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THE TOLEDO MANUSCRIPT OF THE GERMANIA  
OF TACITUS



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# THE TOLEDO MANUSCRIPT OF THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS, WITH NOTES ON A PLINY MANUSCRIPT<sup>1</sup>

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## I

### DESCRIPTION OF THE CODEX TOLETANUS

THE manuscript of which the *Germania* forms a part, 49.2 of the Zelada collection, contains 223 folios, with 30, occasionally 29, lines to the page. The page is 23.1 cm. × 14.5 cm., and the written portion 17.2 cm. × 8.3 cm. It is divided as follows: *Cor. Taciti De Vita Moribus Et Origine Germanorum Opus Elegantissimum*, foliō 1 r. to the middle of 15 v.; *Opus Eiusdem De Vita Et Mori<sup>bis</sup> L. Agricole*, 16 r. to bottom of 36 v.; *Io. Antonii Campani Oratoris Atque Poetae Celeberrimi Oratio De Laudibus Scientiarum*, 37 r. to 63 v.; fragment of an oration, 64 r. to the middle of 66 r.; a number of Pliny's *Letters* 66 r. to 221 v.; fragment of an oration, 222 r. to 223 v.

On folio 15 v., at the end of the *Germania*, after *relinquam* there is written :∞ τελωσ and just below, the subscription FVLGINIĒ SCRIPTVM GERENTE ME MAGISTRATVM PV · SCRIBE · KAL' · IVN · 1474. The *Agricola* has at the end the word FINIS only. On folio 63 v. following the oration of Antonius stands the title of his oration, followed by these words: Scripta p me M. Angl̄m Crullum Tudertem fulginiū pu. Scribam Noñ Decem̄br MccccLxxiiii Deo Laus & honos. The selections from Pliny's *Letters*<sup>2</sup> have, on folio 221 v. and 222 r., the subscription Caii Plinii oratoris atq̄ Phylsophi Dissertissimi epistolarum liber octavus et ultimus explicit foeliciter deo grās Finis Perusie in domo Crispoli<sup>toz</sup> 1468 AMHN Τελωσ M. Angelus Tuders. Incidentally it may be noticed that the scribe's name is Crullus, not Trullus as Leuze surmised from Wünsch's report in the *Classical Review*, 1899, p. 274, and that his patronymic in the subscription, both on folio 63 and 221, is given

<sup>1</sup>In the spring of 1899 I planned to visit Toledo for the purpose of collating the Tacitus MS. in the possession of the cathedral library of that city. Reference was made to this plan in the *Classical Review* of the preceding year (Vol. XII, p. 465). The necessity of finishing another piece of work upon which I was engaged forced me, however, to give up the project for a time, and I was unable to carry it out until last spring. In the interval Dr. Leuze, of Tübingen, made an admirable collation of the *Agricola* portion of the MS., and published the results of his examination of it in the eighth *Supplementband* of *Philologus*. In this paper, therefore, I shall confine myself to the *Germania*, which is contained in the same codex, and which Dr. Leuze did not have time to collate. In his article (p. 517) Dr. Leuze expressed the fear that his collation might not be accurate at all points, because he was obliged to make it in a very short time, but my comparison of it with

the codex itself convinced me that it was thoroughly trustworthy. I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Monsignor Merry del Val, the archbishop of Nicea, whose enlightened interest in classical study is well known. Through his friendly intercession in my behalf I received permission to make a complete copy of the *Germania* text, although such permission had never been granted before, I believe, in the Toledo library. I am indebted also to Dr. Leuze and to Dr. Wünsch, who first made the existence of the Toledo MS. known to students by his note in *Hermes*, Vol. XXXII, p. 59, for the helpful suggestions which they gave to me by letter before I went to Toledo.

<sup>2</sup>A description of this part of the MS., with a collation of a few of the letters contained in it, is published in this paper on pp. 43, 44.

as Tuders, not Tudertinus as Wünsch reports. A more important correction of Wünsch's reading<sup>3</sup> consists in the fact that at the end of Antonius's oration the date is clearly 1474 and not 1471. From the dates previously reported Leuze inferred that the *Agricola* was written between December 5, 1471, and June 1, 1474. This supposition involved a serious difficulty, because, as will be noticed, the oration of Antonius, which follows the *Germania*, seemed to bear the earlier date, 1471. Since, however, the actual reading in both cases is 1474 the difficulty disappears, and furthermore we can say with considerable confidence that the *Agricola*, which stands between the *Germania* and the oration of Antonius, was written between June 1 and December 5, 1474. The date, 1468, given at the end of Pliny's *Letters*, is a little surprising, but it is written in brown ink, while the rest of the subscription is in bright red ink, and may be an incorrect date inserted later. This supposition is in a slight degree confirmed by the fact that the subscription is arranged in lines of approximately equal length, except that in the line where 1468 is written this number stands to the right of the perpendicular, to the left of which the other lines of the subscription fall, but I am not inclined to lay much stress on this last consideration. Since Angelus makes no mention of his title of public scribe in this connection, and since Pliny's *Letters* were copied at Perugia, it may perhaps be assumed with safety that the Pliny MS. was not copied in 1474. That Angelus copied the *Agricola* as well as the *Germania* is not only clear from the close resemblance which the handwriting in the one document bears to that of the other, but is proved beyond a doubt by examining his method of forming certain combinations of letters. To take one illustration only: *fama* so closely resembles *forma* in *Agr.* 10, 12 that Dr. Leuze was in doubt (p. 545) which of the two words was intended. The same word, *fama*, is written in the same peculiar way in *Germ.* 34, 9 and 35, 16 (Müllenhoff's ed.). The signs for abbreviations, the method of making corrections, and the orthography in the two texts are also similar, although perhaps one ought not to lay much stress on the resemblance last mentioned.

The MS. of the *Germania*, like that of the *Agricola*, has a great many variants. These are without exception written on the margin in the hand and ink used in the body of the text. Someone has also added on the margin here and there in bright red ink the nominative form of certain proper names occurring in the text. Thus on folio 1 r. opposite 2, 8 (ed. Müll.) stands *Germania*, opposite 2, 12 (*ibid.*) *Tuisco deus*, opposite 2, 13 (*ibid.*) *Mannus*. These additions are of no importance in discussing the MS., and may, therefore, be left entirely out of consideration.

Corrections of a single letter or syllable are made above the line. In two cases only, where it is necessary to insert one or more words (13, 4 and 13, 18), the words to be added are written on the margin. The corrections are made in ink of three different colors—a dark brownish green (that of the text itself), a reddish brown, and a bright red. It may be stated with confidence that those in green ink are made by the

<sup>3</sup>The errors in Dr. Wünsch's description of the MS. result of course solely from the fact that, as he wrote to Dr. Leuze, he was allowed to note *Acusserlichkeiten* only.



scribe himself from the copy which he is following. One cannot speak with the same certainty of the other two classes of corrections, but I am strongly inclined to think that those in reddish-brown ink are in the hand of the original copyist. The third corrector, he of the bright red ink, is evidently the scribe who wrote the proper names on the margin to which reference has been made above. The ink is the same as that used in the titles and the paragraph marks. This fact makes it reasonably sure that this third class of corrections may be attributed either to the original copyist or to one of his fellows. His corrections are so slight as to afford us little basis for a comparison of his hand with that of the text. The style which he has used in his notes on the side of the page differs from the writing of the original copyist, but probably the difference is no greater than would naturally exist between the formal and the free hand of the same scribe. We may assume, therefore, with great probability that all three classes of corrections are to be traced to the original copyist. It does not follow, however, that they come from the same source. Those in green ink were undoubtedly made by the copyist as he proceeded with his work. As has been remarked already, they were corrections of errors which he made in following his copy. Those in reddish-brown and in bright red ink must have been added somewhat later. That a considerable interval of time elapsed between the copying of the text and the insertion of these two classes of corrections seems rather probable from the fact that these two inks are used in correcting the *Agricola* also. The reddish-brown ink is used, for instance, in *Agr.* 43, 7 (ed. Halm),<sup>4</sup> and the bright red ink in 3, 6; 29, 9; 31, 2; 31, 19; 33, 6, and 46, 1 (see Leuze, pp. 543-54). It is clear that these changes were made some time after the entire MS. had been finished, and for this second and third correction of the text a MS. other than the archetype of T, or even two such MSS., may have been used. The bearing of these corrections upon the text of the MS. from which T was copied can be ascertained only by discovering their source, and this can be done better when we come to discuss the readings in T.<sup>5</sup>

## II

T AND THE BC CLASSES OF MANUSCRIPTS<sup>6</sup>COLLATION OF TBbCc WITH MÜLLENHOFF'S EDITION<sup>7</sup>Cor. Taciti De Vita Moribus Et Origine Germanorum Opus Elegantissimum  
Feliciter Incipit T

<sup>4</sup>At 43, 7 *ausim* was omitted by the original copyist, and added on the margin in brownish-red ink by the corrector.

<sup>5</sup>This point has a like importance for the *Agricola*.

<sup>6</sup>Müllenhoff's nomenclature for the MSS. is followed, and in this table the readings of B b C and c, which make up the BC classes, are given, because the fundamental point in connection with any new *Germania* MS. must be to determine its relation to these four MSS.

<sup>7</sup>The readings of b and c have been taken from the critical apparatus in Müllenhoff's edition. The readings

of B (Vat. 1862) and C (Vat. 1518) are from my own collation of those MSS., and a list of corrections to be made in Müllenhoff's critical apparatus may be found on pp. 42, 43. The hand of the first corrector is indicated by T<sup>1</sup>, that of the second by T<sup>a</sup>, that of the third by T<sup>2</sup>. At the points marked in this table with a star Müllenhoff, in the *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. IV (Berlin, 1900), expresses a preference for the readings which T (with certain other MSS.) gives. It has seemed best, however, for convenience in reference, to print in the first column the readings of Müllenhoff's text, even where that editor on maturer consideration has expressed a preference for another reading.

