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Gulielmius and the Erfurtensis of Cicero: New Readings For *Pro Sulla*

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GULIELMIUS AND THE ERFURTENSIS OF CICERO: NEW READINGS FOR PRO SULLA

The Erfurtensis (E), now lat. 2°.252 in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz at Berlin (West), was assembled by Wibald of Corvey in the mid twelfth century, and is the most comprehensive medieval manuscript of Cicero, containing nearly half of what was eventually to survive.¹ The manuscript as it exists today has lost one or more folios at several different points,² but in some of these places readings were recorded by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars before the mutilations occurred.³ There is, however, only one lacuna where early collations survive and where, also, E is a manuscript of primary importance for the reconstruction of the text. The omission in question, caused by the removal of folios at some unknown date between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century, comprises the end of pro Caecina (beginning after vincula, §100) and virtually all pro Sulla (ending before -tundis Catilinae, §81). No readings are known to have been taken from the end of pro Caecina, but from the bulk of pro Sulla, before the manuscript as we have it resumes, a sizeable number of readings has fortunately been preserved. The tradition of pro Sulla takes the form of two branches, one consisting of Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18787, olim Tegernseensis, (T) and all the deteriores (ω), the other consisting of just two manuscripts, E and its twin, Vatican, Pal. lat. 1525 (which will be referred to as V). V comes to a halt at §43; the early collations of E are therefore of the highest importance for pro Sulla until §81, especially from §43 onwards where they comprise our only record for one of the tradition’s two branches.

The major source for the readings of this lacuna consists of the reports of J. Gulielmius (1555–1584),⁴ who, recognising the manuscript’s importance, collated it in preparation for an edition he did not live to produce. Secondly, J. Zinzerling later published some readings from Sul. 6, 36 and 69 in his Criticorum Iuvenilium Promulsis (Leiden, 1610), 1–7 (cf. 179–80). Gulielmius’ collations of this and other MSS. eventually came to be used with Zinzerling’s material by J. Gruter for his edition of Cicero published at Hamburg in 1618.⁵ Despite the fact that Gruter had not himself had access to E, it is his published reports of Gulielmius’ collation (given in the critical notes at ii.556–8) which, together with Zinzerling’s readings, have formed the

I am very grateful to Professor R. G. M. Nisbet and Professor M. D. Reeve for their helpful criticisms. I should also like to thank the authorities at the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, in particular Professor P. F. J. Obbema and Mr J. A. A. M. Biemans.


² For details see Munk Olsen, loc. cit.; R. H. Rouse and M. D. Reeve in Reynolds, op. cit., p. 63.

³ In addition to the recorded readings for pro Sulla (see below), Zinzerling gives reports from the lost part of the Catilinarians (1.1–4.2) at 130–1 (Cat. 1.6) and 148–52 (Cat. 1.11; 1.20; 2.13). There is also a small number of reports from Gulielmius in Gruter’s edition, mostly relating to the Catilinarians.


basis for every subsequent editor's reports of the missing folios. The whereabouts of Gulielmius' collation were quickly forgotten.

Recently, however, P. L. Schmidt has identified the edition of Cicero owned by Gulielmius and containing his collations and conjectures, a remarkable discovery. The edition is that of Lambinus, published in 1577–8 and now in the possession of the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit at Leiden (shelfmark 762.B.9/10). It was this copy which Gulielmius used to collate the Erfurtensis, and thus the readings he recorded need no longer be taken at second hand from Gruter, but may now be had direct from Gulielmius himself. The authorities at Leiden have with great generosity supplied me with photographs of the relevant pages of Lambinus' edition, with the result that I have been able to compare against one another Gulielmius' collation, Gruter's version of it and the readings given by Zinzerling. This examination has revealed various deficiencies in Gruter's reports which have, naturally, permeated all subsequent editions. In particular, Gruter recorded only a selection of the reports noted by Gulielmius, while his manner of recording has been found to have been imprecise and consequently misleading: where Gulielmius reported only one word from E, Gruter's method was to cite the whole clause without indicating which word had occurred in E and which had simply been taken from the deteriores on which his edition was predominantly based. This has led to a number of false reports, which I identify below. Study of Gulielmius' collation also suggests that the reports of Zinzerling are similarly prone to inaccuracy.

