

# UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

February 3 1950

*I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by* Hugh Hamlin Davis

*entitled* The Twin Invectives of Pseudo-Cicero, *Non est amplius tempus ocii*; and of Pseudo-Catiline, *Si subtiliter a circumstantibus*: Edited with Introduction, Apparatus Criticus, Literary Parallels, and Commentary

*be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of* Doctor of Philosophy

*Approved by:*

Rodney P. Robison



THE TWIN INVECTIVES

OF

PSEUDO-CICERO, Non est amplius tempus oei

AND

PSEUDO-CATILINE, Si subtiliter a circumstantibus

Edited with Introduction, Apparatus Criticus,  
Literary Parallels, and Commentary

A dissertation submitted to the

Graduate School  
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1950

by

Hugh Hamlin Davis

A.B. Ohio University 1932

M.A. Indiana University 1935

CINCINNATI  
UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

AUG 28 1950

UMI Number: DP15718

### INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

**UMI**®

---

UMI Microform DP15718

Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC  
789 E. Eisenhower Parkway  
PO Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE. . . . .	.i
INTRODUCTION	
I AUTHORSHIP OF THE TWIN INVECTIVES	
A. Separate Authors . . . . .	.1
B. <u>The Responsio Catiline</u> , a Direct Reply to the <u>Oratio Tullii</u> . . . . .	.4
II AGE OF THE INVECTIVES	
A. The Evidence from the Language of the Orations .7	.7
B. Argument Based on the Literary Sources of the <u>Responsio Catiline</u> . . . . .	10
C. Use of the Mediaeval Cursus. . . . .	14
III SOURCES	
A. <u>Oratio Tullii</u> . . . . .	17
B. <u>Responsio Catiline</u> . . . . .	18
IV THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS. . . . .	23
V PRINTED EDITIONS. . . . .	47
VI THE MANUSCRIPTS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND DEPENDABILITY . . . . .	52
Table I, A versus Y . . . . .	56
Table II, B versus A Z . . . . .	60
Table III, Z versus A B . . . . .	69
Table IV, A versus B versus Z . . . . .	79
PLATE - <u>Stemma Codicum</u> . . . . .	facing 85
ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM	
<u>Conspectus Siglorum</u> . . . . .	86

5  
 1.9.50

Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Literary Parallels. . . . .	87
Commentary . . . . .	.108
<b>RESPONSIO CATILINE</b>	
Text, Apparatus Criticus, and Literary Parallels. . . . .	.134
Commentary . . . . .	.159
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
<b>I</b>	
A. A Table of Other Spurious Orations Attributed to Cicero. . . . .	.202
B. A Table of Other Spurious Orations Attributed to Catiline . . . . .	.205
II Critical Estimates of the Twin Invectives . . . . .	.207
<b>SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .</b>	<b>.212</b>

## PREFACE

Until Dom André Wilmart began the cataloguing of the Codices Reginenses Latini in the Vatican Library, the world of scholarship had dismissed the pseudo-Catilinarian oration Non est amplius tempus and its companion-pièce, the reply of the pseudo-Catiline Si subtiliter a circumstantibus, as the fabrication of some unknown dilettante of the Renaissance whose Latin was not even worth reading. In 1933, with the publication of Analecta Reginensia (Studi e Testi, Vol. 59) the distinguished Benedictine scholar gave the world a foretaste of the offerings of the Codices Reginenses Latini, then in the process of being catalogued. Among his notices relative to extracts from the Codices Reginenses is No. XV entitled Péroraison de l'invective de Catilina (p. 289-291), which treats of the above mentioned pair of orations as they appear in Reg. lat. 84, a codex assigned to the end of the 12th century. After mentioning the so-called editions of these pseudo-invectives by S. H. Rinkes in 1856 and by M. Esposito in 1921, neither of which had taken into account any codex earlier than the 15th century, Wilmart rightly observed that the text as contained in Reg. lat. 84 represents a tradition very different from that of the 15th century. In conclusion he expressed the desire for a critical edition of the text based on all the manuscripts of these little works which bear their witness to

the classical culture of the Middle Ages.

In 1937, Dom Wilmart brought out the first volume of the catalogue of the Codices Reginenses Latini (Codices 1-250) and thereby once again called attention to the quinta Catilinaria of the pseudo-Cicero and the responsio of the pseudo-Catiline enumerated among the contents of Reg. lat. 84. Through coincidence, the same year the John Miller Burnam Classical Library of the University of Cincinnati acquired by purchase six vellum leaves from a mediaeval codex, containing the pair of invectives in question. This codex casually compared with the few extracts of Reg. lat. 84 contained in Analecta Reginensia, pp. 290-291, appeared to be a great deal less corrupt.

In 1939 Professor Rodney P. Robinson entrusted the Codex Cincinnatiensis to me, for investigation with the ultimate purpose of establishing the text of the anonymous invectives and preparing a critical edition acceptable as a thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.

World War II interrupted my research at the University of Cincinnati, and the fortunes of war kept me away from these studies more than a lustrum. I am happy, however, that it was my lot to spend a large part of that time, during and after the war, in Italy, the land whose antique culture has been the basis of my education for many years.

Since my return to the University of Cincinnati in February 1948 Professor Robinson has constantly and patient-

ly directed my research, and guided my footsteps through the field of textual criticism in which he is so able. I take, therefore, this occasion for expressing to him my indebtedness and gratitude.

With the conclusion of this study it is to be hoped that the desire first expressed by Wilmart is in some measure, at least, fulfilled.

## I AUTHORSHIP OF THE TWIN INVECTIVES

### A. Separate Authors

Internal evidence seems to point to separate authors for the Oratio Tullii and the Responsio Catiline. First of all, the style and genius of the invectives are diverse. The Oratio Tullii has obviously taken the genuine first Catilinarian of Cicero for its model as regards form, from which it also borrows vocabulary and ideas. However, it owes much more in vocabulary and ideas to the Catilina of Sallust, from which it lifts whole phrases and series of phrases. The Responsio Catiline, on the other hand, shows much more originality, harking back to no particular ancient model of oration nor slavishly imitating the ideas and vocabulary of Sallust and Cicero. Whereas the Oratio Tullii is a rather casual combination of trite narrative and bombast, the Responsio Catiline is a much more studied and systematic oration, with formal rhetorical divisions and composed according to the precepts of the handbooks on rhetoric, especially Cicero's De Inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium. The second oration is much richer than the first in ideas and vocabulary. The author has ingeniously and judiciously made use of a variety of ancient and early mediaeval sources either directly or through the medium of florilegia and handbooks so popular in the Middle Ages. If the writer has appropriated a word or phrase from a recognized

master of words, as Jerome, for example, he has certainly put his own seal on it by the novel, interesting way in which he has used it. The author of the Responsio, moreover, shows a certain flare for philology in his employment of unusual words, e.g., the archaic Arpinatis (V<sup>o</sup> 2), the hapax legomenon from Cicero, concinnitudinis, and the hapax legomenon from Jerome, splendentiam, which latter two pieces of word-archaeology stand side by side in our text (II 9). Furthermore, it can readily be seen that the author has given much time and thought to his figures of speech and to the turning of his phrases. Finally, the entire spirit of Responsio is different from that of the Oratio Tullii. The Responsio has a certain verve and élan that the preceding oration lacks.

The Responsio also manifests a certain zest of competition that could hardly have been possible if the writer of the Oratio Tullii had assumed the role of Catiline as well as that of Cicero. It is as though the author of the Responsio had read the Oratio and had primed himself for surpassing it, not only in argument but also in invective and rhetorical flourishes.

Using the mediaeval cursus as a criterion for separate authorship of the pieces, we find that the clausulae of the Responsio Catiline follow rather consistently the rules for

the cursus as they are set forth by the standard writers on dictamen.<sup>1</sup> This can be illustrated admirably by the cursus tardus throughout the oration. In effect, all the instances of the tardus, fourteen according to my count, are in harmony with the rule of Trasimund that this ending must consist of a word of four syllables with the accent on the antepenult (or a monosyllable and a dactyl), preceded by a word accented on the penultima.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the Oratio Tullii shows no such orthodoxy in its clausulae. It shows a decided predilection for the dactylic ending in clausulae, but of a total of 23 such endings only 12 are the cursus tardus according to the dictum of Trasimund which constitutes the norm for that type of clausula.

As regards the other types of the cursus the Responsio contains approximately the same number of the cursus velox and the planus, respectively, as the tardus. The Oratio Tullii, on the other hand, manifests no such balance. In marked contrast to the large number of dactylic endings there are only four instances of the velox and five of the planus. Further consideration of the cursus is reserved for Chapter II, Age of the Invectives.

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Poole, Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery (Cambridge, 1915) 81-82.

B. The Responsio Catiline, a Direct Reply to the Oratio Tullii

The Responsio Catiline always follows the Oratio Tullii in the manuscript tradition of these invectives. Is it intended to be a direct reply to the preceding piece, or is it simply an oration of a pseudo-Catiline first associated with the Oratio Tullii by the scribe of the common archetype of all our codices (X)? There is, to be sure, hardly the imposing amount of internal evidence of a connection between the two as that available for the other pair of reciprocal invectives found in mediaeval codices, i.e., the Sallustius in Ciceronem and Cicero in Sallustium, where there can be no doubt that the second invective was motivated by the first. Nevertheless, there are, I believe, sufficient signs in our text for warranting the assumption that the second piece was intended as the reply to the first.

First, the parallel passages, in the respective orations, on the eloquence and mendacity of the opponent suggest some kind of intimate connection between the invectives. Catiline says, in effect, about Cicero what the latter says about Catiline toward the end of the first invective.<sup>1</sup> The use of confidit with in and the ablative in both passages is especially significant. The formula qui . . . denigrat . . . dealbat of the Responsio, I 12, is like a picturesque paraphrase of qua . . . colorat of the preceding oration, Or.

---

<sup>1</sup> Or. Tull. XI 2-5, Resp. Cat. I 5-14.

Tull. XI 4-5. Furthermore, in connection with these respective formulas the tangible results of each man's eloquent prevarication are given.

Second, the mention in both orations of the murder of Catiline's son, the respective place in each oration where it is mentioned, and the fact that Catiline alludes to it in such a way that he seems to have been provoked by Cicero's words in the preceding invective are all significant. In the Oratio Tullii, after the narration of the subversive activities of Catiline, then the murder of his son is added to the list of his crimes. In the Responsio, X 1, Catiline dismisses as absurd the imputation of his son's murder only after he has refuted the charge of conspiracy.

Third, the references to the sententia are especially pertinent to the linking of the two invectives. Near the end of the Oratio Tullii, XIII 5, Cicero calls for a vote (sententia) that will bring about the expulsion of Catiline from the city and thus free the public from fear. In the Responsio, Catiline's entire argument is directed against the taking of a vote on the grounds (1) that it would be inhonesta, and (2) that it would be inutilis. In fact, the word sententia is a kind of leitmotif throughout the oration. That the sententia to which reference is made so often can be identified with the one mentioned in Or. Tull. XIII 5 seems pretty well established by Catiline's words,

Resp. Cat. VII 2, 5-6: Urbem non solo, ut putatis, Catilina sed quam pluribus civibus vacuabitis.

Thus, the strong evidence for separate authorship of the pieces, the bonds between the two, and their association in the manuscript tradition suggest the hypothesis that the Responsio Catiline, although by an author different from that of the Oratio Tullii, takes its point of departure from and is motivated by the invective that precedes it in the codices.

## II AGE OF THE INVECTIVES

### A. The Evidence from the Language of the Invectives

Manuscript evidence shows that the two orations are not the effusions of Humanists, as was formerly supposed. They cannot be later than the twelfth century, for B, the oldest manuscript (but not the nearest to the archetype), belongs to the end of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Do they date from late Antiquity, or are they definitely mediaeval in character? In the absence of ancient and mediaeval testimonia for the orations, we must judge their age solely on the internal evidence which their text affords. This evidence is of three kinds, first, linguistic per se, that is, based on vocabulary and syntax; second, literary, that is, based on the sources from which our authors have drawn their materials; third, rhythmical, having to do with the sound of the clausulae. With the joint use of these three kinds of evidence I believe that the pair of invectives can be shown to be definitely mediaeval in character. Further-

---

<sup>1</sup> A negative argument for mediaeval origin is the fact that A and B stand so near the archetype X. Except for Resp. Cat VI 2 uici nos (instead of uicinos), savoring a little of an archetype in scriptura continua, there seems to be nothing to suggest that our text was handed down from an ancient (i.e., saec. VI or earlier) MS.

more, I believe that we are justified, as I shall also attempt to show, in assigning a relatively late date to the composition of the respective pieces, especially of the Responsio Catiline.

Although our authors in general made a brave attempt to write in the classical style, they left a number of traces of their mediaeval background. Two words, happily one in each oration, are definite signs of mediaeval origin for both pieces. These words are placitandi, Or. Tull. XII 5, and prolocutor, Resp. Cat. XI 2. I have been unable to find an occurrence of placitare before the ninth century (see Commentary). Prolocutor is a very rare word. It is found in the pseudo-Quintilian declamation called the Tribunus Marianus (incipit Ne quaeso), and is one of the pieces of evidence that Burmann used to help prove the spurious character of the declamation, and its mediaeval origin. Ritter,<sup>1</sup> after a rigorous examination of the work, assigned its composition to a time not earlier than the tenth century. The earliest dated citation that Du Cange gives for "prolocutor" is 1160 (see Commentary).

In the light of these definite pieces of evidence in favor of a mediaeval origin for the invectives I am inclined to believe that the peculiar meanings that certain

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Ritter, Die quintilianischen Declamationen (Freiburg-Tubingen, 1881) 23-27.

classical words have in our text are due to the mediaeval character of the Latin. A case in point is the force of suscipere in Or. Tull. I 4 and V 2, and in Resp. Cat. VII 3. The word in these places is a synonym for sumere or accipere (see Commentary). Mortale in Resp. Cat. VII 4 would appear to be another instance of a classical word that has a decided vernacular force (see Commentary). The combination Nunc sic (Resp. Cat. VII 1) is an instance of the temporal and pleonastic use of sic after an adverb of time, a construction found in late Latin (see Commentary).

In addition to the mediaeval words and the classical words with a mediaeval force our text exhibits certain syntactical peculiarities that in the light of the other mediaeval characteristics can perhaps best be explained as mediaeval constructions. The absence of a substantive on which the genitives livoris et obtreccionis, Resp. Cat. IV 6, can depend seems to indicate that the construction is genitivus subjecti vice fungens, a rare construction parallel to de and the ablative from which developed the vernacular partitive idea, e.g., du pain (fr.), delle volte (it.) (see Commentary). The text of the Responsio VIII 11 exhibits another syntactical peculiarity that may very well be an instance of the ablative of agent without a, and not an accidental omission in the archetype (see Commentary). The genitive of separation with supersedendum,

Resp. Cat. XII 9, would also seem to be a mediaevalism (see Commentary).

#### B. Argument from the Literary Sources of the Responsio Catiline

Having noted the linguistic evidence of the mediaevalisms in the vocabulary and syntax of our invectives, let us now turn to the literary evidence, or sources of our authors, for further corroboration of mediaeval origin, especially with the purpose of further delimiting the time of the composition of the invectives.

My argument here is based on the sources of the Responsio Catiline. The two important sources are the Rhetorica ad Herennium and Cicero's De Inventione (see Chapter III, Sources). After the time of Rufinus and Priscian, that is, roughly after 500 A.D., the rhetorical work known as the Rhetorica ad Herennium seems not to have been known or used by grammarians or rhetoricians until after the Carolingian revival.<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus (ob. c.575), Isidore (ob. 636), and Bede (ob. 735) make no mention of the work, nor

---

<sup>1</sup> In the long period covered by Halm, Rhetores Latini Minores, I find only two references to the Ad Herennium: Rufinus, De Compositione et de Metro Oratorum, p. 584, 3 (Halm) = Rhet. Her. IV 26; and p. 577, 29 = Rhet. Her. IV 44.

seem to have used it at all. Marx<sup>1</sup> shows that Alcuin's De Rhetorica has borrowed nothing from the Rhetorica ad Herennium. It is only after Alcuin's death (804) that we hear again of the Rhetorica ad Herennium. Then, in 830, after so deep a silence on the part of grammarians and rhetoricians, the learned abbot of Ferrières, Lupus Servatus, mentioned it along with certain rhetorical works of Cicero as being in the library of Einhard, to whom he was writing (Epist. 1, quoted by Marx, 9). From this reference Marx concludes that in the time of Lupus of Ferrières codices of the Rhetorica ad Herennium were again being copied and sold, and that the text was, moreover, mutilated and like that of the codices of the ninth or tenth century which are still extant.

In light of the preceding facts I choose the first quarter of the ninth century as a convenient terminus post quem for the composition of the Responsio Catiline. However, a date later than the ninth century seems much more probable. There can be no doubt that our author, as I have stated before, drew on both the Ad Herennium and Cicero's De Inventione. His phraseology seems to be taken directly from the text of the sources rather than from florilegia (see Chapter III, Sources). What would be more natural at a time when books were scarce and expensive than

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Marx, Incerti Auctoris De Ratione Dicendi Ad C. Herennium Libri IV (Leipzig, 1894) 9.

to draw the source material whenever possible from one and the same codex? Now in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were numerous codices containing both the above-mentioned rhetorical works, a combination usually entitled utraque rhetorica<sup>1</sup> Ciceronis in which the prima rhetorica was the De Inventione, and the secunda or altera, the Rhetorica ad Herennium,<sup>2</sup> erroneously ascribed to Cicero.

It is only beginning with the twelfth century that the

---

<sup>1</sup> Brzoska in P.-W., s.v. Cornificius 1; M. Manitius, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen," Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft 67 (Leipzig, 1935) 16-39.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, of the five codices of the Rhetorica ad Herennium from the ninth or tenth century that have come down to us only one contains the De Inventione, but not in the position or with the title of prima rhetorica (Marx, op. cit., 15). Again, the Rhetorica ad Herennium is listed as a separate item in the catalogues of Fleury and of the Abbot Rostagnus in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and of Luttich and an unidentified library in France as well as of an unidentified library in Germany in the eleventh century (Manitius, l.c.). With the exception of the last designated library the Ad Herennium is not combined with the De Inventione. Even in this case the term utraque rhetorica is not used.

two works on rhetoric combined under the title utraque rhetorica were commonly used as a textbook in the schools.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the middle of the twelfth century is the time when Thierry of Chartres incorporated both the De Inventio-  
ne and the Rhetorica ad Herennium in his Heptateuchon or manual of the seven liberal arts, which was used as a textbook thereafter in the schools of Chartres.<sup>2</sup>

The influence of the Rhetorica ad Herennium on writers would seem to have begun about this time, that is, after the utraque rhetorica gained a hold in the schools. Faral<sup>3</sup> shows that the fourth book of the Ad Herennium is the source of the lists of figures in the artes poeticae of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup> He is of the opinion that the text of the Ad Herennium employed is that found in the utraque rhetorica, which then constituted the fundamental manu-

---

<sup>1</sup> Brzoska in P.-W., l.c.; R. Sabbadini, "Spogli Ambrosiani Latini," Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica XI (1903) 270.

<sup>2</sup> A. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age (Paris, 1895) 222, 232.

<sup>3</sup> E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XII et du XIII Siècle (Paris, 1924) 49.

<sup>4</sup> Onulf of Speier, whose source was the Ad Herennium, although treated by Faral, is somewhat before this period. He wrote his Colores probably around 1050.

al on the art of writing. It is important for our study to observe that the author of the Responsio Catiline borrowed most of his material from the fourth book of the Ad Herennium, precisely that part concerned with figures (see Chapter III, Sources).

In view of all these considerations, given the terminus post quem of the first quarter of the ninth century, I think it much more probable that the Responsio Catiline saw the light of day in the eleventh or twelfth century than in the ninth or tenth.

Since, as I have shown, the Responsio Catiline takes its point of departure from the Oratio Tullii, the latter invective is necessarily somewhat older.

### C. Use of the Mediaeval Cursus

Yet another proof of the mediaeval character of our twin invectives, and an origin probably no earlier than the twelfth century for the Responsio Catiline, is the employment of the cursus, which is accentual prose rhythm at the end of sentences and clauses, a practice abandoned in the Papal chancery at the beginning of the eighth century and not revived until the end of the eleventh century when Johannes Caietanus of Monte Cassino became secretary to Urban II.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Clark, The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin (Oxford, 1910) 13 ff.

In 1118 he became Pope under the name of Gelasius II, and his epistolary style together with the cursus was adopted by his successors.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is significant that the Codex Cincinnatiensis contains a large fragment of the Breviarium de Dictamine, a handbook on letter-writing prepared by Alberic of Monte Cassino, the teacher of Johannes. Undoubtedly Alberic exercised a great influence on his pupil. I am unable to find any rules for the cursus in the text of the De Dictamine as found in Harley MS. 2452, which I have examined in microfilm. The text in this codex closes with a discussion of the vitia oracionis. Rockinger (see p.235) mentions the existence of a part of the Breviarium de Dictamine that deals with rhythm, but does not give extracts from it. Ingaunez and Willard, Alberici Cassinensis Flores Rhetorici (Miscellanea Cassinese 14) 11 also vouch for the existence of this part of the Breviarium which they state is dedicated to two disciples of the author, Peter and Gregory. Clark, op. cit., 14, states that Alberic gives no rules for the cursus, but employs it throughout the Breviarium, and says that prose should be sonoram et distinctam, id est quasi currentem. So far as I have tested the Flores Rhetorici and portions of the Breviarium accessible to me, I find the cursus used, but not uniformly.

On the basis of the Responsio's close adherence to the normal rules for the cursus, especially as set forth by Albert of Morra and Trasimund,<sup>1</sup> the second invective may be presumed to have been written after the manuals on dictamen containing rules for the cursus came into vogue, that is, at the end of the twelfth century. There is a definitely conscious use of the cursus in the Responsio, very apparent in parallel clauses, where the author wishes to maintain a balance not only as regards syntax and vocabulary, but also, rhythm. Cf. the series: Resp. Cat. V 1-3 Exeat itaque . . . and VI 1 Quodsi Scipio . . .

On the other hand, there is no such systematic and calculated use of the cursus in the Oratio Tullii. Although the author seems to have had some idea of accentual prose rhythm for the clausulae (witness his penchant for the dactylic ending, p. 3 ), it would seem that he lived at a time before rules for the cursus were formulated and set down in the manuals on writing. This appears further borne out by the small proportion of the velox and planus (see p. 3) in the first invective, and by the smaller number of recognizable clausulae as compared to the Responsio.

---

<sup>1</sup> Poole, sup. cit. p. 3; also 78 ff.; Clark, loc.; M. Nicolaou, L'Origine du Cursus Rythmique et Les Débuts de l'Accent d'Intensité en Latin (Paris, 1930) 4-6; 145-147.

### III SOURCES

#### A. Oratio Tullii

The vocabulary, phraseology, and ideas are derived primarily and preponderantly from Sallust's De Coniuratione Catilinae. Our author's dependence on Sallust's monograph can easily be appreciated by a quick survey of the Literary Parallels accompanying the text and Apparatus Criticus. A second important source from which the author drew, as we should expect, is the Catilinarian orations of Cicero. A few time-honored phrases with little alteration are lifted from the first Catilinarian (cf. Or. Tull. IX 1-2, X 2-3, XI 6-7 with their Literary Parallels). These together with other words and the general pattern of the invective vouch for our author's use of the first Catilinarian. His acquaintance with the second and third Catilinarians is suggested by the evidence of the Literary Parallel cited for Or. Tull. I 2 from the second Catilinarian; and the Parallels for Or. Tull. V 2 and XIII 3 from the third Catilinarian. Several places in the Oratio Tullii, as indicated in the Literary Parallels, may derive from other orations and works of Cicero, but the phrases that can be assigned to any one work are so few and inexact that they do not warrant our believing that the author had recourse to more than a florilegium containing gems of Ciceronian phraseology.

### B. Responsio Catiline

One indisputable source of the Responsio Catiline is Book IV of the Rhetorica ad Herennium, especially from Chapter 13 to the end of the book, that part of the rhetoric devoted to figures of speech, tropes, and figures of thought.<sup>1</sup> The evidence is opposed to the idea that our author drew this material from a mediaeval collection of colores rhetorici (see p. 13) based on the Ad Herennium. These collections,<sup>2</sup> beginning with that of Onulf of Speier, are for the most part very sketchy, often in verse, and contain very little of the actual verbiage of the Ad Herennium aside from the name of the figure. On the other hand, the phrases used by our author are such that they seem to have been lifted

---

<sup>1</sup> According to one way of reckoning, all of the so-called "liber V" (= IV 13m-34) and "liber VI" (= IV 35-56).

<sup>2</sup> Besides the Colores Rhetorici of Onulf (Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akademie I, 1894, 369-386) I have examined the De Ornamentis Verborum of Marbodius (Migne 171, col. 1687 f.), and the seven artes poeticae the texts of which are given by Faral, sup. cit. p. 13: namely, Ekkehard IV, De Lege Dictamen Ornandi; Matthew of Vendome, Ars Versificatoria; Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova, Documentum de Modo et Arte Versicandi, and De Coloribus Rhetoricis; Évrard L'Allemand, Laborinthus; and the anonymous Pyramus et Thisbe.

from the complete text of the chapters mentioned. In most cases the phrase is used more or less in the same figure which it illustrates in the Ad Herennium, as indicated in the following table:

<u>Rhet. Her.</u>	Illustrating	<u>Resp. Cat.</u>
IV 39, 51	<u>Descriptio</u>	I 13
IV 27, 37	<u>Disiunctum</u>	II 3
IV 33, 44	<u>Superlatio</u>	IV 4
IV 53, 66	<u>Conformatio</u> (cf. <u>Sermocinatio</u> 52, 65)	VI 1 2 3-4 4-5
IV 26, 35	<u>Transitio</u>	VI 5-VII 1
IV 36, 48	<u>Licentia</u>	VII 2
IV 49, 62	<u>Imago-Vituperationis Causa</u>	VIII 6
IV 36, 48	<u>Licentia</u>	XI 1-2
IV 36, 48	<u>Licentia</u>	XII 7-8

Although chapters 13-55 of Book IV furnish the bulk of the phrases lifted from the Rhetorica ad Herennium, two phrases are drawn from the earlier part of Book IV, preceding chapter 13, and very probably the thought and to some extent the vocabulary of Resp. Cat. VIII 9-11 derive from Book II 7, 11-8, 12. These are indicated by the following table:

<u>Rhet. Her.</u>	Illustrating	<u>Resp. Cat.</u>
IV 8, 12	<u>oratio in gravi figurae genere</u>	IV 5
IV 8, 12	<u>oratio in gravi figurae genere</u>	XIII 3
II 7, 11	<u>contra suspiciones dicere</u>	VIII 9-10
II 8, 12	<u>contra rumores dicere</u>	VIII 10-11

That our author used Cicero's De Inventione as a source for vocabulary and ideas seems to me very likely from the following places:

<u>Inv.</u>	<u>Resp. Cat.</u>
I 3	I 13-14
I 25	II 9
I 33	III
II 58	VIII 3
II 80-81-82	VIII 4-5
II 58	VIII 9-10
I 21	XII 8
I 28	XII 9

The oration as given in Codex A is divided into sections with captions that form an integral part of the text. The first section has no heading; but the second is preceded by the word Partitio (Resp. Cat. III 1); the third by Confirmatio (IV 1); the fourth, Reprehensio (VIII 1; this section is also thus marked in B, but the word is in the margin); and the last, Conclusio (XII 1). These terms (partes ora-

tionis) appear to derive from the De Inventione I 19<sup>1</sup>. In contrast to this terminology, the Rhetorica ad Herennium, which also lists the partes orationis in two places, I 3, 4 and III 9, 16, uses the term divisio instead of partitio, and confutatio instead of reprehensio in both places.

The confirmatio of the Responsio Catiline with its two arguments on the basis of (1) inhonestas (turpitudō), VI 6, and (2) utilitas, VII 1, and their recapitulation in the conclusio, XII 5f., suggest either the De Inventione or the Rhetorica ad Herennium, or both.

The text of the phrases from the Rhetorica ad Herennium and the De Inventione will be found among the Literary Parallels on the same page with the text of the Responsio Catiline to which they apply. The Commentary should be consulted whenever there is a note on the passage in question.

In addition to the Rhetorica ad Herennium and Cicero's De Inventione, our author's primary sources, several places seem to indicate his acquaintance with other literary works and writers, either directly with their works or more probably through florilegia and compendia. Certainly, Cicero's

---

<sup>1</sup> It is plain that our author did not borrow his terminology from Isidore, as Alberic of Monte Cassino seems to have done, for Isidore (Etymol. II 7) recognizes only four partes orationis: (1) exordium, (2) narratio, (3) argumentatio, (4) conclusio.

Cato Maior is suggested by Resp. Cat. IX 6-7, the Pro Quinctio by II 7, Sallust's Jugurtha by VII 7 and IX 1, Ovid's Amores by II 3, Horace's Ars Poetica by II 8 (cf. also II 12-13, V 6, XI 3), Quintilian by I 2-3, and Livy by I 6. Of post-classical writers, Tertullian is suggested by II 8, Jerome by II 9, Augustine by X 3-4, and Priscian by V 3. The citations in question from these authors will be found among the Literary Parallels at the places above indicated in the Responsio.

#### IV THE EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS

A Cincinnati, University of Cincinnati, John Miller Burnam Classical Library, parchment, XII/XIII cent., 115 x 70 mm. (margins drastically trimmed), ff. 6, 11. 29-32 (f. 3v = 21, f. 6 = 25). Ff. 1-2 Oratio Tullii (cf. Commentary p.108); 2-3v Responsio Catiline (cf. Commentary p.159); 4-6 [Albericus of Monte Cassino]: a large fragment of the Breviarium de Dictamine of which yet no complete edition exists. (Extracts from the Breviarium are found in L. Rockinger, "Briefsteller und Formelbücher des 11-14 Jahrhunderts," Quellen und Erörterungen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte IX [Munich, 1863, 29-46.]) The particular portion of the Breviarium found here is the end of Rockinger's fourth section, and all the fifth section, of which Rockinger gives only the opening words: Verba scematica id est figurativa et ornata ad laudem . . . gemmas et ornamenta locemus. It consists principally of phrases and figures of speech carefully selected to serve as models for praise or for vituperation to those who would learn the art of letter-writing (dictamen). The text breaks off immediately before the section (VI in Rockinger) which treats of the epistolae formatae. F. 4 top margin contains part of a rubric (vacat ?) in a cursive hand much later than that of the text proper, which follows immediately. Incipit: et congrue cum advenustam ponuntur com-

mutationem. F. 6 desinit: Postremo totum illum auri cupido illexit. There follows the conventional sign for the end of a section. The remainder of this page and f. 6v, which ends the codex, are without writing.

Between f. 3v, that is, following the Responsio Catiline, and the actual f. 4, where the fragment of the Breviarium de Dictamine begins, at least two connected leaves are missing. If we assume that our codex contained originally all the content of the work beginning with the dedicatory letter of Alberic up to the point in the text where our fragment actually begins, at least again as many leaves are wanting, that is, four successive leaves in all.<sup>1</sup>

According to the notice in the catalogue of von Scherling, the eminent book dealer of Leyden (cf. Rotulus, Fall 1937), the six leaves of the present codex once formed part of the end of a Boethius codex of minute size, consisting of 145 leaves. In 1936 this codex came into the possession of an Austrian bookdealer, who removed the six leaves at the end and offered them for sale separately, unaware of their value and importance. His information was that the text of the Boethius codex, which he had al-

---

<sup>1</sup> I base these estimates on the text of the Breviarium as found in Harl. MS. 2452, which I have examined in microfilm.

ready sold, was written by a twelfth-century scribe other than that of the present codex, and was palimpsest, the original writing being of the tenth century.