Cornelii Taciti De Origine Et Situ Germanorum Liber Incipit B

Cornelii · Taciti · De Origine · Situ · Moribus · Ac Populis · Germanorum Liber ·

Incipit: ∞ b

C · Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ germanorum C

C · Cornelii Taciti De Origine Et Situ Germaniē Liber Incipit c

Editio Muellenhoffii		T B b C c
1, 1	Germania	ermania <i>omissa G quae minio pingi debebat</i> T
1	Raetisque	Rhaetiisq; T, Retiisque B, rhetiisque b, rētiisque Cc
2	Danuvio	Dañubio T, danubio B b c
3	cetera	cētera T, coetera <i>et similiter saepius vel</i> cētera b, cētera <i>vel caetera</i> Cc <i>ubique</i>
3	Oceanus	occeanus T C <i>ubique</i>
6	Raeticarum	r <sup>h</sup> eticaꝝ T, rheticarum b, r <sup>e</sup> ticarum C, raeticarum c, Reticarum B
8	septentrionali	septemtrionali T
9	Danuvius	Dannubius T, danubius B b, Dañuuius C, danuuius <i>in danubius corr. c</i> <sup>2</sup>
10	Abnobae	Arnobe (aſ Arbone aſ none <i>in margine</i> ) T, Arnobe (Arbonae <i>in marg.</i> ) B, arbone b, arbore C, arnobae <i>in arbonae corr. c</i>
11	septimum	septimuꝝ · <sup>N</sup> · (septimus <i>in septimum correxit et</i> ·N· <i>supra addidit</i> T <sup>a</sup> ) T
2, 12	Tuistonem	Tuisconē T, Tuistonē C, Tristonē <i>et in marg.</i> Tuisman B, tristonē b, tui <i>supra tri β</i> , Bistonem c
14	conditoresque	conditorisq; T, conditorisque B b c, conditoris C
15	Ingaevones	Ingeuones T B b C, ingeūones β, ingaeuones c
16	Herminones	hermi <sup>n</sup> ones (n <i>supra addidit</i> T <sup>a</sup> ) T, Hermiones B b C, hermi <sup>n</sup> ones β, herminones c
16	ceteri	cēteri T
16	Istaeuones	Isteuones T C
17	deo	deos T
18	plurisque	pluēsq; T, pluresque B b C c
18	Suebos	Sueuos T B b C c
20	Germaniae	germaniē T
21	Rhenum	rhenūm (i <i>puncto delevit</i> T <sup>1</sup> ) T
24	omnes	oñs T
24	victore	victor <sup>~</sup> T ( <i>cf. arar<sup>~</sup> 14, 17</i> )
25	etiam	om. T c, etiam B b, & C

<sup>2</sup> *Gentis verbum* (2, 14 ed. M.) fol. 1r claudit.

- 3, 2 proelia                   prelia T, plia b, plia C, praelia c  
 4 barditum                   Barditum *et in marg.* Baritū T, baritum *supra* barditum c<sup>2</sup>  
 5 futuraeque               futureq̄ T *corr. in* futureq̄ T<sup>2</sup>  
 5 pugnae                   pugne T *corr. in* pugne T<sup>2</sup>  
 7 vocis                   voces TB bCc  
 7 videtur                  videntur TB bCc  
 10 Ulixen                   ulixem T, ulixen Cc, Ulyxen B, Ulyssem (ss *in litura*) b  
 12 Germaniae               germanie T *corr. in* germanie T<sup>2</sup>  
 13 incolitur               colit~T *corr. in* icolit~T<sup>2</sup>  
 14 nominatumque . . . . .nominatumq̄ ACKITVPΓION aram TB Cc, nominatum-  
 . . . . .aram               que aram (*in marg.* deest β) b  
 15 Laertae               Laerte T  
 16 monumentaque       monimenta<sub>q̄</sub> TC  
 17 Graecis               grecis T  
 18 Germaniae               germanie T  
 18 Raetiaeque           rhetieq̄ T, rhetiaequae b, Rētieque B, rētiaequae c,  
                               retieq̄; C  
 18 quae                   que T
- 4, 1 Germaniae               germanie T *corr. in* germanie T<sup>2</sup>  
 2 conubiis               coñubiis TB bCc  
 6 caerulei               cerulei Tc, çerulei C, ceruli b, ceruli (f lei *supra*  
                               *versum*) B  
 6 rutilae               rutilē T  
 7 valida               vallida (*in* valida *correx*it T<sup>1</sup>) T  
 9 tolerare               tollerare TC  
 10 assuerunt\*           assueverūt TCc, assuerunt (f int *supra versum*) B
- 5, 1 specie               spe<sub>q̄</sub> (spem *corr. in* spei? T<sup>1</sup>) T, spe~C, spetie c  
 2 foeda               feda TB b  
 7 eaeque               eēq̄ T b, Eeque B, eātq̄; C, eatque c  
 7 gratissimae           gratissime T  
 10 Germaniae           gēmanie T  
 12 haud               aut TC  
 15 commerciorum       comertio<sub>z</sub> T, commertiorum Cc  
 17 nostrae pecuniae   nrē pecunie T  
 20 quoque magis quam   magisq̄ T  
 21 affectione           affectatione TB b, affectione Cc

\*Confirmare verbum (3, 19 ed. M.) fol. 1<sup>v</sup> claudit.

6, 1	ne ferrum quidem	ne ferrum (q̄ <sup>†</sup> <i>addidit</i> T*) T
5	comminus	cominus T b
10	distinguunt	distingūt T B b C c
11	galea	galeę T B b C c
12	variare	uarietate T b, variare B C c
16	aestimanti	extimanti T, estimāti B, ęstimati b, existimanti C c
17	proeliantur	preliantur T
18	peditum	p <sub>A</sub> <sup>o</sup> ditum (e <i>supra addidit</i> T <sup>1</sup> ) T
25	proeliis	preliis T
28	superstites	supstes T
7, 6	ne verberare	neq <sub>b</sub> verberare T
7	poenam	penam T B
7	iussu	iuxu T
7	velut	velud T, veluti C
9	effigiesque	Effigies T
9	detracta	de tracta T
11	fortuita	fortuna T <i>corr. in</i> fortuita T <sup>1</sup>
16	illae	ille T C
16	et*	aut T B b, et C c
8, 4	comminus	comin <sup>o</sup> T C b
7	nubiles	nobiles T B C c, nōbiles b
9	consilia	consilio T
9	neglegunt	negligūt T b C c, neglegunt B
11	Albrunam	Auriniā (Albrunam <i>sive</i> Albriniam <i>in marg.</i> ) T, auri- niam B b C, fluriniam c, <i>sed</i> B <i>in margine</i> Albriniam, b ĩ Albriniam, c <i>ab altera manu</i> albriniam <i>supra</i> <i>adscriptum habent.</i>
13	tamquam	tanq <sup>~</sup> T B c
9, 2	litare	litarē T
3	Martem et Herculem	Herculem & martem T, herculem ac martem C c, et herculem <i>post</i> placant B b
4	Sueborum	suevoꝝ T C c b, Suenorum B
6	liburnae	liburne T
8	speciem	speim T C, speciē B, spetiēm c
8	assimilare	assimilare T
9	caelestium	celestium T

<sup>10</sup> Quidem verbum (6, 1 ed. M.) fol. 2r claudit.

<sup>12</sup> Modum verbum (9, 6 ed. M.) fol. 3r claudit.

<sup>11</sup> Non verbum (7, 7 ed. M.) fol. 2v claudit.

10, 5	fortuito	fortuitu T
10	eundem	eundem T
12	interrogare	interogare T
13	praesagia	presagia T
22	exploratur*	explorant T C c, exploratur B, <i>corr. ex explorātur</i> b
24	popularium	depopularium T
25	praeiudicio	preiuditio T, <i>preiuditio</i> C, <i>iudicio</i> B
11, 2	omnes	ōmes T
4	incidit	inciderit T
5	incohatur	inchoatur T b C, incohatur B c
10	nec ut iussi	ne iniussi T
11	coeuntium	cētuum T
12	absumitur	assūmit̄ T
12	turba*	turbe T B, turbe b C c
13	tum	tamen ( <i>tantuz in marg.</i> ) T, tum c, cum C, tamen B b
15	aetas	etas T
12, 2	distinctio	Distintio T
7	flagitia	flagia T, flagitia C, flagicia B, supplicia b
7	abscondi	ascondi T
8	poena	penaz T B, poenarum b C c
9	mulctae	mulcte T
11	conciliis	comitiis T
13	ex plebe	explebes T <i>corr. in explebe</i> T
14	assunt	adsūt T B C
13, 1	publicae	p u b <sup>e</sup> T, p l u c <sup>e</sup> C
1	privatae	private T
4	tum in	Tum in T ( <i>Tum in Cum correxit et Eum supra addidit T<sup>a</sup></i> ), tum in C c <i>et supra cum c<sup>2</sup>, cum in B b</i>
4	vel pater vel propinqui	uī ipsī uī propinqui ( <i>ipsi punctis delevit et in margine vel p̄t addidit T<sup>a</sup></i> ) T
7	publicae	p u b <sup>e</sup> T
9	adolescentulis	adolescentibus T
11	etiam	et̄ & T
13	aemulatio	emulatio T
15	haec	hec T B
15	hae	he T B
16	semper	semp & T
16	circumdari	circundari T
18	cuique	om. T <i>sed in margine scripsit T<sup>a</sup></i>

<sup>13</sup> Committunt verbum (10, 25 ed. M.) fol. 3<sup>v</sup> claudit.

<sup>14</sup> Comites verbum (12, 13 ed. M.) fol. 4<sup>r</sup> claudit.