I provide below a complete list of readings now known to have come from these missing folios of E, together with the sources for this information (with page numbers for Zinzerling's reports) and other comment. I have also included in the list those readings which editors assume to have come from E, but which cannot be shown to have done so. As a result, thirteen new readings from E's pro Sulla have been added and seven mis-reports identified; these have led to alteration of the text in three places (50.13, 65.29, 80.12; I also argue for change at 55.2) and also confirmation of one conjecture (74.23).

**Pro Caecina**

No readings have been recorded from E's missing portion of pro Caecina.

**Pro Sulla**

References are to sections and lines in H. Kasten's third Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1966). The sigla follow Kasten, except that the source of $a\phi$ is denoted by the siglum $\delta$. The basic pattern of the stemma is as shown in Fig. 1. For further details see R. H. Rouse and M. D. Reeve in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), Texts and Transmission (Oxford, 1983), pp. 79–82. In particular, note that there are three other MSS. (not necessary for our purposes here, although see under 65.29) known to be linked to IT, and that there is an intervening stage between $\delta$ and $a\phi$ consists of the remaining deteriores, five of which, denoted $p_2bck$, are used by Kasten and A. C. Clark (who adds a

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7 Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 13.2; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 9755–63; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 338 [Helmst. 304]. See C. F. W. Müller's Teubner (ii.2, 1892) adnotatio critica, xev, A. C. Clark’s OCT vi (1911) preface, xii, n. 2 and Kasten's (1966) preface, vi, n. 1.


9 Oxford Classical Text vi (1911).
Fig. 1.

Further three). Their precise relationships are not known, although $ck$ are evidently closely linked (their agreement is denoted by Clark with the siglum $s$).

In the list which follows I correct in passing an alarming number of misreports. Clark's apparatus is peppered with inaccuracies throughout, and Kasten collated for himself (in 1933) only $T$ and what remains of $E$, relying almost exclusively on Clark for the rest. We at last received the first accurate reports of $V$ from J. E. Pabón in 1964,10 but Pabón's corrections for the most part were not incorporated by Kasten in his third edition two years later. The $\omega$ MSS. necessary for an edition are still waiting to be adequately collated, a task I have currently in hand.

1.3 According to Kasten and Clark $E$ read $\textit{percipere potuisset}$. There is no evidence for this. Clark omits the reading of $V$, also $\textit{percipere potuisset}$, and so it follows that he must have printed $E$ in mistake for $\textit{e}$ ($= V$), and that Kasten has simply reproduced the error.

6.31 $\textit{parricidio}$ $E$. Gulielmius, Zinzerling (6f. )$ \rightarrow$ Gruter.
20.26-7 $\textit{pro huius periculos lacrimantes adspicere}$ $E$. Gulielmius$ \rightarrow$ Gruter.
20.30 $\textit{nulla suspicio}$ $E$. Gulielmius$ \rightarrow$ Gruter.
27.16 $\textit{reuddarit}$ $E$. Gulielmius$ \rightarrow$ Gruter.
28.17 $\textit{verser}$ $E$. Gulielmius$ \rightarrow$ Gruter.
34.14 harum rerum omnium, quas ego in consulatu pro salute $\textit{rei publicae}$ suscepi atque gessi... salutes $\textit{rei publicae}$ $TV$: vestra quirites salutae $\pi$: salutae $ac^2$: salutae communi $pbk$: communi salute $\Sigma$: om. $c^1$

Kasten and Clark omit the reading of $\pi$ and misreport $\textit{c. rei publicae}$ was presumably abbreviated and then lost in $\omega$, after which various conjectures were made so as to complete the sense; the conjectural addition of $\textit{communi}$ is attributed by S. Rizzo to Petrarch (RFIC 103 [1975], 11). Gulielmius reports that $E$ read $\textit{salute reip.}$, agreeing as we would expect with $TV$. The reading of $E$ here has not been noted by editors.

10 Mondadori edition (Milan).
ab Allobrogibus nominatum Sullam esse dicis.

ab Vc² Schol.: om. cett.

Kasten omits the reading of c². Gulielmius records that E read ab, thus supporting V. Not noted by editors.