The present codex is by a single scribe. The writing is a neat small late Caroline hand. Each page presents a crowded, irregular aspect by reason of the unevenness of the lines of writing and their crowding one on top another. The fact that there was no lineation of the page probably accounts for this as well as for the variation in the number of lines to the page.

The initial letters of the two invectives, added later than the text itself, are rubricated. Likewise, the titles of the same pieces are underscored in red, but are themselves in ink, by a hand much later than that of the text proper. The same rubrication is used in writing the word that precedes the text of the Breviarium (cf. p. 23). A contains no hyphens for words divided at the end of the line. Single i has no mark over it, but double i's have the two diagonal strokes over them.

A is conservative in the use of the rounded r ( ʀ ) after o, employing it only at the end of a word, and in the termination -rum ( ʀ ). This is a constant scribal phenomenon to which I find no exceptions. Judged by this criterion, A would appear to have been written before the round r gained much currency.

From the general character of the minuscule, which has a noticeable tendency toward the Gothic, although there is no union of the bows, and from the high degree of abbreviation A would appear to have been written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. In comparison with B it contains a somewhat greater amount of abbreviation, although the two codices agree rather remarkably in their compendia. On the basis of the script A seems to be somewhat more recent than B.

B Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 84, parchment, end of XII cent., 140 x 86 (110 x 60) mm., ff. I. 52, ll. 29. A. Wilmart, Codices Reginenses Latini I (Vatican Library, 1937) 184-186 (cf. Wilmart, Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi 59, Città del Vaticano, 1933, 289-291). Ff. 1-19 Excerpts from Isidore, Etymologiae; 20v-26 certain letters of Hildebert of Le Mans: III 22, II 12, III 6, II 9 ultima pars, II 13, I 3, II 6, II 48, I 7, I 16 (Migne 171); 26-29v Oratio Tullii, (cf. Commentary p. 108), Responsio Catiline, (cf. Commentary p. 159); ff. 29v-41 anonymous work containing various precepts concerning the art of speaking (ars loquendi) and dialectic of a pre-Scholastic type, followed by three anonymous letters (cf. Analecta Reginensia, 293-300, and Codices Reginensis Latini I, 185, which supersedes and supple-

ments the article in Analecta Reginensia); 41-45 Seneca ad gallionem de remediis fortuitorum; 45-49 Martin Dumiensis, De formula honestae vitae (a librarian of XIII-XIV cent. has erroneously captioned the work: Opus senece de 4 virtutibus cardinalibus); 49-51v extracts from Seneca, De Clementia, I 1-21 and II 3-7.

The entire book, according to Wilmart, was written by a single scribe in France at the end of the twelfth century. Sections and all special items are distinguished by rubricated letters in the style of the twelfth century. There are hyphens for words divided at the end of the line. Single i has no mark over it, but double i's have diagonal strokes over them. The ruling is in ink. Sometimes the vertical ruling is a double line.

I collated this codex from photostats purchased for my use by the Taft Memorial Fund, University of Cincinnati, before World War II.

Of the codices deteriores I group first those which I collated from photostats purchased for my use by the Taft Memorial Fund, University of Cincinnati, before World War II. It was on the basis of these collations with the text of A B that I was able to determine the main lines of the textual tradition of the twin invectives and virtually establish their text. After the War and my resumption of this study I confirmed my previous general theories and extended somewhat my knowledge of Y and Z by collations from microfilm of many more codices. I believe that my collations include most of the existing deteriores, and are quite sufficient for proving that they descend from a common ancestor, designated as Z.

The codices described below were all collated from photostats.

C Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1592 (= 302 Montfaucon), paper, XV cent., in-quarto, ff. 60. H. Kristoferson, Declamatio in L. Sergium Catilinam (Goteborg, 1928) 14-15. The codex contains besides the Luciani phylosophi greci de virtute conquerante Mercurio . . . Dyalogus the following orations: ff. 1-3 Or. Tull.: f. 1 CICERO INVEHIT CONTRA CAELINAM IN SENATU PRO CONIURATIONE AB EO INITA; ff. 3-21 Decl. (cf. Table of Other Spurious Orations 2, p.202); ff. 21v-23 Resp. Cat.: f. 21v Catelina respondet Ciceronis Orationi contra eum edite in

Senatu.; ff. 23 sqq. Cic. Cat. II-IV, Sall.-Cic. and Cic.-Sall. (cf. Table of Other Spurious Orations 1, p.202).

D Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chisianus lat. H VII 219, paper, XV cent., in-quarto, ff. 338. Kristoferson, op. cit. p. 28. This codex consists of three MSS bound together in one volume. The first contains orations of Cicero, both genuine and spurious; the second, Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae; and the third, Varro, De Lingua Latina. The spurious orations are Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret (cf. Table of Spurious Orations 3, p.203); Decl. (cf. p. 28); followed immediately (ff. 64-66) by Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 64 IN L. CATILINAM PRAESENTEM; f. 65 RESPONSIO CATILINAE (cf. title in A and B, see Apparatus Criticus and Commentary on this place, p. 59). A 19th century card catalogue in the Vatican Library fixes the date of the entire codex at about 1440, without differentiating among the three parts.

E Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1748, parchment, XV cent., 337 x 325 mm., ff. scr. 81. B. Nogara, Codices Vaticani Latini III (Rome, 1912) 219 (cf. Kristoferson, op. cit. p. 14). This codex contains some orations of Cicero, and some spurious invectives. Ff.

Lat. 1748, parchment, XV cent., 337 x 325 mm., ff. scr. 81.

1-3 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (cf. Esposito,<sup>1</sup> p. 3): f. 1 M. TULLII CICERONIS CONS. INVECTIVA IN L. CATELINAM IN SENATU. PRO CONIURATIONE AB EO INITA. INCIPIT., f. 2 L. CATELINAE RESPONSIO IN CICERONEM CONS. PRO INVECTIVA CONTRA SE IN SENATU EDITA; ff. 3-13 Decl. (cf. p. 28) followed in order by Cic. Cat. I-IV; Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; Cic. De Lege Agraria I-III; De Domo Sua.

G Munich, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 659, written in the year 1465 by H. Schedelius, in-octavo, ff. 162. Catalogus Codd. Lat. Bibl. Regiae Monacensis I 1 (Munich, 1892) Editio Altera. Ff. 1-4v Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 1 Oratio Cicero- nis coram illustrissimo Romano senatu accusando Catilinam Romanum civem eiusdem senatus proditorem prolata; f. 3 Responsio Catiline contra Marcum Ciceronem in senatu. F. 5 four orations of Cicero against Catiline. F. 41 Sallust, Cat. and Iug.

H London, British Museum, Harley MS. 3830, paper, writ-

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Kurfess, B. Ph. W. 1917, col. 543, evidently, was referring to this codex, but unfortunately the notice reads "Vat. lat. 1784."

ten in 1461, in-octavo. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum III (London, 1808-1812) 85. This codex is a typical Renaissance mélange. Preceding our pieces is an item numbered 7 in the above-mentioned catalogue and entitled: De divisione Romani Imperii. Ff. 29v-32v Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Laurand, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 504, mentions existence of our pieces): f. 29v M. T. C. Invectiva in Lutium Catilinam, f. 31 Lucii Catiline defensio adversus M. T. Ciceronem consulem. There follows immediately the text of the privilegia which Theodosius the Younger granted to Bologna and her university in the year 1124.

K Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, 393 T (ext. 393 et 417), paper, written at Ponzani by one Silvester Bai de Fabrica in the year 1464 (f. 225), mm. 215 x 140, ff. 232. M. Inguanez, Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus II 2 (Monte Cassino, 1934) 260. Ff. 1-76 Sall. Cat.; ff. 77-225 Sall. Jug.; ff. 227-232 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 227 M. Tulli Ciceronis contra Catellinam invectiva feliciter incipit; f. 230 Responsio ipsius Catelline contra praefatum marcum tullium Ciceronem. This codex is short of the usual ending of the deteriores by almost 25 words, ending: Illud michi potius ammovendum.

L Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1434 (2720), paper, XV cent., mm. 212 x 145, ff. 194 - several blank leaves at the beginning and end, written at Ancona by a certain Giovanni (f. 193). L. Frati, "Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica XVII (1909), 1-171 (95-97). The codex consists for the most part of genuine and spurious orations and epistles composed in the Renaissance, among which are the following pseudo-classical items: ff. 120-122 P. Cornelii Scipionis Oratio de Nobilitate; ff. 123-130 Oratio Gaii Flamminii de Nobilitate contra P. Cornelium; f. 130v Oratio Demostenis contra dicta Domadis, persuadens recipiendum fore Alexandrum, followed by several other pieces of that ilk. Ff. 184-192 Cicero, Pro Marcello and Una ex philippicis in Marcum Antonium.; ff. 192-194 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 192 M. Tullii Ciceronis in Lucium Catilinam invectiva, f. 193v Lucii Catilline in M. Tullium Ciceronem invectiva.

N London, British Museum, Harley MS. 2590, in-octavo. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum II (London, 1808-1812). 1) Rhetorica ad Herennium; 2) Cicero, De Haruspicum Responsis; 3) De Provinciis Consularibus; 4) De Lege Agraria (III and I); 5) Sall.-Cic.,

Cic.-Sall. 6) Ff. 99-100 Resp. Cat.: f. 99 devoid of title it begins Et si subtiliter. F. 100 the pseudo-Catiline oration without title beginning: Omnes homines qui in maximis principatibus (see Table of Other Spurious Orations Attributed to Catiline, p. 205).

O      Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library SM. 12, parchment, XV cent., 23 x 15 cm., 120 ff. S. de Ricci, -W.J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York, 1935) 444: 1) Cicero, De Officiis, De Fata, Paradoxa, De Amicitia, De Senectute; 2) Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; 3) ff. 103-105v Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 103 Invectiva Tullii contra Catilinam Civem Romanum, f. 104 Invectiva Catiline contra Tullium; 4) Epistola Atheniensium propter receptionem Thebanorum; 5) Consilium Aeschinis propter obsidionem Alexandriae; 6) Consilium Demadis ad arma.

The following codices I collated from microfilm purchased for my use by the Taft Memorial Fund, University of Cincinnati.

F Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. CVI (IV. C. 6), paper, XV cent., in-octavo. C. Jannelli, Catalogus Bibliothecae Latinae Veteris et Classicae Manuscriptae quae in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur (Naples, 1827) 77-79. 1) Sall. Cat.; 2) Iug.; 3-4) Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; 5) Cicero, Oratio pro Archia Poeta; 6) Oratio de Laudibus Eloquentiae without title and anonymous, assigned to the 15th century, incipit: Scio, Viri praestantissimi, eum, qui laudes aut dignitatem Eloquentiae in medium afferre velit; 7) Poggio, Epistola ad Cosmum Medicen; 8) Consolatio ad Ciceronem exsulem; 9) Poggio, Oratio Funebris, without name of the deceased, but mention of his having been a cardinal bishop of Bologna, and a great champion of the See of Rome during the Schism of Constance, and that Pope Eugene IV was present at his funeral. Jannelli (op. cit. 79) suggests that the subject of the oration may have been the Carthusian Nicolaus Albergatus of Bologna, a cardinal whose titular church was that of Santa Croce in Rome, who died in 1443 during the pontificate of Eugene IV. If this be so, the year 1443 will serve as a terminus post quem for the codex. 10-11) Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Ergänzungsblätter, 101; Rinckes, XLIV; Zimmerer, 43, refers to the item "brevis et inepta<sup>1</sup> declamatio in Catilinam" on p. 79 in Jannelli, but not

---

1 The catalogue actually reads "brevissima et ineptissima."

the companion piece. Esposito, 3, mentions Codex IV. C. 6 as containing both our pieces.): no title for the first piece, but the second bears the heading Cateline responsum, contrary to what Jannelli says, op. cit. 79.

I Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. CCCXII (IV. G. 4), paper, XV cent., in-folio. Jannelli, op. cit. 214.

[1) Cicero, De Officiis.,<sup>1</sup> 2) Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Eichstadt, 15, is the first after Jannelli to call attention to our pieces in the above codex. He cites the page number in Jannelli. Later Zimmerer, 43, and Esposito, 3, mention the existence of the same codex.): Invectiva Ciceronis contra Catilinam, Invectiva responsalis Catelline contra Ciceronem. The invectives are followed by Eschinis phi(losoph)i in senatu atheniensium; Oratio demadis phi(losoph)i in eadem senatu; Or(ati)o demosthenis in eadem senatu.

[4) Cicero, Paradoxa; 5) Somnium Scipionis; 6) Cicero, "Epistolae duae ex Familiaribus delectae;" 7) Two short orations of unknown recent authors, and some letters written at Tivoli in the years 1431 and 1434.,<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> I am unable to verify the items from the microfilm. As for item 1, the Or. Tull. begins at the top of a page and there is no material preceding. Immediately following our pieces are three short paragraphs which seem to be resumés of orations, rather than the orations themselves.

J Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. CX (IV. C. 10), parchment, XV cent., in-octavo, Jannelli, op. cit. 80-81. The contents are, according to Jannelli, the following items: 1) Sall. Cat.; 2) Iug.; 3-4) Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Zimmerer, 43, mentions the item as "Inepta declamatio in Catilinam" on p. 81 in Jannelli. Esposito, 3, mentions Codex IV. C. 10. as containing our pieces.): no titles, but at the end of the first piece there is the rubric: M. T. Ciceronis contra Catilinam oratio explicit. Curiously enough, Jannelli confounds the incipit of the Sall.-Cic. with that of the Resp. Cat. 5-6) Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.

Q Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale lat. LXIV (IV. B. 5), paper and parchment, completed by one Johannes de Musiano in 1450 although the codex had been started 24 years earlier, in-folio. Jannelli, 47-49. The codex contains the following items in the order indicated by the numbers: 1-29) Various orations of Cicero; 30-33) Cic. Cat. I-IV; 34-35) Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: the title of the first piece is M. T. Ciceronis invectiva in Lucium Catelinam, that of the second is Lucii Catelinae invectiva responsio in M. T. Ciceronem. 36-37 Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; 38) Cicero, Oratio pro Murena. Then follows an inscription in capitals giving the history of the codex and the name of the scribe who

finished it (see p. 36). The remainder of the codex is given over to Cicero, De Petitione Consulatus ad Q. Fratrem.

S Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7791, parchment, XV cent. rA. Melot, Catalogus Codd. MSS Bibl. Regiae (Paris, 1744) 396. 1) Cicero, Orationes Philippicae in M. Antonium; 2-3) Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; 4) ff. 95-96v "Ejusdem oratio in Catilinam supposititia." I have examined in microfilm the latter oration and verified that it is the Or. Tull. It is accompanied by the Resp. Cat. (ff. 96v-97v), a fact not mentioned in the catalogue. Neither oration has a title.

T Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7826, paper, XV cent. rA. Melot, Catalogus Codd. MSS Bibl. Regiae (Paris, 1744) 402. 1) Cic. Cat. I-IV; 2) Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; 3) "Anonymi declamatio in Catilinam," followed by several orations by Italian humanists of the 15th century. Having examined in microfilm the "anonymi declamatio" (ff. 23-24), and found it to be the Or. Tull., I have collated it. The companion piece is lacking in this codex.

U Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6095, parchment, XV cent. A. Melot, Catalogus Codd. MSS Bibl. Regiae (Paris, 1744) 202. 1) Sall. Cat. and Iug.; 2) Cic. Cat. I-IV. The latter items are followed by a "quinta, authore anonymo." Having examined in microfilm the anonymous item (ff. 100-101v) and found it to be the Or. Tull. (Laurand, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 504, mentions the existence of the Or. Tull.), I have collated it.

V Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15087, XV cent. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes XXX (Paris, 1869) 1 sqq. (MSS of Saint-Victor) 71. 1) Liber Senece de quatuor virtutibus; 2) Epistola de lamentabili statu Francie; 3) Epistole Pauli et Senece; 4) Exclamationes Collucii Purii de violatione Lucretie; 5) ff. 32v-36 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 32v. Invectiva Tullii Ciceronis contra Kathilinam; f. 34. Invectiva Katheline contra Tullium.

W London, British Museum, Harley MS. 5438, parchment, XV cent., in-quarto, ff. 173. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum III (London 1808-1812) 268. 1) Florus' Epitome; 2) ff. 165-173 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Laurand, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 504, mentions the existence

of the Or. Tull. only in this codex). The former oration has the title Cicero contra Catilinam de coniuratione sua quam contra rem publicam fecerat. The latter is introduced by the caption (f. 169) Responsio Catilinae contra Ciceronem.

e London, British Museum, Harley MS. 4105, parchment, written in 1462 (f. 97), in-folio. A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum III (London, 1808-1812) 115. 1) Cicero, Orationes in Verrem; 2) "Orationes in L. Catilinam 5." The Or. Tull. (Laurand, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 504, mentions the existence of the Or. Tull.) appears (f. 80-80v), curiously enough, as the first of the orations against Catiline, the genuine Catilinarians of Cicero following immediately after it: f. 80 Marci Tullii Ciceronis in Lucium Catilinam invectiva incipit feliciter. The genuine first Catilinarian begins with the words Invectiva secunda Marci Tullii Ciceronis in Lucium Catilinam. The genuine fourth Catilinarian is followed by the rubric Explicit liber quintus M. T. C. in Lucium Catilinam felicissime. The Resp. Cat. is not found in the codex.

f Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. LXXXX, cod. 44, paper, XV cent., in-folio. A.M. Bandini, Catalo-

gus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae III (Florence, 1776) 580-581. This codex contains a great number of letters written by worthies of the Renaissance among whom the name of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) is most frequent. Curiously enough, the Or. Tull. and the Resp. Cat. are the only exceptions to the epistolary character of the volume. F. 2 Resp. Cat. (Bertalot, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 983, mentions the existence of our pieces): Catiline invectiva responsalis incipit. Ff. 4-4v Or. Tull.: M. T. C. Invectiva in Catilinam. As is observed, the pieces are not in the normal order. Moreover, they are separated by three letters that occupy f. 3.

g Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. LXXXX, cod. 55. A.M. Bandini, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae III (Florence, 1776) 645 sq. This codex has a typical Renaissance character what with selections from Cicero's letters and many writings of the Italian humanists. The following items are of interest to us: f. 28: the oration of the pseudo-Catiline against Cicero, beginning Omnes homines qui in maximis principatibus (cf. Table of Other Spurious Orations Attributed to Catiline, p.205); there follows immediately on ff. 34-36 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 34 Invectiva Ciceronis contra

Cathelinam in Senatu Romano, f. 35v Responsio Catilline contra Ciceronem.

h Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, lat. II, VIII, 129, paper, XV cent., in-octavo, ff. 201. G. Mazzatinti, Inventari dei MSS delle Biblioteche d'Italia XI (Forli, 1900) 248. The codex is a humanistic miscellany, especially devoted to letters. Ff. 113-114 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 113 Invectiva M. T. C. contra Catilinam, f. 114v Responsiva orationi Ciceronis; ff. 115-120 "Demostenis Oratio in Philippum."

i Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, lat. 3893, paper, written in the years 1472-5, mm. 211 x 145, ff. 150. A. Molinier, Catalogue des MSS de la Bibliothèque Mazarine III (Paris, 1890) 221-223. This codex is a miscellany. Among the items of interest to us are the following: ff. 32-41 Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.; ff. 42-46v Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 42 Invectiva M. T. Ciceronis in Cathelinam, f. 44v Invectiva L. Cathiline in M. T. At the end of this oration appears the date 1473. Ff. 47-52 Epistole Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam.

k Besancon, Bibliothèque Municipale 840, parchment, XV cent., mm. 285 x 213, ff. 159. Cat. Gen. des MSS des Bibl. Publ. de France 32 (Paris, 1897) 528-530. This codex is a Renaissance miscellany. The last two items are our pieces. Ff. 157v-159 Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat. (Bertalot, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 983, mentions their existence): f. 157v Invectiva M. Tullii Ciceronis in Catillinam, f. 158 Incipit ejusdem Catilline responsio in eandem.

m Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, (lat.) 234 (C. 3. 15), paper, XV cent., in-octavo (m. 0,225 x 0,152), ff. 227. Narducci, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum . . . in Bibliotheca Angelica I (Rome, 1892) 134. This codex is a Renaissance miscellany. Following Seneca, Liber de quatuor virtutibus and preceding Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall. are found our pieces in reversed order. Ff. 195v-199 Resp. Cat.-Or. Tull. (Bertalot, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 983, mentions their existence), f. 195v Invectiva Incipit Catiline responsiva Orationi Ciceronis infra posite, f. 197 Oratio M. Tullii Arpinatis in Senatu contra Katillinam. Cui respondet secunda invectiva ipsius Katiline.

In addition to the codices just described I collated the texts of the printed editions of these twin invectives.

R The text of the printings of our pieces in the 15th- and 16th-century editions of Sallust appears to derive from one and the same unknown and unidentified codex belonging to the class of the deteriores and extremely corrupt.

M The text printed by Rinke in 1856 is from a very corrupt late MS in the University Library at Leyden. Rinke fails to give the number of the codex, but Esposito, 3, states that it is "Leyde, lat. 63, ff. 18b-20b, écrit en 1467."

P Esposito's edition of our pieces is based on another very corrupt late MS found in Trinity College, Dublin. Esposito first described the codex in his article "Classical MSS in Irish Libraries, Pt. I," Hermathena XLII (Dublin, 1920) 127-128: "K. 4. 32 (926) Cicero 8 vo, 17.3 x 11.2; parchment, 60 unnumbered ff.; . . . beautiful Italian humanistic hand of middle of saec. XV." Contents: Cic. Cat. I-IV; ff. 44a-48a Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 44a Incipit quinta eiusdem in eundem habita in senatu ipso L. Catilina presente, f. 46a Sequitur L. Catiline Invectiva

responsiva ad precedentem; f. 48a-55b Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall.

It is worth noting that the codices of the printed editions, MPR, agree rather remarkably in common errors, apart from the errors of Z. Thus, they would seem to be very closely related. Further particulars about these editions will be found in Chapter V, Printed Editions.

Besides the manuscripts which I collated from photo-stats and microfilm, and those which were used for the printed editions, which I also collated, I know of the existence of the following codices, all assigned to the 15th century, and apparently in the tradition of the de-teriores.

Vienna, National-Bibliothek, lat. 3494, paper, XV cent., in-quarto, ff. 127. Tabulae Codicum Manu Scripto- rum praeter Gr. et Orient. in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindo- bonensi Asservatorum II (Vienna, 1868) 311 sq. The codex, a Renaissance miscellany, contains on f. 4 only the Resp. Cat. (Bertalot, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 983, mentions the existence of the Resp. Cat.), preceded by Collectanea varia de arte rhetorica (ff. 2-3v), and followed by Phalaris Agrigentinus, Epistolae latinae factae et Malatestae No- vello de Malatestis dedicatae a Francisco Aretino (ff. 5-

8v). According to a letter of June 15, 1937 from the Generaldirektion of the National-Bibliothek to Erik von Scherling, the eminent book dealer of Leyden, the Resp. Cat. bears the caption: Kateline in Ciceronem responsalis incipit invectiva, and has the incipit: Si subtiliter a circumstantibus, que sit presentis actoris controversia, requiratur; and the explicit: confectum est ut nemo Katiline tutorem audeat confiteri; dixi.

Gotha, Herzogliche Bibliothek, Cod. Goth. Chart. B. 239, XV cent. (not listed in E. S. Cyprian, Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bibl. Goth. [Leipzig, 1714]).

According to a letter of July 23, 1937 from the Director of the Library to von Scherling (see above), the Resp. Cat. (Bertalot, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 983, mentions the existence of the Resp. Cat.) is found on f. 48, beginning with the words Si subtiliter a circumstantibus (sic!) que sit and ends on f. 49v with the rubric Lucy Catiline contra M. T. Ciceronem oratio explicit.

El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Escorial, T. III. 20, parchment, XV cent., 211 x 140 mm., ff. 94. G. Antolin, Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial IV (Madrid, 1916) 152 sq. "F. 80v Marci Tullii

Ciceronis oratio in senatu contra Catilinam incipit foeliciter. Non est amplius tempus oculi patres conscripti . . . des. si de civitate Catilinam immo terrorem expuleritis; f. 82v Oratio Catilinae in Senatu contra Ciceronem ad suam defensionem. Si subtiliter a circumstantibus: que sit presentis auctoris controversia . . . des. et ut nemo sit Catilinam doctorem audet confiteri."

Milan, Biblioteca Brera, Cod. Braidense AF IX 65, paper, XV cent. R. Sabbadini, Storia e Critica di Testi Latini (Catania, 1914) 153. The following works of Cicero precede our pieces: De Officiis, De amicitia, De Senectute, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis; and the Synonyma, wrongly ascribed to Cicero. Ff. 144-145v Or. Tull.-Resp. Cat.: f. 144 Non est amplius tempus oculi P.C., f. 145v Si subtiliter a circumstantibus.

## V PRINTED EDITIONS

Our invectives were first published in a Paris edition of the Catilinarian orations of Cicero about 1475. According to the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Nr. 6779, Louis Simonel and Company (Au Soufflet Vert) were the publishers.<sup>1</sup> This quarto volume contains the pair of our pieces after the four authentic Catilinarians of Cicero, and preceding the twin invectives known as Sallustius in Ciceronem and Cicero in Sallustium.

A similar volume published in Paris about 1480 (Gesamtkat. Nr. 6781) contains the pieces, but not in the same relation to each other. The Responsio Catiline appears after the first genuine Catilinarian, as though it were the rebuttal to that oration. Then, follow the traditional Catilinarians II-IV in order. Next, appears the Oratio Tullii, entitled as a fifth oration against Catiline. Then, seemingly as a reply to this piece, is the oration of the pseudo-Catiline beginning Omnes homines qui in maximis principatibus now ascribed to the humanist Buonaccorso (see Other Spurious Orations Attributed to Catiline p.205).

---

<sup>1</sup> I have not examined the volume. Cambridge University Library is the only library listed as possessing it in its entirety (cf. Gesamtkat. l.c.). The part containing the Or. Tull. and the Resp. Cat. is lacking in the Dijon and British Museum exemplars.

Finally, there are the same orations attributed to Sallust and Cicero, respectively, mentioned above.

The first printing of both our pieces in editions of Sallust was at Paris in 1478(?) under the editorship of P. Beroaldus at the press of Ulrich Gering. After the part of the volume devoted to Sallust are found the four genuine Catilinarian orations of Cicero. Our pieces follow as a fifth Catilinarian and the reply of the pseudo-Catiline. Just as in the editions of Cicero mentioned above, they are followed by the pair of Sallust and Cicero. I have examined photostats of this edition, courteously provided me by the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore.

To the best of my knowledge, the only printing of the Oratio Tullii and the Responsio Catiline separate from editions of Cicero and Sallust is that of P. Calvarini, Paris, 1551.

From 1508 to 1590 no less than eight editions of Sallust contain the Oratio Tullii as a fifth Catilinarian of Cicero (the four genuine Catilinarians immediately precede), followed by the two orations ascribed to Catiline, the first of which is our Responsio Catiline. In all these editions the oration usually designated Declamatio in Catilinam, and falsely attributed to Porcius Latro, appears as one item among the contents (see Table of Other Spurious Orations 2, p. 202.).

The editions of Sallust from 1508 on in which our orations are printed are the following: Paris, 1508, in-4 (according to Esposito who has examined the volume); Lyons, 1517, in-fol.; Venice, 1521, in-fol.; Paris, 1521, in-8; Lyons, 1523, in-fol. (according to Esposito who has examined the volume); Basel, 1564, in-fol. (according to Fabricius, Bibliotheca Latina I, 8 [1773], 159); Venice, 1565, in-fol.; Venice, 1590, in-fol. A notice from the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books informs us that a Paris, 1508, in-8 edition contains M.T. Ciceronis in Catilinam invectivae quinque, but no mention is made of any orationes responsivae of Catiline.

Of the editions enumerated above, I have examined only that of Venice, 1565 (Bonelli).<sup>1</sup> In this folio volume the Oratio Tullii is placed after the Sall.-Cic., Cic.-Sall. invectives. It is immediately followed by the Responsio Catiline. That, in turn, is followed by the other oration of pseudo-Catiline ascribed to Buonaccorso. Next comes the Declamatio, which appears to precede our pieces in all the

---

<sup>1</sup> Presumably, the Venice edition of 1590 is exactly like Bonelli's edition of 1565, for the British Museum Catalogue notice about this folio-volume reads word for word the same as the title page as recorded for the 1565 folio.

previous editions. Curiously enough, our orations are also found again in this same Volume in some unnumbered pages at the beginning of the book among many insignificant brief items chiefly of a Renaissance character. These unnumbered pages are not taken into account by the Library of Congress Depository Catalogue card, from which I first learned about this volume. Aside from very minor differences occasionally in typographical and orthographical details the two printings of our orations within the same volume are identical. Their text is practically identical with that of the Paris edition of Sallust of 1478.

Commentaries on the text of the "fifth invective of Cicero" (In *Invectivam Quintam M.T. Ciceronis*) and the "first invective of L. Catiline against M.T. Cicero" (In *Invectivam Primam L. Catilinae in M.T. Ciceronem*), the work of the humanist printer Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1464-1535), are to be found on pp. 145-146 of the Venice edition of 1565. They are of little worth, but are, perhaps, the only commentaries up to the present time ever written on the pieces. The commentaries were necessarily written before 1535, the date of Ascensius' death. It is probable that they go back to 1508 when Ascensius edited an edition of Sallust at Paris (see p. 49).

After 1590 the invectives were not printed again in any fashion until 1856. In that year S.H. Rinke of Leyden

included the text of the Oratio Tullii and the Responsio at the end of a dissertation called: Disputatio de Oratione Prima in Catilina<sup>m</sup> a Cicerone Abjudicanda; Accedunt Duae Catilinae Ineditae. He was, of course, badly mistaken in thinking that they had never been published. The occasion for the printing of the pieces was Rinke's discovery of them in a late manuscript in the University Library at Leyden. This codex is very corrupt, and, moreover, was not always correctly read by Rinke. It belongs to the class of the deteriores, and the Rinke's transcript of it has little value for us (see p. 43).

The last printing of the pieces was in 1921 when Mario Esposito included the text of them in a monograph called: "Pastiches Cicéroniens: La Cinquième Catilinaire et la Réponse de Catiline," Textes et Études de Littérature Ancienne et Médiévale 1 (Florence, 1921) 64 pp. (1-8). An introduction and the text of the pieces occupy seven pages at the beginning of the volume. The introduction contains some useful information about 15<sup>th</sup>-century MSS and editions, but Esposito's conclusion that the orations are a work of the Renaissance is, of course, altogether wrong. The text is from a 15th-century MS in Trinity College, Dublin, and is of no special importance (see p. 43).

## VI THE MANUSCRIPTS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND DEPENDABILITY

All our manuscripts descend from a common lost archetype, designated X, which appears to be but little later than the "fair copy" of the author of the Responsio Catiline. This archetype is posited on the basis of certain errors and omissions common to all the codices, which are not consonant with the "fair copy" of an author. I submit a list of such places. The discussion of them will be found in the Commentary to these specific places in the text.

### ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

- i III 9 sicut eos inter se etiam
- ii V 1 Vigilat noctes
- iii X 4-5 Meam accusationem quam

### RESPONSIO CATILINE

- i VI 2 vici nos
- ii IX 4 det (nemo)
- iii IX 9 hec omnis
- iv X 1 [de filii nece]
- v XI 1 ammouendum

From the above lists one can see that the difficulties encountered in the text of the Oratio Tullii are of a more serious kind than those in the Responsio Catiline. The la-

cunae seem to indicate that the Oratio Tullii suffered vicissitudes, and that the text of the common archetype of the twin invectives is somewhat farther removed from the "fair copy" of the Oratio in point of descent than from the "fair copy" of the Responsio.