14,	2	vinci	viam T <i>corr. in</i> vinci T <sup>a</sup>
	2	virtutem principis	virtute principē T
	2	adaequare	adequare T, equare C c
	3	ac	om. T <i>sed in marg. scripsit</i> T <sup>a</sup>
	3	probrosus	probosus T
	6	praecipuum	precipuum T
	8	otio	ocio T B b
	9	adolescentium	adolescentū T
	11	ancipitia	anci <sup>pi</sup> atia T <i>corr. in</i> ancipitia T <sup>1</sup>
	13	tuentur	tue <sup>r</sup> e T <i>sed a supra addidit</i> T <sup>a</sup> , tuent <sup>∞</sup> B, tuētur b, tueare C c <i>et reliqui omnes</i>
	14	illam	illamq; T
	17	arare	ara <sup>r</sup> T, ar <sup>w</sup> are (=arrare) C
	18	expectare	expectare T B C c
	20	et	om. T <i>sed in marg. &amp; addidit</i> T <sup>a</sup>
	20	adquirere	acquirere T B C c
15,	2	otium	ocium T B b
	5	feminis	fēminis T
16,	1	populis	pplos T <i>corr. in</i> pplis T <sup>a</sup>
	2	ne pati	nepati T
	4	locant	locant ( <i>in marg. Longant</i> ) T, longant ( <i>super lineam ĩ locant</i> ) B, looant <i>sed supra et infra secun- dam o litura, ut fuisse videatur lōgant (teste Muel- lenhoffio)</i> b, <i>in margine</i> Locant β
	5	conexis	connexis T B b C c
	5	et	om. T <i>sed super versum supplevit</i> T <sup>a</sup>
	5	cohaerentibus	coherentibus T
	6	circumdat	circundat T B c
	7	caementorum	cementoꝝ T
	9	speciem	spetiem T c, spēm C, spetiē B
	12	imitetur	imitent <sup>r</sup> T c immitet <sup>r</sup> C
	12	supterraneos	sb <sup>2</sup> terāneos T, sb <sup>2</sup> t <sup>2</sup> aneos C, subterraneos c, supter- raneos B b
	14	hiemis	hyemi T B C, hiemi b c
	16	aperta	aperta T ( <i>n̄ super lineam addidit</i> T <sup>a</sup> )
	16	populatur	populatio T
	17	ignorantur	ignoranter T

<sup>15</sup> Petunt verbum (14, 9 ed. M.) fol. 4<sup>v</sup> claudit.<sup>16</sup> Phalerae verbum (15, 13 ed. M.) fol. 5<sup>r</sup> claudit.

17, 3	locupletissimi	Locuplectissimi T
3	distinguuntur	distinguntur T B b c, dixtīgūt̄ C
6	neglegenter	negligenter T B b c, neglegenter <i>corr. ex -ūt̄</i> C
7	commercia	comertia T, commertia C c, <i>corr. t in c b</i>
9	beluarum	belluarum T
10	feminis	foeminis T
11	feminae	foemine T
11	amictibus	admictibus T
18, 3	singulis	singlis T
10	in	im T <i>corr. in in T</i> <sup>1</sup>
10	haec	hec T B
12	haec	hec T
16	periculorumque	periculoꝝ T
19	denuntiant	renuptiant (?) T, denūciant B
19	vivendum	uiuentes T
19	pereundum	parientes T, pariendum B c, pereundum b, piēdum C
21	rursusque	rursus que T, rursus quae c, rursusq̄ C
19, 1	saep̄ta	septa T, septa <i>cum litura supra lineam</i> b, scēpta C
3	feminae	femino T
5	praesens	presens T
9	aetate	etate T
9	invenerit	invenīt (= invenerit) T, invenit C c
11	saeculum	seculum T
16	tamquam	tanq̄ T B
17	finire	finere T <i>corr. in finire T</i> <sup>1</sup>
17	quemquam	quenq̄ T B c, quēq; C
20, 1	ac	atq; T
2	quemque	q̄nq; T, quēque c
3	aut	ac T C c, aut B b
5	deliciis	delitiis T C c
5	dignoscas	dinoscas T B C
7	inexhausta	in exaucta T
14	tamquam	tanq̄ T
14	animum	in aiūm T B b C c
16	si	sed T <i>corr. in si T</i> <sup>2</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Pellibusque verbum (17, 9 ed. M.) fol. 5v claudit.<sup>19</sup> Animum verbum (20, 14 ed. M.) fol. 6v claudit.<sup>18</sup> Litterarum verbum (19, 3 ed. M.) fol. 6r claudit.

20, 18	quo*	tanto T B C, propiōrēs quoꝝ C, quo c <i>et in litura</i> β, quanto <i>Muellerhoffius, D. A., p. 325</i>
19	gratiosior	gratiosior ( <i>gratior in marg.</i> ) T, gratiosior († <i>gratior supra</i> ) β c <sup>2</sup>
21, 2	implacabiles	implacabiles T, iplicabiles C
8	quemcumque	quencunq̄ T B
14	hospitis	hospititis T <i>corr. in hospitis T<sup>1</sup></i>
17	vinclum	Victus T B b C c
18	comitas	comis T B b C c
22, 1	e somno	· N · somno T, e somno C c β, enim somno B b
2	saepius	sepius T
3	hiems	hyemis T, hyems B C
7	vinulentos	vinulentos T, vi nulētos C
8	conviciis	conuitiis T B C c
8	caede	cedē T
10	asciscendis	adsciscendis T B C
12	tamquam	tanq̄ T B
14	nec	aut T
23, 6	indulseris	in dulseris T
24, 1	coetu	cētu T C, cetu B
2	nudi iuvenes	Nudi iuvenes Nūdi iūuenēs T
4	quaestum	questum T b C c
10	voluntariam	voluptariam T
13	condicionis	conditionis T B C c
13	commercia	comertia T, cōmertia C c, comercia β
15	exolvant	exolvať (=exolvant?) T
25, 1	discriptis*	descriptis T <i>libri</i>
4	et	ut T B b, et C c β
5	officia	offitia T C c
6	verberare	Verberant T
6	vinculis	vingculis T <i>corr. in vinculis T<sup>1</sup></i>
9	est	om. T
11	dumtaxat	duntaxat T
11	iis	his T
26, 1	fenus	Foenus T b C c
3	in vices	inuices <sup>m</sup> T, in uices B, inuicē b, uices C, uiceș c

<sup>20</sup> Capiunt verbum (22, 3 ed. M.) fol. 7r claudit.

<sup>22</sup> Dignationem verbum (26, 4 ed. M.) fol. 8r claudit.

<sup>21</sup> Inter verbum (24, 2 ed. M.) fol. 7v claudit.



26, 6	praebent	prestant ( <i>in marg.</i> prebent) T, prestant († prebent <i>supra</i> ) B, praebent c, p̄bēt b, p̄stāt C
7	labore	laborare ( <i>in marg.</i> labore) T, labore ( <i>in marg.</i> † laborare) B, laborare († labor <sup>~</sup> <i>supra</i> ) b, labore C c († rare <i>supra scripsit c</i> <sup>2</sup> )
9	et	ut T B b c, et C β
9	terrae	terre T
11	species	speties T c, spēs BC
11	hiems	Hyems T B C c <sup>2</sup>
11	aestas	estas T
27, 3	odoribus	coloribus T
4	equus	equis T, equus c, eq <sup>o</sup> C
4	adicitur	adiicitur T B b, adjicitur c, adicitur C
5	caespes	cespes T b C c
8	feminis	Foeminis T
10	haec	Hec T
10	commune	comūe T, comuni C
10	origine	orrigine T
13	commigraverint	comigravīnt T
28, 1	auctor	auctoꝝ T, auctorū C c, autor B b
8	Boii	Boi T
9	Boihaemi	boihemi T, Boihemi († Boijemionē <i>in marg.</i> ) B, boiemi <sup>h</sup> b, boīemi C, bohemi <i>post nomen c</i>
11	ab Osis	abois T, a boiis B b C c, osis <i>in marg.</i> β
16	Nervii	Neruli T B C c, <sup>h</sup> neruli b
17	tamquam	tanq̄ T B
21	ne Ubii	Nubii T B C c, <sup>h</sup> nubii b, ubij <i>margo</i> β
22	libentius	lbentius T <i>corr. in libentius T</i> <sup>2</sup>
22	Agrippinenses	Aggripinēses T
23	origine	orrigine T
25	collocati	collati T, conlocati B
29, 1	Batavi	Bataui T B C c, batáui b
3	Chattorum	Cathoꝝ T, cattorum b, cāttorum B, chattorum C c
3	quondam	condam T
3	populus	populis T C c
6	antiquae	ante T
8	collationibus	collationibus ( <i>in marg.</i> collocationib <sup>h</sup> ) T, collocationibus B <i>et supra</i> collationibus c <sup>2</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Utraque verbum (28, 8 ed. M.) fol. 8v claudit.

29,	8	proeliorum	prelioꝝ T
	14	cetera	cetera T <i>sed i supra a posita esse videtur</i> T <sup>2</sup>
	14	similes	si miles T <i>corr. in similes</i> T <sup>2</sup>
	14	Batavis	Bactauis T
	18	Danuviumque	Dannubiumqꝰ T, danubiumque B b c, danuuiumque C
	19	decumates	Decumathes T B c
	20	dubiae	dubie T
	22	praesidiis	presidiis T
	22	pars	par T
	22	provinciae	prouincie T
30,	1	Chatti	cati T, catti b C, chatti B c
	2	inchoant	inchoant T C, inchoant c, ī cohañ B, inchoat b, inchoāt <i>et post t litura β</i>
	4	Chattos	cathos T, cattos b, chattos B c, cāctos C
	6	artus	arctus T, arc <sup>p</sup> C c
	8	sollertiae	solertię T C c b
	8	praeponere	preponere T
	8	praepositos	prepositos T
	9	intellegere	intelligere T B b C c
	9	occasiones	oċcioēs ( <i>in marg. occasiones</i> ) T
	12	Romanae	rōe T, rōē C, romane B, romanę b, ratione c β, ratione <i>Muellerhoffius, D. A., p. 411</i>
	12	disciplinae	discipline T
	14	in pedite	impedite T <i>corr. in in pedite</i> T <sup>1</sup>
	16	Chattos	cathos T, cattos b
31,	1	raro	rarō T, raro b C, rarā B, rara c
	2	Chattos	cathos T, cattos b, cāttos C
	2	consensum	conuentum T
	7	pretia nascendi	pretia† nāscendi T, <sup>1a</sup> nōscendi B, nascendi c, nōscendi b C
	7	rettulisse	retulisse T <i>libri</i>
	11	caede	cede T, cede B
	11	Chattorum	cathoꝝ T, cattorum b
	14	haec	hec T
	17	ad quemque	adquēqꝰ T, ad quenque b c
	18	contemptores	contēptores T, contentores C
	18	durae	dure T
32,	1	Chattis	cathis T, cattis b

<sup>24</sup> Magnitudo verbum (29, 11 ed. M.) fol. 9r claudit.