36.1-2 quis negat? sed lege indicium ...

sed lege TEV Schol.: sullae ο indicium Tac: iudicium cett.
	negat sed lege E. Gulielmius, Zinzerling (3) ➔ Gruter. Clark misreports Schol.

Gulielmius records that E read iudicium, thus agreeing with V: not noted by editors. Zinzerling (3) and Gruter, on the other hand, both declare that the correct reading sed lege indicium has come from E. Gulielmius, however, should be believed: he is making a collation, not, like Zinzerling, giving a selection of passages successfully emended with the help of E, and he appears to show greater precision in recording that E contained the (correct) reading sed lege followed by (the corrupt) iudicium. Since iudicium is also the reading of V, there is no doubt that it is Gulielmius who has reported E truthfully. Zinzerling appears to be guilty of further inaccurate reporting at 36.5 and 69.29 below.

36.4 quaero, num Sullam dixerit Cassius. nusquam.

nusquam TVπα: numquam φ

Kasten and Clark do not bother to report the variant. E read nusquam, as we would expect: Gulielmius, Zinzerling (4) ➔ Gruter. Not noted by editors.

36.5 qui vitam hominum naturamque non nossent ...

Zinzerling (4) reports E as having read naturamque hominum instead of hominum naturamque (not noted by editors). This reading is not remarked upon and appears within a longer passage cited to illustrate the otherwise attested readings nusquam and esse ... voluntate. naturamque hominum may be an authentic reading of E, but it looks too suspiciously like a miscopying on Zinzerling’s part (cf. 36.2 and 69.29) to deserve a place in the apparatus. naturamque hominum has no attractions, stemmatically or rhythmically.

36.6-7 esse quaesiverunt essentne eadem voluntate E. Gulielmius, Zinzerling (4) ➔ Gruter.

36.11 suscipi viderentur E. Zinzerling (4).

37.15 si nobilitas hominis, si adficta fortuna ...

afficta Vb³ c² k, p mg.: afflata cett.

Gulielmius records that E read afflata: not noted by editors. Presumably the archetype had afflata, and those MSS. which give afficta have each made the obvious emendation.

42.1 credo esse neminem, qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse.

hominibus TVπ: omnibus δ ad TEV: om. k: aut cett. vere referendum TV: facundiam π: vere referendis δ

hominibus. Gruter wrote that ‘qui his hominibus ad vere referendum aut fidem putet aut ingenium defuisse’ is known from EV, and so editors assume that E is known to have read hominibus. But in fact Gulielmius reported from E only ad v. r. aut fidem putet aut i. d. (and V omits qui), and so the reading of E at hominibus is unknown.
ad E. Gulielmius → Gruter. Kasten and Clark omit the reading of π, aut, and misreport k.

*referendum.* Kasten and Clark omit the reading of π; in his preface (xiii) Clark does supply it, but misreported. Editors assume from Gruter (see note on *hominibus*, above) that E is known to have read *referendum.* But Gulielmius reported E ambiguously: *ad v. r.* could also indicate *referendis,* Lambinus’ reading and the reading Gulielmius has written for a different MS. immediately above his report of E. So, if E read other than *referendis,* Gulielmius clearly did not notice it. Probably, therefore, E, like V, abbreviated to *referend(um).* But because of the element of doubt a reading should not be recorded for E in the apparatus here.

42.6 *emisi E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

45.30 *constitutas E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

46.7 *tute E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

46.9–10 nemo umquam me tenuissima suspicione perstrinxit, quem non perverterim ac perfregerim.

perverterim (prae- Σ) T8: perculerim π ac perfregerim Eπ: aut perfregerim T: om. δ

*perverterim.* Gulielmius did not record the reading of E here, but editors wrongly take Gruter as implying that it gave *praeverterim.* However, Σ, which is misreported by editors, does read *praeverterim.*

ac perfregerim E. Gulielmius → Gruter.

47.14 *amissum E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

48.24 *est umquam E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

48.29 *istud E.* Gulielmius → Gruter.

50.13 tu ornatus exuviis huius venis ad eum lacerandum...


exuviis E. Gulielmius → Gruter. (*erum(p)nis* is a medieval spelling of *aerumnis*).

