generate an adjective, as it does in, e.g., *via Appia* (cf. *aqua Marcia*, *lex Iulia*).

⁶⁶ Or a correction in the archetype. If both *ampius* and *ap(p)ius* were transmitted to the first generation of ω 's descendants, the lines of descent leading thence to our extant manuscripts might well be obscured by scribal choices. It would be tedious to mention this possibility everywhere it might be relevant in the coming discussion. The question of corrections in the archetype is taken up in general terms on p. 58 below.

⁶⁷ Cf. Timpanaro (2005, 161 n. 6) on the implication of families defined by a single conjunctive error: you have to assume 'a subarchetype whose copyist committed only one serious error'.

in the preceding chapter (4.4). This passage offers no decisive evidence for an association in error inherited by μ and π from β , or for the preservation of the archetype by S.

2. *BHisp* 22.3 Duo reliqui (sc. legati Bursauonenses) . . . fugerunt et Caesari rem gestam detulerunt < . . . > et speculatores ad oppidum Ateguam miserunt.

et¹ S : om. MUTV | post detulerunt lacunam indicauit Nipperdey

The first *et* is omitted by μ and π . The series of apparently parallel verbs in the archetype does suggest the desirability of *et* after *fugerunt*. But that is no guarantee that S has the right reading and has it by transmission. Furthermore, Nipperdey identified a lacuna before *et speculatores* on the grounds that Spanish *legati* don't dispatch scouts. If he's right—both Diouron and Klotz accept his argument—S's *et* may be a superficial repair to a faulty archetype. But even if Nipperdey is mistaken, the alternative explanations offered above suit this passage, too: either omission by β or supplement by S. No firm argument can be built on this foundation.

3. *BHisp* 22.6 cum bene magnam manum fecisset et nocturno tempore per fallaciam in oppidum esset receptus, iugulationem magnam facit (sc. Pompeianus quidam).

et S : om. UTV (M deest)

Here one can explain the omission of *et* as an error due to haplography after *fecisset*, or its addition as a remedy for the asyndeton between the two halves of the *cum*-clause.

These correctable omissions are all innovations that might have been inherited from a common exemplar, β , where S followed the archetype. But they might also have been inherited from the archetype, directly or through β or ν , with S making an innovation to improve the text. In other words, in none of these passages do we have the decisive evidence we are looking for.

I turn next to Diouron's eight 'erreurs communes de MUTV' (1999, XCIV n. 27).

4. *BHisp* 1.4 si qua oppida ui ceperat (sc. Cn. Pompeius), cum aliquis ex ea ciuitate optime de Cn. Pompeio meritis ciuis esset, propter pecuniae magnitudinem aliqua ei inferebatur causa.

ui ceperat MUTV : uice parat S | aliquis S : aliis MUTV | ex ea MUST : om. V | aliqua STV : alia qua U : alia quae M

This passage comes from a summary of Pompeian methods for increasing their power in Spain. If S preserves the archetype at the *aliquis/aliis* split, β has made a careless error, perhaps taking *cum* as a preposition. But the alternative hypothesis that S, prompted by *aliqua* later in the sentence, emended the archetype's nonsensical *aliis* to *aliquis*, does not seem beyond belief. A possibly correctable error is not the kind of proof we need.

5. *BHisp* 3.5 Qui (sc. L. Vibius) cum ad Cn. Pompei praesidia uenisset, incidit **id** temporis ut tempestate aduersa uehementique uento adflicteretur.

id S : idem *MUTV*

If S preserves the archetype, β has made a trivial slip, repeating the formula used at the beginning of the chapter (3.1 *idem temporis*) in an unsuitable context. But the correction from *idem* to *id* is not difficult, since there is no possible antecedent for *idem* in the vicinity, and the content of *id* is immediately supplied by the *ut*-clause; furthermore, the phrase *id temporis* occurs two sentences after our passage (3.7). This is another possibly correctable error.

6. *BHisp* 5.5 propter pontem coagulabant, fluminis ripas **appropinquantes** coangustati praecipitabantur.

appropinquantes *edd.*] ac propinquantes *MUTV* : ut propinquantes S

The context is a battle for control of a bridge. It is difficult to see how the distribution of readings here can represent anything other than a conjecture by S to repair the puzzling *ac* in the archetype preserved by μ and π , unless it is simply a misreading. In any case the passage does not show β in error against a correct and archetypal reading in S.