<sup>25</sup> Pugna verbum (30, 17 ed. M.) fol. 9v claudit.

32, 3	solitum	solium solitum (solium <i>punctis infra positis delet</i> T <sup>1</sup> ) T
4	praecellunt	precellunt T
4	Chattos	Cathos T, cattos b
6	infantium	infantium T ( <i>corr. in infantium</i> T <sup>2</sup> )
7	haec	hec T
9	natu	natui T ( <i>corr. in natu</i> T <sup>2</sup> )
33, 4	praedae	prede
6	proelii	prelii T
6	invidere	om. T
9	quaeso	queso T
10	urgentibus	urgentibus iam T B b, i urgentib C, in urgentibus c <i>et supra</i> i iigentib <sup>o</sup> c <sup>2</sup>
34, 1	Dulgubnii	Dulgicubuni (dulgibnii <i>margo</i> ) T, dulgitubini b, Dulgibini ( <i>et supra</i> i dulgitubini) B, dulgibini C c <i>et supra</i> dulcubuni c <sup>2</sup>
2	Chasuarii	Thasuarii T B, tasuarii b, occasuarii C, chasudrii c
4	Frisiis	frisit T B c <i>et in marg.</i> β, frisicis C, frisiis b
5	praetexuntur	pretexuntur T
6	immensos	in mensos T
6	insuper	in super T
7	classibus	claxibus T
8	illa	illa (illis <i>margo</i> ) T
8	temptavimus*	tentauius T C c, tetauius B b
9	volgavit	uulgavit T b, uolgavit B C, uoligavit c
10	quidquid	quicq T <i>libri</i>
10	magnificum	magnum T, magnu; B, magnificentum C c <i>et in litura</i> β, magn <i>in margine</i> β
11	consensimus	consensimus (cōsuevim <sup>o</sup> <i>margo</i> ) T
11	Druso	Durso T <i>corr. in</i> Druso T <sup>1</sup>
13	temptavit*	tentaui T B c, tetaui b, temptaui C
35, 1	in septentrionem	Inseptemtrionē T
2	ac primo	A primo T <i>corr in</i> Ac primo T <sup>1</sup>
3	incipiat	incipiant T
3	Frisiis	Frisit T B b C c
4	litoris	littoris T
5	optenditur	obtendit T B, optenditur b, obtendere C c
5	in Chattos	in chatos T, incattos b, incaptos C

<sup>26</sup> Equitum verbum (32, 5 ed. M.) fol. 10r claudit.

<sup>27</sup> Quicquid verbum (34, 10 ed. M.) fol. 10v claudit.

35,	6	sinuetur	sinuet̄ (sinat̄ <i>margo</i> ) T, sinatur C c, sinuetur B b
	6	immensum	in mensum T
	7	et implent	implet̄ T, et implent B et implēt C
	13	iniurias	Iniuriam T
36,	1	Chattorumque	cathozq̄ T, cattorumque b
	2	ac	& <sup>ac</sup> (ac <i>supra lineam scripto</i> ) T
	2	inlaccessiti	illaccessiti T
	4	inpotentes	potentis T, inpotentes b C c, ī potentis B
	5	nomina	nomine T B b C c
	7	Chattis	Chattis T, cattis b
	8	tracti	Tacti T B b C, tracti c
	9	adversarum	aduersarum (adusariis <i>margo</i> ) T, aduersarum (f aduersariis) B b, adu <sup>s</sup> sarium C
	9	aequo	equo T
	9	socii	sotii T c, sunt socii C
	10	fuissent	fuissē (= fuissent?) T
37,	1	sinum	situm T B b, sinum C c
	2	tenent	tenent̄ T
	3	famae	fame T
	4	ambitu	ambitū T, ambitū <sup>tu</sup> B, ambitum C c
	6	sescentessimum	Sexcentessimum T c, sesc-B b, sec- C
	8	Caecilio	Cecilio T
	8	ac*	& T B b, ac C c
	8	Papirio	Sapirio T B, papirio C c, Šapyrio b
	8	consulibus	cōss : T, cons b, conss β, eos C
	9	si	om. T
	10	consulatum	conuentum T, cōn <sup>tu</sup> B
	11	Germania	in Germania T
	14	saepius	sepius T
	16	caedem	cedem T B
	16	et ipse	& ipō & ipē T B b C c
	17	obiecerit	obiecerunt T, obicit̄ C
	18	et Scauro	Scauro T
	19	Caepione	Cepione T
	19	Gnaeoque	Marcoḡ T, Marcoq̄; (= Marcoquoque vel Marcoque) B, m i q̄ <sup>o</sup> (= miquoque) C, M. c, marco q <sup>o</sup> q̄ b
	20	populo Romano	populi Romani T B b C c
	24	Caesaris	Cesaris T

<sup>28</sup> Vocantur *verbum* (36, 7 ed. M.) fol. 11r claudit.

<sup>29</sup> Italia *verbum* (37, 22 ed. M.) fol. 11v claudit.

37, 25	minae	mine T
25	versae	om. T
25	inde otium	inde ocium T B b, in otium C
27	hibernis	hybernis T B C
28	ac rursus inde pulsi proximis	ac rursus <sup>r</sup> pulsi inde (nam <i>margo</i> ) <sup>nā</sup> p̄ximis T, ac rursus pulsi inde proximis B, ac rursus inde pulsi proximis b, ac rursus pulsi nam proximis c, ac & expulsi rur- sus īde proximis C
38, 1	Suebis	Suevis T B b C c <i>et ubique similiter</i>
2	Chattorum	cathoz̄ T
2	Tencteriorumve	Tenctetoz̄ ve (Tenctetorum <i>corr. in</i> Tencteriorum T <sup>1</sup> ) T
3	optinent	obtin& T C, obtinent c
4	quamquam	q̄ T B, q̄; q̄; C c, quam <sup>ui</sup> b
4	commune	comūni T, comune C
6	sic	sicut (Sic <i>margo</i> ) T
7	Sueborum	servoz̄ T
9	quod	quid T
9	saepe	sepe T
10	iuventae	iuuente T
12	saepe	sepe T
12	in ipso solo	in solo (in ip̄o <i>margo; signo   . ante solo apposito</i> ) T, <sup>ī ipso</sup> in solo B, in ipso (solo <i>supra adscripsit</i> β) b, in ipso solo C c
12	vertici*	vertice T B b C c
13	formae	forme T
13	innoxia	innoxie T B b c, inopię C
15	comptius	compti ut T B b C, compti et c
16	ornantur*	armantur (ōnant̄ <i>margo</i> ) T, <sup>ī ornantur</sup> armantur B, <sup>arm</sup> ornantur b, ornantur C c, armantur <i>supra</i> c <sup>2</sup>
39, 1	Semnones	Semones (Semnones <i>margo</i> ) T, <sup>† Señones</sup> Semones B, <sup>m</sup> senones b, semones C c
3	stato tempore	Statuto (Stato t̄pe <i>margo</i> ) T
3	patrum	patrium T B b C, patrum β, patrum c
4	sacram	sacrum T B b C c, sacram β
4	omnes	om̄s (nom̄is ī num̄is <i>margo</i> ) T, omnis C c, omnes B b <i>sed supra adscripto</i> ī nōis ī numinis B, ī nominis c <sup>2</sup>
4	eiusdem	eiusdemq; T B

<sup>30</sup> Sanguinis verbum (39, 4 ed. M.) fol. 12<sup>r</sup> claudit.

39, 6	horrenda	horrentia T
13	adicit	Adiicit T B b C c
13	Semnonum	Semonum (Semnonuz <i>margo</i> ) T, Semonū (ī sennonū <sup>m</sup> <i>supra</i> ) B, senonum b, semnonum C c
14	habitant*	habitant~T B b C c
14	corpore	corpore (tempore <i>margo</i> ) T, corpore (ī tempore <i>supra</i> ) B, corpore b, corpore C c
40, 1	nobilitat	nobilitas T B b C, nobilitat c
2	cincti	cuncti T
3	proeliis	preliis T
5	Suardones	Suarines (Suardones <i>margo</i> ) T, Suarines B b C c, dones <i>supra</i> ines <i>adscriptis</i> β, suardones <i>cod. Hummel. et non nulli alii</i>
5	Nuithones	Nuitones T, Nuithones B c, nuitones C, nurtones b, i <i>supra</i> r β
7	Nerthum	Nertum T, Nerthum c, nethum C, Neithū B, neithum b, r <i>supra</i> i β
10	eo	ea T B b C c
12	intellegit	intelligit T B b C c
13	feminis	fēminis T
13	laeti	Leti T
14	quaecumque	quecūq; T
15	sumunt	sumunt T, sumūt B, sumut C
16	pax et quies	pax & quies (& <i>supra lineam addito</i> T <sup>1</sup> ) T
20	servi	Sevi T <i>corr. in</i> Servi T <sup>2</sup>
41, 1	haec	hec T
1	Sueborum	verboꝝ T B b C c
2	Germaniae	germanie T <i>corr. in</i> germaniē T <sup>2</sup>
2	propior	proprior T c, propior B
3	Danuvium	Danubium T b c, Danuuium B C
3	Hermundurorum	Hermundoꝝ T
5	commercium	comertium T C, comērtiū B c
6	Raetiae	Rhetiē T b, Retie B, retiē C c
7	passim	passum T <i>corr. in</i> passim T <sup>1</sup>
42, 1	Varisti	Narisci T, Naristi B b c, Narisci <i>in margine</i> β, maristi C
2	praecipua	precipua T

<sup>1</sup>Quies tunc tantum verba (40, 16 ed. M.) fol. 12<sup>v</sup> claudunt.