*huius.* Kasten and Clark misreport e² k²; *huius* here is a Milanese conjecture. Editors have followed Gruter, who misleadingly states that *tu ornatus exuviis huius venis* was the reading of E. Gulielmius gives us only *exuviis* from E: *huius* he attributes not to E but to his MS. B. This correction removes the MS. authority for *huius,* which should therefore be deleted. Its position after *exuviis* is in any case unattractive, and it impairs the rhythm (cretic-resolved spondee) at the slight incision before *venis.* The word was evidently introduced as a gloss.

50.17–18
te enim existimo tibi statuisse, quid faciendum putares, et satis idoneum officii tui iudicem posuisse.

*te enim existimo tibi statuisse, quid faciendum putares, et satis idoneum officii tui iudicem posuisse.*

tui TE: om. ω posuisse ω: potuisse T: ⟨esse⟩ potuisse Halm: ipsum esse Madvig

50.17–18

tui E. Gulielmius → Gruter.

*te enim existimo tibi statuisse, quid faciendum putares, et satis idoneum officii tui iudicem posuisse.*

Solely on the strength of an unconvincing argument from Gulielmius’ silence (1933 preface, xi; 1949, iii; 1966, v) Kasten cites E as having read, with ω, *posuisse.* There is no evidence for the reading of E at this point, and therefore *potuisse* should not be rejected on stemmatic grounds. Neither reading as it stands makes adequate sense, and each gives a hexameter
ending at this significant break. The most natural solution is that of Halm (adopted by Clark), <espe> potuissent, which gives an agreeable esse videaturs rhythm; cf. T. Zielinski, 'Das Clausegesetz in Ciceros Reden', Philologus Suppl. 9 (1904), 792. Kasten's groundless citation of posuisset for E has misled Pabón (preface, 11): Pabón accepts J. N. Madvig’s suggestion (made at Adversaria Critica, iii [Copenhagen, 1884], 134) only because he believes, wrongly, that a conjecture involving potuissent must be stemmatically impossible.

55.2 balbum E. Gulielmius → Gruter. Two give bellum and E (alone) balbum: the distribution of MSS. thus presents us with a straight choice between Bellus and Balbus for the name of Faustus' freedman. Before the advent of stemmatic theory editors were unaware that the reading of E here has equal authority to that of all the other MSS., and so chose Bellus; thus the reading Bellum has become entrenched, and modern editors have simply accepted the traditional name. But Bellus is otherwise attested only twice, as a leading Illyrian in the service of the king Gentius (RE Suppl. iii.202.50), and as a late first-century A.D. potter (RE iii.258.58). These are uninspiring parallels, and Gruter was surely right in judging Balbus the more attractive alternative.

56.4 Gulielmius does change Cincius to Siccius in Lambinus’ text, but he does not say that the latter came from E. Gruter and modern editors are wrong to assume that it did.

61.23 per vos iuvari conservarique cupiunt.

iuvari T: tutari ω

Gulielmius records that E read iuvari, supporting T against ω. Not noted by editors.

62.28 cum commoda colonorum a fortunis Pompeianorum rei publicae fortuna diiunxerit...

rei publicae Two: populi Romani Angelius diiunxerit Gruter: disiunxerit E: disiunxerit aut divixerit T: diviserit ω

Gulielmius (→ Gruter) records that E also read rei publicae, supporting the reading of the other MSS. Not noted by editors. disiunxerit E. Gulielmius → Gruter. diiunxerit should be attributed not to Gulielmius (as in M. M. Peña’s edition, Barcelona, 1956), but to Gruter. Clark misreports T.

64.21 propulisset E. Gulielmius → Gruter.

65.25 deposita E. Gulielmius → Gruter.

65.25 kalendis Ianuariis cum in Capitolium nos senatum convocassemus, nihil est actum prius...

kalendis Ianuariis Tπ: r. lateri aπΣb2: t. lateri b1: r. lata est c1: r. p. latuit c2: populum romanum latuit k

Kasten and Clark misreport b1c1k. Gulielmius records that E read kal. Ian., agreeing as we would expect with Tπ. Not noted by editors.