Most critics would probably include also Resp. Cat. VIII 4 de ea and X 4 promoveri among the errors of X. For reasons, however, that I give in the Commentary I prefer to consider these readings as being in the author's "fair copy." Resp. Cat. III 3 non also I would attribute to the text as it existed before X.

In view of the preceding observations I am inclined to believe that the author of the Responsio Catiline, finding a text of the Oratio Tullii, copied it thus as it has been handed down, with the attendant difficulties by reason of the lacunae. Then, he used it as his point of departure for composing on the same vellum a reply. This reply is the actual Responsio Catiline. In this way began the common textual tradition of the invectives.

There is no reason for assuming that the archetype X was written in a script other than the Caroline minuscule. Moreover, there is no need to assume that X was essentially older than the actual mediaeval codices A and B. Certainly, A and B are very near the archetype in point of descent. This can be demonstrated by the fact that these codices

correspond in certain very unusual abbreviations. If there had been many stages of transition from X to A and Y, these contractions undoubtedly would have been expanded, either correctly or incorrectly. The contractions are:

- (1) Or. Tull. VI 7  $Q\bar{r}$  (= Quare)
- (2) Resp. Cat. VIII 4  $q\bar{r}$  (= queritur)
- (3) Or. Tull. VII 6  $vid\bar{r}$  (= videtur)
- (4) Or. Tull. IV 8  $mag\bar{}$  (= magis)
- (5) Or. Tull. VI 10  $q\bar{}$  (= quod)
- (6) Or. Tull. VII 6  $h\bar{}$  (= hoc)
- (7) Or. Tull. X 5  $Nich\bar{}$  (= nichil)
- (8) Or. Tull. XI 3  $s\bar{}$  (= sibi)
- (9) Or. Tull. XII 3-4  $h\bar{}$  (= huius)

The nearness of A and B to X is further demonstrated by errors in B which are due to the wrong expansion of contractions in Y, while A reveals exactly the form of the contraction in X which was carried down to Y. The following are the cases in point:

- (1) Resp. Cat. I 4  $agr\bar{}$  (= agitur) A  
agrū B
- (2) Resp. Cat. X 4  $cfida\bar{}$ <sup>1</sup> (= confidam) A  
confidera B

The archetype appears to be of Continental origin. The

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Or. Tull. III 6-7  $lib\bar{}$ statem A B.

Insular abbreviations which the archetype would seem to have contained, such as the Tironian sign for et (7), the H-like sign for enim,  $\overset{1}{h}^*$  for nisi,  $\overset{1}{h}^*$  for hoc, are those that were current on the Continent in the later Middle Ages. In short, there is an absence of any errors which would indicate an Insular archetype.

Besides the normal Continental abbreviations, such as  $\overset{1}{g}$  (= igitur),  $qd$  (= quod),  $q$  (= quia), X would seem to have contained the more uncommon Continental abbreviations  $\overset{1}{s}^*$  (= sibi),  $d$  (= quod),  $nich^*$  (= nichil), and the ligature  $\sigma$  (= de).

From X are derived A and Y. Y is posited on the basis of the errors and omissions which B and the codices deteriores, designated Z, have in common where A gives the correct reading. I submit a list of the readings in which A is in contrast with the consensus of B Z. Detailed discussion of each individual error will be found in the Commentary on the particular passage of the text.

---

\*A. Spagnolo, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen XXVII (1910) pp. 531-548, observed these forms in MSS of the XII cent. at Verona.

Table I  
A versus Y (= B Z)<sup>1</sup>

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	A	Y (= B Z)
i	I 2 locus	locus amplius
ii	II 4 sibi iure	iure sibi
iii	5 bonorum morte	morte bonorum
iv	III 9 sicut	sic
v	11 omnes	<u>om.</u>
vi	IV 4 agitantur <u>in</u> agi- taentur <u>corr.</u> <u>alt.</u> <u>man.</u>	agitentur
vii	VI 10 fors	sors
viii	VII 2-3 eius	certus B DFJQ, <u>om.</u> <u>cett.</u>
ix	5 pulsus non esset	expulsus esset
x	6 sicut	<u>om.</u> B, ut Z
xi	VIII 2 preparat	parat
xii	2 in ea cur	cur in ea
xiii	4 suimet	suomet
xiv	IX 4 consensum	ascensum

<sup>1</sup> Establishing Y.

Table I

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	A	Y (= B Z)
xv	X 2 audatiam summam	summam audatiam
xvi	XI 3 <sup>3</sup> qua	qua sibi B qui sibi DFQ, quibus sibi J, quis igitur <u>cett.</u>
xvii	5 .p.c.p.c.	.p.c.
xviii	6 urbe urbe	urbe
xix	9 filii filii	filii
xx	10 paraentes	parentes
xxi	XII 2 temperas et audatiam	et audatiam temperas
xxii	XIII 2 rebus	rei.p.

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

i	I 10 scenosa	cenosa
ii	11 famulari	familiari
iii	II 2 precavendum	cavendum
iv	5 quo in loco igitur	quo igitur loco B quo igitur in loco Z
v	6 mee	mea

Table I

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	A		Y (= B Z)
vi	II 6	cause	<u>om.</u>
vii	9	concinntudinis	concinntatis
viii	11	<u>om.</u>	nunc B vos Z
ix	11	<u>om.</u>	quoque
x	III 1	Particio	<u>om.</u>
xi	1	peracto	pacto
xii	1	et	<u>om.</u>
xiii	2	esse	<u>om.</u>
xiv	IV 1	Confirmatio.	<u>om.</u>
xv	VI 6	inhonesta sit	sit inhonesta
xvi	VII 2	approbaveritis	probaveritis
xvii	4	comparabitis	comprobabitis
xviii	VIII 5	quo	qua
xix	IX 2	noti ignoti	ignoti noti
xx	X 2	si non	sine

Table I

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	A	Y (= B Z)
xxi	X 3 hac	hoc
xxii	XI 1 iurandum	mirandum
xxiii	3-4 tutorem catiline	Catilinae (taute linee B) tutorem
xxiv	4 profiteri	confiteri

In the preceding Table the following readings are ipso facto errors in Y as opposed to the readings of A which declare themselves ipso facto to be genuine: Or. Tull. v; and Resp. Cat. v, vi, xix, xxiv.

Next in importance for corroborating the independence of A and the existence of Y are the following places where a careful examination of the variants leaves little or no doubt as to the superiority of A: Or. Tull. iv, vii, x, xi; and Resp. Cat. ii, iii, vii, xii, xiii, xvi, xvii, xviii.

In the following places A gives at least as satisfactory a reading as do B Z, and accordingly I have not hesitated to follow it: Or. Tull. ii, iii, ix; and Resp. Cat. x, xiv.

The above Table shows that A is in error some seventeen times -- a small number indeed as compared with the

errors peculiar to B (Table II) and to Z (Table III). These errors are of the usual kind -- dittography (Or. Tull. xvii, xviii, xix), omissions (Or. Tull. xvi; Resp. Cat. viii, ix), transpositions (Or. Tull. xii, xv). One thing that stands out is that the text of A is not an interpolated one.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now examine the readings in which B stands alone as opposed to the agreement of A Z.

Table II  
B versus A Z<sup>2</sup>

ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	B	A Z
i	I 1 <u>om.</u>	est
ii	5 <u>om.</u>	totum
iii	III 2 vos	nos
iv	4 <u>om.</u>	in urbe
v	4 Italia	in Italia
vi	5 servos noverat	noverat servos
vii	6 pa/patriam	patriam

---

<sup>1</sup> One exception to this statement appears to be Or. Tull.

X 4 O meam accusationem.

<sup>2</sup> Confirms the independence and superiority of A, in conjunction with Tables I and IV.

Table II

	B		A Z
viii	III 9	filios	fidus
ix	IV 2	<u>om.</u>	proh nefas
x	5	nostram (?)	vestram
xi	8	nostri (?)	vestri
xii	V 1	nisi	non nisi
xiii	1	coactius	coactus
xiv	VI 1	circuit nocte	nocte circuit
xv	10	magnis	magnanimis
xvi	VII 3	vestram	nostram
xvii	4	enim <u>post</u> Si <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
xviii	VIII 1	sicati.	si Catilina
xix	1	<u>om.</u>	ei
xx	2	enim <u>ante</u> non <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
xxi	3	<u>om.</u>	Cur (laborat)
xxii	3	<sup>1</sup> sciam	sicut (si $\bar{c}$ A) iam

Table II

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	B	A Z
xxiii	IX 2 <u>om.</u>	ad necem
xxiv	2-3 quemque videt rei p. esse intentum	quem (et <u>plerique</u> Z) rei p. cognoscit (-at Z) intentum
xxv	3 enim <u>post</u> Scit <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
xxvi	4 <u>om.</u>	maxime
xxvii	X 2 aspectum	conspectum
xxviii	3 semper cogitat interitu	interitu semper cogitat
xxix	5 <u>om.</u>	quam
xxx	XI 2-3 tot sceleratorum copias	sceleratorum (hominum <u>add.</u> Z) tot copias
xxxi	5 decolorat	colorat
xxxii	7 <u>om.</u> ( <u>nonnulli</u> Z)	nostra
xxxiii	11 larones <u>an</u> varones <u>incertum est</u>	latrones
xxxiv	XII 5 derelictus	relictus
xxxv	6 dispicient	displicent
xxxvi	XIII 2 postulet	postulat
xxxvii	2 cati.	Catiline

Table II

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	B		A Z
xxxviii	XIII	5 Omnis	Omnibus
xxxix		6 satisfaciens	satisfacietis
xl		7 cati.	Catilinam

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

i	I	2 <u>om.</u>	requiratur
ii		3 <u>om.</u>	intuentibus
iii		3 <u>om.</u>	fuit
iv		4 enim	namque
v		4 tres	res
vi		4 agrum	agitur (agr A)
vii	5-9	.p.c. . . . confidit <u>et qui . . . coniecit</u> <u>inter se mutantur</u>	
viii	6	et ratione <u>post</u> equi- tate <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
ix	6	enim <u>post</u> illo	<u>deest</u>
x	7	ag (= agri ?)	agitur
xi	8	senatu	torrentem

Table II

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	B	A Z
xii	I 9 <u>om.</u>	ore
xiii	11 grandi	gravi
xiv	11 <u>om.</u>	et
xv	12 loquedo	loquendo
xvi	13 auorum	aliorum
xvii	14 pessumdare mendacio	mendacio pessumdare
xviii	II 3-4 quam prosit sibi	non ( <u>sic</u> A HNJ, ne <u>cett.</u> ) plus sibi (sibi plus Z) prosit
xix	5 infamis	infantis
xx	5 <u>om.</u>	in
xxi	7 prudentie et bonitatis	bonitatis et prudentie
xxii	12 <u>om.</u>	adversarii
xxiii	12-13 linceis oculis ut soletis	linceis ut soletis oculis
xxiv	14 trecerrimam	teterrimam
xxv	14 latrate <u>e</u> latratis	latitare
xxvi	IV 1 censorum	censet

Table II

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

		B		A Z
xxvii	IV	1	extorrene	extorrem
xxviii		2	<u>om.</u>	feri
xxix		2	eam maiores	maiores eam
xxx		4	<u>om.</u>	solis
xxxi		6	lineas	livoris
xxxii		6	detractationis (= PR)	obtractationis
xxxiii	V	1	.e.	Catilina
xxxiv		2	permaneāt	remaneāt
xxxv	VI	1	<u>om.</u> (= CENf)	nunc
xxxvi		1-2	alloquio frueretur	uteretur alloquio
xxxvii		2	uici nos	uici uos A vici ego uos Z
xxxviii		2	introduxi in patriam	in patriam introduxi
xxxix		2	nos (= K)	uos
xl		2	eicites	eicitis

Table II

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	B		A Z
xli	VI 3	captus	capitis
xlii	4	que	quod
xliii	7	conicitis	cognoscitis
xliv	VII 1	<u>om.</u>	sit
xlv	2	illam sententiam	sententiam illam A DFLQ, sententiam <u>sett.</u>
xlvi	6	cati.	Catilina
xlvii	6	evacuabitis	vacuabitis
xlviii	7	extreme clementie est	est extreme dementie
xlix	7-8	<u>om.</u>	infestissimos
l	VIII 3	autem	an
li	4	sumptum non	non sumptum
lii	5	sit constitu-	constitutum sit
liii	6	<u>om.</u>	et
liv	6	catelinam	Catilinam
lv	7	dedisse pro coniura- tione	pro coniuratione de- disse

Table II

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	B		A Z
lvi	VIII	11 constringi	confingi
lvii	IX	1 ca.	Catilina
lviii		4 <u>om.</u> (= CE)	et
lix		4 habet et	habet quod
lx		5 <u>om.</u> (= <u>nonnulli</u> Z)	esse
lxi		6 hominibus (= <u>pars</u> Z)	omnibus
lxii		8 lesius	Laelius
lxiii		9 dapsibilis	dapsilis
lxiv	X	1 <u>om.</u>	de
lxv		2 <u>om.</u>	sic
lxvi		3 nostrum	vestrum
lxvii		4 considera	confidam
lxviii	XI	1 <u>om.</u>	mihi
lxix		3 precio prece	prece precio

Table II

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	B	A Z
lxx	XI 3 taute linee	Catiline

In every instance in the above Table (40 in Or. Tull. and 70 in Resp. Cat.) I believe B to be in error, whereas the agreement of A Z is due to the fact that both have preserved the correct tradition. In only one instance may this be questioned: Or. Tull. xxxvi. The superiority of A, noted in Table I, is amply corroborated.

The number of B's individual errors and omissions is impressive for so short a text. The majority of them can be attributed only to the stupidity and carelessness of the immediate scribe of B.<sup>1</sup> The frequency of B's errors is much greater in the Responsio Catiline than in the Oratio Tullii. In fact, the incidence of error in B is greater than that in Z for the second invective (see Table III, Z versus A B; and Table IV, A versus B versus Z).

From Y come B and the ancestor of the codices deteriores, called Z. Z is posited on the basis of the manifold errors and omissions common to the codices deteriores in contrast to the correctness of the consensus of A B. I

---

<sup>1</sup> For another category of B's errors, see p. 84.

give a list of the readings in which the agreement of A B is in contrast to Z. Since this entire list constitutes in effect the errors and omissions of Z, thus Z is automatically established.

Table III  
Z versus A B<sup>1</sup>

ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	Z	A B
i	I 1 P.C. <u>vel</u> .p.c.	patres (-is B) con- scripti
ii	2 pietatum ( <u>vel</u> potes- tatum <u>vel</u> ptatem)	pietati
iii	5 sed	verum
iv	II 1 hic ille	hic ille
v	3 libidinem animi	animi libidinem
vi	4 immemor factus est	factus est immemor
vii	5 per nos <u>add.</u> <u>ante</u> negatum	<u>deest</u>
viii	III 1 omnes suos	res suas
ix	4 consimiles (con- similes sibi L, consimiles sui DF)	sibi consimiles
x	7 singulis	ingloriis

---

<sup>1</sup> Establishing Z.

Table III

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	Z		A B
xi	III 10	familiares <u>vel</u> fami- lias	familiarum (= Q)
xii	11-12	<u>om.</u>	rei p. (p.r. B)
xiii	11-12	minarentur <u>vel</u> minitarentur	detrimenta iurarent
xiv	IV 1	detrimento	impedimento
xv	3	potiretur	frueretur
xvi	4	rumoribus vulgi	vulgi rumoribus
xvii	5	presentiam	audientiam
xviii	6	consciis sceleris	sceleris consciis
xix	6	<u>om.</u>	michi
xx	10	<u>om.</u>	catiline
xxi	V 2	appetit <u>ante</u> iugu- lis <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
xxii	2	<u>om.</u>	non suscipit
xxiii	3	maculata	macilenta (macu- B)
xxiv	3	dubitare nos	nos dubitare
xxv	VI 1	domos	domus

Table III

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	Z		A B
xxvi	VI 1	familiarium ( <u>vel</u> -bus <u>vel</u> -es)	faventium sibi
xxvii	8	esset	esse
xxviii	8	nullis timidis	timidis nullis
xxix	8	<u>om.</u>	periculo (-is B)
xxx	9	Sillamque ( <u>vel</u> Syl-)	cinnamque
xxxi	10	quibus	quod
xxxii	VII 1-2	iudicat ignavos et negligentes	ignavos et negli- gentes iudicat
xxxiii	5-6	proditor patrie (patrie <u>om.</u> <u>prae-</u> <u>ter</u> DF) iam ex- pulsus esset	iam pulsus non es- set (expulsus esset B) proditor patrie
xxxiv	VIII 2	immonatur <u>vel</u> mo- ratur	remanet
xxxv	IX 1	fit ( <u>vel</u> sit) fre- quens	frequens fit (sit B)
xxxvi	2	ut notet et designet	notat et designat
xxxvii	X 1	huius hominis	hominis huius
xxxviii	4	mori DFCEQ, <u>om.</u> <u>cett.</u>	morti
xxxix	5	non	nichil

Table III

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	Z		A B
xl	XI 2-3	quae maximam partem	qua partem
xli	3	qui	qua
xlii	3	sceleratorum hominum	sceleratorum
xliii	4	qui	qua
xliv	4-5	mendacia veritate et mendacio veritates	mendacio veritates et mendacia veritate
xlv	8	Fabii	fabricii (fra- A)
xlvi	8	essetis	adessetis
xlvii	9	vellem ( <u>vel</u> -etis <u>vel</u> -ent)	volunt
xlviii	9	<u>om.</u>	illum
xlix	XII 1	Catilina <u>post</u> cogi- tas <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
l	6	quare DFQ, quod <u>cett.</u>	quia

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

1	I 5	<u>om.</u>	p.c.
ii	12	et nigra <u>vel</u> nigra	qui nigra
iii	II 1	<u>om.</u>	et

Table III

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	Z		A B
iv	II 1	<u>om.</u>	inprimis
v	1	<u>om.</u>	est
vi	2	ne hodie plus	ne plus hodie
vii	2	polluta <u>vel</u> polita	palliata
viii	6	vacillabit oratio	ratio vacillabit
ix	6-8	<u>om.</u>	vestri acuminis . . . prudentie est
x	8	illius falerata	falerata
xi	8	et	non
xii	8	canora	canoras nugas
xiii	9	splendentia	splendentiam
xiv	10	ac ipsum	ad ipsum
xv	11	trutinare debetis	trutinare
xvi	IV 2	construxere	condidere
xvii	2	et ab	ab
xviii	5	iubet dari	proturbari (per- A) iubet

Table III

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	Z		A B
xix	IV 5	cui	qui
xx	6	causa	<u>deest</u>
xxi	6	aut	vel
xxii	V 1	igitur	itaque
xxiii	2	Ciceronis iactantia	iactantia ciceronis
xxiv	3	arpinas	arpinatis
xxv	6	<u>om.</u>	assit . . . lutu- lenta (lucu- B)
xxvi	VI 2	vici ego vos	uici nos (uos A)
xxvii	2	tamen ( <u>praeter</u> L)	inde (= L)
xxviii	3	periculo capitis mei	capitis (captus B) mei periculo
xxix	4-5	me ibi	ibi nepotes meos
xxx	5	nunc (non N)	ut
xxx1	VII 1	<u>om.</u>	vehementer
xxx11	8	reddetis	reddemus
xxx111	VIII 1	<u>om.</u>	Reprehensio

Table III

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	Z		A B
xxxiv	VIII 2	deprecatio	disputatio
xxxv	4	quare HNQ, quasi <u>cett.</u>	qr (= queritur) (= L)
xxxvi	4	est HNQ, <u>om.</u> <u>cett.</u>	esse
xxxvii	6	indignum scelus	scelus indignum
xxxviii	6-7	non iam poenas	penas non iam
xxxix	8	dicendo	id/ dicendo
xl	9	et id solum certum denuntiat	de quo solum mentio facta est
xli	10	est probatum	probatum est
xlii	11	confictum quae a quovis	que facile quovis
xliii	IX 1	P.C. <u>post</u> Catilina <u>add.</u>	<u>deest</u>
xliv	2-3	<u>om.</u>	et ignobiles
xlv	4	dat nemo	det nemo
xlvi	6-7	consuli visitari ( <u>cetera om.</u> )	visitari deduci re- duci consuli id de- mum
xlvii	7-8	Catilina	Cato

Table III

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

	Z		A B
xlvi	IX 8	id et	quoque
xlix	8	et Scipio	Scipio
l	8	<u>om.</u>	quivis
li	9	<u>corrupte</u> (accersis, accersitum, accersuntur, etc.)	accersitur
lii	9-X 1	<u>om.</u>	Quibus . . . Nam
liii	X 1	vero quod	quod
liv	1	perpetratum esse dixit	perpetratur
lv	2	est incredibile	incredibile est
lvi	3	neminem vestrum	vestrum (nostrum B) neminem
lvii	XI 2	catilina	catiline (cati. B)
lviii	2	apparet	appaream
lix	3	Ciceronis prece precio	prece precio (precio prece B) ciceronis
lx	3	confectum	effectum
lxi	4-XII 9	Ex quo . . . putavi <u>deficit</u>	Ex quo . . . putavi.

A good idea of the essential characteristics of Z can be obtained from a general survey of the above readings.

(1) Z does not contain all the text of the invectives, having lost the entire ending of the Responsio Catiline: lxi, as well as a line or more of text elsewhere in the same invective: ix, xxv and lli. Besides these places there are a number of omissions of words and phrases in both invectives. (2) Z has not hesitated to "emend" the text. In some cases the "emendation" bridges over certain real difficulties of syntax found in the archetype X: Resp. Cat. xx and xlii where the mediaeval syntax is summarily dispatched by interpolation and other alteration. Sometimes the "emendation" is occasioned by errors and omissions in Y: Or. Tull. xlii where Y had first lost omnes, and Resp. Cat. viii where Y had lost cause and "emended" mee to mea. In other cases there is an attempt to "improve" the language of the author: Resp. Cat. xviii in which precipitem dari is substituted for the uncommon precipitem proturbari, and Or. Tull. xlii where the Ciceronian cliché sceleratorum hominum is substituted for the simple sceleratorum. These examples as well as many more that could be cited show the work of the humanist. (3) Z has misunderstood certain abbreviations in the exemplar from which he copied. Thus, he wrongly expands  $\bar{q}$ (= quod), Or. Tull. xxxi, and  $\bar{q}r$  (= queritur), Resp. Cat. xxxv.

The mutilated condition of the text of the Responsio Catiline, the gratuitous interpolation and "emendation," especially of mediaevalisms, and the failure to comprehend certain mediaeval abbreviations -- all these things indicate a comparatively late date for Z.

Of the codices deteriores, Q; D and F, obviously very closely related; and JHN are slightly less disfigured than the rest of their fellows, and presumably are closer to Z. In a few instances, especially in the Oratio Tullii they, have, either severally or in a group, preserved along with A B the genuine text when the great majority of the Z codices have fallen into error.

The above Table not only conclusively establishes Z, but also emphasizes the fact that A and B do not stand in common errors.<sup>1</sup> Still further proof of the independence of A can be seen in the following table, where there are some 20 instances in the Oratio Tullii and 34 in the Responsio Catiline in which each of our three witnesses, A B Z, offers different testimony. It will be noted, however, that for the Responsio the testimony of Z is actual-

---

<sup>1</sup> At first glance Z appears to be correct in one instance Resp. Cat. xxxii, and A B to have a common error. However, in the light of Z's many "corrections" this place must be considered just another "correction." (See Context.)

ly lacking in a number of cases, especially at the end of the oration.

Table IV

A versus B versus Z<sup>1</sup>

## ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

	A	B	Z
i	I 1 pater conscripti	patris conscripti	P.C.
ii	III 3 perfarios, nefarios, sacrilegos	nefarios sacrilegos perfarios	nefarios perfarios sacrilegos
iii	II rei p.	p.R.	<u>om.</u>
iv	IV 5 audientiam	audi/dientiam <u>ut vid. ex obe-</u>	presentiam
v	V 1-2 non nisi . . . non suscipit	nisi . . . non suscipit	non nisi . . . appetit
vi	3 macilenta	maculenta	maculata
vii	VI 8 periculo	periculis	<u>om.</u>
viii	9 cruentum	contum	cruentos (cruentum cruentos F)
ix	VII 6 sicut	<u>om.</u>	ut
x	VIII 1-2 (ei incendia) preparat	(incendia) patrie parat	(ei incendia) parat
xi	IX 2 ad necem quemque vestrum	quemque vestrum	quemque nostrum ad necem
xii	3 c̄noscit	videt ( <u>ante</u> rei p.)	cognoscat

<sup>1</sup> Confirms the independence and superiority of A, in conjunction with Tables I and II.

Table IV

ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM				
		A	B	Z
xiii	X 5	comprobat	approbat	probat
xiv	6	est timendus	timendus	timendus est
xv	XI 2	qua	qua sibi	qui sibi DFQ, quibus sibi J, quis igitur <u>cett.</u>
xvi	2	sceleratorum tot copias	tot sceleratorum copias	sceleratorum hominum tot copias
xvii	8	o frabricii	ofabricii	o Fabii
xviii	9	expixantis	exspirantis	expirantis
xix	XII 4	tua consilia	consilia	consilia tua
xx	XIII 7	id e	<u>om.</u>	immo

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

i	I 2	apertius	expressius	a proprie ( <u>vel</u> a prope <u>vel</u> a propere)
ii	3	fuit vulpis	vulpis	vulpis fuit
iii	6	in cause equi- tate	inequitate et ratione	in communi equitate
iv	II 3-4	Non plus sibi prosit	quam prosit sibi	non (non HNJ, ne <u>cett.</u> ) sibi plus prosit

Table IV

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

		A	B	Z
v	II 5	quo in loco igitur	quo igitur loco	quo igitur in loco
vi	6	mee cause ratio	mea ratio	mea oratio
vii	6	(vacillabit) vestre	vestri	<u>deficit</u>
viii	7	bonitatis et prudentie	prudentie et bonitatis	<u>deficit</u>
ix	8	<u>om.</u>	est	<u>deficit</u>
x	11	Quodsi	Quodsi nunc quoque	Quodsi non (non HQ, <u>om.</u> NJ, vos <u>cett.</u> ) quoque
xi	IV 5	perturbari	proturbari	dari ( <u>post iubet</u> )
xii	6	obstaret	contumacie obstaret	causa obstaret
xiii	V 6	lutulenta	luculenta	<u>deficit</u>
xiv	VI 2	uici uos	uici nos	vici ego vos
xv	VIII 4	non sumptum esse	sumptum non esse	non sumptum (est <u>add.</u> HNQ)
xvi	IX 8	preterea quisvis	quivis preterea	preterea
xvii	9-10	re cognoscitur	(omnis)ve cognoscitur	<u>deficit</u>
xviii	10	ingenerata	ignorata	<u>deficit</u>

Table IV

## RESPONSIO CATILINE

		A	B	Z
xxix	IX 10	t̄m (= tantum)	t̄n (= tamen)	<u>deficit</u>
xx	XI 1	potius michi	potius	mihi potius
xxi	2	Catiline	cati.	Catilina
xxii	5	c̄e (= causae)	eē (= esse)	<u>deficit</u>
xxiii	5	iniquitate	in equitate <u>in</u> in equitatis <u>alt.</u> <u>man.</u>	<u>deficit</u>
xxiv	6	qui	quid	<u>deficit</u>
xxv	6	copiam subtra- hit	subtrahat copiam	<u>deficit</u>
xxvi	7	defendenti	deforendi <u>in</u> de- fendendi <u>corr.</u> <u>alt. man.</u>	<u>deficit</u>
xxvii	XII 1	Conclusio	<u>om.</u>	<u>deficit</u>
xxviii	2	dehortari	<u>om.</u>	<u>deficit</u>
xxix	3	nec vos	<u>om. sed non ante</u> egeatis <u>add.</u>	<u>deficit</u>
xxx	6	sequatur	sequitur	<u>deficit</u>
xxxi	7	private	privateque	<u>deficit</u>
xxxii	8	nugatorie	negative	<u>deficit</u>

Table IV

		RESPONSIO CATILINE		
		A	B	Z
xxxiii	XII 8	ratiocinatio- ne	ratiocinatio- ne	<u>deficit</u>
xxxiv	9	supersedendum	supersidendum	<u>deficit</u>

A has, in my judgment, preserved the correct tradition in 13 instances out of 20 in the Oratio Tullii: iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xvi, xx; and in 27 instances out of 34 in the Responsio Catiline, that is, all the instances except those specifically noted below where B is correct. In addition to these places A may also be correct in several other cases involving word order alone. B alone has preserved the correct tradition in two instances in the Oratio Tullii: xv and xvii; and in 7 instances in the Responsio Catiline: vii, ix, x, xi, xiv, ~~xvi~~, xxxi. This need occasion no surprise, since A and Z do not agree in errors. B has preserved the reading of X and Y, while Z has fallen into error independently of A.

B preserves the corruptions of Y in iii and vi of the Oratio Tullii, and these corruptions have been carried further in Z. Likewise in the Responsio Catiline, vi illustrates a corruption of Y preserved by B, but carried still further in Z.

In contrast to the numerous stupid errors and omissions (p. 68), B exhibits a few definite signs of "emendation" and recension which are not consonant with the uncritical and even ignorant character of the immediate scribe of the actual codex: Or. Tull. v, x, xii; and Resp. Cat. i, iii (cf. also Table II: Or. Tull. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvi; and Resp. Cat. xxxii, xxxvi, xlvii, lvi). Many cases where the word order differs from that of A Z may also be due to this recension rather than to the immediate scribe of B. I, therefore, assume that the recension took place in the period between Y and the copying of the present codex B.