42, 3	ipsa etiam	ē̄t & ip̄a (& <i>lineola inducta deletit et signa transpositionis supra etiam et ipsa addidit T<sup>1</sup></i> ) T, etiam ipsa b
3	Boiis	Bois T B C c, boiis b
4	Varisti	narisci T, Naristi B b c, maristi C
5	Germaniae	Germanie T
5	Danuvio	danubio T b c, danuuio B C
6	praecingitur	peragit <sup>-</sup> T B b C c
7	manserunt*	mansere T B, manser <sup>-</sup> b, manserunt C c
8	Tudri	Trudi T
10	saepius	sepius T
43, 1	Cotini	Gotini T B b C c
2	claudunt	claudiū̄ T
3	Cotinos	Gotinos T B b C c
7	Cotini	Gotini T B b, Cotini C c
7	effodiunt	effodunt T
10	Suebiam	sueviam T B b C c
12	Lygiorum	Legiorum T, Legiorum <sup>1y</sup> B, legiorum <sup>i</sup> b ( <i>Ligij in margine</i> <i>β</i> ), leugiorum C, legiorum <sup>1ue</sup> c c <sup>2</sup>
14	Helvaeonas	heluetonas (halosionas <i>margo</i> ) T, Heluetonas <sup>1c</sup> B, helue- conas <sup>h</sup> b, eluheconas C, Heueconas <sup>1c</sup> c c <sup>2</sup>
15	Nahanarvalos	Nahanarulos (naharualos <i>margo</i> ) T, Nahanarualos <sup>1 naharualos</sup> B, naharualos b, nahanarualos C, nachanarualos c
15	apud Nahanarualos	Apd Naharualos T B b, nacharualos C c
15	religionis	religionis (regionis <i>margo</i> ) T, religionis B b, regionis C c
16	praesidet	Presid& T
21	Harii	alii T B b C c
22	truces	trucis T B C, truciſ (s <i>puncto deleta</i> ) b, trucis c
23	feritati	feriati T
26	sustinente	Sb <sup>2</sup> stinēte T c
28	Gotones	Gothones T B b C c
28	regnantur	regnāt T B C, regnant b, regnantur c
29	adductus	adductus T, adnetius C
31	Lemovii	lemonii T b, u <i>supra</i> n <i>posuit, sed in margine</i> Lemonii <i>β</i> , Lemouii B C c
44, 1	ipso *	ip̄e T B, ipsae b, ip̄o C c
1	Oceano	oceanium T, oceanum B b, no <i>supra</i> adscripsit <i>β</i> , oceano C c

<sup>32</sup> Regibus verbum (42, 9 ed. M.) fol. 13<sup>r</sup> claudit<sup>33</sup> Ipsaque verbum (43, 25 ed. M.) fol. 13<sup>v</sup> claudit.

44, 1	praeter	preter T
3	utrinque	utrimq̄ T, utriq; C
4	ministrant	ministrāt̄ T B b C c
10	clausa	causa T
12	otiosae	Ociosa T B b, occiosa C, otiosa c
1	immotum	īmotum T, inmotum C
4	ortum*	ortus T C c, ortum B b
4	edurat	edura T <i>corr. in</i> edurat T <sup>1</sup>
4	sidera hebetet	ḥēḥ& & (hebet et <i>expunxit</i> et sydera hebet& <i>in margine addidit</i> T <sup>1</sup> ) T
5	equorum	deoz̄ (eoz̄ <i>margo</i> ) T, deorum B b C c, eorū <i>cod. Stuttgartiensis, cod. Vindobonensis</i>
6	adicit	āspīcīt̄ adīcīt̄ (aspicit <i>punctis deleto</i> ) T, adiicit B b C c
8	Suebici	Seuici (Sueuici <i>margo</i> ) T, seuici b, Saeuici B C c, <i>supra</i> ī sueuici B c <sup>2</sup> , sueuici <i>et in margine</i> suionici β
8	Aestiorum	Aestyoz̄ T, Aestiorum B C c, estiorum b, <i>eflu supra scripsit et in margine</i> efluī β
9	adluuntur	abluunt̄ T B b, alluuntur c, adluuntur C
10	Britannicae	Britanicę T, britanice C
10	propior	proprior T
17	sucinum	succinū T b, sucinum B C c
17	glaesum	glesum T B b C c
18	litore	littore T B C c
18	quae	que T
19	quaeve	que ue (uō <i>margo</i> ) T
19	quaesitum	quesitum T
22	perfertur*	profertur T, pfertur b
23	sucum	Succum T b C c, sucum B
24	intellegas	intelligas T B b C c
27	igitur	ergo T
28	tura	thura T c
29	terrisque . . . . solis	om. T
30	radiis	radius T B b C, radiis c
32	litora	littora <i>omissum scripsit in margine</i> T <sup>1</sup>
32	exundant	exsudant T c, exudant C
32	sucini	succini T b C, sucini B c
33	temptes	tentes T, tētes B b C c
33	taedae	tede T, tedae b c

<sup>34</sup> Quod verbum (45, 3 ed. M.) fol. 14<sup>r</sup> claudit.

<sup>35</sup> Tem. *syllaba prima tempestatum verbi* (45, 31 ed. M.) fol. 14<sup>v</sup> claudit.



45, 36	Suionibus	Si uonibus T <i>corr. in</i> Suionibus T <sup>2</sup>
37	differunt	differēt T, differunt <sup>a</sup> C
46 1	hic Suebiae finis	Hic Suevię fines T, hic sueuie ( <sup>I sueuę</sup> Sueuię B, <sup>sueuiae</sup> sueuiae c c <sup>2</sup> ) fines B C c, hi sueuię fines b
5	torpor	tempore torpor (tempore <i>punctis deleto</i> ) T
6	conubiis	cōnubiis T B b c
6	mixtis	mixtos T B c, mistos b, o <i>puncto delevit et i supra</i> <i>adscripsit</i> β
8	quidquid	quicq̄ T B b c
11	figunt	fungunt T C c, figunt B b
11	pedum	peditum T c, pecudum B b, <i>corr. in</i> peditum β
13	sunt	om. T
14	foeda	fedā T B
15	herba	erba T
16	solae	Sola T
16	sagittis	sagiptis T
16	inopia	in opia T
17	idemque	Idem T
19	praedae	prede T
23	inlaborare	illaborare T
25	difficillimam	difficilimam T, difficillimam C c, difficilem B b
27	Oxionas	oxionas (etionas <i>margo</i> ) T, Oxionas (tetionas <i>supra</i> ) B, oxionas b c, I etionas <i>supra</i> β, exionas C, Etionas <i>Muellerhoffius, D. A. p. 517</i>
28	voltusque	uultusq̄ T b C c, uoltusque B
28	corpora	& corpora T C c
29	ego	om. T

Cornelii Taciti De Origine Et Situ Germanorum Liber Explicit B

: ∞ : ∞ : ∞ Finit b

finis : Θ ε λ ο σ C

∞ T ε λ ω σ c

: ∞ T ε λ ω σ

FVLGINIĘ SCRIPTVM GERENTE ME MAGISTRATVM PV · SCRIBĘ  
KAL' · IVN · 1474 T

Attention has been called already (pp. 4, 5) to the three classes of corrections which T shows. T<sup>1</sup> is the scribe himself making corrections from the MS. which he is following. The doubt which an examination of the handwriting of T<sup>a</sup> and T<sup>2</sup> and of the ink used by them leaves in one's mind (*cf.* p. 5) can best be resolved by examin-

<sup>36</sup> Aliud verbum (46, 19 ed. M.) fol. 15<sup>r</sup> claudit.

ing the corrections made by each of these hands. A conspectus of those made by T<sup>a</sup> is given in the following table, and, to facilitate comparison, the readings of certain other MSS. and early editions<sup>37</sup> are also indicated.

## CORRECTIONS BY SECOND HAND

	Ed. Muell.	T	T <sup>a</sup>
1, 11	septimum	septimus	septimum enim
2, 16	Herminones	hermiones Vat. 2964, N, R	herminones
3, 13	incolitur	colitur	incolitur
6, 1	quidem	om.	quidem
13, 4	tum in	tum in K	cum <sup>eum</sup> in (cum in Vat. 2964, N)
	4 pater	ipsi Vat. 2964, K, N	pater
	18 cuique	om. K, N	cuique
14, 2	vinci	viam	vinci
	3 ac	om.	ac
	13 tuentur	tuere	tueare R (?) (tuear̄ Vat. 2964, tueantur K, N)
	20 et	om.	et
16, 1	populis	populos	populis
	5 et	om. K, N	et
	16 aperta	aperta	non aperta

It is necessary to anticipate a conclusion reached later in this paper (*cf.* pp. 37 ff.) by stating at this point that T is closely related to K (or L), Vat. 2964 (Massmann's Rd), the Nuremberg editions, and the Roman edition of 1474. If, therefore, the corrections of T<sup>a</sup> differ from the readings of this group,<sup>38</sup> it is apparent that he is either introducing his own conjectures, or basing his corrections on some other MS. than the archetype of T. An examination of the table will show that the state of things just supposed is the case at 1, 11; 2, 16; 13, 4 (*ipsi*); 13, 18; and 16, 5. In all these cases the first hand in T shows the same errors found in other members of the group, so that the corrections of T<sup>a</sup> give different readings from those of the E MSS. It might be assumed that T, although it was related to the MSS. and editions mentioned, belonged to a collateral branch into which the errors under discussion had not entered. It is well-nigh inconceivable, however, that the first hand in T and the copyist of the archetype from which K, Vat. 2964, R and N are descended should have committed the same errors at all of these points. The conclusion reached after an examination of these readings is confirmed by a glance at the other corrections made by T<sup>a</sup>. In no case does he restore a reading peculiar to the E MSS. The readings of T<sup>a</sup> at 3, 13; 6, 1; 14, 2;

<sup>37</sup> K = Kappianus or Longolianus (*cf.* MASSMANN, p. 4); R = editio Romana (*cf.* MASSMANN, pp. 25 ff., and TAGMANN, *De Taciti Germaniae apparatu critico* p. 23) N = editio Norimbergensis (*cf.* MASSMANN, p. 24; TAGMANN,

p. 22, and MÜLLENHOFF, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. IV, pp. 689 ff.

<sup>38</sup> From this point on we shall designate this group of MSS. as the E class, following Müllenhoff's nomenclature.

14, 3; 14, 13; 14, 20, and 16, 1 are found, it is true, in MSS. of the class mentioned, but they also all appear in important MSS. entirely independent of that group.