7. *BHisp* 5.6 Hic alternis non solum morti mortem **aggerabant**, sed tumulos tumulis exaequabant.

alternis ε : -rius ω] aggerabant S : exa(g)gerabant *MUTV*

This passage offers a nice illustration of the anonymous author's penchant for rhetorical effect, but it is difficult as evidence of transmission. If S preserves the archetype's verb (and incidentally gives us the earliest attestation of *aggero*), β has innovated, either to improve the parallelism between the verbs or to replace an uncommon verb with a more common one. If μ and π preserve the archetype, it is hard to see why S tinkered. But there remains the possibility that the

preceding *-em* caused the omission of the *ex-*. On balance, this seems more likely to be an innovation in β against an archetypal reading in S than an innovation in S against an archetypal reading in μ and π , but it is far short of decisive.

8. *BHisp* 6.3 Caesar **muniti**onibus Ateguam **oppugnare** et brachia circumducere coepit.

(The text is corrupt in a number of interrelated places here, so I give the readings of S and MUTV in full to facilitate comparison. Orthographical variants are not recorded.)

caesar munitiones antiquas oppugnare et brachia circumducere coepit S
caesar muniti**o**nibus antequam oppugnaret brachia circumducere coepit
MUTV

The context is immediately after Caesar's dash to Ategua, mentioned in 6.1 (*Ateguam proficiscitur*, where MUTV have the town's name correctly and S reads *ad teguiam*). If MUTV represent the archetype reading in our passage, would S have had any inducement to tinker? Editors beginning with Aldus do tinker, altering *antequam* into a place name. But S, which thought the name of the place Caesar was besieging was Teguia, would probably not have seen a name lurking under the unexceptionable *antequam*. Still, the syntax and position of *muniti**o**nibus* are peculiar. Does it go with *oppugnaret*? If so, is it dative or ablative? And why does it precede the conjunction? All of the innovations in S, if they are innovations, serve the end of restoring to *oppugnare* its proper transitive construction (as, most recently, at *BHisp* 3.1). If, however, the formally unproblematic reading of S is that of the archetype, we have to assume either that β was innovating without warrant, or that two alterations were made (changing the case of *munitiones*, and turning *antiquas* into a conjunction), not necessarily at the same stage, but cumulatively forcing a further change in the construction of the sentence (*oppugnare et* to *oppugnaret*). This concatenation of events seems extremely unlikely. Here the evidence, on balance, suggests that S deviates from the archetype while μ and π preserve it. This illustration of S's capacity for making deliberate and substantial innovations should be borne in mind as we continue.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ As Hering observes (1963, 61), S seems to have been 'systematisch durchgearbeitet'. See further p. 88 below.

9. *BHisp* 18.3–4 Eodemque tempore signifer (sc. Pompeianus) de legione prima transfugit et **innotuit**, quo die equestre proelium factum esset, suo signo perisse homines XXXV neque licere castris Cn. Pompei nuntiare nec dicere perisse quemquam. (4) Seruus . . . dominum iugulauit, etc.

eodemque *MUST* : eodem *V* | innotuit *S* : non timuit *MUTV* | licere ς : -ret ω | nuntiare ω : -ri ς | dicere ω : -ci ς | quemquam *edd.* : quamquam *MUST* : quaquam *V* | seruus *MU* : -uos *STV*

The transmitted text of this passage about the siege of Ategua is a mess, but for our purposes we only need to consider the *innotuit/non timuit* split. *Non timuit* does not fit the syntax. If it is the archetype's reading, *S* has substituted *innotuit*, a verb (barely) capable of introducing the indirect statement that follows. This is not a perfect repair, since the usage *innotescere*=*notum facere* required here is only attested in late and almost exclusively Christian texts (see *TLL* 7.1.1713.27 ff., esp. 1714.22–6). In texts of the classical period—all post-Caesar—*innotescere* means *notum fieri* and does not govern indirect statement.⁶⁹ Other repairs can be imagined, beginning with Aldus' suggestion *nuntiauit* (cf. 18.6 *insequenti tempore duo Lusitani fratres transfugae nuntiarunt Pompeium contionem habuisse*). If *S*'s rather peculiar reading is that of the archetype, β has made a baffling innovation, perhaps a misreading. But given the improbability of *innotuit* being Caesarian, or even 'Caesarian', it is more likely that *S* tried to fix the nonsensical *non timuit* inherited by μ and π from the archetype. There is no evidence for β here.

10. *BHisp* 28.3 Ita hac opinione fretus **tuto se** facere posse existimabat (sc. Pompeius).

tuto se *Lipsius* : totos *UTV* : totum *S* (*M deest*)

The text of *U* and π makes no sense, that of *S* is not much better. It is hard to imagine *totos* arising out of anything but faithful copying of a corrupt archetype. *S* will then have replaced the nonsensical *totos* with something that makes apparent sense, even though, if pressed, the scribe would have found it difficult to say just what *totum* referred to. If *S*'s *totum* is the reading of the archetype, β will have made a baffling innovation. The former explanation is distinctly more

⁶⁹ Carter (1997, 254) translates *innotuit* impersonally—'it became known that'—but this conflicts with the personal referent of *suo signo*.