In conclusion, the genuine text of our reciprocal invectives, which have a common manuscript tradition, seems to be indicated whenever:

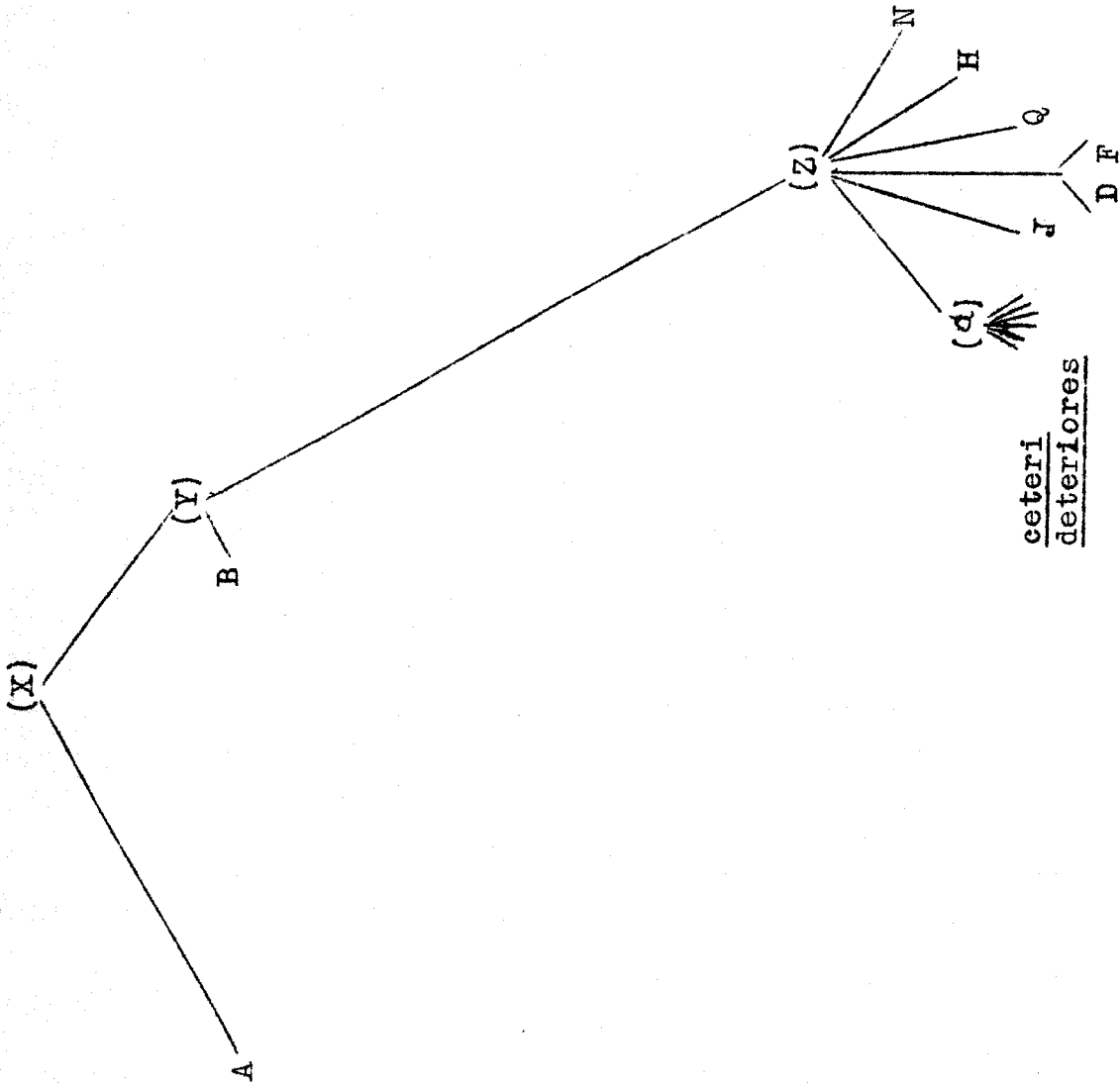
- (1) A and B agree in a reading opposed to that of Z. (See Table III, Z versus A B.)
- (2) A and Z agree in a reading opposed to that of B. (See Table II, B versus A Z; and Commentary.)
- (3) A stands in a good reading against B Z, which have a common error or omission. (See Table I, A versus Y; and Commentary.)
- (4) B and Z agree in a palpably good reading, as opposed to A. (See Table I, A versus Y; and Commentary.)

(5) When A and B and Z all have different readings, necessarily those of A and B are considered before that of Z. In an instance where it appears impossible to make a choice between the readings of A and B on their intrinsic merits, as for example in a few cases of word order, I defer to the authority of A, gained from its good quality in general.

(See Table IV., A versus B versus Z.)

This side  
up.  
Plate  
follows  
p. 85.

SAEC.  
XII



XIII

XIV

XV

STEMMA CODICUM

## Conspectus Siglorum

- A Cincinnatensis XII/XIII saec.  
 B Reginensis lat. 84 XII/XIII
- Codices deteriores, omnes saec. XV
- C Reginensis lat. 1592  
 D Chisianus lat. H VII 219  
 E Vaticanus lat. 1748  
 F Neapolitanus lat. CVI (IV. C. 6)  
 G Monacensis lat. 659  
 H Harleianus lat. 3830  
 I Neapolitanus lat. CCCXII (IV. G. 4)  
 J Neapolitanus lat. CX (IV. C. 10)  
 K Casinensis lat. 393 T (ext. 393 et 417)  
 L Bononiensis (Bibl. Univers.) lat. 1434 (2720)  
 M Leidensis lat. 63 = Editio S.H. Rinkes  
 N Harleianus lat. 2590 [Deest Oratio Tullii.]  
 O Washingtonensis (Folger Shakespeare Library SM. 12)  
 P Dublinensis (Trinity Coll. K. 4. 32 [926]) = Editio M. Esposito  
 Q Neapolitanus lat. LXIV (IV. B. 5)  
 S Parisiensis lat. 7791  
 T Parisiensis lat. 7826 [Deest Responsio Catiline.]  
 U Parisiensis lat. 6095 [Deest Responsio Catiline.]  
 V Parisiensis lat. 15087  
 W Harleianus lat. 5438  
 e Harleianus lat. 4105 [Deest Responsio Catiline.]  
 f Laurentianus lat. plut. LXXXX, cod. 44  
 g Laurentianus lat. plut. LXXXX, cod. 55  
 h Florentianus lat. (Bibl. Naz. Cent., Lat. II, VIII, 129)  
 i Mazarinensis lat. 3893  
 k Vesuntinus lat. 840  
 m Angelicanus lat. 234 (C. 3. 15)
- R Editiones saec. XV et XVI, nescio quo e codice det. derivatae.
- Z = consensus omnium codicum praeter A B

◀ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM▶

I Non est amplius tempus ocii, patres conscripti, non est locus amplius pietati. In Italia pestis Italiae, in civitate civitatis incendium alitur. Crescit in dies, et vires immensas suscipit; et nisi propere sit extinctum,

---

Titulus deest A B FJ, Or(ati)o tullii in Catelinam alt. man.

A, titulos diversos exhib. cett. Z \* I 1 est om. B

post tempus usque ad marginem spat. vac. 12 fere litt. B

patris B patres conscripti, P.C. vel p.c. Z

2 amplius om. A \* pietatum FQ, ptatum (vel potestatum

vel ptatem) cett. Z 4 extinctum B

---

I 2 Cic. Cat. II 6 non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat ib. I 30 bis rei publicae pestis

3 Cic. Dom. 129 in illo incendio civitatis -- Prov. Cons.

43 ruina atque incendium civitatis -- Fam. IX 3, 1 hoc tanto incendio civitatis

Cic. Cat. I 5 crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus

4 Hor. Epist. I 18, 85 et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires -- Quint. X 1, 2 eloquentia . . . vires acceperit

Cic. Cat. I 30 exstinguetur atque delebitur . . . haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis --

Har. Resp. 6 sic T. Annius ad illam pestem comprimendam, exstinguendam, funditus delendam natus esse videtur

---

\* The asterisk indicates that further treatment of the place will be found in the Commentary.

I 5 non modo urbem verum orbem totum pessumdabit.

II 1 Catilina, p(atres) c(onscripti), Catilina hic ille est  
qui deo hominibusque infestus ire perditum patriam et cives  
nititur, qui ut sui animi libidinem expleat iusticie et

---

I 5 verum, sed Z totum om. B II 1 ille om. Z  
2 patriam perditum notis permutationis corr. A 3 li-  
bidinem animi Z

---

I 5 Cic. Cat. I 9 qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis  
terrarum exitio cogitent -- ib. I 3 Catilinam orbem terrae  
caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem -- Ov. Ars Am. I  
174 ingens orbis in Urbe fuit Resp. Cat. I 13-14 urbes  
quoque mendacio pessumdare consuevit -- Sall. Iug. 42, 4  
quae res plerumque magnas civitatis pessumdedit  
II 1 Verg. Aen. VII 255 sq. hunc illum fatis externa ab se-  
de profectum/portendi generum (ib. 272) -- Apul. Met. III 1  
Hanc illam mihi gloriosam peregrinationem fore Chaldaeus  
Diophanes obstinate praedicabat -- Cato De Re Rust. 132, 1  
hac illace dape 2 Sall. Cat. 15, 4 animus . . . dis  
hominibusque infestus ib. 36, 4 fuere tamen cives qui  
seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent  
3 Sall. Iug. 6, 3 praeceptis ad explendam animi cupidinem --  
Cic. Cael. 49 an explere libidinem voluisse videatur

II 4 pietatis factus est immemor, qui ad honorem sibi iure  
 5 negatum viam parare cupit bonorum morte, urbis incendio,  
 rei publice detrimento.

---

II 4 immemor factus est Z iure sibi B Z \*  
 5 per nos ante negatum inser. Z morte bonorum B Z \*  
 6 rei publice, .R.P. A B nonnulli Z

---

II 4 Cic. Rep. VI 16, 16 iustitiam cole et pietatem,  
 quae . . . in patria maxima est -- Phil. VI 18 etenim quis  
 est civis . . . tam immemor patriae Flac. 102 Quis tibi,  
 quis C. Pomptino, fortissimo viro, quemquam bonum putaret  
 umquam non salutem, verum honorem ullum denegaturum? --  
ib. 104 illam viam si sibi vident expeditiorem ad honores  
 et ad omnia quae concupiverunt? -- Leg. Agr. I 27 deinde  
 habeat me ipsum sibi documento, quem equestri ortum loco  
 consulem videt, quae vitae via facillime viros bonos ad  
 honorem dignitatemque perducatur 5 Cic. Cat. II 10  
 eructant . . . caedem bonorum atque urbis incendia -- Sall.  
Cat. 48, 4 de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum . . . --  
 Cic. Cat. IV 4 ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium cae-  
 dem . . . 6 Cic. Planc. 91 sine ullo rei publicae de-  
 trimento -- Verr. I 22 sine summo rei publicae detrimento  
 ac periculo -- Cic. Cat. I 4 decrevit quondam senatus uti  
 L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti  
 caperet

III 1 Nam postquam res suas et famam perniciose vivendo perdidit, qualiter nos et rem publicam perdere possit aggressus est. Homines enim periuros, nefarios, sacrilegos, omnes denique sibi consimiles quos in urbe vel in Italia

---

III 1 res suas, omnes suos Z perniciose B  
 2 vos B nonnulli Z rem publicam, r.p. A nonnulli Z  
 re p. B aggressus A 3 nefarios sacrilegos periuros B, nefarios periuros sacrilegos Z \* 4 sibi A  
 B, post consimiles L, sui post consimiles DF, om. cett. Z  
 in urbe om. B in om. B

---

III 1 Cic. Quinct. 62 Quinctio cui tu et rem et famam tuam commendare proficiscens et concedere solebas (cf. Hor. Serm. I 2, 59 et Lucr. IV 1124) 3 Sall. Cat. 14, 3 praeterea omnes undique parricidae sacrilegi convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium egestas conscius animus exagitabat, ii Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant 4 Cic. Cat. I 5 nemo tam improbus tam perditus, tam tui similis -- ib. II 6 nisi vero si quis est qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina sentire non putet

III 5 noverat, servos, etiam familiarum filios rerum novarum cupidos, domum suam frequentare rogavit: exulibus patriam, servis libertatem, pauperibus opes, privatis honores, ingloriis gloriam, omnibus omnia dare pollicitus. Postremo dando et pollicendo sicut eos inter se etiam fidos effecerat

---

III 5 servos noverat B etiam, 7 A, 7 (= et) B, & (= et) DFL. familiarum A B DFQ, familiares cett. Z filios, fanillos sed litt. an del. A 6 pa/patriam B 7 ingloriis, singulis Z \* 9 sicut, sic A, sic B Z post sicut nonnulla excidisse suspicor \* eos om. B DFH fidos, filios B

---

III 5 Sall. Cat. 43, 2 sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent -- ib. 28, 4 in Etruria plebem . . . novarum rerum cupidam 6 ib. 14, 7 iuventutem quae domum Catilinae frequentabat 8-9 Sall. Iug. 16, 3 dando et pollicendo multa perfecit -- Sall. Cat. 26, 3 multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat -- ib. 38, 1 dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere (plebem) -- ib. 23, 3 repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit 9 Sall. Cat. 22, 2 quo inter se fidi magis forent -- ib. 14, 6 dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret

III 10 ut filii familiarum parentum iugulos, servi dominorum  
necem et domorum incendia, omnes rei publice detrimenta  
iurarent.

IV 1 Sed quoniam sibi erat impedimento rei familiaris

---

III 10 familiarum <sup>A B Q,</sup> familiares vel familias Z ll omnes om. B Z \*  
rei publice, rei p. A, p. R. B, om. Z\*\* detrimenta  
iurarent, minarentur vel minarentur Z \* IV 1 im-  
pedimento, detrimento Z

---

III 10 Sall. Cat. 43, 2 vide supra ad l. 5 10-11 Cf.  
II 5-6 10-12 Sil. Ital. III 83 et cineri iuret patrio  
Laurentia bella -- Stat. Theb. IV 396 alium tibi, Bacche,  
furorem/iuravi -- Aur. Vict. Vir. Ill. XLII 1 Hannibal . . .  
odium in Romanos perenne iuravit -- Ov. Ars Am. 19 haec et  
iuravit amanti Iuv. VIII 218 sed nec/Electrae iugulo  
se polluit -- Ennodius, Vita S. Antonii CCXL=Opusc. 4  
(M.G.A.A. 7), 187, 8 aestimantes quod piorum iugulis divi-  
nitatis cessaret indignatio IV 1 Sall. Cat. 5, 7  
inopia rei familiaris

IV 2 inopia, proh nefas, necavit filium ut nove coniugis opibus  
 frueretur, que sibi eo vivente iungi timuerat. Hec,  
 p(atres) c(onscripti), quamquam vulgi rumoribus agitentur,  
 5 per me tamen in vestram audientiam non venissent, nisi

---

IV 2 proh nefas 6m. B                    3 frueretur, potiretur Z  
 4 vulgi rumoribus, rumoribus vulgi Z                    agitantur in  
 agitaentur corr. alt. man. (cf. XI 8 paraentes) A  
 5 vestram, u<sup>r</sup>am A, an n<sup>r</sup>am in dubio est B                    audi/dien-  
 tiam ut vid. ex obe/dientiam B                    audientiam, presenti-  
 am Z

---

IV 2-3 Sall. Cat. 15, 2 postremo captus amore Aureliae  
 Orestillae, quous praeter formam nihil unquam bonus lau-  
 davit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum  
 adulta aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum de-  
 mum scelestis nuptiis fecisse.

-- Cic. Cat. I 14 nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis  
 nuptiis locum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili  
 scelere hoc scelus cumulasti?

-- Val. Max. IX 1, 9 verum praecipue Catilinae libido sce-  
 lesta: nam vaesano amore Aureliae Orestillae correptus,  
 cum unum impedimentum videret quo minus nuptiis inter se  
 iungerentur, filium suum quem et solum et aetate iam pube-  
 rem habebat, veneno sustulit.

4 Sall. Cat. 29, 1 rem ad senatum refert, iam antea vulgi  
 rumoribus exagitata                    5 Aug. De Doctr. Christ. IV 9,  
 23 (Migne 34) Sunt enim quaedam . . . quae in populi audi-  
 entiam, vel raro, si aliquid urget, vel nunquam omnino  
 mittenda sunt

IV 6 ab eiusdem sceleris consciis michi cognita patuissent,  
 quos in publicum venire et hec eadem vobis presentibus  
 confiteri pudor magis quam timor arguit. Nam vestri  
 consulis providentia, immo vestro decreto sceleris  
 10 impunitas concessa est omnibus quicumque Catiline con-  
 silia patefacere.

---

IV 6 consciis sceleris Z mihi om. Z 8 arguit  
codd. \* vestri, ur̄i A, an nr̄i in dubio est B  
 10 Catiline; om. Z 11 post pate. nonnulla excidisse suspicor

---

IV 6 Sall. Cat. 34, 2 sibi tanti sceleris conscius -- ib.  
 22, 2 alius alii tanti facinoris consci 7-11 Cic. Cat.  
 III 8 fidem publicam iussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum ut  
 ea quae sciret sine timore indicaret -- Sall. Cat. 47, 1  
 post ubi fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia uti gesta  
 erant aperit (cf. ib. 48, 4) -- ib. 30, 3, 6 igitur senati  
 decreto . . . ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de coniuratione  
 quae contra rem publicam facta erat . . . libero inpunita-  
 tem eius rei . . . 10 Sall. Iug. 31, 19 ad Iugurtham  
 scelerum impunitas -- Sall. Cat. 30, 6 libero inpunitatem  
 eius rei 11 Sall. Cat. 36, 5 namque duobus senati de-  
 cretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus coniu-  
 rationem patefecerat . . . quisquam omnium

V 1 Vigilat noctes et dies, cibum non nisi fame coactus, iugulis nostris intentus, non suscipit. De quibus oculorum ipsius feditas et macilenta facies nos dubitare non patitur.

---

V 1 non om. B \*                      coactius B                      2 appetit ante iugulis add. Z                      non suscipit om. Z \*                      3 maculenta B, maculata Z                      dubitare nos Z

---

V 1 Sall. Cat. 27, 2 dies noctisque festinare vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari -- ib. 15, 4 neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat -- Cic. Cat. II 9 adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur -- ib. III 7, 16 nihil erat quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret, frigus sitim famem ferre poterat -- ib. I 26 habes ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium -- Sall. Cat. 5, 3 corpus patiens inediae algoris vigiliae supra quam quoiquam credibile est 2 Cic. Piso. 5 ego tela extremo mense consulatus mei intenta iugulis civitatis de coniuratorum nefariis manibus extorsi -- Cic. Cat. III 2 mucrones eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus                      3 Sall. Cat. 15, 5 foedi oculi                      Plaut. Capt. 647 macilento ore -- Asin. 400 macilentis malis -- Vulg. Dan. 1, 10 macilentiores vultus

VI 1        Accinctus gladio domus faventium sibi nocte circuit,  
 alloquitur singulos, hortatur, multis rationibus postulat  
 ut se ministro vel duce potius ad libertatem, honores,  
 divitias eos transire non pigeat. Ostendit ad hec geren-  
 5 da tempus idoneum; suos fortes, magnanimos, nos ignavos,

---

VI 1 domos Z                faventium, familiarium (vel -ibus vel  
 -es) Z                sibi om. Z                circuit nocte B

---

VI 1 Sall. Cat. 27, 2 ipse cum telo esse -- Liv. 40, 13  
 gladiis accincti -- Rhet. Her. IV 52, 65 gladio succinc-  
 tus    Sall. Cat. 59, 5 ipse equo circumiens unum quemque  
 nominans appellat hortatur rogat -- ib. 17, 1 primo singu-  
 los appellare, hortari alios alios temptare; opes suas,  
 inparatam rem publicam, magna praemia coniurationis do-  
 cere -- ib. 27, 2 ipse cum telo esse, item alios iubere  
 hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent        3 Sall.  
Cat. 20, 16 vel imperatore vel milite me utimini  
 5 Sall. Cat. 21, 4 ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis bo-  
 nos, suorum unum quemque nominans laudare    Cic. Off. I  
 63 itaque viros fortes et magnanimos eosdem bonos et sim-  
 plices . . . esse volumus -- Tusc. IV 61 magnanimum et for-  
 tem virum    Sall. Cat. 20, 10 victoria in manu vobis est,  
 viget aetas, animus valet

VI 6 somno et ventri deditos, et nobis cum divitiis etatem et  
 animum consenescere. Quare patriam et rem publicam armis  
 invadere esse fortassis timori timidis, nullis periculo.  
 Hic laudat Marium Cinnamque cruentum: felices iudicat

---

VI 7 Quare, Q̄r A B, quare DFQ, quasi cett. Z rem  
 publicam, rēp. A B 8 esse, ēē A B, esset Z  
 timidis, nullis, nullis timidis Z periculis B, om. Z  
 9 Cinnamque, Sillamque (vel Syl-) Z cruentum A Q,  
 contum B, cruentum cruentos F, cruentos cett. Z in-  
 dicat B plerique Z

---

VI 6 Sall. Cat. 2, 8 sed multi mortales dediti ventri at-  
 que somno -- ib. 20, 10 contra illis annis atque divitiis  
 omnia consenuerunt 6-7 ib. 38, 1 homines adolescen-  
 tes . . . quibus aetas animusque ferox erat -- ib. 58, 19  
 animus aetas virtus vostra me hortantur (cf. ib. 20, 10  
vide supra ad 1. 5; ib. 20, 16) 8 Sall. Cat. 42, 2  
 omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant 9 Lucan.  
 IV 822 Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus -- Aug. Civ. II  
 23, 1 Marium . . . cruentissimum auctorem bellorum civi-  
 lium atque gestorem

VI 10 quod cum magnanimis sua consilia communicare fors obtulit.

VII 1 Sed profecto, p(atres) c(onscripti), si nos ignavos  
et negligentes iudicat, Catilina non fallitur cum sit ex-  
perientia certus. Si enim nostram non novisset incuriam,  
proditor patrie non venisset in curiam. Si rei publice in-  
5 tenti essemus et patrie, de patria iam pulsus non esset

---

VI 10 quod,  $\bar{d}$  (= qd) A B, quibus Z \*                      magnis B  
fors A E, sors B cett. Z \*                      VII 1 iudicat ante igna-  
vos transp. Z                      3 certus B DFJQ, eius A, om. cett. Z \*  
nostram, nram A, uram B GL                      4 enim post Si add. B  
rei publice, rei p. A                      5 pulsus non esset, expulsus  
esset B Z \*

---

VI 10 Ter. Hec. 370 quia tam incommode illis fors obtulerat  
adventum meum -- Hor. Serm. I 6, 54 nulla etenim mihi te  
fors obtulit -- Cic. Verr. IV 95 telumque quod cuique fors  
offerebat -- Sall. Iug. 78, 2 uti fors tulit -- Cic. Att.  
VII 14 fin. ut fors tulerit                      VII 1 ignavos, cf. VI  
5 -- Cic. Inv. I 22 in contempionem adducentur, si eorum  
inertia, negligentia, ignavia, desidiosum studium, et luxu-  
riosum otium proferetur -- Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48 negligentia  
vestra sive ignavia potius

VII 6 proditor patrie? Hoc enim, sicut michi videtur, ratio postulat.

VIII 1 Nam si Catilina patriam diligit, cur ei incendia preparat? Si non diligit, cur in ea ulterius remanet? Cur laborat, machinatur in dies, sicut iam dictum est, ut Roma suomet pereat gladio, quod longe positus nequa-

---

VII 6 proditor patrie (sed patrie om. praeter DF) ante vel post iam Z sicut, sic̄ A, om. B, ut Z \* VIII  
 1 si Catilina, sicuti. B ei om. B 2 preparat,  
 p̄pat A, pate (= patrie) parat B, parat Z enim ante  
 non add. B in ea cur A remanet, immoratur vel  
 moratur Z 3 Cur om. B 1 laborat A sicut  
 iam, sciam B 4 ut (ū A) Roma A B DFJQ, ut ubi Roma  
cett. Z \* suimet A

---

VII 6 Cic. Vat. 25 duo nefarios patriae proditores -- Mil.  
 82 in patriae proditoribus opprimendis -- Fin. III 64 nec  
 magis est vituperandus proditor patriae quam communis utili-  
 tatis aut salutis desertor

VIII 5 quam posset efficere. Nulla enim pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus.

IX 1 Adeo in curia frequens fit vestri consilii particeps, notat et designat ad necem quemque vestrum quem rei publice cognoscit intentum. Scit quorum sanguis sibi daret im-

---

IX 1 fit (vel sit) frequens Z fit A nonnulli Z, sit B rell. Z vestri, ur̄i A, nr̄i (= nostri) B, nostri (vestri GL) Z in curia ante vestri iter. Z 2 notat, ut notet Z designet Z ad necem ante quemque A, om. B, transp. post vestrum Z vestrum, ur̄m A B, nostrum (vestrum GL) Z quem A DFQ, quemque B, et cett. Z rei publice, rei p. A B rei publice cognoscit, videt rei. p. esse B 3 cognoscit scripsi, gnoscit A, cognoscat Z Scit, Scit enim B sanguis B

---

VIII 5-6 Hier. Contra Rufinum II fin. (Migne 23) nisi quod levius est professum inimicum cavere quam hostem latentem sub amici nomine sustinere -- Codex A. XI, 67 Universitätsbibliothek Basel (J. Werner, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters, Heidelberg 1912) 31 Falsus amicus obest michi plus quam publicus hostis IX 1-2 Cic. Cat. I 2 Vivit? immo vero etiam in senatum venit, fit publici consilii particeps, notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quem que nostrum -- Sull. 12 qui particeps et consilii vestri fuit et timoris 2-3 rei publice . . . intentum, cf. VII 4-5

IX 4 perium, ruina quorum sibi daret ascensum. His maxime  
5 parat insidias; hos in die, hos in nocte persequitur.

X 1 Videte, p(atres) c(onscripti), videte hominis huius  
summam audatiam. In vestrum conspectum venire non timet

---

IX 4 ascensum, c̄ensum A maxime om. B X 1 hu-  
ius hominis Z audatiam summam A 2 vestrum,  
ur̄m A, nr̄m (= nostrum) B, nostrum (vestrum GL) Z  
aspectum B

---

IX 5 Sall. Cat. 26, 1 neque interea quietus erat, sed om-  
nibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni -- ib. 43, 2 quo tu-  
multu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque, quibus insi-  
diae parabantur, fieret -- Cic. Planc. 100 easque insidias,  
quas mihi paratas ab exsulibus coniuratis audierat (cf. Rosc.  
Am. 26) X 1-2 Cic. Cluent. 26 Primum videte hominis  
audaciam -- Cic. Cat. I 1 quem ad finem sese effrenata  
iactabit audacia? Verr. I 151 Hic etiam priore actione  
Q. Hortensius pupillum Iunium praetextatum venisse in  
vestrum conspectum . . . questus est (cf. ib. I 122, V 144) --  
Rhet. Her. IV 28, 38 Conduplicatio . . . Item: 'Nunc audes  
etiam venire in horum conspectum, proditor patriae? Prodi-  
tor, inquam, patriae, venire audes in horum conspectum?' --  
ib. IV 13, 19 tu in horum conspectum venire conaris?

X 3 de quorum interitu semper cogitat. Vobiscum loqui non timet  
 quos iam morti decreverat. Meam accusationem ~~non timet~~  
 5 quam sua conscientia comprobat. Nichil timet, ab omnibus  
 igitur est timendus.

XI 1 Nolite mirari si callidus dissimulator respondendi

---

X 3 interitu post cogitat transp. B 4 mori (vel om.)  
 Z meam (O) eam B) accusationem B Z, O meam accusatio-  
 nem A \* non timet supplevi \* 5 quam om. B \*  
 approbat B, probat Z \* Nichil, non Z \* 6 est  
 timendus, timendus B, timendus est Z

---

X 3 Cic. Cat. I 9 hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres  
 conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque  
 consilio, qui de nostrum omnium interitu . . . cogitent  
 XI 1 Sall. Cat. 31, 5 postremo dissimulandi causa . . .  
 in senatum venit -- ib. 31, 7 Catilina, ut erat paratus  
 ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu, voce supplicis postu-  
 lare a patribus coepit ne quid de se temere crederent

XI 2 locum expostulat. Confidit enim in eloquentia sua, qua  
 partem civium detraxit in cladem, qua sibi sceleratorum  
 tot copias comparavit, qua mendacio veritates et mendacia  
 5 veritate colorat. Audietis eum, p(atres) c(onscripti),  
 audietis eum? Tacetis? Proh pudor! In qua urbe nos  
 vivimus? Quibus tutoribus res publica nostra defenditur?

---

XI 2 quae Z                    3 partem, maximam partem Z                    qua  
 sibi, qua A, qui sibi DFQ, quivis sibi J, Quis igitur cett.  
 Z \*                    3-4 tot sceleratorum copias B                    hominum post  
 sceleratorum add. Z                    4 qui Z                    mendatio A  
 mendacia veritate et mendacio veritates A                    5 decolo-  
 rat B                    .pcc. bis A                    6 pro A                    urbe bis A  
 7 res publica, res p. A, R.p. B                    nostra om. B nonnul-  
li Z

---

XI 2-5 Confidit . . . colorat., cf. Resp. Cat. I 6-14  
 Sall. Cat. 5, 4 satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum  
 6-7 Cic. Cat. I 9 o di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus?  
 quam rem publicam habemus? in qua urbe vivimus?

XI 8 O Camilli, o Fabricii, vos vos utinam adessetis! Audire  
volunt illum qui expirantis filii preces audire noluit;

---

XI 8 ocamilli B ofabricii B, o frabricii A, o Fabii  
Z vos vos, vos B nonnulli Z essetis Z  
9 volunt, vellem (vel vellent vel velletis) Z ex-  
pirantis A, expirantis B filii bis A

---

XI 8 Cic. Cael. 39 ex hoc genere illos fuisse Camillos,  
Fabricios, Curios omnesque eos, qui haec ex minimis tanta  
fecerunt -- Piso. 58 o stultos Camillos, Curios, Fabrici-  
os . . . (cf. Sest. 143) -- Val. Max. II 1, 10 quas Athenas,  
quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disci-  
plinae praetulerim? inde oriebantur Camille, Scipiones,  
Fabricii, Marcelli, Fabii . . . -- Plin. Pan. 13, 4 hac  
mihi admiratione dignus imperator non videretur, si inter  
Fabricios et Scipiones et Camillos talis esset -- Hier. Ep.  
58, 5 (Migne 22) Romani duces imitentur Camillos, Fabri-  
cios, Regulos, Scipiones -- O Camilli . . . adessetis, cf.  
Resp. Cat. VI 1 9 expirantis filii, cf. IV 2; Resp.  
Cat. X 1

XI 10 illum qui filios in parentes, servos in dominos, in rem publicam Italiae latrones armavit.

XII 1 Quid agis, Catilina? Quid cogitas? Cur furorem tuum et audaciam temperas? Cur ille tuus exercitus qui intra

XI 10 illum om. Z paraentes A 11 rem publicam, rem p. B larones an varones in dubio est B  
 XII 1 Catilina post cogitas iter. Z 2 temperas et audaciam A

XI 10 filios in parentes, cf. III 10 servos in dominos, cf. III 10-11 Sall. Cat. 24, 4 per eas (mulieres) se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare -- ib. 46, 3 ad concitanda servitis -- Cic. Cat. IV 4 servitis excitantur (ib. 13) 11 Cic. Cat. I 33 latrones Italiae -- ib. II 7 quis tota Italia . . . quis latro . . . inveniri potest qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? -- Sall. Cat. 28, 4 Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare . . . praeterea latrones quousque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat -- ib. 59, 5 ut meminerint se contra latrones inermis, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare XII 1 Cic. Cat. I 27 'M. Tulli, quid agis? . . . ' 1-2 Cic. Cat. I 31 sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit -- Verr. V 188 iste (Verres) nefario quodam furore et audacia instinctus (Rab. Perd. 4) 2 Cic. Cat. I 10 tua illa Manliana castra

- XII 3 menia clausus est in Capitolium non erumpit? Nullus hu-  
 ius ordinis ignorat tua consilia et adhuc in patria remanes.  
 5 Immo in senatu placitandi locus tibi relictus est. Scire  
 potes quia non multum facta tua eis displicent.
- XIII 1 Cogitate, p(atres) c(onscripti), quid res, quid tempus  
 postulat. Audatia Catiline timorem omnibus rei publice

XII 3 Null/ marginē tonso nota pro us non apparet A  
 4 tua consilia, consilia B, consilia tua Z patriam  
 (-m in ras.) B 5 tibi derelictus est B, est tibi (ti-  
 bi om. nonnull. Z) relictus Z 6 quia (q<sup>t</sup> A) A B, quare  
 DFQ, quod cett. Z eis post multum transp. Z  
 dispicent B XIII 2 postulet B \* Catiline,  
 cati. B rei publice, rei p. B Z, reb<sup>s</sup> (= rebus) A \*

Xii 3 Sall. Cat. 52, 35 Catilina cum exercitu faucibus ur-  
 get; alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes  
 4 Cic. Cat. I 1 patere tua consilia non sentis, constrictam  
 iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non vi-  
 des? 5 placitandi locus, cf. XI 1 XIII 1-2  
 Sall. Iug. 12, 3 ubi res postularet (ib. 17, 1; 52, 5; 54,  
 6; 85, 29) -- Cic. De Or. II 17 tempus quid postulet non  
 videt -- Off. I 81 cum tempus necessitasque postulat  
 2 Cic. Cat. I 17 servi mehercule mei si me isto pacto me-  
 tuerunt ut te omnes cives tui

XIII 3 incutit, patrie legibus minatur interitum. Viri, mulieres, senes, iuvenes, postremo omnis etas terrore concussa est.  
 5 Omnes credunt hodie vestra sententia liberari. Omnibus igitur satisfacietis, p(atres) c(onscripti), si de civitate Catilinam, id est, terrorem omnium expuleritis.