65.29 agrariae legi, quae tota a me reprehensa et abiecta est, se intercessorem fore professus est...

se intercessorem T: intercessorem se: intercessorem δ

Gulielmius records that E read intercessorem se: not noted by editors. se intercessorem is printed by editors, and reported as being the reading of all
MSS. except δ, which omits se. However, se intercessorem is the reading of T alone; E and π (which editors misreport) give intercessorem se, which was therefore the reading of the archetype (the three MSS. known to be linked to π also give intercessorem se). intercessorem se is a much more attractive reading since it places the pronoun in the unemphatic second position following the incision after abiecta est; cf. J. Wackernagel, IF i (1892), 333ff. (= Kleine Schriften, i.1ff.), E. Fraenkel, ‘Kolon und Satz’ in Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie (Rome, 1964), i.93ff.

66.2 quis tum nostrum Sullam aut Caecilium verebatur?


tum T

Kasten and Clark misreport p. Gulielmius records that E read tum, thus confirming that tum was the reading of the archetype. Not noted by editors.

67.13 scilicet ego is sum, qui existimem...

ego is sum T: ipsum a: is sum cett.

Kasten and Clark misreport a. Gulielmius records that E read is ego sum: not noted by editors. This leaves a choice to be made between ego is sum, the reading printed in texts, and is ego sum. Both readings are stemmatically possible, and rhythmical considerations are of no help because an incision would come after existimem rather than sum. It would be natural, however, to place the emphatic ego first, after scilicet; cf. ‘ego <sum> is consul qui contionem metuam ...?’, leg. agr. 2.101; ‘nec tamen ego is sum qui nihil umquam falsi adprobem’, Ac. 2.66; ‘ego sum is qui dicas me non laborare’, Tusc. 3.50; ‘nam ego is sum qui ...’, Att. 7.5.5; ‘sed ego is non sum qui statuere debeam’, Att. 10.10.2; ‘ego is sum cui vel maxime concedant omnes’, Fam. 1.8.3; ‘ego enim is sum qui nihil sum’, Fam. 5.21.2; ‘ego profecto is sum’, Fam. 15.4.13. The only passage I can find in which is appears first is ‘si quisquam est timidus ... is ego sum’, Fam. 6.14.1, where ego sum refers backwards. I feel, therefore, that the reading of E here should not be allowed to displace ego is sum. ego was perhaps omitted in ω and independently misplaced in E, leaving T with the reading of the archetype.

69.27–8 de me aliquid ipso qui accusatus eram dicere E. Zinzerling (5) -> Gruter.
69.29 animos mentesque convertere E. Gulielmius, Zinzerling (6) -> Gruter. Zinzerling adds vestros after animos (not noted by editors), no doubt wrongly in view of Gulielmius’ greater accuracy and the absence of vestros in Tω. Zinzerling also appears to misreport E at 36.2 and 36.5 above.

70.5 grassatum E. Gulielmius -> Gruter.
70.9 cogitasse aut stulte sperasse E. Gulielmius -> Gruter.
72.31 quis misericordior inventus est E. Gulielmius -> Gruter.
73.10–11 multumque E. Gulielmius -> Gruter.
74.23 in hoc vos pudore, iudices, et in hac vita tanto scelleri locum fuisse creditis?

iudices Angelius: iudicii Tω

Gulielmius records that E read iudices: not noted by editors. This reading confirms Angelius’ emendation.

74.24 vita vitam E. Gulielmius -> Gruter. Reading noted by Clark but missed by Kasten.
74.24–5 ab initio ad hoc tempus explicatam cum crimen E. Gulielmius -> Gruter.
80.12 quid vero? haec auctoritas – semper enim est de ea dicendum, quamquam a me timide modiceque dicetur – , quid? inquam, haec auctoritas nostra…

semper (om. b¹) Tw: saepe Spengel

Kasten and Clark omit the reading of b¹. Gulielmius records that E read semper iam enim. Editors have not noted this reading, which is almost certainly correct and which dispenses with Spengel’s conjecture (adopted by Clark), saepe for semper: the addition of iam makes the hyperbole of semper much easier to bear. The word order semper iam enim, with enim in third place, is unobjectionable: cf. TLL v.2.575.58. iam presumably dropped out of Tw through similarity with enim.

80.15–16

grave est hoc dictum fortasse iudices grave E. Gulielmius –> Gruter.

81.25 -tundis. The Erfurtensis as it survives resumes at this point.