Special interest attaches to 1, 11; 13, 4 (cum<sup>eum</sup> in); 13, 4 (pater); and 16, 16. In 13, 4 and 16, 16 T, in harmony with the E MSS., had *ipsi* and *aperta*, which T<sup>a</sup> changes to *pater* and *non aperta*. In 1, 11 *septimus*, the reading of T is nearer *septimum*, the reading of the E class, than *septimum enim* is. A similar statement may be made in regard to *tum in*, the reading of T at 13, 4. All of the readings of T<sup>a</sup>, with the exception of *non aperta*, are found in other MSS. That correction may be based on the copyist's conjecture, but the others seem to be clearly taken from some other MS.

This conclusion does not carry with it the corollary that the reading of T at all the points mentioned represents correctly the archetype. On the contrary, wherever T<sup>a</sup> coincides with the E MSS. we should adopt its reading, not because it is the reading of T<sup>a</sup>, but because evidence from the E group makes it almost certain that the archetype of T and the E MSS. had the reading in question at that point. Accordingly we should accept *incolitur*, 3, 13; *quidem*, 6, 1; *vinci*, 14, 2; *ac*, 14, 3; *tueare*, 14, 13; *et*, 14, 20, and *populis*, 16, 1. All these are simple errors, in their first stage of development, so to speak, and there is no difficulty in believing that they were made by the first hand in T, and that consequently they do not represent the readings of the archetype of T at these points. On the other hand, to restore the archetype of T, we should adopt the reading of T at 1, 11; 2, 16; 13, 4 (*tum in*); 13, 4 (*ipsi*); 13, 18; 16, 5, and 16, 16.

It may be surmised with some probability that the corrections made by T<sup>a</sup> were taken from *Vindobonensis I* (Massmann's W; cf. p. 21), or from some MS. very closely related to it. This seems to be a natural inference from the fact that W has the readings of T<sup>a</sup> at all fourteen of the points cited in the table on p. 22, while, if the reports of Massmann and Tagmann may be trusted, it is the only MS. which gives all three of the characteristic readings, *septimum enim os*, 1, 11; *Herminones*, 2, 16; and *tum eum*, 13, 4. That *Toletanus* is otherwise independent of W seems clear for two reasons. It does not, on the one hand, show the errors peculiar to W (*e. g.*, *erumpit*, 1, 11; *Aranisci*, 28, 11; *Germaniae*, 28, 17; and *Bastranas*, 46, 3), while, on the other hand, abnormal forms like *iuxu*, 7, 7, and simple errors peculiar to T, like *effigies*, 7, 9; *consilio*, 8, 9; *depopularium*, 10, 24; and *comitiis*, 12, 11, are passed over by T<sup>a</sup> without correction.

The corrections made by T<sup>2</sup> are simpler. They are given in the following table.

## CORRECTIONS BY THIRD HAND

	Ed. Muell.	T	T <sup>2</sup>
3, 5	<i>futurae</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>future</i>
5	<i>pugnae</i>	<i>pugne</i>	<i>pugne</i>
12	<i>Germaniae</i>	<i>germanie</i>	<i>germanie</i>

20, 16	si	sed	si
28, 22	libentius	lbentius	libentius
29, 14	cetera	cetera	cetera <sup>i</sup> (?)
14	similes	si miles	similes
32, 6	infantium	infanctium	infantium
9	natu	natui	natu
40, 20	servi	sevi	servi
41, 2	Germaniae	germanie	germanię
45, 36	Suionibus	Si uonibus	Suionibus

If cetera, 29, 14, be left out of account, in none of these cases is there any reason for believing that T<sup>2</sup> either based his corrections on another MS., or introduced his own conjectures. The mark over the final letter in cetera bears some resemblance to an i, but it is doubtful if it was intended for that letter. The fact has already been noticed (*cf.* p. 5) that the corrections of T<sup>2</sup> were made by the official corrector who inserted the titles and paragraph marks, and evidently they represent the correct reading of the archetype of T.

Having reached a conclusion in regard to the corrections in T, we are in a position to discuss the relation of T to the other MSS. of the *Germania*. The errors which T shows in common with the leading MSS. B b C c prove that they are all derived from the same archetype. The errors common to all five are voces, 3, 7; videntur, 3, 7; ACKITVPIΓION, 3, 14; connubiis, 4, 2; distingunt, 6, 10; galeę, 6, 11; nobiles, 8, 7; turbae, 11, 12; poenarum, 12, 8; connexis, 16, 5; in animum, 20, 14; victus, 21, 17; comis, 21, 18; descriptis, 25, 1; aboiis, 28, 11; Neruli, 28, 16; Nubii, 28, 21; retulisse, 31, 7; quicquid, 34, 10; Frisis, 35, 3; nomine, 36, 5; et ipso et ipse, 37, 16; populi Romani, 37, 20; vertice, 38, 12; innoxie (inopię C), 38, 13; sacrum, 39, 4; adiicit, 39, 13; habitantur, 39, 14; ea, 40, 10; verborum, 41, 1; peragitur, 42, 6; Gotini, 43, 1; Gotinos, 43, 3; alii, 43, 21; Gothones, 43, 28; ministrantur, 44, 4; otiosa, 44, 12; deorum, 45, 5; adiicit, 45, 6; Suevorum, 45, 9; tentes, 45, 33; and fines, 46, 1, leaving out of account such deviations from the accepted orthography as Suevi, intelligere, and the use of e for ae. T, therefore, like all the other extant MSS. of the *Germania*, twenty or more in number, is a descendant of the Hersfeld MS., so-called.<sup>39</sup> This MS. was made known to scholars about 1455, and it seems to be proved now beyond question that Enoch of Ascoli, who found it in Germany, brought back to Italy the MS. itself, and not a copy of it, as had been commonly supposed.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Whether this MS. came from Hersfeld, Corvey, or elsewhere is not a matter of moment in this connection.

<sup>40</sup> This point was happily settled by Sabbadini in the *Rivista di Filologia*, Vol. XXIX (1901), pp. 262-4. Pier Candido Decembrio was at the papal court, as Sabbadini shows, when Enoch of Ascoli returned from Germany and thus describes the new MS., in so far as the *Germania* is concerned: "cornelii taciti liber reperitur Rome visus 1455 de Origine et situ Germanie. Incipit: 'Germania

omnis a Gallis retiisque et panoniis Rheno et danubio fluminibus a Sarmatis dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus seperatur. cetera oceanus ambit.' Opus est foliorum XII in columnellis. Finit: 'Cetera iam fabulosa helusios et oxionas ora hominum vultusque corpora atque artus ferarum gerere. quod ego ut incomptum in medium relinquam.' Utitur autem cornelius hoc vocabulo 'inscientia' non 'Inscitia'". Our extant MSS. in the passage in question (chap. 16) have inscitia, so that Decembrio seems to be

Having established the fact that T is descended from Hersfeldensis, let us inquire into the relation which it bears to the other *Germania* MSS., all of which have a like origin. It is now agreed on all sides that the text of the Hersfeld MS. is best preserved by MSS. of the two independent classes which Müllenhoff has styled B and C respectively, one of which classes is represented by Vat. 1862 (B) and Leidensis (b), the other by Vat. 1518 (C) and Neapolitanus (c). At more than one hundred points these two classes of MSS. offer different readings, and a comparison of T with them at these points throws a great deal of light upon the relation which T bears to each of them and to the Hersfeld MS. In the table which follows all the passages are brought together in which B b and C c disagree. A star (\*) indicates that the reading is adopted by Müllenhoff in his edition of the *Germania*. A dagger (†) means that T is in error with B b; a double dagger (‡) that T is in error with C c. In a supplementary table some peculiar cases are given.

TABLE SHOWING THE READINGS OF T AT POINTS WHERE B b AND C c DISAGREE.

	B b	C c
2, 12	Tristonē (Tuisman <i>margin.</i> ) B, tristonē b	Tuisconē T, Tuistonē C, Bistonem c, (Tuistonem, ed. Muell.) *
3, 13	hodieque * T B b	hodie C c
4, 2	populos * T B b	populis C c
5	q̄ q̄ (al. tanq̄ <i>margin.</i> ) B, quamquam * T b	tanquam C c
6	ceruli B, ceruli b <sup>1 lei</sup>	cerulei C, cerulei * T c
10	assuerunt B, assuerunt b <sup>1 int</sup>	assueuerunt ‡ T C c
5, 7	eēque * T b, eeque B	eātque C, eatque c
8	propitiine * T B b	propitii C c
12	perinde B, perinde * T b <sup>1 pro</sup>	proinde C c
21	affectatione † T B b	affectione C c
6, 8	ī mensum B b	ī imensum C c, in immensum * T
16 <sup>41</sup>	aestimanti B b, extimanti (= estimanti * ?) T	existimanti C c
21	quidem B b	quod * T C c
7, 2	aut * T B b	ac C c
2	etiam B b	et * T C c
12	aut propinquitates B b	et propinquitates * T C c

in error in his comment on this matter; but the important point in his statement, to which Sabbadini calls attention, is the fact that Enoch's MS. was written in columns, whereas in Decembrio's time it was the practice to make the lines in MSS. run across the entire page. This shows clearly enough that Enoch brought the German MS. itself with him and not a copy of it. The title which the Ger-

mania bore in the Hersfeld MS. also makes it reasonably sure that the original title was *De Origine et Situ Germanorum*. This is the title which appears in MSS. B and C.

<sup>41</sup> Upon such forms as *extimanti* for *estimanti* cf. GÜDEMANN, "Bemerkungen zum Codex Toletanus des Agricola," in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1902, col. 796.