---

XIII 5 Omnibus, om̄is B                    6 satisfaciens B  
 7 Catilinam, cati. B                    id est, id ē A, om. B, immo Z.

---

XIII 3 Cic. Cat. I 18 tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quaestiones verum etiam ad evincendas perfringendasque valuisti -- ib. III 19 caedis atque incendia et legum interitum            3-4 Sall. Cat. 31, 1-3 repente omnis tristitia invasit . . . trepidare . . . suo quisque metu pericula metiri. ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare sese . . . (omni rumore) pavere    Cic. Cat. IV 14 omnes adsunt omnium ordinum homines, omnium denique aetatum -- Piso. 52 omnium generum, aetatum, ordinum omnes viri ac mulieres -- Cluent. 148 omnes viri, mulieres, liberi, servi in iudicium vocantur            5 Cic. Cat. I 20 egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu -- ib. 18 quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem eripe            6-7 de civitate . . . expuleritis, cf. Resp. Cat. IV 5 (ib. V 1-2)

ORATIO TULLII IN CATILINAM

\*

COMMENTARY

Title: I have chosen the caption added to A by a late hand, probably of the fifteenth century, because it is a convenient designation, recommending itself by its brevity. The title of the oration is lacking in B, and there is no close correspondence between the late caption of A and that of any one of the codices deteriores. In the case of the latter codices, in general the word invectiva is employed instead of oratio, and the full name or initials of Cicero are used in titles much longer than that of A. The absence of a title in the text proper of both A and B, together with the great diversity of titles among the deteriores (see Chapter IV, The Extant Manuscripts, pp. 28-46) indicates that the archetype (X) lacked a caption.

I 2 locus amplius pietati:

I have adopted the reading of B Z on the theory that it is easier for something to drop out of a text than to be added. The reading of B Z is certainly the lectio difficilior as the position of the adverb is strange compared with that of the same adverb in the preceding parallel clause. The combination amplius pietati constitutes a cur-sus velox in the mediaeval cursus, and probably thus ac-

counts for the change in the position of the adverb.

Pietati is used here in the late and mediaeval sense of "compassion" or "pity", in decided contrast to pietatis, II 4, where it has its full classical force. The entire idea of non est locus amplius pietati seems to be a paraphrase of Cicero, Cat. II 6\*. Amplius was substituted for iam, and pietati for lenitati. The use of pietati with this force reveals at once the non-Ciceronian character of our text.

I 2-3 in Italia . . . Italic, in civitate civitatis:

Note the effective use of the same word in different cases. Cf. VII 5-6 patrie, de patria . . . proditor patrie; XI 4-5 mendacio veritates . . . mendatia veritate; and IX 4-5 His . . . hos . . . hos. There are no analogous examples in the Responsio Catiline. The present combinations would appear to come under the generic rhetorical figure known as trahuctio, that is, the use of the same word several times in such a way as to have a pleasing effect (cf. Rhet. Her. IV 14, 20).

---

\* The asterisk indicates that the passage cited will be found among the Literary Parallels on the same page with the text and Apparatus Criticus.

I 4 vires immensas suscipit:

I am unable to find an exact parallel to this turn of expression in Cicero's works or elsewhere. In the present passage the meaning is simply "gains boundless strength." The force of suscipere here is like that of sumere in Horace, Epist. I 18, 85, or accipere in Quintilian, Inst. X 1, 2\*. In mediaeval Latin there was a considerable amount of confusion in the use of the prefixes of compound verbs, and sometimes suscipere was used instead of accipere (cf. Goelzer, 678).<sup>1</sup> A similar non-classical use of suscipere in the present oration is found in the combination cibum . . . suscipit, V 1-2. Cf. also Resp. Cat. VII 2-3 maximas calamitates . . . suscipietis.

II 1 hic ille:

Is ille alone in the predicate, or is this an instance of the double demonstrative? At first sight, the easier alternative is to dismiss ille as being in the predicate, and to take hic as the demonstrative with Catilina. The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, however, under the article "hic" col. 2742 seq., recognizes the combination hic ille in the category of a single emphatic pronoun. The examples cited in the Thesaurus can for the most part, I find, be broken down if ille is considered as in the predicate. The cita-

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Goelzer, Le Latin de Saint Avit, Paris, 1909.

tions from Vergil\* are of that kind. I assume that the juxtaposition, either fortuitous or by way of emphasis, of the two pronouns in situations analogous to those just mentioned had a great deal to do with the establishment of hic ille as a single pronominal entity. On the other hand, the citation from Cato\* is a genuine use of hic ille as a single expression of emphatic character (cf. the expression "that there" of illiterate speech in the United States). The double demonstrative hic ille is a rare phenomenon in classical Latin, but appears to have been used more often in patristic Latin (cf. T.L.L., loc. cit.). In harmony with many other "emendations" the absence of ille is to be noted in Z. The second pronoun was probably regarded as superfluous and inelegant. I am inclined to construe hic ille as a unit, putting it in the predicate and considering it the immediate antecedent of qui.

## II 2-3 ire perditum . . . nititur:

Nitor with the infinitive is a Sallustian construction. The periphrasis of the supine and ire is also Sallustian. It is not found in Cicero, but was probably common enough in spoken Latin among the masses, as its use in Plautus and Terence would seem to indicate. It will be observed that in III 2-3 where the thought is almost identical with that

of the present phrase the simple infinitive perdere is employed.

II 4 sibi iure:

I accept the reading of A here which places the adverb next to the participle which it modifies.

II 5 bonorum morte:

I accept the reading of A because it corresponds to the word order of the other members of the present series, and because our author shows no tendency to use a chiasmic arrangement in a series. Witness: III 6-8 exulibus . . . omnia; III 10-11 fili . . . detrimenta; VI 5 tempus . . . ignavos; IX 4-5 His . . . hos; in all these series of three or more members there is no example of chiasmus. Yet another justification of A's reading is that the genitive normally precedes in this oration the noun on which it depends.

III 1 res suas et famam:

The usual Ciceronian combination is fama ac fortunae which is used a great number of times in the Orations (e.g., Verr. III 57; Quinct. 8, 26, 27; Mur. 2). The same allit-

erative phrase is found in Sallust several times (Cat. 33, 1; 51, 12; Hist. II 41, 5). I do not find in Cicero or elsewhere the combination of the plural of res with fama. Instead, I find once the singular of res with fama; Quinct. 62\*. Cf. also Hor. Serm. I 2, 59 and Lucr. IV 1124, where the couplet does not occur, but res (sing.) and fama are contrasted.

III 1 perniciose vivendo:

I am unable to find a parallel in literature to this phrase, which is almost an oxymoron.

III 2 perdidit . . . perdere:

Note the pun in the twofold use of this verb.

III 2-3 qualiter . . . aggressus est:

The use of the indirect question with aggressus est seems very bold, and I am unable to find a parallel case. The meaning of the words suggests a paraphrase of II 2-3 ire perditum . . . nititur.

III 3 periuros, nefarios, sacrilegos:

I accept the reading of A. The word order nefarios sacrilegos is attested both by A and B, and therefore should be the genuine reading of X. The difficulty lies in the varying position of periuros in A, B, and Z respectively. Periuros would seem to have been incertae sedis in Y, that is, omitted in the text but added in the margin or between the lines. Hence, the discrepancy in word order between B and Z.

III 3-6 Homines . . . domum suam frequentare rogavit:

The usual construction with rogo in classical Latin is aliquem with ut, ne, and the subjunctive. The few instances that can be found of rogo with the accusative and infinitive are limited to poetry. (Cf. Ov. Ars Am. I 433; Ov. Met. XIV 138; Catul. 35, 10.)

III 7 ingloriis:

Z reads singulis, which seems to derive from a ditto-graphy of the final s of the preceding word, honores, and an abbreviation ing<sup>f</sup>lis for ingloriis. The abbreviation, formed on the analogy of the common abbreviation gl<sup>f</sup>a (= gloria) found in both A and B, appears to go back to Y,

but the dittography of s must have begun with Z. Singulis must have seemed quite plausible to Z what with the proximity of privatis as a synonym, and omnibus as an antonym.

III 9 sicut<sup>†</sup> eos inter se etiam fidos effecerat:

Neither the reading of A sicut, or B Z's sic makes the passage satisfactory. I have, however, chosen A's sicut, written as a compendium, believing that the sign for -ut might have inadvertantly been omitted in Y, or even that Y intended an "emendation," thereby making sic correlative with the following ut. It is, however, an unsatisfactory emendation since it does not explain away the etiam. The reading sicut presupposes more words than are actually in the text as it has come down to us, as some kind of comparison is normally signalled by this conjunction. If we consider sicut to be an integral part of the clause ending with effecerat, then we must posit a lacuna after effecerat, for the syntax requires some words to introduce the subordinate clause ut . . . iurarent. It seems, however, in the light of the phraseology of Sallust\* to whom this passage owes practically every word, much more likely that the omission of words was not after effecerat, but near sicut. I suggest that the contrast may be between Catiline's obligating each man by catering to his particular desire, and the creating of an esprit de corps that causes the men

as a group to swear the terrible things that they will do for furthering the conspiracy. Availing myself of the phraseology of Sallust 14, 6, I propose sicut <quemque obnoxium fidumque sibi fecerat> eos inter se etiam fidos efecerat ut . . . By such an emendation the etiam before fidos is disposed of, and a contrast is set up between sibi (Catiline) and inter se (the conspirators).

The use of the pluperfect in the principal verb might be explained as representing action antecedent to that of erat in the following sentence.

### III 11 omnes:

The context here admirably illustrates progressive corruption on the part of B and Z from the purity of X, the archetype of all the codices. Our author represents Cicero saying that Catiline by means of bribes and promises had brought about among the conspirators such an esprit de corps that sons of citizens swore to murder their parents (filii familiarum parentum iugulos); slaves, to slaughter their masters and set fire to their masters' houses (servi domorum necem et domorum incendia); and everybody, to work for the overthrow of the state (omnes rei publicae detrimenta . . . iurarent). Now we have here a series of three elements in which the first class of persons (filii familiarum), is

contrasted with the second class (servi); and both these classes together with others unnamed are comprehended by the third and final element: omnes. The final member of of the series contains the climax of evil toward which the several evil actions of the two named classes and others contribute. Notice what violence the readings of B and Z, respectively, do to the symmetry of the above scheme that existed in X and has been transmitted to A. B omits omnes, thus giving us the impression that it is the servi who have sworn the overthrow of the republic. The corruption going still further, Z not only contains no trace of omnes, but has just as completely lost rei publicae, or the abbreviation therefor, and detrimenta; whereas iurarent has been emended to minarentur. Thus, the final result of the progressive corruption is that Z contains only the first two members of the series in which the third was intended to be the climax.

#### IV 3-5 Hec . . . in vestram audientiam non venissent:

Audientia in classical Latin is employed chiefly in the phrase audientiam facere, meaning to cause to give attention, to procure a hearing.<sup>1</sup> The idea of facts coming to one's hearing or attention, as here, is not found. Even in non-classical Latin such a turn of expression as

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plautus, Poen. prol. 11 'Exsurge, praeco, fac populo audientiam.'

the present one is very uncommon. Perhaps, the quotation from Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana IV 9, 23\* comes nearest to the peculiar usage in the above passage.

IV 8 arguit:

For arguit. In the codices of the Middle Ages the orthography of the perfect stem of arceo is very often argu- (cf. T.L.L., s.v. arceo, col. 442). This spelling is due to confusion between the voiced and voiceless stops. A similar case of confusion is noted in the Cincinnati fragment of Albericus of Monte Cassino, Breviarium de Dictamine, which is in Codex A. There on fol. 5v appears the spelling docmate for dogmate.

IV 8-9 Nam vestri consulis providentia, immo vestro decreto:

Here we have a good example of the rhetorical figure known as correctio (cf. Rhet. Her. IV 26, 36; Cicero, De Oratore III 203). The speaker is clever in using this device, for at the same time he both praises himself and yet avoids envy by attributing the credit to his audience.

V 1 Vigilat noctes et dies:

The abrupt change of thought here without any transi-

tional sentence, phrase, or word strongly suggests that the archetype (X) had a lacuna either before or immediately after Vigilat.

V 1-2 cibum non nisi . . . non suscipit:

I accept the entire reading of A even with the attendant difficulty of the double negative non nisi . . . non. Since I can find no parallel to this construction of negatives in late or mediaeval Latin, I suggest that the phrase iugulis nostris intentus, intervening as it does and interrupting the thought, may have caused the author to forget that he had already written non before nisi. The position of the first non is probably to be preferred in normal Latin word order to that of the second non before suscipit. Since, according to our stemma, A and Z should not stand in common errors, I accept the reading of A Z non nisi, and reject B's reading nisi. That A and B conspire in the reading non suscipit is sufficient reason for retaining both those words. B's reading nisi . . . non suscipit would seem to be an "emendation" due to offense at the two negatives, just as Z seems to have "emended" in a different way. The reading of Z appetit iugulis nostris intentus appears to be a deliberate humanistic "emendation," which has eliminated the second non, changed the somewhat awkward word

order, and substituted a verb that is commonly used with respect to cibus, instead of the unusual suscipere (see p. 110).

V 2 iugulis nostris:

Cf. III 10 parentum iugulos.

VI 7 patriam et rem publicam:

The same combination occurs in reverse order in VII 4-5. I fail to find the two words linked together elsewhere in literature.

VI 10 fors obtulit:

Fors offerre is rather frequent in classical literature, an etymological relation, either genuine or fancied, being felt between fors and ferre.<sup>1</sup>

I have not found such a combination as sors offerre, the reading of B Z. Confusion between fors and sors is common in MSS.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Ernout and A. Meillet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1939) 381; A. Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg, 1934) 534.

The construction with fors obtulit in our text is somewhat strange, if there be not an actual omission in the archetype. The way the text stands, the infinitive phrase cum magnanimis sua consilia communicare appears to be the direct object of obtulit. I translate the passage thus: "At this point he praises Marius and bloody Cinna, and deems them fortunate because destiny presented (them the opportunity) of sharing their plans with courageous men." I fail to find a parallel to this construction.

Z, perhaps mistaking the abbreviation in Y, wrote quibus, which may in part have been suggested by the following cum.

VII 2-3 Catilina non fallitur cum sit experientia certus:

I have chosen the reading of B DFJQ: certus, and defend it thus. A contains the compendium ei<sup>o</sup> (= eius), whereas B DFJQ have written out in full certus. If certus was abbreviated in the archetype (X), it probably resembled one of the following forms: ct<sup>o</sup> in which the syllable -er is indicated simply by the short wavy line over the preceding consonant, or c̄t<sup>o</sup>, -er indicated by a horizontal line. Of the first type of abbreviation there are many examples in A and B. The second type is vouched for by Lindsay and Spagnolo.<sup>1</sup> It seems very probable that such a compendium

---

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, N. L., 336; Zentr. Bibl., XXVI 297; Spagnolo, Zentr. Bibl., XXVII 547.

in X gave rise to the different readings of A and Y. I believe that from the standpoint of palaeography it would be easier to mistake the compendium of certus for eius than vice versa, since the mark over c might be obscured. However, the defense of the reading certus can be made on other more substantial grounds.

The cum-clause with A's reading eius seems singularly weak, and even dubious from the standpoint of Latinity. Presumably, experientia would have to be considered as the subject in the nominative case, and eius, a subjective genitive. I find no parallel to such a construction with experientia. On the other hand, literature affords a number of examples in which certus is found in contrast with fallere, and other examples in which it is used with an ablative of cause similar in meaning to experientia. For certus (esse) as the opposite of falli, cf.

Sidon. Epist. VIII 6, 3 Equidem, in quantum fieri praeter lactantiam potest, gaudeo de praestantissimi viri auctoritate, si certus est, amore, si fallitur.

Aetna (Sudhaus 1898) 161 Falleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est.

For certus esse with a construction (ablative of cause) that is almost identical with that of our text, cf.

Tertul. Ad Nationes I 7 (CSEL 20) p. 67, 17 Nemo famam nominat, nisi incertus, quia nemo sit fama sed conscientia certus.

Aug. Civ. X 7 (Dombart-Kalb 1928) p. 412 immortales et beati (angeli), qui Creatoris sui participatione congaudent . . . cuius veritate certi . . . sunt.

In the quotation from Tertullian not only does the construction of conscientia resemble that of experientia, but also the idea contained in the word is similar inasmuch as conscientia here means "knowledge," and experientia is simply knowledge gained by trial and error.

VII 3-4 incuriam . . . in curiam:

This pun depends simply on word division, the quantities of the vowels in the contrasted words being exactly parallel. Although the Rhetorica ad Herennium (IV 14, 20-21) and Quintilian (Inst. IX 3, 69-70) fail to give an exact parallel of this type of word-play under the generic term trahuctio, I believe that it might be classified under the fourth category of trahuctio as treated by the Rhetorica ad Herennium IV 14, 21 "cum idem verbum ponitur modo in hac, modo in altera re, hoc modo: 'Cur eam rem tam studiose curas, quae tibi multas dabit curas?'" Quintilian (loc. cit.) says that such trahuctio is a poor device even in jokes, unworthy of rhetorical classification, and better avoided than imitated.

VII 5-6 et patrie . . . de patria . . . proditor patrie:

See I 2-3 and Commentary ad loc. Note further how closely on the previous example (incuriam . . . in curiam) this fresh example of traductio follows, and how it is even anticipated by the phrase proditor patrie which occurs in the midst of the previous word-play (incuriam, proditor patrie . . . in curiam).

VII 4-5 rei publice intenti essemus et patrie:

See V 2; VI 7 and Commentary ad loc.; and IX 2-3.

VII 5 iam pulsus non esset:

I have chosen A's reading, and construe the clause as a question. A certain amount of corroboration is lent to such a construction by the sentence that follows. Hoc enim . . . rather suggests the deliberation connoted by the preceding sentence taken as a question. Furthermore, the context following postulat contains three rhetorical questions, each introduced by cur. The reading of B Z: expulsus esset may represent an attempt at "emendation" by Y, due to a failure to recognize the clause as a question. Choosing A's non, I have deemed it best to accept pulsus too.

VII 6 sicut:

The reading of A is to be preferred to that of B or Z. It would appear that sicut had quite disappeared in Y, as the actual codex B attests, and that Z, feeling the need for a conjunction before the element mihi videtur, had supplied ut.

VIII 1-2 cur ei incendia preparat:

The reading of B, patrie, seems to be a case of deliberate "emendation." The pronoun ei was eliminated, and noun for which it stands, substituted, but placed in the same relative position as patriam in the protasis. The reason for the change may have been a desire to continue the repetition (trahuctio) of patria, the word-motif of the preceding sentences. I have chosen A's preparat instead of parat because it is easier for an element to fall out of a text than to be added, and because preparat constitutes a dactylic ending, the type of clausula for which our author shows a decided preference. Witness remanet in the following parallel sentence.

VIII 5-6 Nulla enim pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus:

I do not find the exact form of this platitude else-

where. Some of the fifteenth-century codices signal this place with the rubric nota, or the sketch of a hand with pointed index. For approximately the same idea, see Literary Parallels.

IX 2-3 quem rei publice cognoscit intentum:

The reading of B quemque videt rei publice esse intentum shows two different phenomena: (1) a scribal error in writing quemque instead of quem, an inadvertent error occasioned by the proximity of the preceding quemque; (2) a deliberate attempt to "emend" the text by substituting videt for cognoscit and introducing the infinitive esse.

In defense of A Z's reading we find ample support in Cicero and Sallust for cognoscere and a predicate adjective without esse.

For the combination rei publice . . . intentum, see V 2 and VII 4. Sallust is fond of the participial adjective intentus, employing it a number of times, generally absolutely and linked to another participle or adjective. Occasionally, however, he uses a noun with it, but it is difficult to determine whether a dative or an ablative is meant. Certainly, an ablative is attested by Cat. 2, 9 aliquo negotio intentus. The construction of the noun without in or ad is very rare outside of Sallust.

IX 4 ruina quorum sibi daret ascensum:

The reading of B Z ascensum fits the context here much better than the consensum of A. The idea of a consensum ordinum once Catiline's enemies in the Senate were overthrown sounds too strained for the single word consensum in this context. On the other hand, ascensum provides a pleasing rhetorical contrast to ruina. Furthermore, the parallelism of the entire sentence is better maintained by the reading ascensum, in that the second coordinate clause, beginning with ruina, is in effect simply a re-statement of the preceding clause, beginning quorum sanguis. A probably inadvertently wrote the more usual word.

Daret instead of det may be explained as being the apodosis of a contrary to fact condition in the present time in the Oratio Recta (cf. Gildersleeve - Lodge, 3rd ed., #467).

X 1 Videte, patres conscripti, videte:

This is a good example of the figure known as conduplicatio (geminatio), treated in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV 28, 38. Such repetition of a word or phrase is for emphasis, or for creating a pathetic affect. Cf. XI 5-6.

X 2 summam audatiam:

I have chosen the reading of B Z because it is the normal word order, and because it constitutes a dactylic ending, the type of clausula most frequent in the present oration.

X 4 quos iam morti decreverat:

I find no literary parallel of a Final Dative with decernere in the sense of damnare or destinare as for punishment. The following quotations illustrate the construction itself, which would seem to be rare:

Sall. Iug. 113, 3 diem conloquio decretum;

Tertul. Apologeticum 16 qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt.

X 4-5 Meam accusationem <non timet> quam sua conscientia comprobat:

Neither the reading of A o meam accusationem, nor the Meam accusationem with the omission of quam of B is satisfactory alone. A's reading might be construed as an accusative of exclamation, but the apostrophizing of the charges Cicero has just made seems somewhat far-fetched. Professor Rodney P. Robinson has suggested that perhaps both readings represent "emendations" on the part of A and B. A's "emen-

ation" consists in the insertion of the signal for an exclamation, o. I believe it probable that a curious o-like uncial form of m like that initial one in B's Meam (cf. Apparatus Criticus) was in X, and helped to suggest to A the "emendation" which he made. B, finding the place difficult, omitted the following quam, and thus construed Meam accusationem as the direct object of comprobat. Professor Robinson has further suggested that the phrase non timet may have occurred again in the genuine text here as a part of the non timet sequence beginning in l. 2 and reaching a climax in l. 5 Nichil timet. I have adopted the suggestion, and have added to my text the phrase non timet, placing it immediately before the relative clause introduced by quam. I chose such a position on the analogy of the positions of the preceding non timet. Furthermore, the initial m of B, in form like a small capital, militates somewhat against the position of non timet preceding Meam.

A's reading comprobat is preferable to the approbat of B, because the combination accusationem comprobare has the support of the following text from Cicero: Verr. III 168 eorum . . . dignitate accusationem meam comprobare non potero and the following epigraphical evidence: C.I.L., V 2781 ut argumentis accusationem suam non poterit comprobare. Similar support for approbare does not appear.

XI 2 Confidit . . . in:

Confidere with in and the ablative is the normal construction in the Latin of the Scriptures. Classical syntax has the dative, or the ablative without a preposition in the case of things only (Kuhner<sup>2</sup>, Gram. II 1, 399, 15).

XI 3 qua sibi sceleratorum:

On the theory that it is easier for an element to fall out of a text than to be added I adopt the reading of B qua sibi which seems to have been the reading of Y, for several of the Z-group of MSS retain the sibi, as indicated in the Apparatus Criticus.

We may assume that in X qua was symbolized q, the form that appears in the actual text of A, and that sibi was written as s (probably minuscule) with a suprascript i, the regular symbol for sibi in A. In copying from X, A wrote the s of sceleratorum, but omitted the preceding s. A's omission is thus due to haplography.

XI 5 Audietis eum, patres conscripti, audietis eum:

Cf. X 1 and Commentary ad loc.

XII 1-2 Cur furorem tuum et audaciam temperas:

In view of the fact that the nouns are closely connected and form a kind of stereotyped couplet in Cicero\*, I have chosen the word order of B Z.

XII 2-3 Cur . . . erumpit:

Although the vocabulary is from the first Catilinarian of Cicero, the thought here is diametrically opposed to Cic. Cat. I 5 and 10\*.

XII 5 placitandi:

Placitare is a mediaeval word often found in legalistic language. Of the several meanings that Du Cange lists for the word, the first is most applicable in this context, namely, "litigare, lite contendere, plaider." The Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (Migne) ascribes placitare to a time as early as the ninth century.

XII 6 displacent:

The indicative is normal after scio quia in late Latin. Löfstedt found a number of examples of the indicative in clauses introduced by quod, quia, quoniam in Oratio Obliqua

after the three verbs scio, credo, and video, in contrast to the subjunctive in the same type of clause after the other verba sentiendi et dicendi (Löfstedt, Philol. Kommentar, 120).

XIII 1-2 Cogitate . . . quid res, quid tempus postulat:

Since A and Z should not stand in common errors, I accept their postulat as the genuine text of our author, and defend it thus:

The state of affairs is critical by reason of the conspiracy, and stringent measures are required. The questions are in no sense deliberative or speculative: the audience all know that the situation demands the expulsion of Catiline from the city. Therefore, for the sake of vividness our author has seen fit to use the indicative in postulat.

In the T.L.L., s.v. cogito there is a category that may cover the present case: col. 1466, 4 sequitur interrogatio indirecta (agitur de re certa, quae fit aut facta est). Examples follow in both the indicative and the subjunctive. One example seems apposite: Prisc. Gramm. III 310, 12 cogito quae sunt difficultates stoliditatis meae. The res certa in our text would be the fact that the situation (res, tempus) demands (postulat) some measure be taken (quid).

XIII 2 omnibus rei publice:

I have chosen the reading of B Z as being preferable to that of A for the following reasons:

(1) Res publica and patria are closely associated elsewhere in this oration. Cf. VI 7 and VII 4-5.

(2) Timorem omnibus rei publice and patrie legibus . . . interitum are identical constructions in chiasmic arrangement.

(3) All previous and all subsequent references to the fear caused by the audacia, and there are many, are with regard to the personal or animate element affected by this fear. Cf. XIII 3-6.

(4) Cicero uses the idea of timorem inicere with an animate object:

Cic. Mur. 50 qui timor bonis omnibus iniectus sit; Leg. Agr. I 23 timorem bonis iniecit.

Of twelve examples of the equivalent idea in Livy, that is, inicere metum, terrorem, trepidationem, pavorem, not one has an inanimate element for the indirect object.

(5) Our author uses omnes as a pronoun in three different cases immediately following this place when he is referring to animate beings, that is, the population of the res publica.

(6) With A's reading omnibus rebus there is no appropriate contrast to patrie legibus.

⟨RESPONSIO CATILINE⟩

I Si subtiliter a circumstantibus que sit presentis actionis controversia requiratur, invenietur apertius intuentibus ille inter nos qui fuit vulpis cum agno coram

---

Titulum non exhibet pr. man. ANJ, Responsio cateline alt. man. A, post circumstantibus lac. 5 fere litt., deinde Responsio quod verbum versum claudit B, RESPONSIO CATILINAE D, cateline responsum F, titulos diversos cett. Z (cf. Con-spectum Codicum) \* I 2 requiratur om. B apertius, expressius B, a proprie (vel a prope vel a prope-re) Z \* 3 intuentibus om. B fuit vulpis, vulpis B, vulpis fuit Z

---

I 1 Cic. Caec. 57 verba subtiliter exquiri omnia noluerunt -- Leg. III 13 quaedam . . . deinde a Dione Stoico quaesita subtilius (Lael. 7) -- Quint. VII 1, 59 qui subtiliter quaeret, aliquid spectabit ultra -- Quint. IV 2, 22 ut rei . . . iniquitatem omnes etiam circumstantes intelligant (IV 2, 127; V 12, 4) -- Cic. Cat. I 21 ceterique fortissimi cives qui circumstant senatum (I 32) 2 Cic. Inv. II 62 neque ulla actionis inlata controversia -- Quint. V 13, 8 ultima est actionis controversia 2-3 Quint. II 20, 8 plenius hoc idem atque apertius intueri ex ipsis operibus volo

I 4 leone conflictus. Cum illo namque michi res agitur,  
 5 p(atres) c(onscripti), qui magis in dolosis fraudulentis-  
 que versutiis quam in cause equitate confidit. Cum illo  
 michi res agitur qui omnes spes rationesque suas in elo-  
 quentie sue torrentem coniecit; cum illo qui aliud corde

---

I 4 namque, H (= enim) B res, tres B agitur,  
 agr̄ A, agrū B patres conscripti, p.c. A B, om. Z  
 5-8 p.c. . . . confidit et qui . . . coniecit inter se mu-  
tantur B 6 in cause equitate, inequitate B, in com-  
 muni aequitate Z \* et ratione post equitate add. B  
 H (= enim) post illo add. B 7 agitur, ag<sup>i</sup> B  
 8 torrentem, senatu B \*

---

I 5 Aug. Serm. XIII 4, 4 (Migne 38) Hac ergo complexione  
 dolosa et fraudulenta ad Dominum Pharisaei accesserunt \*\*  
 Hier. In Mich. II 6, 509 (Migne 25) Adversus iniquitates  
 et mensuras dolosas et pondera fraudulenta (511)  
 6 Liv. XLII 47, 7 haec Romana esse, non versutiarum Puni-  
 carum neque calliditatis Graecae . . . 8 Quint. X 7,  
 23 se inani verborum torrenti dare (III 8, 60; XII 10, 61) --  
 Cic. Fin. II 3 cum enim fertur quasi torrens oratio

I 9 dissimulare, aliud ore simulare consuevit; cum illo qui  
 10 corde subdolo, ore trilingui, vultu hispido, barba cenosa,  
 incessu gravi, famulari mendacio proposuit, instituit, et

---

I 9 ore om. B                    10 cenosa, scenosa A                    11 gravi,  
 grandi B                    familiari B Z \*                    proposuit, posuit B  
 et om. B

---

I 9 Cic. Off. III 61 ita nec . . . quicquam simulabit aut  
 dissimulabit vir bonus -- Sall. Cat. 47, 1 Volturcius . . .  
 primo fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione -- ib. 31,  
 7 Catiline, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia  
 10 Sall. Cat. 5, 4 animus audax subdolos varius -- Vell. II  
 102 subdoli ac versuti animi    Prud. Ham. (CSEL 61) 201-  
 202 simplex lingua prius varia micat arte loquendi/et dis-  
 cissa dolis resonat sermone trisulco (587 caput trilingue  
serpentis Paradisi; Cath. 126-128 Auctor et ipse doli colu-  
 ber . . . colla trilingua) -- Verg. Aen. II 475 et linguis  
 micat ore trisulcis -- Ov. Met. III 34 tresque vibrant lin-  
 guae (draconis) -- Hor. Car. III 11, 17-20 Cerberus . . .  
 spiritus taeter saniesque manet/ore trilingui (cf. Verg.  
Aen. VI 416; Sil. Ital. 2, 551-552) -- Prov. 8, 13 et os  
 bilingue detestor (18, 8; I Tim. 3, 8)    Sil. Ital. VIII  
 401 sq. Arpinas . . . hispida                    11 Sall. Cat. 15, 5  
 citus modo modo tardus incessus -- Aul. Gell. IX 9, 14 Dica-  
do . . . cultu atque incessu serio (cf. Verg. Aen. I 46) --  
 Auson. Prof. 17, 2 (de Exuperio rhetore) Incessu gravis et  
 verbis ingentibus

I 12 iuravit, qui candida denigrat, qui nigra loquendo dealbat,  
qui aliorum famam depeculans urbes quoque mendacio pessum-  
dare consuevit.

II 1 Quapropter et michi inprimis timendum est et vobis

---

I 12 qui nigra, et nigra vel nigra Z loquedo B  
13 aliorum, auorum B depetulans A pessumdare  
mendacio B II 1 et om. Z inprimis om. Z  
est om. Z

---

I 12 Ov. Met. XI 314 Autolycus . . . candida de nigris, et  
de candentibus atra/qui facere adsuerat -- Iuv. III 30 ma-  
neant qui nigrum in candida vertunt 13 Rhet. Her. IV  
39, 51 Descriptio . . . 'sicut e cavea leo emissus aut ali-  
qua taeterrima belua soluta ex catenis . . . aliorum famam  
depeculans, aliorum caput obpugnans, aliorum domum et om-  
nem familiam perfringens, rem publicam funditus labefac-  
tans . . . ' 13-14 Cic. Inv. I 3 postquam vero commodi-  
tas quaedam, prava virtutis imitatrix, sine ratione officii  
dicendi copiam consecuta est, tum ingenio freta malitia  
pervertere urbes et vitas hominum labefactare assuevit

II 2 summopere precavendum ne plus hodie valeat palliata et erudita calliditas quam nuda et vulgaris simplicitas; Non plus sibi prosit eloquentie cavillantibus astutia quam michi

---

II 2 pcavendum A, cavendum B Z \* ne hodie plus Z palliata, pallia/ marginē tonso litt. ta non exhibet A, polluta vel polita Z 3 erudita ex ru- B Non A HNJ, om. B, ne cett. Z \* 4 plus sibi prosit, sibi plus prosit Z, quam prosit sibi B astucia A

---

II 2 Plaut. Cure. 288 sqq. tum isti Graeci palliati, capite operto qui ambulant, / qui incedunt suffarcinati cum libris . . . incedunt cum suis sententiis 3 Rhet. Her. IV 27, 37 Disiunctum . . . 'nihil Corinthis erudita calliditas praesidii tulit . . . ' Ov. Am. I 3, 14 nudaque simplicitas -- Rhet. Her. IV 56, 69 ne nuda atque inornata inventio vulgari sermone efferatur -- Quint. IV 2, 57 sq. plurimum tamen facit illa callidissima simplicitatis imitatio . . . quod . . . vir eloquentissimus . . . verbis etiam vulgaribus et quotidianis . . . consecutus est 4 Quint. VII 9, 4 ineptae sane cavillationis, ex qua tamen Graeci controversias ducunt

II 5 obsit infantis lingue ineptia. Si quo in loco igitur pro  
dicendi inopia mee cause ratio vacillabit, vestri acuminis  
examine suppleatur. Vestre namque bonitatis et prudentie

---

II 5 infantis, infamis B                    ineptia, infantia eptia  
sed -fantia del. A                    quo igitur in loco Z, quo igitur  
loco B \*                    6 mea B Z \*                    cause, om. B Z \*  
ratio vacillabit, vacillabit oratio Z \*                    vestri, ur̄i  
B, ur̄e A                    vestri acuminis . . . prudentie est om. Z  
7 prudentie et bonitatis B \*

---

II 5 Quint. V 13, 38 infantiae in dicendo (Cic. Att. IV  
16; De Or. III 142)                    Ter. Eun. 741 usque adeo illius  
ferre possum ineptiam et magnifica verba (Ad. 749; Plaut.  
Mer. 26; Prud. C. Symm. I 146, II 57 [CSEL 61,]                    6 Cic.  
Inv. I 3 nec inops dicendi sapientia -- Rhet. Her. IV 14,  
21 non inopia verborum (Cic. Tusc. II 35)                    Quint. IV 2,  
75 salva cause ratione -- ib. V 12, 14 prout ratio causae  
cuiusque postulabit (Schol. Cic. Bob. p. 6, 25 Hild.)  
7 Cic. Quinet. 54 bonitatem atque prudentiam (Betr. 140)

II 8 est non falerata verborum agmina, non canoras nugas  
 festivitatis et concinnitudinis splendentiam, sed pondus  
 10 sententiae ad ipsum sagaci indagacione perscrutari et

---

II 8 est, ÷ (= est) B, om. A \*            illius ante falerata  
add. Z            non, et Z            canoras nugas, canora Z  
 9 non ante festivitatis add. Wilmart (Analecta Reginensia,  
 290)            concinnitatis B Z \*            splendentiam A  
 splendentia Z            10 sententiae A            ad, ac Z \*  
 indagacione B

---

II 88 Ter. Phor. 500 phaleratis dictis    Tertul. Orat. 1  
 (CSEL 20) non agmine verborum adeundum putemus ad Dominum  
 (Chalc. transl. 19; 51 [Wrobel 1876]) -- Quint. VIII 6, 42  
 orationem similem agmini totidem lixas habenti quot milites  
 Hor. A. P. 322 versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae  
 9-10 Cic. Inv. I 25 exordium sententiarum et gravitatis plu-  
 rimum debet habere . . . splendoris et festivitatis et con-  
 cinnitudinis minimum    Hier. Ep. 57, 11 (Migne 22) Quis  
 pro . . . oleo possit vel legere vel intelligere . . .  
 σιληνότητα quod nos possumus dicere . . . 'splendentiam'  
 Cic. De Or. II 73 omnium sententiarum gravitate, omnium ver-  
 borum ponderibus est utendum (Inv. I 25 supra cit.)

II 11 equali lance trutinare. Quodsi nunc quoque sententiam  
adversarii fucō mendatii coloratam, lynceis ut soletis  
oculis inspiciatis, invenietis sub columbina specie  
teterrimam caudam latitare scorpionis.

---

II 11 debetis post trutinare add. Z nunc quoque, om.  
A, vos (nō HQ, om. NJ) quoque Z 12 adversarii om. B  
lynceis oculis ut soletis B 14 teterrimam B  
latrate e latratis B

---

II 11 Apoll. Sid. Ep. VI 3, 1 aequali officiorum lance cer-  
tandum -- Cod. Iust. V 27, 10 aequa lance trutinari  
12 Ambr. In Ps. 118 Serm. 13, 27, 2 (Migne 15) fucum simu-  
lationis abicias -- Ennod. Ep. VII 4, 1 (CSEL 6) fucō dis-  
simulationis -- Mirac. Steph. 1 prol. (Migne 41) mendacio-  
rum fucum 12-13 Hor. Serm. I 2, 90 Lyncei . . . oculis  
(lynceis nonnulli codd.) -- Boet. Cons. III 8, 22 quod si,  
ut Aristoteles ait, Lyncei oculis homines uterentur, ut  
eorum visus obstantia penetraret, nonne introspectis visceri-  
bus illud Alcibiadis superficie pulcherrimum corpus turpissi-  
mum videretur? (lynceis plerique codd.) 14 Codex Mona-  
censis Clm. 17142 (J. Werner, Lateinische Sprichwörter und  
Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters, Heidelberg 1912) 95 sub pul-  
chra specie latitat deceptio sepe (cf. Boet. Cons. III 8,  
22 supra cit.) Ov. Fast. IV 163 sq. elatae metuendus  
acumine caudae/Scorpions -- Vulg. Apoc. IX 10 et habebant  
caudas similes scorpionem, et aculei erant in caudis earum

III 1 Particio. Eo pacto eam et inhonestam et inutilem esse fatebimini.

IV 1 Confirmatio. Illum namque de civitate censet extorrem fieri cuius maiores eam fundavere, condidere, ab hostibus protexere et postremo ad tantum culmen honoris promovere

---

III 1 Particio om. B Z \* et ante eo add. Z (praeter HNJQ) pacto, peracto A \* et, nota 7 (= et) A, om. B Z \* 2 esse, om. B Z \* IV 1 Confirmatio om. B Z censet, censorum B extorrere B 2 fieri om. B eam maiores B condidere, construxere Z et ante ab add. Z

---

III 1 Cic. Inv. I 33 partitur apud Terentium breviter et commode senex in Andria, quae cognoscere libertum velit: 'Eo pacto et gnati vitam et consilium meum/Cognosces et quid facere in hac re te velim.' IV 3 Zeno I 7, 4 (Migne 11) quos inopinati honoris culmen extollit -- Salon. In Prov. 979 B (Migne 53) in foro tribuit illi culmen honoris -- Apul. Flor. 16, p. 74 Oud. quid igitur superest ad honoris mei tribunal et columen, ad laudis meae cumulum?

IV 4 ut imperii magnitudinem solis ortu et occasu metiremur.  
 5 Illum de civitate precipitem proturbari iubet qui nisi  
 livoris et obtractationis obstaret in ea primus vel inter  
 primos numerari deberet.

V 1 Exeat itaque de civitate Catilina et remaneat illic

---

IV 4 solis om. B                    5 proturbari A, dari (post iubet) Z \*  
 qui, cui Z \*                    6 livoris, lineas B                    obtractationis  
 A DF, obtrectationis cett. Z, detractationis B \*                    ante  
 obstaret add. contumacie B, add. causa Z \*                    vel<sub>1</sub> aut Z  
 V 1 itaque, igitur Z                    Catilina, .c. B

---

IV 4 Rhet. Her. IV 33, 44 Superlatio . . . Separatim, sic:  
 'Quodsi concordiam retinebimus in civitate, imperii magni-  
 tudinem solis ortu atque occasu metiemur' (cf. Cic. Cat. IV  
 21)                    5 Rhet. Her. IV 8, 12 In hoc genere (sc. gravi) fi-  
 gurae erit hoc exemplum: ' . . . ut eum, qui fortunas omnium  
 voluerit prodere, praecipitem proturbetis ex ea civitate' --  
 Ps.-Cic. Fridie 16 igitur ex civitate bene meritis de re pu-  
 blica civis exturbatur?                    6 Tac. Hist. I 1 obtrectatio et  
 livor (cf. Plin. Pan. 58, 4; Brut. ap. Cic. Fam. XI 10, 1) --  
 Cic. Inv. I 16 invidia atque obtrectatione quadam impediri --  
ib. II 37 ex aliquorum invidia aut obtrectatione aut falsa  
 opinione (Cic. Brut. 156; Caes. B.C. I 7; Liv. XXVIII 40, 8) --  
 Sen. Benef. VIII 8, 2 in laudem vetustorum invidia non ob-  
 stat (cf. Cic. Off. II 85 obsit invidia)

V 2 iactantia Ciceronis. Exeat de civitate civis et remaneat  
 inquilinus. Exeat de Roma Romanus et remaneat Arpinatis.  
 Exeat hinc Scipionis generosa propago et regnet istic na-  
 5 tus de paupere pago. Absit Scipionis indoles luculenta,

---

V 2 iactancia A                      Ciceronis iactantia Z                      per-  
 maneat B                      3 Arpinas Z

---

V 2 Eugraph. In Ter. Phor. 829 Phormionis iactantiam  
 3 Sall. Cat. 31, 7 M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Ro-  
 mae -- Ps.-Sall. In Cic. 1 reperticius ac paulo ante insi-  
 tus huic urbi civis      Prisc. Gram. IV 21 (Keil II 129, 2)  
 Perfecta enim eorum inveniuntur apud antiquissimos in 'tis'  
 desinentia 'hic' et 'haec' . . . 'Arpinatis' . . . Cato cen-  
 sorius . . . II originum: si quis mortuus est Arpinatis,  
 eius heredem sacra non secuntur (cf. XII 17, Keil II 587, 1.)  
 4 Ps.-Sall. In Cic. 1 ubiubi M. Tullius, leges iudicia rem  
 publicam defendit atque in hoc ordine ita moderatur, quasi  
 unus reliquus e familia viri clarissimi, Scipionis Africani  
 5 Plaut. Cist. 560 ubi tu locere in luculentam familiam --  
 Sall. Cat. 31, 6 tum M. Tullius consul . . . orationem habuit  
 luculentam

V 6 assit balatronis soboles lutulenta.

VI 1 Quodsi Scipio nunc ille viveret, nonne tali uteretur allo-  
quio: "Ego vicinos in patriam introduxi, vos inde cives eicitis.

V 6 assit . . . lutulenta om. Z lutulenta, plane ex-  
hibet luculenta B VI 1 Quod si A B LNQ, Quid si cett. Z  
nunc om. B CENf uteretur alloquio, alloquio frueretur B  
2 vicinos ego, uici nos B, uici uos A, uici ego vos (ego om.  
LM; nos K) Z \* introduxi in patriam B vos, nos B K  
inde, tamen Z praeter L cives, cines A eicitis B

V 6 Schol. Hor. Serm. II 3, 166 balatrones dicuntur rustici  
homines inepti et triviales Cic. De Or. III 153 neque enim  
illud fugerim dicere . . . nec 'prolem' aut 'subolem' . . .  
aut alia multa, quibus loco positis grandior atque antiquior  
oratio saepe videri solet Cic. Piso. 27 lutulente Caeso-  
nine -- Rosc. Com. 20 persona illa lutulenta VI 1  
Rhet. Her. IV 53, 66 Conformatio . . . Item: 'Quodsi nunc  
Lucius ille Brutus revivescat et hic ante pedes vestros adsit,  
is non hac utatur oratione: . . . ' -- Cic. Cael. 33 Caecus  
ille . . . qui profecto, si extiterit, sic aget ac sic loque-  
tur Fulg. Rusp. Ep. 17, 3, 4 (Migne 65) Gabriel angelus  
hoc usus invenietur alloquio 2 Rhet. Her. IV 53, 66 'Ego  
reges eleci, vos tyrannos introducitis'

VI 3 Ego Romam capitis mei periculo protexi, vos inde nomen meum  
delere conamini. Ego feci quod non erat ut esset, vos ibi  
5 nepotes meos morari non sinitis." Iam iam, ut arbitror,  
p(atres) c(onscripti), qualiter sit inhonesta cognoscitis.

---

VI 3 Ego ante capitis iter. et del. A capitis, cap-  
tus B periculo capitis mei Z 4 delere ex de-  
lerere A quod, que B me ante ibi add. Z  
5 nepotes meos om. Z ut, nunc (non N) Z 6 in-  
honestas sit A \* cognoscitis, conicitis B

---

VI 3 Rhet. Her. IV 53, 66 ego capitis mei periculo patriam  
liberavi, vos liberi sine periculo esse non curatis?' --  
Ps.-Cic. Pridie 1 mei capitis periculo (cf. 6 et 16)  
4 Vulg. Deut. 9, 14 dimitte me ut conteram eum et deleam no-  
men eius sub caelo (saepe in Vulg. et lat. eccl. delere no-  
men) -- Rhet. Her. IV 53, 66 'ego libertatem, quae non erat,  
peperi, vos partem servare non sultis' 5 Rhet. Her. IV  
15, 22 Exclamatio . . . 'Te nunc adloquor, Africane, cuius  
mortui quoque nomen splendori ac decori est civitati. Tui  
clarissimi nepotes suo sanguine aluerunt inimicorum crudeli-  
tatem.' 6 Rhet. Her. IV 26, 35 Transitio vocatur, quae  
cum ostendit breviter, quid dictum sit, proponit item brevi,  
quid consequatur, hoc pacto: . . . Item: 'Mea in istum  
beneficia cognoscitis; nunc, quomodo iste mihi gratiam re-  
tuleris, accipite'

VII 1 Nunc sic qualiter sit inutilis vehementer attendite.  
 Nam si sententiam illam approbaveritis, maximas calamitates  
 publicas et privatas suscipietis, rei publice hostes acer-  
 rimos et asperrimos comparabitis, vobis ipsis mortale  
 5 odium et invidiam summam conflabitis. Urbem non solo, ut

---

VII 1 sic A B Q, sicut N, scitis H, om. cett. Z \*  
 sit om. B vehementer om. Z 2 sententiam illam  
 A DFLQ, illam sententiam B, sententiam cett. Z pro-  
 baveritis B Z \* 3 rei publice, .r. p. A B  
 4 comprobabitis B Z \*

---

VII 2 Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48 Maximis privatis et publicis  
 calamitatibus acceptis (sic editio Marx, sed plerique codd.  
 maximas privatas et publicas calamitates, omnes autem ac-  
 cepistis. Halm acceptis.) 3 Rhet. Her. II 19, 28 Ini-  
 micum enim acerrimum de medio tollere volebat 4-5 mor-  
 tale odium, cf. Commentarium ad loc. 5 Cic. Cat. I 23  
 si mihi inimico, ut praedicas, tuo conflare vis invidiam,  
 recta perge in exsilium -- Cluent. 79 summam illi iudicio  
 invidiam infamiamque esse conflata Sall. Cat. 49, 4  
 magnam illi invidiam conflaverant

VII 6 putatis, Catilina sed quam pluribus civibus vacuabitis; et, quod est extreme dementie placidissimos amicos infestissimos reddemus inimicos.

VIII 1 Reprehensio. Sed per deos immortales! quorsum adversarii disputatio tota pertinuit? Coniurationem namque

---

VII 6 Catilina, cati. B                      evacuabitis B                      7 est  
post dementie transp. B                      dementie Z, demencie ex de-  
 menicie A, clementie B                      infestissimos om. B  
 8 reddetis Z                      VIII 1 Rephensio A, rephen/ in marg.  
pr. man. B, om. Z                      2 disputatio, disputō A, disputacio  
 B, deprecatio Z

---

VII 6 Varro ap. Prob. Ad Verg. Ecl. 6, 31 vacuata eo metu urbe -- Front. Strat. III 6, 2 vacuatam auxiliis Delminum cepit -- Mart. Ep. XI 5 Elysium liceat si vacuare nemus  
 7 Sall. Iug. 3, 3 extremae dementiae est (cf. Caes. B. G. IV 13, 3)      Cic. Caec. 28 eum placidum mollemque reddidi (Plaut. Cure. 727; Ter. Ad. 534)      Sall. Cat. 19, 1 infestum inimicum Gn. Pompeio      VIII 1 Cic. Dom. 116  
 quorsum igitur haec oratio pertinet? -- Red. Quir. 5 quorsum igitur haec disputo? quorsum?

VIII 3 indignum facinus ostendere laboravit cum an coniuratio  
 facta sit ambigatur, et de ea queritur non sumptum esse  
 5 supplicium de quo nondum constitutum sit iudicium.

---

VIII 3 an, autem B sed alt. man. ā inter coniuratio et  
 facta supra rigam inser. 4 ea codd. \* queri-  
 tur, q̄r A B L, qre HQ, quare N, quasi cett. Z \* sump-  
 tum non B esse, est HNQ, om. cett. Z 5 qua B  
 Z \* sit constitutum (stitu- in fine versus) B

---

VIII 3 Cic. Inv. II 58 indignum facinus 4-5 Cic. Inv.  
 II 80 ac simul ostendere non oportuisse ante supplicium  
 quam iudicium interponere -- ib. 81 postea impudentiam de-  
 monstrare eorum, qui eum apud iudices accusent, quem sine  
 iudicibus ipsi condemnarint, et de eo iudicium faciant, de  
 quo iam ipsi supplicium sumpserint -- ib. 82 postea demon-  
 strabitur, ne si iudicio quidem illa damnata esset, in quam  
 id crimen ab reo conferatur, potuisse hunc ipsum de illa  
 supplicium sumere; quare esse indignum eum, qui ne de dam-  
 nata quidem poenas sumere ipse potuisset, de ea supplicium  
 sumpsisse, quae ne adducta quidem sit in iudicium

VIII 6 Clamat et delirat, "O scelus indignum! Catilinam penas non iam pro coniuratione dedisse!" quasi de coniuratione constaret, cum non magis id probando quam id dicendo sue sententiae basim constituit de quo solum mentio facta est,

---

VIII 6 et om. B delirat A B HLNQ, dolet cett. Z  
 indignum scelus Z catelinam B non iam penas Z  
 7 dedisse pro coniuratione B 8 id dicendo, dicendo Z  
 9 de quo . . . est, et id solum certum denuntiat Z  
 mencio A

---

VIII 6 Rhet. Her. IV 49, 62 Imago . . . Vituperationis . . .  
 Ut in invidiam adducat, hoc modo: 'Iste, qui divitias suas iactans, sicut Gallus e Phrygia aut ariolus quispiam, depressus et oneratus auro clamat et delerat.' (delirat codd. b 1 in apparatu critico Marx editionis) scelus indignum, cf. VIII 3 6-7 Catilinam . . . dedisse, cf. VIII 4-5  
 9 Vulg. Fil. Sirach 6, 30 bases virtutis (Non. p. 520; Ambr. Hex. VI 9, 58 [CSEL 32,])

VIII 10 quod nec testibus nec argumentis probatum est sed falsa quadam suspitione que facile quovis quoquo modo confingi potest.

---

VIII 10 est probatum Z            11 suspitione A            que  
facile quovis, confictum que a quovis Z \*            confingi,  
constringi B

---

VIII 10 Cic. Inv. II 58 eiusmodi sunt, ut . . . ut in quodam iudicio . . . in accusatione autem alia quaedam crimina testibus et argumentis confirmarentur, parricidii autem mentio solum facta esset            9-11 Rhet. Her. II 7, 11 Contra argumenta et signa et ceteras suspiciones dicemus hoc modo: si demonstrabimus nullam rem esse, quam non suspicionibus quivis possit criminari; . . . dabimus operam, ut ostendamus . . . indignum facinus esse sine testibus coniecturam et suspicionem firmamenti satis habere -- ib. 8 12 Contra rumores dicemus primum, si docebimus multos esse falsos rumores, et exemplis utemur, de quibus falsa fama fuerit; et aut iniquos nostros aut homines natura malivolos et maledicos confinxisse dicemus . . . neque tamen ei rumori nos fidem habere dicemus, ideo quod quivis unus homo possit quamvis turpem de quolibet rumorem proferre et confictam fabulam dissipare

IX 1 Nam quia Catilina tam summatibus quam popularibus est acceptus, quia noti ignoti cives peregrini nobiles et ignobiles domum eius frequentant; quod eo munificentior affabilliorque vivit nullus quod et habet quod det et dat nemo largius idcirco coniurationem ab eo factam esse contendit.

---

IX 1 Catilina, ca. B .P.C. post Catilina add. Z  
 summatibus quam popularibus A B DF, popularibus quam sum-  
 matibus cett. Z 2 ignoti noti B Z \* 2-3 et  
 ignobiles om. Z 4 et om. B CE quod om. B  
nota 7 (= et) post habet add. B dat, det A B  
 5 esse om. B nonnulli dett.

---

IX 1 Cod. Theod. 13, 4, 32 Alexandrinae et Carpathiae clas-  
 sis summates -- Plaut. Stich. 492 ergo oratores populi, sum-  
 mates viri, summi accubent (Pseud. 227; Amm. XV 6, 12; Apoll.  
 Sid. III 11, 1) Sall. Iug. 7, 1 hominem tam acceptum po-  
 pularibus -- ib. 70, 2 hominem . . . carum acceptumque popu-  
 laribus suis 2 Rhet. Her. IV 39, 51 notos atque igno-  
 tos incursitans, aliorum famam depeculans -- Cic. Verr. I  
 19 putabam non solum notis, sed etiam ignotis probatam meam  
 fidem esse (I 31) Cic. Phil. XIII 45 omnes te di homi-  
 nes . . . cives peregrini . . . oderunt 3 Sall. Cat.  
 20, 7 ceteri omnes . . . nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus  
 fuimus sine gratia domum eius frequentant, cf. Or. Tull.  
 III 6 Sall. Cat. 5, 4 sui profusus (Catilina)

IX 6 Quodsi ab omnibus amari, frequentari, visitari, deduci, reduci, consuli id demum coniurationem vocamus, iam Cato quoque Lelius, Scipio, preterea quivis liberalis et

---

IX 6 omnibus, hominibus B pars Z consuli ante visitari  
transp. Z 6-7 deduci, reduci om. Z 7 id demum om. Z  
 Cato, Catilina Z 8 quoque, id et Z  
 Lelius, lesius B et ante Scipio add. Z quivis  
 preterea B quivis om. Z liberalis A B LNQ,  
 liberal̄ H, liberales cett. Z et ante dapsillis om. B

---

IX 6-7 Cic. Cato 63 haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, ad-surgi, deduci, reduci, consuli: quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur -- Plan. Ep. II 9, 6 diligeris, coleris, frequentaris -- Apoll. Sid. V 5, 3 amaris, frequentaris, ex-peteris 7-8 Cic. Verr. III 209 Africanos mihi et Catones et Laelios commemorabis? (Inv. I 5) -- Quint. XII 10, 39 non Scipio, Laelius, Cato in eloquendo velut Attici Romanorum fuerunt?

IX 9 dapsilis coniurationis accersitur. Quibus hominis re-  
 10 cognoscitur ingenerata proprietates, has tantum suspitiones  
 refellere volui.

X 1 Nam illud quod de filii nece, a pio patre perpetratur  
 sic incredibile est ut sine rationum patrocinio deleatur

---

IX 9 dapsilis A HNQ, om. L, dapsibilis B, dapsiles cett. Z  
 accersitur corrupte (accersis, accersitum, etc.) Z  
 hominis ego, h̄ oīs(om̄is B) (= hec omnis) A B 9-X 1 Qui-  
 bus . . . Nam om. Z \* 9 recognoscitur A, (omnis)ve  
 cognoscitur B 10 ignorata B tantum; tm̄ A,  
 tm̄ (=tamen) B X 1 quod, vero quod vel quod vero Z  
 de om. B de filii nece seclusi \* perpetratur;  
 perpetratum esse dixit Z \* 2 sic om. B est in-  
 credible Z sine, si non A \*

---

IX 9 Dares 13 Achillem . . . largum, dapsilem (ib.12; Drac.  
Laud. Dei II 817) 10 Cic. Sest. 21 ingenerata familiae  
 frugalitas X 1 illud . . . perpetratur; cf. Or. Tull.  
 IV 2-3 Plaut. Pseud. 1269 postquam opus meum ut volui omne  
 perpetravi (Cas. 701) -- Liv. I 6 perpetrata caede --Apul.  
Met. X 8 nec patiar . . . manifestum homicidium perpetrari

X 3 presertim cum vestrum neminem super hoc dubitationis scrupulo promoveri confidam.

XI 1 Illud potius michi ammonendum puto nemini mirandum si

---

X 3 ur̄m (nr̄m B) neminem A B, neminem vestrum Z hac A  
 4 confidam; c̄fidā A, considera B XI 1 potius michi,  
 potius B, mihi potius Z ammonendum ego, ammouendum A,  
 admouendum B, admonendum vel amouendum (vel admo-) Z  
 mirandum, iurandum A

---

X 3 Cic. Att. XVI 6, 1 hac super re scribam ad te Rhegio --  
 1b. X 8, 10 sed super hac re nimis Aug. Civ. IX 23 (Teub-  
 ner), p. 339, 26 cum res ipsa ita clareat, ut ab scrupulo  
 dubitationis aliena sit -- Cic. Cluent. 76 hic tum iniectus  
 est hominibus scrupulus et quaedam dubitatio -- Har. Resp.  
 11 si . . . sine cuiusquam dubitatione potero; sin scrupulus  
 tenuissimus residere alicui videbitur . . . XI 1-2  
Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48 Licentia . . . hoc modo: 'Miramini,  
 Quirites, quod ab omnibus vestrae rationes deserantur? quod  
 causam vestram nemo suscipiat? . . . desinite mirari

XI 2 solus omnium Catiline prolocutor appaream. Hoc enim minis,  
prece, precio Ciceronis effectum est ut nemo se Catiline  
tutorem audeat profiteri. Ex quo satis perspicue patet  
5 quanta cause iniquitate nitatur. Nequam namque partem

---

XI 2 Catiline, cati. B, Catilina Z                    apparet Z  
3 precio prece B                    Ciceronis ante prece transp. Z  
confectum Z                    tutorem Catiline A \*                    Catiline,  
taute linee B                    4 confiteri B Z \*                    post confiteri  
deficit Z                    5 quanta in -tae alt. man. B                    cause,  
cē A, ēē (= esse) B                    iniquitate, ī equitate in ī equi-  
tatis alt. man. B

---

XI 3-4 Ps.-Quint. decl. Tribun. Mar. 3 (G. Lehnert, Quint. Declamationes XIX Maiores, Leipzig 1905) fictum precor om-  
nis crimen agnoscite, quod tribuno mendacissimus prolocutor  
obiecit -- Charta Eberhardi Episcopi Saltzb. in Chron. Reichersperg. ann. 1160 (Du Cange V) et absque legitimo Pro-  
locutore praedia, quae impugnantur, Ecclesia perdat    Hor.  
Epist. II 2, 173 nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc mor-  
te suprema -- Hirt. Bell. Afr. 91 nec minis nec precibus  
suis moveri    3-4 Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48 (vide XI 1 supra) . . .  
quod se nemo vestri defensorem profiteatur?    5 quanta . . .  
nitatur, cf. I 5-6 qui . . . confidit

XI 6 nutrire videtur qui sic adversario copiam subtrahit defendendi.

XII 1 Conclusio. Pluribus verbis, p(atres) c(onscripti), vos ab adversarii sententia immo dementia dehortari non est consilium, presertim cum nec vos mei egeatis, et quae iam dicta sunt satis iam satis ad eam improbandam sufficere

---

XI 6 quid B	subtrahat copiam B	deforendi <u>in</u>
defendendi <u>corr.</u>	<u>alt.</u> <u>man.</u> B, defendenti A *	XII 1
Conclusio. <u>om.</u> B	2 sententia A	dementia A
dehortari <u>om.</u> B	3 nec vos <u>om.</u> B *	non <u>ante</u>
egeatis <u>add.</u> B *		

---

XII 1-2 Rhet. Her. III 24, 40 Pluribus verbis ad eam te hortari non est sententia -- Sall. Iug. 24, 4 Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea 3 Rhet. Her. IV 8, 12 Nequeo verbis consequi, iudices, indignitatem rei; sed negligentius id fero, quia vos mei non egetis

4 Ter. Andr. 820 satis iam satis, Simo, spectata erga te amicitias mea

XII 5 possunt. Demonstratum est namque qualiter ex ea summa turpitudine sequatur. Ostensum est quod in ea calamitates publice privateque alantur, et que pro ea dicebantur tenuiter et nugatorie dici firmissima est ratiocinatione collectum. Quapropter verborum multorum supersedendum putavi.

---

XII 6 sequitur B                      7 private A \*                      8 negative B \*  
 est om. B                      ratiocinatione, ratiocinatione A, ratiocinatione B  
 9 supersedendum B \*                      Expliciunt. A, EXPLICIT B.