7, 16	aut * T B b	et C c
8, 3	precum * T B b	preco C c
9, 3	et herculem <i>after</i> placant B b	herculem & martem * T, herculem ac martem
10, 17	hinnitusque * T B b	hinnitus c, himnitus C
20	istos B b	illos * T C c
22	exploratur B b	explorant † T C c
11, 3	pertractentur * T B b	praetractentur C c
13	tamen B b, tamen† ( <i>tantum marg.</i> ) T	cum C, tum c
12, 1	concilium * T B b	consilium C c
10	uindicauit B b	uindicatur * T C c
13, 4	cum B b	tum * T C c
5	propinqui * T B b	propinquus C c
13	primus * T B b	p <sup>m</sup> C, primum c
14	principum cui * T B b	principium cui C c
14, 2	adequare * T B b	equare C c
6	eius <i>om.</i> b, ē B	eius * T C c
13	tuentur B b	tueare † T C c
16, 4	<sup>1</sup> locant longant B, lōgant b	locant C c, locant * ( <i>longant marg.</i> ) T
17, 5	ferunt B b	gerunt * T C c
18, 11	aliquid * T B b	id C, a' c
12	hoc maximum * T B b	hęc maximum C c
19, 9	inuenerit * T B b	inuenit C c
20, 3	aut * B b	ac † T C c
21, 7	aliqua B b	alia * T C c
22, 1	enim † T B b	e C c
9	sed et * T B b	sed C c
14	adhec B b	adhuc * T C c
15	<sup>11</sup> ioci B, <sup>11</sup> ioci b	ioci * T C c
24, 3	exercitatio * T B b	excitatio C c
25, 2	ministris B b	ministeriis * T C c
4	ut † T B b	et C c
6	exequantur * T B b	exequantur C c
9-14	liberti . . . . argumentum <i>misplaced</i> B b	<i>in proper place</i> * T C c
26, 3	in uices B, inuicem b, inuices <sup>m</sup> * T	uices C, uices c
27, 1	obseruat B, obseruant b	obseruatur * T C c
28, 2	autor B b	auctorum † T C c
13	commigrauerint * T B b	comigrauerunt C c
14	qui B, q b	quia * T C c

29, 3	populus B b	populis † T C c
30, 1	ulera B b	ultra * T C c
5	ac B b	atque * T C c
19	propior * T B b	propiora C c
31, 15	uultu* T B b	cultu C c
33, 11	nihil* T B b	nil C c
34, 1	Angruarios* T B, angrinarios b	anguiarios C, anguarios c
2	Thasuarii* T B, tasuarii b	occasuarii C, Chasudrii c
3	Frisii* T B b	frisi c, frisci C
10	magnu; B, magnificum <i>in litura</i> ( <i>magn marg.</i> ) β, magnum† T	magnificum C c
35, 5	obtenditur* T B, optenditur b	obtendere C c
6	nam B b	tam* T C c
9	maluit B, malit <i>corr. from malint</i> b	malit* T C c
13	assequuntur* T B b	assequantur C c
36, 8	fusi B b	fosi* T C c
37, 1	situm* T B b	sinum C c
8	et† T B b	ac C c
8	Sapirio† T B, <sup>p</sup> Sapyrio b	papirio C c
38, 12	in solo B, in ipso (solo <i>written above</i> β) b	in ipso solo* T C c
12	religatur* T B b	ligant C c
40, 3	ac* T B b	& C c
3	Veusdigni B, Veusdigni (R <i>written</i> <i>above V</i> ) β) b	Reudigni* T c, Reudigi C
7	Neithum B, neithum (r <i>above i</i> β) b	nerthum C c, Nertum* T
9	populis* T B b	propriis C c
41, 7	passim* T B b	passim et C c
42, 4	parata B b	parta* T C c
7	mansere† T B b	manserunt C c
43, 1	Buri* T B b	Burii C c
2	Quadorumque* T B b	<sup>o</sup> qdorumque C c
7	gotini† T B b	Cotini C c
18	memorat B b	memorant* T C c
44, 1	ipse† T B, ipsae b	ipso C c
1	oceanum B b, oceceanum† T	ocecano C c
4	frontem* T B b	fronte C c
8	non* T B b	nec C c
45, 2	cludique* T B b	claudique C c
4	ortum B b	ortus† T C c

45, 5	formasque* T B b	formas C c
9	abluuntur* T B b	adluuntur C, alluuntur c
19	gignat* T B b	gignit C c
28	sudant B b	sudantur* T C c
36	gens B b	gentes* T C c
37	differunt* B b, differēt T	differuntur C c
46, 11	figunt B b	fingunt‡ T C c
25	difficilem B b	difficillimam C c, difficilimam* T
28	corpora B b	et corpora‡ T C c

## SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE

2, 25	etiam B b	& C, om. T c
3, 9	obiectis T B b	abiectis c, dictis C
30, 6	artus B b, arctus T	arcus C c
33, 10	urgentibus iam, T B b	in urgentibus C c
35, 6	sinuetur B b, sinuetur (sinatur <i>margin.</i> ) T	sinatur C c
37, 19	Marcoquoque or Marcoque B, Mar- coquoque b, Marcoque T	miquoque C, M c
39, 4	omnes b, omnes <sup>Inōis Inūminis</sup> B, om̄s (nom̄is t num̄is <i>margin.</i> ) T	omnis C c
14	corpore B, corpore b, corpore (tem- pore <sup>I tempore temp</sup> <i>margin.</i> ) T	corpore C c
43, 15	naharualos T B b	nacharualos C c

Of the 100 cases given in the first table

- T agrees with B b and gives the correct reading in 47.
- T agrees with C c and gives the correct reading in 33.
- T agrees with B b and gives an incorrect reading in 11.
- T agrees with C c and gives an incorrect reading in 9.

The true state of affairs and the significance of these figures will be more apparent after an analysis of the instances in which T B b and T C c are respectively in error. The text upon which the above calculation is based is that of Müllenhoff, because Müllenhoff's edition of the *Germania* is the only one which contains a satisfactory critical apparatus. During the thirty years, however, which have elapsed since its appearance, the reconstruction of the text has made considerable progress, and the present state of the investigation is perhaps well represented by Schwyzer's revision (1902) of the Schweizer-Sidler text. Let us compare the readings of his text with the eleven cases where T B b are in error, and the nine where T C c are in error, when tested by Müllenhoff's text.



T B b		Schwyzer
5, 21	affectatione	affectione
11, 13	tamen B b, tamen (tantum marg.) T	tum
22, 1	enim	e
25, 4	ut	et
34, 10	magnum T, magnu; B, magnificentum <i>in litura and magn marg. β</i>	magnificum
37, 8	et	et
8	Sapirio T B, <sup>p</sup> Sapyrio b	Papirio
42, 7	mansere T B b	manserunt
43, 7	Gotini	Cotini
44, 1	īpe T B, ipsae b	ipso
1	oceanum T, oceanum B b	oceano
T C c		Schwyzer
4, 10	assueuerunt	adsueuerunt
10, 22	explorant	explorant
14, 13	tueare	tueare
20, 3	ac	aut
28, 2	auctorum	auctorum
29, 3	populis	populus
45, 4	ortus	ortus
46, 11	figunt	figunt
28	et corpora	corpora

In only one (37, 8) of the cases of the first group is the reading of T B b adopted, while five readings of T C c are admitted into the text.<sup>42</sup> In other words, at three points only, (viz., 20, 3; 29, 3; and 46, 28) do the MSS. T C c, as over against B b, fail to preserve the reading of Hersfeldensis, and at least two of these cases may readily be accepted as independent errors of the copyists of T and C c.

Let us pass to an examination of the supplementary table on p. 28. At 3, 9 T is correct and in agreement with B b; c has misread the first letter, and C has made a more serious blunder. At 30, 6 perhaps the archetype of all five MSS. had artus. B b neglected the variant, C c accepted c as a correction, and T thought the letter above had been omitted.<sup>43</sup> At 2, 25 B b read etiam, C &, while T and c have neither

<sup>42</sup> Müllenhoff himself in later years expressed a preference for three of the T C c readings, viz., assueuerunt (4, 10), explorant (10, 22), and ortus (45, 4) (cf. *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. IV, pp. 147, 232, 505.). He also maintained with probability (*ibid.*, p. 81) that "an den beiden letzten Stellen (i. e., 28, 2 and 46, 11) stand in A\* (i. e. Hersfeldensis) ohne Zweifel auctoꝝ und figunt und in B war durch einen glücklichen Lesefehler zufällig das richtige getroffen." At both places, therefore, figunt and auctorum of T C c represent a purer tradition than figunt and auctor. At 14, 13 he reasoned back (pp. 82, 267) to a form tuear̄, which would naturally represent tueare (cf. labor̄=labore and arar̄=arare above.)

At all six of the points under discussion Müllenhoff's later conclusions are represented by Schwyzer's readings. Of the T B b readings he favored et 37, 8; mansere, 42, 7; and ipse, 44, 1 (cf. *D. A.*, pp. 447, 480, 499).

<sup>43</sup> Of course the reading in the archetype may have been <sup>t</sup>arcus or <sup>t</sup>arçus. The tendency of C c to accept all letters and words written above the line as corrections, however, makes the form assumed in the text more probable. The genesis of the form in T would be essentially the same in any one of the supposed cases.

word. Perhaps the archetype had  $\bar{\&}$ , and in writing it C omitted the stroke above the symbol, while T and c, independently of one another, overlooked the symbol itself. At 33, 10 and 43, 15 T is in agreement with B b, and at 37, 19 that is essentially true, although all five MSS. are wrong at these three points. At 35, 6 T has the same reading as B b, but offers as a variant the reading found in C c. This may very well indicate, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, that the archetype of all five MSS. had at this point double readings, of which B b chose one, and C c the other. T offers the same reading in the text as all four of the other MSS. at 39, 4 and 39, 14, but, with B, as elsewhere, it has retained the variants of the archetype (*cf.* p. 36). This fact does not, of course, show that T is more closely related to B or to B b than it is to C c, but only that, like B, it reproduces the archetype in this respect more faithfully than the C class does. Of the readings cited in the supplementary table those at 2, 25; 3, 9; 30, 6; 35, 6; 39, 4, and 39, 14 may properly be left out of account for the reasons just given. The common errors of T B b at 33, 10; 37, 19, and 43, 15 are significant of the fact that T is more closely related to the B class than to the C class, but all five of the MSS. are wrong at these three points, and, since at present we are considering only those points of difference between the B and C classes where the one or the other has the true reading, these three passages must be left out of consideration in this connection. This disposes of all the readings cited in the supplementary table, and our revised statistics for the passages in which B b and C c differ are as follows:

- T agrees with B b and gives the correct reading in 48 cases<sup>44</sup>
- T agrees with C c and gives the correct reading in 39 cases
- T agrees with B b and gives an incorrect reading in 10 cases
- T agrees with C c and gives an incorrect reading in 3 cases

The meaning which these statistics have for the relation of T to B b and C c is perfectly clear. That T is not a simple copy of any member of the B b family, extant or now lost, is evident from the fact that in forty-two of the one hundred cases where B b and C c differ it goes with C c. It cannot be copied from any member of the C c family because in fifty-eight of the one hundred cases of disagreement between B b and C c it shows a different reading from C c. It cannot be a copy of a B b MS. with corrections from a C c MS. for this reason: In one hundred cases B b and C c differ. In forty-nine of these B b is in error, and yet in thirty-nine of these instances the reading in T is correct, agreeing with C c. It is inconceivable that a copyist, or a scholar of the fifteenth century, should have been able to choose correctly between two different readings in 80 per cent. of the cases before him. The case is still stronger against the hypothesis that T is a copy of a C c MS. corrected from B b. That theory would involve the supposition that the copyist made the right choice in 94 per cent. of the cases involved, because it would make it necessary for us to believe

<sup>44</sup>The errors at two, perhaps at three, of these points go back probably to *Hersfeldensis*, *cf.* MÜLLENHOFF, *D. A.*, pp. 62, 425, 448, and TAGMANN, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup>If we accept Müllenhoff's later conclusions, the figures for T B b would be 50 and 8 respectively.

that he had selected the correct reading in forty-eight out of fifty-one instances. Either of these suppositions is of course inconceivable. For similar reasons it is impossible to suppose that T is a copy of a MS. compounded of B b and C c.