---

XII 5 Rhet. Her. IV 56, 69 (prope finem libri) Demonstratum est enim, quomodo . . .                      5-6 Rhet. Her. III 5, 9  
 considerare, quae sit turpitudine consequutura                      6 calamitates . . . privateque; cf. VII 3                      7-8 Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48 Licentia . . . Item: . . . non omnes hae testibus comprobatae? non contra tenuiter et nugatorie responsum?  
 8 Cic. Inv. I 21 ab aliqua firmissima ratione nostrae dictionis                      9 Cic. Inv. I 28 non minus rerum non necessariarum quam verborum multitudine supersedendum est (I 30; II 57; Rhet. Her. II 19, 30 bis)

RESPONSIO CATILINE

\*

COMMENTARY

Title: I have chosen the caption of the late hand of A because it is a brief and convenient designation of which the first half, i. e., Responsio, is actually found, somewhat curiously placed, at the end of the first line of text in B. However, the absence of a title in the text proper of A, and the great diversity of titles, or complete absence thereof, among the deteriores point to the absence of a title in the archetype (X) as well as in Y and Z. The corresponding lacunae at the end of the first line of text in both the Oratio Tullii and the Responsio Catiline of B would seem to indicate that the little works were to be distinguished solely by their incipits. As an after-thought, B appears to have added Responsio, which may very well have stood in the margin at that point in the exemplar from which he was copying, to indicate solely that the second piece should be considered as the reply to the first.

It is to be noted that the agreement of D F in good readings (see p. 78 and App. Crit. passim) does not extend to the matter of titles for the invectives. Moreover, the agreement, except in orthography, of the titles of the late second hand of A, and D for the second piece is probably fortuitous, as there is no such correspondence for the first invective.

I 1 circumstantibus:

Cicero uses circumstare only transitively, and the idea of defense or siege is connoted. It is later that the verb is employed very often intransitively, and the present participle is used substantively. No longer is the idea of hostility uppermost. Thus, in Quintilian's time circumstantes comes to mean simply the spectators in a law-court, as the examples cited in the Literary Parallels show.

I 2-3 apertius intuentibus:

The use of apertius with intueri is confirmed by Quintilian II 20, 8\* (cf. also Cicero, Cat. II 4 cum hostem aperte videretis, and ib. 6 ut vos omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis). The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae considers apertius and aperte in these contexts to mean dilucide, that is, "clearly" or "distinctly". The meaning of the phrase in our text seems to be "by those of keener insight".

The expressius of B gives much the same meaning, but lacks authority, since Z sides with A rather than with B. B's reading appears to be a gloss or 'learned correction' of one who found apertius with a verb of seeing, troublesome. (Although intuentibus is lacking in B, it was cer-

\* See footnote, p. 109.

tainly in Y, as Z attests.)

The a proprie of Z seems to derive from a wrong expansion of a compendium for apertius in Y. An attempt to consider intuentibus a parallel construction to a circumstantibus of the protasis may account for the first syllable of the compendium having been taken as the preposition a.

I 3 vulpis cum agno coram leone conflictus:

The metaphor involving the reference to an animal fable has a mediaeval flavor, suggesting an episode from the cycle of Reynard the Fox. I have, however, been unsuccessful in my attempts to identify this particular fable. The interpretation of the metaphor would seem to put Cicero in the role of the fox, who is always cunning and eloquent; Catiline, in the role of the lamb, innocent, but falsely accused by the fox; and the Roman senate, in that of the lion, who is the arbiter of the case. The fox-like qualities of Cicero are, in effect, elaborated in the following sentences, containing the cum illo sequence.

This rather novel point of departure for the oration would seem to be in line with the treatment of the exordium by insinuatio, found in both the Auctor ad Herennium and the De Inventione of Cicero (cf. Rhet. Her. I 6-7; Inv. I 20-21). Instead of using a principium or direct approach

to his argument, Catiline, rightly estimating the effectiveness of Cicero's oration and the dubious character of his own case, tries to win his audience by indirection. It is for this reason that he begins with a reference to a homely fable, and then attempts to enlist the sympathy of his audience by representing himself as having a terrific handicap in the legal battle with a master of eloquence and duplicity like Cicero.

I 6 versutiis:

The use of versutia in the plural is indeed unusual. The quotation from Livy\* offers the only parallel I have been able to find.

I 7 spes rationesque suas:

I fail to find this combination elsewhere. (The combination spes-opes is found in Cic. Cat. III 16, and in Sall. Jug. 114, 4 and 107, 4.) For the meaning of rationes here, cf. Sall. Cat. 44, 5 consideres, quid tuae rationes postulent, also 56, 5 alienum suis rationibus existumans.

I 7-8 in eloquentie sue torrentem (senatu B):

B's reading senatu in place of torrentem may conceivably

be a corruption of sonitu (or sonitū), which seems to fit the context here. The word may have been a gloss on torrentem, which the ignorant scribe of B mistook as a "correction". The text of B contains many instances of confusion between e and o. Although usually e has been corrupted into o, the opposite change has taken place in Resp. Cat. IV 5 where B reads lineas instead of liuoris. There is this additional consideration for accounting for the a in senatu, namely, that etymologically sonitus is closely related to the verb sonare whose perfect passive participle sometimes appears as sonatus, which form was adopted by the vernacular, e. g., sonato or suonato of Italian. The following texts from Cicero make it appear that sonitum would serve as a rather appropriate gloss on torrentem, which certainly connotes both the ideas of cursor and sonitus (clamor):

Orator 97 hanc eloquentiam, quae cursu magno sonituque fertur, quam suspicerent omnes

De Or. III 136 eloquentiam, quam in clamore et in verborum cursu positam putant

ib. I 51 quid tam furiosum, quam verborum, vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum, sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia?

Att. I 14, 5 nosti in hac materia sonitus nostros  
(that is, "the thunder of my speech").

I 10 ore trilingui:

Trilinguis like trisulcus is an epithet of the serpent, as the examples from Prudentius\* so well illustrate. The serpent, particularly in a Christian milieu, is symbolical of deceit. Such must be the connotation in this passage where the entire context, moreover, emphasizes that idea (e. g., aliud ore simulare . . . corde subdolo).

In view of this, the Horatian combination ore trilingui\* although an exact parallel as regards form, seems irrelevant. Yet, I hesitate to dismiss it as our author seems to have borrowed elsewhere (cf. Resp. Cat. II 8, II 12-13, V 6, XI 3) from Horace, and the picture of Cerberus is the sort of passage that would stand out in the memory, and find its way into the florilegia. Perhaps the phrase out of its Horatian context appealed to our author who applied it to the deceitful serpent with which Cicero is compared.

I 10-11 vultu . . . gravi:

The physical characteristics are those of the philosopher or charlatan, according to the "popular" notion. The beard like the pallium (cf. II 2-3 palliata et erudita calliditas) is always associated with the philosopher. Thus, we find in Aulus Gellius IX 2, 2 mention of these

symbols of the profession:

video, inquit Herodes, barbam et pallium, philosophum non video

ib. XIII 8, 5 nihil enim fieri posse indignius neque intolerantius dicebat, quam quod homines . . . operti barba et pallio, mores et emolumenta philosophiae in linguae verborumque artes converterent.

Martial, furthermore, depicts the beard of a Cynic as being filthy:

IV 53, 3 f. cui cana putrisque/ stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit.

The gait and mien of these charlatans had a feigned seriousness and solemnity (incessu gravi). We are reminded here of the low-type of philosophers, described by Tacitus, who for the honor of an invitation to the court of Nero were quite ready to parade their seriousness for the amusement of the guests: Ann. XIV 16 ad fin. nec deerant qui ore vultuque tristi inter oblectamenta regia spectari cuperent.

I ll famulari:

I accept A's reading rather than B Z's familiari for the following reasons: (1.) An unintelligent copyist might easily "correct" famulari to the more usual familiari, but the reverse would not occur. (2.) Famulari has a more pejorative connotation than familiari, and the context of the passage seems to require a word that is de-

finitely derogatory. Familiari is somewhat ambiguous, as it may be translated in several different ways, no one of which is especially disparaging. Now famulari, without equivocation, denotes the quality of a slave. Since the charlatans of Rome were often of servile origin, the epithet is quite appropriate applied to their prevarication (mendacio). Such persons, even though perhaps no longer slaves, have not abandoned the cheap tricks which they were wont to employ to gain their ends when they were still slaves.

The preceding caricature in general is applied to Cicero, inasmuch as he is of non-Roman origin, of a much more humble family and social class than Catiline, is a master of words (and therefore of deception!), and makes pretensions to being a philosopher.

I 4-14 Cum illo . . . pessumdare consuevit:

The sentences are noteworthy for the way their parts are knit together by an ingenious use of repetition. Phrases, words, and syllables are repeated in the transition from one part of the sentence to the next, and occasionally a word is the echo of something not immediately preceding, but more remote. The linking together of the various elements of the whole, and the repetitions can be represented thus:

(4) . . . Cum illo . . . michi res agitur . . . (5)  
 . . . qui . . . in . . . (6) . . . in . . . con-(fi-  
dit). Cum illo (7) michi res agitur qui . . . in . . .  
 (8) con-(iecit); cum illo qui aliud corde (9) (dis)-  
simulare, aliud ore simulare consuevit; cum illo qui  
 (10) corde . . . ore . . . (11) . . . mendacio . . .  
 (12) . . . qui . . . de-nigrat, qui nigra . . . de-(al-  
bat), (13) qui . . . mendacio . . . (14) . . . consuevit.

Is not all this clever connection of words and clauses nothing other than the concinnitudinis splendentia against which Catiline is about to warn his audience? Thus, our author, with his tongue in his cheek, gives us an amusing ironical affect.

## II 2 precavendum:

On the basis of the axiom that it is easier for something to fall out of a text than to be added, I accept the reading of A, which is a compound verb frequent in classical usage, and found a number of times in Cicero; however, Caesar, rather than Cicero, seems to offer the most apposite parallel:

B. G. I 38, 2 id ne accideret, magnopere sibi precavendum Caesar existimabat.

## II 3 Non:

Non would seem to have existed in the archetype (X), as A HNJ attest. The rest of the Z codices have ne while the evidence of B is lacking. Since I find no instance of

the compendium  $\bar{n}$  having the value of the independent word ne, despite the fact that syllabic -ne<sup>1</sup> is sometimes thus abbreviated, I doubt that the symbol n intended for ne stood in<sup>a</sup> codex preceding X. Moreover, the capitalization of the initial n of Non, as A H attest, helps to make it appear that an independent negative sentence was intended, and not a clause coordinate with ne . . . valeat.

One, of course, expects ne in an independent subjunctive clause of this type, but non may be assigned to the idiosyncrasy of our author to whom I would attribute this lectio difficilior.

## II 5 infantis linguae ineptia:

The combination is contrary to the usual thought, often expressed with some form of ineptus or ineptia, to the effect that grandiloquent language or mincing of words often cloaks foolish and trivial ideas. Cf. Quint. VII 9, 4\* and Ter. Eun. 741\*. Cicero tells us (De Or. II 17) when a speaker is ineptus. A halting tongue, and lack of eloquence are not mentioned as marks of the ineptus. In brief, according to Cicero, the ineptus is one who does not say the right thing at the right time, but all too often indulges in irrelevant verbiage. The very erudite na-

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Commentary on X 2; also Lindsay, N.L., 327-330; Bains, 52.

tion of the Greeks is especially ridden with this vice — so much so, that they are blind to it, and have no word for it!

Ineptia with its usual connotation of foolishness or absurdity appears strange in the light of the two sentences that follow in this context. Catiline would certainly not regard the content of his defence as foolishness (ineptia) even though he was halt of tongue (infantis lingue). However, if the literal meaning of ineptia is uppermost, in accordance with the etymology of ineptus, that is, non aptus, as given in De Oratore II 17, we may understand that Catiline means that oratorical deficiencies are sadly out of place at a critical time like the present when he is defending himself against a master of eloquence and deception.

Ineptia\* in the singular is found in ante- and post-classical Latin. Cicero always uses the plural.

## II 5 quo in loco igitur:

I adopt the word order of A, primarily because of the good quality of A in other respects in this sentence. Furthermore, an examination of many examples in the T.L.L. reveals to me that igitur quite often stands at a considerable distance from the beginning of the clause.

II 6 mee cause ratio:

I adopt A's reading. This place illustrates very well both the common descent of B and Z from Y, and the progressive corruption of the text from its purity, here represented by A alone. The corruption began, it appears, with Y, as cause is omitted in B and Z. Then mee, now meaningless, was changed to mea, as B Z also attest. Whether Y intended inopia mea or mea ratio is uncertain. Finally, Z "emended" ratio to oratio, and placed it after vacilla-  
bit.

II 5-6 pro dicendi inopia:

Pro meaning "by reason of", "because of" is a common mediaevalism (cf. Strecker, 38).

II 7 bonitatis et prudentie est:

In this place where Z is lacking I accept the word order of A for the noun combination, which, moreover, is the same which Cicero used in the Pro Quinctio 54\*.

I adopt the est of B, because the ellipsis of the verb, as in A, seems unnatural, and because the omission of est symbolized as e can easily have occurred through haplography by reason of the final e of prudentie. Conversely, this is an argument for the word order of A,

bonitatis et prudentie.

II 8-9 non canoras nugas festivitatis:

I have kept the text precisely as it stands in A B. Wilmart's addition of a non before festivitatis is as undesirable as it is unnecessary. In this place we seem to have two pairs of an accusative with a limiting genitive in chiasmic order: nugas festivitatis et concinnitudinis splendentiam, and the one non before canoras nugas serves for both accusatives.

II 9 concinnitudinis:

I adopt the reading of A in preference to the concin-  
nitatis of B Z. Concinnitudinis is the lectio difficilior  
in that it is a very rare word. It was coined by Cicero  
from concinnus, used once in the De Inventione I 25\*, and  
then abandoned. Later, Cicero coined concinnitas, which  
he used a number of times in the Orator ad Brutum and in  
the Brutus (cfm T. L. L., s. v. concinnitudo and concinni-  
tas). The fact that our author has employed another very  
rare word, splendentiam, immediately following concinnitu-  
dinis, and further on, the archaic Arpinatis (V 3), to  
say nothing of other archaizing and pedantic tendencies,  
helps to confirm concinnitudinis as the genuine text. Finally,

there is the very important evidence for the correctness of A's reading, derived from a comparison of the context with that of the De Inventione I 25. In treating of the exordium of an oration Cicero advises that there should be "splendoris et festivitatis et concinnitudinis minimum". The extent of the analogy of our passage with that of Cicero is at once apparent. The juxtaposition of festivitatis and concinnitudinis is striking. Furthermore, splendentiam is simply a rare synonym for splendor.

How does it happen that Y has the reading concinnitatis? I think that we may assume that so uncommon a word as concinnitudinis required a gloss or marginal note. Thus, some reader may have entered in the margin of Y the synonym concinnitatis, which B and Z copied rather than the text itself.

## II 9 splendentiam:

Instead of splendorem which we would expect our author to write, after analogy with the phrase from the De Inventione cited above, he uses a very rare word splendentiam, which Jerome, Ep. 57, 11 (Migne 22),\* employed once in an attempt to translate the Greek στειλνότητα, meaning "shininess" or "glitter", as of oil. The lapse into late Latin spoils the Ciceronian effect of the preceding words, but splendentia covers the idea better because it has a decided

disparaging tone that splendor lacks. Although Ernesti<sup>1</sup> states that the term splendor connotes in general clarity, dignity, and elegance, and gives examples of many good uses of the word in rhetorical writings, he interprets the term in De Inventione I 25 as being somewhat derogatory.

II 10 ad ipsum:

The meaning seems clearly that of ipsum per se. The Senate is wont to examine carefully and weigh on an honest scales the substance or gist (pondus) alone (ad ipsum) of a motion (sententia) — not its rhetorical trappings. However, I am unable to find a parallel to ad ipsum. I suggest that the use of ad in this phrase may be analogous to its mediaeval force of 'by' or 'according to' in connection with numbers, weights, and measures, and especially in the phrase ad pondus.<sup>2</sup> The legitimacy of the entire figure expressed here in II 6-8 is vouched for by the following two very apt literary parallels:

---

<sup>1</sup> I. C. T. Ernesti, Lexicon Technologiae Latinorum Rhetoricae (Leipzig, 1797) pp. 367-370.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baxter-Johnson-Abrahams, A Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources (Oxford, 1934), s. v. ad; cf. also T.L.L. s. v. ad, col. 549.

Minucius Felix, Oct. XV 2 (CSEL 2) 19 ut examine scrupuloso nostram sententiam non eloquentiae tumore, sed rerum ipsarum soliditate libremus

Cic. Verr. V 1 rem vobis proponam, vos eam suo, non nominis pondere penditote.

## II 11 nunc quoque:

I have chosen the nunc of B alone and the quoque of B Z because the words make eminently good sense and fit the context admirably. A's omission of nunc quoque is unsatisfactory, as the transition between the two sentences is too abrupt and not altogether clear.

In place of nunc Z appears to have had non (H Q), which its descendants emended either by omitting (N J) or by substituting vos.

## III 1 Particio:

From this point on, the rhetorical divisions of the oration are noted in the text of A, which I follow in this matter. That X contained these terms either in the text proper or in the margins at the appropriate place seems probable for several reasons:

(1.) Since the Responsio Catiline is a very systematic oration, owing so much with respect both to material and form to the formal text-books on rhetoric, the De Inven-

tion and the Rhetorica ad Herennium (cf. pp. 18-21), it seems very likely that our author indicated the divisions of his oration by the terms as listed in the De Inventione I 19.<sup>1</sup>

(2.) In one place, VIII 1, A's term Reprehensio in the body of the text is corroborated by the same word in the outer margin of B at this point, written by the first hand of B.

(3.) The words immediately following Particio indicate rather clearly, I believe, that the source of the rhetorical term as well as the phraseology and form of the Particio are in effect one and the same: De Inventione I 31-33\*. If someone beside the author were responsible for the partes orationis, the term here might very well be divisio instead of particio, as the former is the regular term used in the Ad Herennium (cf. p. 21), from which so much more material is drawn than from the De Inventione. By the same token, confutatio, the term used in the Ad

---

<sup>1</sup> In this connection is it not significant that the manuals on dictamen, which began to come into vogue at the end of the twelfth century, the probable time of the composition of the Responsio, stressed the formal divisions of a letter? The terms applied to these divisions are a modified form of the partes orationis, as Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, rightly observes, p. 215.

Herennium (cf. p. 21) might have been written instead of Reprehensio in VIII 1. Our author, however, is consistent in employing the terminology of the De Inventione throughout with respect to the partes orationis.

III 1 Eo pacto:

The reading of B Z is attested by De Inventione I 33, and especially apposite in our context. Cf. preceding note, part 3. A's Eo peracto may be an inadvertent error.

III 1 et (inhonestam):

I accept et, A's reading, as the first conjunction of the correlative construction et . . . et. The correlatives emphasize the two-fold character of Catiline's argument that follows.

III 2 esse:

Esse, A's reading, helps constitute the normal construction of accusative and infinitive as object that fateri takes. Fateri is rarely found with the accusative alone.

IV 2 fundavere:

Since there are no other instances of the perfect indicative active third plural in the oration than the series in -ere of the present sentence, it is impossible to say whether -ere is to be considered a constant feature of our author's style, or simply an affectation in this particular passage. The perfect ending in -ere recalls the lofty historical style of Sallust and Livy.

IV 5 proturbari:

The reading of B is obviously correct, as Rhetorica ad Herennium IV 8, 12\* attests. The perturbari of A seems to be an inadvertent error. For Z's precipitem . . . dari, see p. 77, and cf. Livy 31, 37 and Horace, Sermones I 2, 41.

IV 6 qui nisi livoris et obtrectationis obstaret:

The genitives are obviously partitive. The only question is whether a word has dropped out, or whether the partitive construction may stand as is, in mediaeval Latin. The above pair of nouns, constituting, as it were, a single idea and usually found in classical Latin as invidia et obtrectatio may be thought of as a commonplace. An examination of the passages contained in the Literary Parallels

reveals that invidia (livor) et obtrectatio is never dependent on another noun, as in a figure of speech, and that the idea is employed as the immediate subject of obstare or a verb similar in meaning. In the light of these places I am inclined to believe that if a word has fallen out of our text, it is a colorless particle written as a compendium, such as quid or tantum, which could take a partitive genitive.

However, it is unnecessary to assume such a particle. Mediaeval Latin affords us instances of genitives used as subjects. The construction often represents the ellipsis of a word which can easily be understood from the context. Although the construction probably began simply from a desire for brevity, it appears to have acquired the character of a formula in the following examples:

Concilium Epaonense Anno 517, XXXVIII (M.G., Legg. Sect. III Concilia, Tom. I, p. 28) In monasteria puellarum non nisi probatae vitae et aetatis provectae ad quascumque earum necessitates vel ministrationis permittantur intrare.

(Cf. Concil. Matisconense Anno 583, II cop. cit. p. 156, for the same formula probatae vitae et aetatis provectae with which viri must be understood.)

A fairly close parallel to our livoris et obtractationis obstaret is the eius malae voluntatis . . . esse referendum of Augustine which is both a partitive genitive and Genetivus subiecti vice fungens. I submit enough of the context to show the development of the construction

from the ellipsis of the indefinite pronoun quicquid.

Aug. De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione II 18, 29 (CSEL 60, p. 101) Namque illud apostoli quod commemoravi sic defendere quidam voluerunt, ut dicerent 'ideo quicquid etiam bonae voluntatis habet homo, deo tribuendum esse . . . quicquid in illo est bonae voluntatis . . .' sed hoc modo etiam illud dici potest malam quoque voluntatem deo auctori esse tribuendam, quia nec ipsa esse posset in homine, nisi homo esset in quo esset. ut autem homo sit, deus auctor est; ita et eius malae voluntatis, quae nisi hominem haberet ubi esset esse omnino non posset, ad auctorem deum esse referendum. quod nefas est dicere.

Another pertinent example of the same kind of genitive is the benignae ipsius misericordiae used as the subject of fuisse in Oratio Obliqua introduced by sciens in the following place from the Praefatio of the Eucharisticos of Paulinus Pellaeus:

Praef. 3 (CSEL 16, p. 290) sciens profecto et benignae ipsius misericordiae circa me fuisse, quod indultis humano generi temporariis voluptatibus etiam ipse prima mea aetate non carui, et in hac quoque parte curam mihi providentiae ipsius profuisse, quod me adsiduis adversitatibus moderanter exercens evidenter instruxit . . .

Löffstedt, Philol. Kommentar., 106-109, has a significant note on the partitive idea as expressed by de and the ablative, or by the independent genitive. He finds occasionally the independent partitive genitive in Plautus and Terence, but its maximum frequency in late Latin. His examples, however, are not very useful for our text because they are with one exception instances of the partitive genitive used as direct object, and come principally from the recipes of the Mulomedicina Chironis where Greek influence is undoubtedly felt in the construction.

B's detractio is simply another instance of the 'recension' that the line represented by B received (see p. 84). Contumacie, a synonym for the preceding word, appears to be a gloss wrongly incorporated in the text of B.

Z's causa is interesting in that it shows how the scribe was perplexed at the independent partitive genitive preceding, and assuming that a word had fallen out of the text, ventured causa<sup>1</sup> as a subject, and at the same time changed the preceding relative to cui.

VI 1-5 Quodsi Scipio . . . viveret, nonne tali uteretur alloquio: "Ego . . . sinitis"

The rhetorical figures of conformatio (prosopopoeia in the terminology of Quintilian), akin to our term personification, and sermocinatio (dialogos), that is, the words attributed to the person or thing personified, are necessarily closely associated. Thus, they are treated in consecutive sections by the Rhetorica ad Herennium and by Quintilian.

---

<sup>1</sup> A similar 'emendation' with causam was made by V of the critical apparatus in the CSEL edition of Augustine's De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, loc. cit. Scribes and editors seem always to have been disturbed by the rare construction that the independent partitive genitive is (cf. Löfstedt, 108, regarding the editors of Plautus and Terence).

Our author uses both these figures effectively in the present passage, obviously modelled on the second example given by the Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV 53, 66\*, under conformatio.

VI 2 vicinos:

I have here adopted the reading of B with a slight emendation by uniting in a single word the uici nos of B. The nos of B, taken as a separate word, makes no sense in this context, and must be rejected. Nos, however, combined with the preceding vici in a single word forms vicinos, a neat and effective contrast to cives in the following clause. The reading of A Z uici (ego Z) uos, does, to be sure, give sense of a sort, but is ambiguous and destroys the symmetry of the entire passage.

As I have said before in the preceding note on VI 1-5, our author follows very closely the form of the passage in the Rhetorica ad Herennium IV 53, 66\*. There we find a formal balance of the elements brought about by use of the rhetorical figures of Repetitio (cf. Rhet. Her. IV 13, 19) seen in the repetition of ego and vos at the beginning of alternate clauses; and of Compar (cf. ib. IV 20, 27) seen in the length of the ego- and vos- clauses which are approximately equal. Thus, with the emendation vicinos the

symmetry of our present passage is maintained, since there are then three instances of ego and vos introducing clauses and used always as subjects. Moreover, in the specific sentence that serves as a model for the present one, in-troducitis governs a direct object that is trisyllabic (tyrannos) just as vicinos is trisyllabic (cf. cives eici-tis and Rhet. Her., ib., reges eleci). Thus, it is clear that close adherence to his model on the part of our author excludes the possibility that a third verb vici and the accusative of vos as object of introduxi were in the genuine text. Yet another argument for vicinos is based on analogy. The entire sentence "Ego . . . eicitis" is a paraphrase of the earlier symmetrical sentence in V 2-3: Exeat de civitate civis et remaneat inquilinus. Thus, vicinos is seen as a good equivalent of inquilinus.

The only objection to vicinos is that A and Z should not agree in error. There are several possibilities for this seeming agreement:

(1) uici uos<sup>1</sup> may already have stood in X, in which case

---

<sup>1</sup> Confusion between u and n may have occasioned the erroneous word separation in X. In this event X, influenced perhaps also by the series of uos that follow this place, would have read uici uos instead of uicinos. In favor of this hypothesis is the fact that uici uos . . . introduxi gives

nos in B is an accidental restoration, due to confusion of u and n.

(2) B may have the genuine tradition, and A and Z may have "emended" independently, or "emendation" may have been indicated in X.

(3) A or Z may have "emended", and the other may have inadvertently written uos for nos.

I prefer the first possibility, but there is little point in going into much detail regarding the obvious, that is, the ease with which u and n were confused.

VI 6 sit inhonesta:

I adopt the word order of B Z because it is parallel to sit inutilis of the following sentence, VII 1, in which all the codices agree; and because it helps constitute an orthodox clausula in the cursus tardus, which rhythm our author has employed at the end of each sentence in Section VI, and more significantly still, at the end of VII 1, which is parallel in construction to the present sentence. Thus, inhonesta cognoscitis balances vehementer attendite.

---

a better appearance of sense than uici nos . . . introduxi, and that uici nos would probably rather soon have been reunited into the genuine uicinos.

VII 1 Nunc sic:

I justify sic as an intensifying particle with the temporal adverb Nunc.

The use of sic meaning tum or deinde is well known in late Latin.<sup>1</sup> Numerous examples of this force of sic can be found in the Peregrinatio Aetheriae. Thus, c. 15, 5 omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur, sic redirent and c. 43, 8 Hoc (evangelio) autem lecto fit oratio, benedicuntur catechumini, sic fit missa. A weak extension of this temporal force of sic, as Löfstedt<sup>2</sup> conjectures, is the use of sic after a temporal adverb.<sup>3</sup> Examples from the Peregrinatio illustrating the combination of sic with an adverb of time are: c. 19, 14 . . . hii fontes ubi eruperunt, ante sic fuerit campus intra civitatem and c. 25, 7 ubi cum perventum fuerit, statim sic in Anastase ingreditur episcopus. Here it will be observed that the temporal force of sic is very weak, and the particle serves primarily for strengthening the time adverb immediately preceding. The French

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Meister, De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae (Bonnae, 1909) 380; W. Van Oorde, Lexicon Aetherianum (Amstelodami, 1930) 188.

<sup>2</sup> Philol. Kommentar 231.

<sup>3</sup> On the analogy, perhaps, of the particle following a temporal clause, as Pereg. c. 37, 4 at ubi autem sexta hora se fecerit, sic itur ante Crucem.

alors is analogous to sic in that it is employed now as a temporal adverb, and now as an intensifying particle after a word whose effect we wish to heighten (cf. also German dann).

The use of sic after Nunc in this place of our text reminds us of the colloquial "then" of the common English expression "now then", so often employed in a transition from one subject to another, just as Nunc sic acts as a transitional phrase between the argument based on the turpitude of the sententia and that based on the inutilitas.

The significance of our text as a document for lexicography and syntax is quite evident in this place. Outside of the Peregrinatio and our text I have found no instance of an adverb of time and sic closely joined. Nunc sic, therefore, gives important support to Löfstedt's theory as reported above. Moreover, just as the scribe of Z "emended" the mediaevalism by omitting sic altogether, so Geyer<sup>1</sup> proposed various "emendations" for the instances of the time adverb and sic combination in the Peregrinatio.

VII 2 approbaveritis:

Because of B Z's record for omission I have chosen A's reading. Both probare and approbare in the sense of

---

<sup>1</sup> Löfstedt, op. cit., 231.

"approve" are used with sententia by Cicero. Although probare would seem to be perhaps a little more common, approbare is attested by Pro Sesto 74: approbata laudata-que Cottae sententia.

VII 4 comparabitis:

The reading of A is quite satisfactory in light of the context here, whereas that of B Z is unsatisfactory. There is a series of evils that the senators will create, if they vote for the motion to banish Catiline from Rome. The idea of "creating" is uppermost in comparabitis, and this verb is an appropriate parallel for conflabitis in the succeeding clause. That these verbs were intended to be substantially alike in meaning is attested by the parallel structure of the two clauses. Each clause begins with a dative of the party interested, the state (rei publice) is named first (cf. calamitates publicas) and contrasted with the individual citizens (vobis ipsis), named afterward (cf. calamitates . . . privatas); then follows the specification of the evil (accusative of the direct object) that will be worked in each case. Hostes is an accusative of "result produced": "you are going to create enemies for the state." Cf. at the end of the series of evils (VII 7) placidissimos . . . inimicos. For a combination similar to hostes . . . comparare, cf. scele-

ratorum tot copias comparavit in Or. Tull. XI 3-4.

B Z's comprobabitis was probably occasioned in Y by the proximity of probaveritis (VII 2).

VII 4-5 mortale odium:

This combination is, I believe, a mark of the late composition of our oration. Mortalis in the sense of "death-bringing" (mortiferus, letalis), is unknown to classical Latin.<sup>1</sup> Even patristic Latin seldom uses mortalis with this force. Cyprian, De Bono Patientiae (CSEL 3, Pars 1) 407, has adulterium, fraus, homicidium mortale crimen est, where mortale means "bringing the penalty of death". This use of mortale is closely akin to the mediaeval designation peccata mortalia for the more correct theological term peccata capitalia. I have found nowhere, furthermore, in classical or late Latin the combination mortale odium.

On the other hand, the equivalent phrase in Italian,

---

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of Vergil, Aen. XII 797 mortalin decuit violari vulnere divum? is usually given as "Was it fit that Aeneas, a god, should be wounded by a mortal?". Heyne's suggestion that mortalis here may mean mortifero has no following. It seems to me quite obvious that a contrast is intended between divum and mortalis vulnere, "a wound dealt by a mortal".

where the derivation from the Latin is quite obvious, is a commonplace. Thus, the Italian odio mortale means literally hate that brings death as its logical consequence, but as normally employed has the same significance as sommo odio or odio ferocissimo. Cf. haine mortelle of the French, and the English use of mortal, as in "mortal enemy" and "mortal fear", where mortal means "supreme" or "in the highest degree." Cf. also in this same context invidiam summam, which suggests the superlative idea in the corresponding phrase mortale odium.

In the light of these observations I am of the opinion that the present phrase represents our author's lapse at this point into vulgar Latin or the vernacular of his time and country.

#### VIII 4 queritur:

The symbol qr recorded by both A and B obviously means queritur (from queror, -i) in the present context. The expansion queritur appears to be a normal mediaeval development from the Irish contraction qr=quaeritur (cf. Lindsay, N. L. 214; Bains, Suppl. 34), since in mediaeval orthography many of the forms of queror were indistinguishable from passives of quaero.

Part of Z has interpreted it as quare which, to be sure, is the proper expansion of the same compendium, as

found in Or. Tull. VI 7, whose presence at this point in X is vouched for by A B. Thus, we see how the same compendium plays a dual role in the archetype.

VIII 4-5 de ea . . . de quo:

The MSS are unanimous in giving ea, but only A has quo, B Z (Y) offering qua instead. However, this appears to be an ill-advised "correction", since the pronouns should not refer to the charge<sup>1</sup> (coniuratio), but to the person of whom the penalty is exacted.

The obvious correction is to change ea to eo, yet I hesitate to make it, since I feel that the error in gender may possibly go back to the author himself.

The legalistic discussion contained in the present passage savors of a similar discussion and similar language found in Cicero, De Inventione II 79-82\*, with which work our author was well acquainted. Now the thought and to some extent the vocabulary of our sentence are close to Inv. II 82\*. The case discussed there is that of a woman, namely, Horatia, whose story is related in Inv. II 78. The story of Horatia, a time-honored tale from early Roman history, is the type that would appeal to the rhetori-

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VIII 7 pro coniuratione for a way of expressing the charge.

cians and schools of declamation. The three brothers of Horatia did battle against the three Curiatii, but only one lived to tell of his victory over the enemy, all three of whom he had despatched. Returning home, he found his sister not mourning the death of her brothers, but sorrowfully repeating the name of that one of the Curiatii who was her betrothed. Exasperated by such a reception, the brother forthwith sent her to join in death her beloved.

Cicero in his role of teacher of rhetoric makes a case out of the story (Inv. II 78-79) for illustrating relatio criminis, that is, when the guilty party does not deny the crime, but shows that he acted rightly in view of the wrong-doing of the victim. Horatius of course is the reus in this example. After much theorizing on the pro and con of exacting punishment before judgment has been passed (cf. Inv. 80\* and 81\*), Cicero returns to Horatia who is not mentioned by name but can be identified by the feminine pronouns illa and ea (Inv. 82\*). Since this is the last reference in the discussion to Horatia, and since the construction supplicium sumere de . . . is used twice with a feminine pronoun (once with ea) and the context treats of punishment imposed before judgment (iudicium), I am tempted to think that our author nodded at this place in his text, and wrote the ea of his model rather than eo, which is clearly demanded by the sense of the place in his text, and confirmed by the paraphrase in the following sentence:

Catilinam . . . dedisse.

VIII 11 quovis:

The two oldest and best MSS, A and B, omit the preposition a before the ablative of personal agent here, whereas the a of Z probably represents a humanistic "emendation." If so, the omission was already in the archetype X. Does it go back to the author himself? I believe that it may.

Bonnet<sup>1</sup> discusses the possibility of the existence of the ablative of agent without a or ab. He observes that some of the best MSS of Gregory of Tours occasionally lack a with the agent whereas the inferior codices have it. In certain cases he is of the opinion that the dative may be used in the genuine text of the author, but in others he inclines toward belief in the construction of the ablative of agent without the preposition. The example from Liber Vitae Patrum 8 p. 691, 8 libellus nescio quo compositus he says cannot be explained away as a dative. On account of the rareness of the construction in Gregory he sees it as perhaps a mistake made by the author in way of reaction against the tendency to add a even when inanimate objects are concerned.

It is remarkable how closely this place in our text

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Bonnet, Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours, 557-558.

resembles the above quotation from Gregory. In both instances we find indefinite pronouns denoting the personal agent, with similar verbs. Thus, it is seen how these two examples mutually support each other for the existence of the ablative of agent without the preposition as a valid construction.

The connection between the indefinite pronouns and the ablative of agent without a merits further investigation by those interested in mediaeval syntax.

IX 1 summatibus:

A number of examples are available for summas as an adjective, but the use of this word as a noun is extremely rare (see Literary Parallels). Moreover, I have been unable to find it elsewhere used as a synonym for the classical optimates in contrast to populares.

IX 2 noti ignoti:

I adopt the word order of A because it is the normal order, confirmed by the other two pairs of contrasted words that follow the pair in question.

IX 4 dat (det A B):

The agreement of A B in the above reading despite Z's dat, apparently a humanistic emendation, is sufficient evidence for positing det in the archetype X. Z appears to have emended correctly, and so I have adopted dat.

Det is a very easy mistake because of the preceding det, as well as habet.

IX 9-11 Quibus . . . refellere volui:

I take has suspitiones as the antecedent of quibus. Thus, point is given to A's tantum, and to the Nam illud quod . . . of the following sentence, X 1-4.

For further elucidating the passage, I propose changing hec omnis symbolized  $\overset{h}{\bar{h}} \bar{o}is$  ( $\bar{o}mis$  B) to hominis. (A contains the form  $\overset{h}{h}oinis$  (= hominis), Or. Tull. X 1, which considered together with  $\overset{h}{h}oi\overset{b}{b}q$ ; (= hominibus), II 2, suggests the ease with which hominis ( $\overset{h}{h}ois$  or  $\overset{h}{h}omis$ ) might have been corrupted to hec omnis.

The translation which includes the text immediately following this place will make clear the reasonable character of my construction of the Latin and my emendation:

"I wanted to refute only those suspicions (i. e., marks

of courtesy shown Catiline, cf. ab omnibus amari frequentari etc.) by which the innate character of the man is recognized. For as to that which was committed by a dutiful father — it is so incredible that it should be disregarded without even adducing reasons in explanation (of the rumor), especially since I am sure that no one of you can be influenced by the shadow of a doubt on this score."

Probably the obscurity of the thought in the text as it stands in X caused Z to omit the entire sentence as well as Nam of the following sentence.

X 1 de filii nece:

This phrase, so awkward, if not impossible to construe in its present position, may have stood in the margin of a manuscript between the author's "fair copy" and X to indicate a new item in the reprehensio, namely, answering the charge of the murder of Catiline's son. Furthermore, the rather vague character of the words in the allusion to the crime calls for an elucidation which de filii nece supplies. Later, then, the scribe of X wrongly incorporated the marginal note into the body of the text.

X 1 perpetratur:

The indicative perpetratur without any qualification is rather bold for something that the speaker wishes to deny, but is used perhaps for its ridiculous and "deflating" effect. This seems all the more probable in light of the

context, since pio is here applied to a father who purportedly killed his son.

The logic, Latinity, and tense of this entire place seem to have perplexed the scribe of Z so much that he made the bold "emendation" of changing perpetratur to perpetratum esse dixit.

X 2 sine:

I adopt the reading of B Z which alone makes sense. The si non of A seems to derive from the erroneous expansion of a compendium for sine, probably siñ, in the archetype X (cf. Lindsay, N. L. 291; Bains, Suppl. 46).

X 4 promoveri:

This apparently anomalous use of promoveri for permoveri is all the more curious in light of the normal use of the same word in this oration, IV 3.

Although I find no examples in mediaeval Latin of confusion between permovere and promovere (I am not referring, of course, to mere graphical confusion between the prefixes when symbolized), I readily admit the probability of such a phenomenon. For one whose native tongue was not Latin, such a mistake would have been easy. (cf. Strecker, 38 intra, infra).

I have, therefore, deemed it best to retain pro-  
moveri as probably a mistake of the author himself.

XI 1 ammonendum:

I have adopted the reading of certain MSS of Z, although I retain the orthography of A for the first part of the word, amm-. The reading am-(ad-)monendum is almost certainly an emendation, but appears to be correct.

X seems to have had am-(ad-)mouendum which makes no sense in this context. For confusion in the archetype between n and u, see pp. 182-183.

XI 2 prolocutor:

Cf. p. 8. The word seems to have originated in the ecclesiastical courts of Gaul.

XI 3-4 Catiline tutorem:

I adopt the word order of B Z because the genitive precedes its noun in the analogous Catiline prolocutor of the sentence before, and also in the vestri defensorem of Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48\*, clearly our author's model for this place.

XI 4 profiteri:

The force of A's profiteri fits the context here much better than the confiteri of B Z, and is employed in our author's obvious model, Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48\*.

The construction profiteri se aliquem is found quite often in normal Latin usage. It is said of one who willingly and unashamedly publicly practises a profession, or is in an office or role in which he takes pride. Confiteri means to avow an error or mistake. Surely Catiline would weaken his case by using confiteri, which would imply that the person undertaking his defense was doing something essentially wrong.

XI 6-7 defendendi:

The sense here seems to require the corrected reading of B. Catiline has just said that by reason of threats, entreaties, and bribes from Cicero no one will take his case and defend him. Thus, Cicero removes from his adversary the opportunity of being defended by another person. This is, I believe, the force of the words sic . . . defendendi. I doubt that A's defendenti used absolutely can stand with adversario, for, even though the absolute construction of the present participle of defendere can perhaps be justified, copiam is left without any sort of qualification. The sense of this place seems to require

the gerund defendendi for completing the meaning of copiam. According to the T. L. L., s. v. copia, the genitive of the gerund or gerundive is very common after copia (cf. copia dicendi in Cic. Inv. I 3 and Rhet. Her. I 1, 1). Moreover, the same work affords many examples of the gerund of defendere under the absolute constructions of that verb. The following examples are close to the idea in copiam defendendi:

Cic. Mil. 11 quodam modo tacite dat ipsa lex potestatem defendendi; Rhet. Her. II 21, 33 . . . nobis latiore locum defendendi reliquerimus; Div. in Caec. 25 rationem illi defendendi totam esse mutandam (cf. Tull. 3 . . . ratio defensionis).

Perhaps the error of A is "phonetic", owing to confusion of the voiced and voiceless stop, just as our MSS have arguit for arcuit (Or. Tull. IV 8).

XII 2 sententia . . . dementia:

Note that the word-play here depends on assonance and homoeoteleuton. Cf. V 4-5 propago . . . paupere pago and V 5-6 indoles luculenta . . . soboles lutulenta.

XII 3 nec vos mei:

The vos mei of A is closer to our author's source, Rhet. Her. IV 8, 12\*, than B's mei. The juxtaposition of vos and mei is attractive by way of emphatic contrast.

As for the variants of the negative in A and B, I adopt A's nec rather than the non of B which is not really analogous to the non of the model in the Ad Herennium. The latter non happens with its verb at the end of a sentence. In our text, however, there is a coordinate clause following, attached to the phrase in question by the conjunction et. I consider the nec of A and et as correlative conjunctions with the force of "both not" . . . "and."<sup>1</sup> The difficulty in coordinating the two clauses is that possunt, being indicative, is not in harmony with egeatis. However, the intervening relative clause with its indicative dicta sunt might easily have been the reason for the author's nodding in writing possunt instead of possint.

XII 7 privateque:

For support of B's -que I refer the reader to the analogous calamitates publicas et privatas of VII 2-3 and its source in Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48\* where the conjunction et is also employed. In the light of these parallel passages the asyndeton of A seems too bold.

---

<sup>1</sup> Madvig 458C.; Draeger, Hist. Syn. 326, 1; Stolz-Schmalz 248.

XII 8 nugatorie:

A's reading is confirmed by the source of the combination tenuiter et nugatorie in Rhet. Her. IV 36, 48\*.

XII 9 verborum multorum:

Against the background of other mediaeval characteristics this genitive at the very end of the oration also appears mediaeval. The expression verborum multorum supersedendum as regards vocabulary is apparently modelled after Cic. Inv. I 28\*, but there the idea of separation is expressed in the normal classical construction, the ablative without a preposition. The same construction with supersedendum is found in two other places in the first book of the De Inventione\*, and also twice in the same passage in the Ad Herennium\*. Since our author has made so extensive use of these text-books on rhetoric it is strange that he has not followed the classical syntax in this case.

The present genitive is analogous to that found a number of times in poetry of the classical period, e.g. Verg. Aen. X 441 tempus desistere pugnae.<sup>1</sup> I find no examples in late Latin prose, but suspect that with the extension of the genitive uses in the Middle Ages, as e.g. gene-

---

<sup>1</sup> For other examples and discussion of this Grecism, cf. Löfstedt, Syntactica II 417.

tivus subiecti vice fungens (pp. 178-179), the genitive of separation may have come into use even in prose.

Appendix I

A TABLE OF OTHER SPURIOUS ORATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO CICERO

1. M. Tullii Ciceronis, in C. Sallustium Crispum Oratio  
(sive Invectiva)

Incipit = Ea demum magna voluptas est, C. Sallusti, aequalem

(Almost always found as a reply and companion-piece to the work known as: C. Sallustii Crispi in M. Tullium Ciceronem Oratio (sive Invectiva), whose incipit is Graviter et iniquo animo maledicta tua paterer, M. Tulli.) Modern critical edition by A. Kurfess, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

2. Declamatio in L. Sergium Catilinam

Incipit = Si quid precibus apud deos immortales, sanctissimi iudices

(In the early printed editions this oration is often assigned to Porcius Latro. As it was also sometimes called oratio quinta in Catilinam, beginning with the reference to it in the famous letter of Poggio to the Deacon of Utrecht, December 31, 1451 [cf. text of letter, Kristoferson, 1], care must be exercised to distinguish carefully between this piece and our piece beginning Non est amplius tempus, likewise very often called invectiva quinta or oratio quin-

---

<sup>1</sup> Full bibliographical details will be found in the Select Bibliography.

ta in Catilinam in the numerous printings of it in the 15th- and 16th-century editions of Cicero's orations<sup>1</sup> and of Sallust.) Modern critical edition by H. Kristoferson, 1928, who uses some twenty-five MSS, all of the 15th century.

3. Oratio pridie quam in exilium iret (also called Oratio ad Populum et Equites Romanos antequam iret in exilium)

Incipit = Si quando inimicorum impetum propulsare ac propellere cupistis

The latest and best critical edition is by C. F. W. Müller, 1879 (IV, 3, 425).

4. Oratio de pace

Incipit = Semper existimavi, patres conscripti, rectum esse

(This is a Latin version of the oration attributed to Cicero by Cassius Dio XLIV 23-33.) See Valpy's edition of Cicero's works in usum Delphini (London, 1830), VIII, 3039-3053, where it is annotated.

5. Oratio adversus Valerium

Incipit = Cum multa sint, iudices, quae me in dies

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also incipit of P, p. 43.

Found in Beroaldus' edition of Cicero's orations, Bologna, 1499, in-fol. (cf. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Nr. 6771 = Hain-Copinger 5129). It is purported to be a forgery of one Janus Cardo. The following 15th-century codices that I know of contain this work: Ottobonianus lat. 2482 (Kristoferson, 20); Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 277 (466) (Sabbadini, Scoperte [1905, 173]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nat. lat. 7.774 (L. Laurand, Revue de Philologie III [Paris, 1929, 364]).

6. Epistola sive Declamatio ad Octavium

Incipit = Si per tuas legiones mihi licitum fuisset

See Baiter-Halm III, 780-783.

A TABLE OF OTHER SPURIOUS ORATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO CATILINE

1. Besides our piece beginning Si subtiliter a circumstantibus there is another oration of a pseudo-Catiline that one often meets in the codices of the 15th century and in the printed books of the 15th and 16th centuries containing Cicero's orations or Sallust's works. It is denominated variously, but often as

Oratio Catilinae responsiva in M. T. Ciceronem.

Incipit = Omnis homines qui in maximis principatibus.

When it is found along with our piece Si subtiliter a circumstantibus it is often distinguished from the latter by the title Invectiva secunda responsiva L. Catilinae in M. T. Ciceronem.

Sabbadini, Scoperte (1905) 173, informs us that this oration is a forgery of the humanist Buonaccorso of Montemagno, Pistoia (cf. G. Zaccagnini in Percopo e Zingarelli, Studi di letteratura italiana 1899, 355-362). The oration was published as Buonaccorso's work by Giuseppe Manni, Prose e rime de' due Bonaccorsi da Montemagno, Florence, 1718. I have seen the text of this oration in Cortius' edition of Sallust (Leipzig, 1724), II 96, as well as in the 16th-century editions of Sallust. Ascensius (see p. 50) regarded it as far more elegant than our Responsio Catiline. See descriptions of codices N (p. 32f.) and g (p. 40f.) where this oration is one item among the contents. It is also found in cod. Monacensis 7471, attributed to the 16th century. (Kurfess, B. Ph. W., 1917, col. 543); and in the

following 15th-century codices: Magliabechianus VIII, 1440 (Esposito, 3); Harleianus 2568 (Laurand, B. Ph. W., 1911, col. 504); and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal lat. 1042 (24 B. L.) ff. 271 sqq. which I have examined in microfilm. Bibliographical notices about this oration fail to mention its presence in the latter MS as well as in Harleianus 2590 (my N) and Laurentianus plut. LXXXX, cod. 55 (my g).

2. Inserted in Constantius Felicius Durantinus' De Coniuratione Catilinae<sup>1</sup> (see Cortius' edition of Sallust [Leipzig, 1724, II 82-83 [Suppl.]] like the preceding invective of Buonaccorso is another long oration put in the mouth of Catiline. Its incipit is Fides vestra incredibilis, virtusque tanta, and it appears to be an amplification of Sall. Cat. 20, where Catiline addresses the conspirators. Since Durantinus appropriated the omnis homines oration of Buonaccorso without acknowledging it to be the work of another, I question whether this present oration is the work of Durantinus. My doubts are <sup>the</sup> better grounded in that the De Coniuratione of Durantinus is a kind of cento, having certain genuine orations from Cicero and Sallust among its contents.

---

<sup>1</sup> A youthful work dedicated to the Medici pope, Leo X.

## Appendix II

### CRITICAL ESTIMATES OF THE TWIN INVECTIVES

1. In Invektivam Quintam M. T. Ciceronis Iodoci Badii Ascensii Commentaria (Sallust ed. Venice, 1565 [Bonelli, 145; see, however, p. 50 of my study]):

p. 145 Non est amplius tempus ocii &c.) Haec invektiva quinta ponitur, habita tamen est aut primo aut secundo loco, quia Catilina adhuc in civitate existente.

#### In Invektivam Primam L. Catiline in M. T. Ciceronem:

p. 146 Si subtiliter.) Haec Lucij Catilinae responsiva extemporanea videtur, est certe minus culta quam ut habeo habita censeatur, quem Cic. disertissimus in eloquentia sua confidere paulo ante dixerit.

Ascensius evidently believed in the authenticity of the pieces, as probably most of the editors in the 15th and 16th centuries.

2. Sebastiani Corradi Quaestura vel Egnatius ad Senatum Populumque Bononiensem, MDLV Bononiae:

p. 86 (ed. Ernesti, Lipsiae 1754) Erasmus enim Burgus civis meus, vir in primis honestus, libellum mihi manu scriptum donarat, in quo sunt orationes inter alias duae sic inscriptae, & scriptae, ut nemo, nisi diligenter eas admodum legat, non putet, alteram Ciceronem contra Catilinam dixisse, in altera Catilinam Ciceroni respondisse. Ego certe sic a principio putabam, sed quum postea rem paullo diligentius examinasset, & Aristachus (!) hac in parte fuisset, intellexi, quod omnes intelligere possunt, eas ab aliquo declamatore, ut Porcio Latrone scriptas fuisse, & eo magis, quod inter illas ipsius Porcii Latronis illa declamatio nobilis erat collocata. Accedebat dicendi genus ita simile, ut nemo non posset eas ab eodem ex eadem quasi farina, vel cera factas iudicare.

There is no reason to doubt that the pair of orations

mentioned were our Oratio Tullii and Responsio Catiline. The codex probably was of the 15th century as the Porcius Latro oration is among the contents (see pp. 202-203 of my study). The position of the Porcius Latro oration between the Oratio Tullii and the Responsio suggests Reginensis lat. 1592 (our C), or a codex of that family, having the same arrangement of contents.

On the whole, this is a favorable estimate even though Corrado does not believe in the authenticity of our invectives.

3. A. M. Bandini, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae III (Florence, 1776) III 581 (see p. 40 of my study). Bandini says with regard to the Oratio Tullii:

"Videtur ab aliquo eloquentiae studioso exercitationis gratia conficta."

He held the same view about the Responsio Catiline.

4. C. Jannelli, Catalogus Bibliothecae Latinae . . . in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur (Naples, 1827) 49, 79, 81, 214 (see pp. 34-37 of my study):

p. 49 "Brevis quaedam oratio incerti et inepti Declamatoris in eundem Catilinam: Initium: Non est amplius tempus . . ."

p. 79 "Brevissima et ineptissima declamatio in Catilinam . . . Alia ineptior Catilinae tributa in Ciceronem."

p. 81 "Inepta declamatio in Catilinam, . . . cuiusque initium: Non est amplius . . . Catilinae declamatio ineptior in Ciceronem . . ."

p. 214 "Orationem invectivam in L. Catilinam semibarbaram, quae inepte Ciceroni tribuitur . . . Non est amplius . . . Invectivam orationem L. Catilinae . . . aequae spuriam, cuius initium: Si subtiliter . . ."

5. Henrici Caroli Abr. EICHSTADII Quaestionum Philologicarum Specimen Tertium: De Orationibus Catilinaris. (Ienae, 1837) 15:

p. 15 Nec melioris notae videntur esse orationes, quas in codicibus Neapolitanis repertas Cataldus Iannellius nuper commemoravit: quarum una, in Catilinam scripta, sic incipit: Non est amplius tempus otii, P. C., non est locus amplius pietatum in Italia; alterius, qua Catilina in in Ciceronem invehitur, hoc est initium: Si subtiliter a circumstantibus, quae sit praesentis actionis controversia quaeratur. Plura enim Iannellius ex codicibus suis de praesentis actionis controversia non dedit, recte sentiens, omnium impietatum maximam esse, abuti tempore otii ad ea, quae negotiosis fastidium moveant.

6. J. C. F. Baehr, Geschichte der römischen Literatur (Carlsruhe, 1869 [Vierte Ausgabe] II 125:

p. 125 ". . . und zum Theil noch früher einige andere Reden oder Deklamationen ähnlicher Art [comparison with Porcius Latro oration] . . . welche aus den Schulen der späteren Rhetorik in der Kaiserzeit hervorgegangen sind: L. Catilinae in Ciceronem secunda responsiva; Catilinae in M. Tullium responsiva invectiva prior; und Ciceronis quinta in Catilinam invectiva."

7. Mario Esposito, Pastiches Cicéroniens: La Cinqüème Catilinaire e la Reponse de Catiline (Florence, 1921) 3:

p. 3 ". . . et l'on ne peut guère douter que cette supercherie puerile, [i.e. Or. Tull. — Resp. Cat.] fabriquée à l'instar des harangues mises dans la bouche de Catilina par Salluste ne soit l'oeuvre de quelque maître de la renaissance, qui n'a même pas su éviter l'emploi de mots inconnus au latin classique . . ."

8. André Wilmart, Analecta Reginensia (Vatican City, 1933) 289:

p. 289 "Dans notre recueil [i.e. Reg. lat. 84], — une sorte de manuel scolaire, formé d'extraits d'exemples et de préceptes, — ils [i.e. Or. Tull. — Resp. Cat.] font

suite à des lettres, également sans titres, du célèbre Hildebert de Lavardin, évêque du Mans, puis archevêque de Tours (1097-1133), un humaniste avant la lettre. Je me garde bien de proposer maintenant la candidature d'Hildebert. Mais on peut dire sans outrecuidance que c'est d'une plume comme la sienne que sont sortis ces exercices littéraires et, en tout cas, qu'ils ont du voir le jour dans les écoles du XI<sup>e</sup> ou du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle auxquelles Fulbert de Chartres a donné l'impulsion."

9. Evelyn Holst Clift, Latin "Pseudepigrapha" (Baltimore, 1945) 99:

p. 99 "A pseudo-Catiline answering invective against Cicero, identified by the opening phrase Omnes homines, patres conscripti,<sup>1</sup> qui in maximis principatibus vitam agunt, as well as another pair of invectives, pseudo-Cicero against Catiline, Non est tempus otii, patres conscripti, and pseudo-Catiline against Cicero, Si subtiliter a circumstantibus are late fabrications of uncertain date. There is no reference to them in ancient literature, and their content proves their spuriousness without question."

---

<sup>1</sup> Miss Clift errs with regard to the incipit, as the words patres conscripti are not found therein.

ABBREVIATIONS FREQUENTLY USED

- C. I. L. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berolini, 1862—.
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vindobonae, 1866—.
- Du Cange. Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis. Parisiis, 1840-1850.
- Forcellini. Totius Latinitatis Lexicon. Prati, 1858-1860.
- Keil. Grammatici Latini. Lipsiae, 1857.
- Migne. Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus. Parisiis, 1844-1864.
- M. G. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. A. A. Auctores Antiquissimi. Berolini, 1877-1919. SS. Scriptores. Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1826—.
- P.-W. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung. Stuttgart, 1894—.
- T. L. L. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Lipsiae, 1900—.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahlberg, Axel W. C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina Iugurtha Orationes et Epistulae Excerptae de Historiis. Editio Maior. Lipsiae, (Teubner), 1919.
- Bains, Doris. A Supplement to Notae Latinae. Cambridge, 1936.
- Baldwin, Charles Sears. Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) Interpreted from Representative Works. New York, 1928.
- Barlow, Claude W. Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Seneca Quae Vocantur. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, X (1938).
- Bertalot, Ludwig. "Zu Pseudocicero", Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, XXXI (1911), col. 983.
- Bonnet, M. Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours. Paris, 1890.
- Bretholz, Berthold. Lateinische Paläographie. Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft, Bd. I, Abtlg. 1. Leipzig-Berlin, 1926 (Dritte Auflage).
- Clark, Albert C. The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin. Oxford, 1910.
- Clerval, A. Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age, du Ve au XVIIe Siècle. Paris, 1895.
- Clift, Evelyn H. Latin "Pseudepigrapha", A Study in Literary Attributions. Baltimore, 1945.
- Corradus, Sebastianus. Quaestura vel Egnatius ad Senatum Populumque Bononiensem, MDLV, Bononiae. (ed. I. A. Ernesti, Lipsiae, 1754).
- Delitsch, Hermann. Geschichte der abendländischen Schreibschriftformen. Leipzig, 1928.
- Dietsch, Rudolfus. Gai Sallusti Crispi quae Supersunt. Lipsiae, 1859.
- Duchesne, L. "Note sur l'Origine du 'Cursus'", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, L (1889) 161-163.
- Eichstädt, Heinrich. Quaestionum Philologicarum Specimen Tertium: De Orationibus Catiliniis. Ienae, 1837.

- Ergänzungsblätter. i. e. zur Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung, see F. O.
- Esposito, Mario. "Pastiches Ciceroniens: la Cinquième Catilinaire et la Réponse de Catilina", Textes et Études de Littérature Ancienne et Médiévale, I, (Florence, 1921) 1-8.
- Faral, Edmond. Les Arts Poétiques du XII et du XIII Siècle. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, No. 238. Paris, 1924.
- F. O. Catalogus Bibliothecae Latinae . . . in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur, descriptus a Cataldo Iannello. Reviewed by "F. O." in Allgemeine Literaturzeitung: Ergänzungsblätter, IV (Halle-Leipzig, 1837) 101.
- Giuliano, Maria Luisa. Coltura e Attività Calligrafica a Verona nel Secolo XII. Padova, 1933.
- Goelzer, H. Le Latin de Saint Avit, Évêque de Vienne (450?-526?). Paris, 1909.
- Halm, Carolus. Rhetores Latini Minores. Lipsiae, 1863.
- Haskins, Charles H. "Albericus Casinensis", Casinensia. Montecassino, 1929.
- Inguanez, D. M. and Willard, H. M. Alberici Casinensis Flores Rhetorici. Miscellanea Cassinese, No. 14. Montecassino, 1938.
- Kristoferson, Hans. Declamatio in L. Sergium Catilinam. Text och tradition. Doktorsavhandlingar i Latinsk Filologi vid Göteborgs Högskola Serie Fr. O. M. 1926. V. Göteborg, 1928.
- Kurfess, Alphonsus. "Pseudo-Catilina und Pseudo-Cicero", Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, XXXVII (1917), col. 543.
- Kurfess, Alphonsus. Sallustii in Ciceronem et Invicem Invectivae. Lipsiae (Teubner), 1914.
- Laurand, L. "Pseudocicero", Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, XXXI (1911), col. 504.
- Lindsay, W. M. Notae Latinae. Cambridge, 1915.
- Lindsay, W. M. "The Bobbio Scriptorium: its early Minuscule

- Abbreviations", Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,  
XXVI (1909) 293-306.
- Löfstedt, Einar. Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio  
Aetheriae. Uppsala, 1911.
- Löfstedt, Einar. Syntactica, Studien und Beiträge zur  
Historischen Syntax des Lateins. Lund, I (1928), II  
(1933).
- Lowe, E. A. The Beneventan Script. Oxford, 1914.
- Marx, Fridericus. Incerti Auctoris de Ratione Dicendi ad  
Herennium Lib. IV. Lipsiae (Teubner), 1894, 1923.
- Merguet, H. Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero. Jena, 1877-  
1884.
- Merguet, H. Lexikon zu den Philosophischen Schriften Ci-  
cero's. Jena, 1887-1894.
- Nicolau, Mathieu G. L'Origine du 'Cursus' Rythmique et  
les Débuts de l'Accent d'Intensité en Latin. Collec-  
tion d'Etudes Latines, V. Paris 1930.
- Nicolau, Mathieu G. "Notes sur l'Histoire du 'Cursus'",  
Bulletin du Cange, VII (Paris, 1932) 36-38.
- Poole, Reginald L. Lectures on the History of the Papal  
Chancery Down to the Time of Innocent III. Cambridge,  
1915.
- Rinkes, S. H. Disputatio de Oratione Prima in Catilinam a  
Cicerone Abjudicanda; Accedunt Duae Catilinae In-  
editae. Lugduni-Batavorum, 1856.
- Robinson, Rodney Potter. The Germania of Tacitus. Philo-  
logical Monographs, American Philological Association,  
V. Middletown, Conn., 1935.
- Rockinger, Ludwig. Briefsteller und Formelbücher des 11-14  
Jahrhunderts. Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen  
und deutschen Geschichte, IX. München, 1863.
- Sabbadini, Remigio. Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci  
ne' Secoli XIV e XV. Firenze, 1905.
- Sabbadini, Remigio. Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci  
ne' Secoli XIV e XV. Nuove ricerche col riassunto  
filologico dei due volumi. Firenze, 1914.

- Sabbadini, Remigio. Storia e Critica di Testi Latini. Catania, 1914.
- Spagnolo, Antonio. "Abbreviature nel Minuscolo Veronese", Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXVII (1910) 531-548.
- Steffens, Franz. Lateinische Paläographie. Berlin-Leipzig, 1929 (Zweite Auflage).
- Strecker, Karl. Introduction à l'Étude du Latin Médiéval. Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, No. 26. Geneve, 1948.
- Stroebel, Eduardus. M. Tulli Ciceronis Rhetorici Libri Duo Qui Vocantur De Inventione. Lipsiae (Teubner), 1915.
- Valois, Noël. "Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales", Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XLII (1881) 161-198.
- Willard, H. M. see Inguanez.
- Wilmart, André. Analecta Reginensia. Studi e Testi, 59. (Citta del Vaticano, 1933) 289-300.
- Wilmart, André. Codices Reginenses Latini, I (In Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937) 184-186.
- Zielinski, Th. Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte. Leipzig-Berlin, 1929 (Vierte Durchgesehene Auflage).
- Zimmerer, Heinrich. Declamatio in Lucium Sergium Catilinam, eine Schuldeklamation aus der römischen Kaiserzeit. München, 1888.