The evidence which is available to disprove the theory that T is a copy of any one of the four extant MSS. of the B class or the C class, viz., B, b, C, or c, is still fuller. When compared with B, for instance, T shows the correct reading, not only at the thirty-nine points where both B and b are in error, but also in other passages (*e.g.* 9, 4 ; 21, 14 ; 33, 3 ; 39, 6, and 45, 22) where T and b are correct, while B gives a poor reading. Over against b, T gives a true reading, not only at the thirty-nine points just mentioned, but also in a large number of cases where B is correct, and b in error (*e.g.* 7, 11 ; 7, 16 ; 15, 6, and 28, 8). Similar facts could easily be given to show that T is independent of C or c. From the negative point of view the evidence is still stronger in support of the view that T cannot be a copy of any one of the four MSS. mentioned. Taking these MSS. one by one, and leaving mere variations in spelling out of account, T shows only two of the errors peculiar to B (viz., at 38, 4 and 39, 4), two peculiar to b (viz., at 6, 12 and 43, 31),<sup>46</sup> one peculiar to C (viz., at 5, 12) and two peculiar to c (viz., at 41, 2 and 2, 25). The last one has already been discussed (*cf.* p. 29). At 6, 12 *varietate* was probably a variant reading in Hersfeldensis (*cf.* MÜLL., *D. A.*, p. 65), which T b have received into the text, rejecting the other reading *variare*. At 43, 31 it is very probable that *Lemonii*, and not *Lemovii*, is the correct reading (*cf. ibid.*, p. 494). The errors peculiar to B which T shows, viz.,  $\bar{q}$  for  $\bar{q} \bar{q}$  (38, 4) and *eiusdemq* for *eiusdem* (34, 9), like *aut* for *haud* (5, 12) which is found only in T and C,<sup>47</sup> are of frequent occurrence in all MSS., and do not in any way weaken the argument.

Another set of facts may be mentioned in this connection which not only seem to show that T is independent of B b C and c, but even suggest that in some cases it is closer to the Hersfeld MS. than is any one of the others. In fact, in some of the instances to be cited, T seems to show us how to account for the different readings in B b and C c, and helps to explain the errors in individual MSS. of these two classes. The cases in point are 19, 9, *inuenit* T, *inuenerit* B b, *inuenit* C c ; 28, 1, *auctoz* T, *auctorū* C c, *autor* B b ; 30, 12 *rōe* T C, *romane* B b, *ratione* c ; 34, 1, *Dulgicubuni* (*dulgibnii marg.*) T, *dulgitubini* b, *Dulgibini* (*dulgitubini above*) B, *dulgibini* C c (*cf.* Müll., *D. A.*, p. 80) ; 39, 4, *om̄s* (*nom̄is, num̄is marg.*) T, *omnes* b, *omnes* (*nōis, num̄inis above*) B, *omnis* C c. The Hersfeld MS. probably had *inuenit*, *auctoz*, *rōe*, and *om̄s*, which T has faithfully preserved. In a similar way the copyist of T at 30, 9 gives in the text *occionēs*, but writes the word in full on the margin.

The fact may have been noted that the corrector of b ( $\beta$ ) has introduced at certain points the readings of C c, and it may be suspected that T is a copy of b made after these corrections were inserted, but a comparison of the readings of  $\beta$  with those

<sup>46</sup> Mention should be made of 24, 6 and 45, 22, where T and b of all the MSS. seem to have preserved true readings. It is hardly probable that they are conjectures.

<sup>47</sup> 2, 12 is not cited here because the readings of T and C seem to show merely a difference in spelling.

of T shows that this view is untenable. In the last ten chapters of the *Germania*, for instance, the following readings disprove this theory: 39, 1, Semones, (Semnonnes *marg.*) T, Senones  $\beta$ ; 39, 4, sacrum T, sacram  $\beta$ ; 43, 12, Legiorum T, ligiorum  $\beta$ ; 44, 1, oceanum T, oceano  $\beta$ ; 45, 36, Sitionum T, sithonum b; 46, 6, mixtos T, mistis  $\beta$ ; 46, 26, sunt T, *om.* b  $\beta$ .<sup>48</sup> T must, therefore, be regarded as entirely independent of B, b, C, and c.<sup>49</sup>

The figures given on p. 30 show, however, that it is more closely related to B b than to C c. It agrees with B b in fifty-eight of the cases under consideration, with C c in forty-two only. It shows the same error as B b in ten instances, while it follows C c into error in three cases only, and all three may be considered independent errors of the copyist of T and C c.

As for the relation that T bears to the two MSS. which make up the B class, it may be noted that it has two errors in common with b, but they probably come from variant readings in Enoch's MS. (*cf.* p. 31), while the errors peculiar to TB at 38, 4 and 39, 4 (*cf.* p. 31) scarcely warrant us in assuming any closer relation between these two MSS. than exists between T and b. At many points, however, (*e. g.*, 2, 9; 7, 16; 8, 10; 12, 7) T and B preserve the true reading, or are nearer the archetype than b is. This state of things would seem to indicate that T, or its archetype, bears the same relation to B that it does to the MS. of which b is a copy, *i. e.*, *Pontanus*.<sup>50</sup>

An interesting point of similarity, however, between T and B is brought out by comparing the variant readings in the two MSS. They are given in the following table:

<sup>48</sup> The orthography of a fifteenth-century MS. cannot be safely used in determining its relation to other MSS. of the same period, but for the sake of completeness it may be interesting to know the forms in T at the points where the spelling in B b and C c differ. There are thirty-nine such cases. They are the following: 1, 9, danubius B b, Dannubius† T, danuuus c, Dañuuus C; 1, 10, pluris\* T B b, plures C c; 2, 14, tris\* T B b, tres C c; 2, 17, pluris\* T B b, plures C c; 5, 2, feda† T B b, foeda C c; 5, 5, fecunda\* T B b, foecunda C c; 5, 15, commerciorum B b, commertiorum C c, comertiorum† T; 5, 21, sequuntur\* T B b, secuntur C c; 9, 10, consecrant\* T B b, consacrant C c; 11, 13, coerendi\* T B b, coherendi C c; 14, 8, ocio† T B b, otio C c; 15, 2, ocium† T B b, otium C c; 16, 5, aedificiis\* T B b, hediftiis C, aediftiis c; 16, 12, supterraneos B b, sb†t†aneos C, subterraneos† T c; 16, 13, onerant\* T B b, honerant C c; 17, 7, commercia B b, commertia C c, comertia† T; 18, 8, delicias\* T B b, delitias C c; 20, 5, delicias B b, delitiis† T C c; 20, 20, precia B b, praetia C c, pretia\* T; 22, 5, negocia B b, negotia\* T C c; 25, 5, officia B b, offitia† T C c; 25, 7, coercere\* T B b, cohercere C c; 26, 8, seperent B b, separent\* T C c; 28, 19, seperentur B b, separentur\* T C c; 31, 7, precia B b, praetia C c, pretia\* T; 33, 1, Tencteros\* T B b, thencteros C, thencteros c; 34, 8, tetauimus B b, tentauius T C c; 34, 13, sanctiusque\* T B b, santiusque C c; 37, 21, trisque\* T B b, tresque C c; 37, 25, ocium B b, otium\* T C c; 38, 3, optinent B b, obtinet† T C, obtinent c; 38, 11, caniciem B b, canitiem\* T C c; 41, 10, inclytum B b, inclitum\* T C c; 43, 1, marco-

manorum\* T B b, Marchomanorum C c; 45, 8, litore\* T B b, littore C c; 45, 13, hestis\* T B b, hostes C c; 45, 23, preciumque B b, pretiumque\* T C c; 45, 27, fecundiora\* T B b, foecundiora c, foecondiora C; 46, 7, fedantur B b, foedantur\* T C c. Taking the orthography of Müllenhoff's edition as a standard, in eighteen cases T is correct with B b, in ten with C c: in four instances it is in error with B b, and in six with C c. Tentavimus in 34, 8 is left out of account. In so far as tendencies in spelling are concerned, T shows a preference for plural forms in -is (*e. g.*, tris, pluris), and the omission of the aspirate (*e. g.* coercere, Tencteros). Both of these points are characteristic of B b. In the forms of separo (separent, etc.), and in the choice of b rather than p in such words as obtinet and subterraneos it goes with C c. It inclines to C c also in showing a slight preference for t over c in such words as otium and pretium, and in the use of single consonants, but its practice in this respect is not uniform.

<sup>49</sup> Müllenhoff has stated his belief (*D. A.*, pp. 80 f.) in the independence of the class of MSS. to which it will be later shown that T belongs, but his discussion is very brief, and does not seem to me convincing. For these reasons the subject has been considered somewhat fully in this chapter, and along different lines from those followed by him.

<sup>50</sup> This relation is indicated in the stemma on p. 41.

TABLE OF VARIANTS<sup>51</sup>

	Ed. Muell.	T	B	b
1, 10	Abnobae	Arnobe Arbone, Arnone	Arnobe Arbonae	
2, 12	Tuistonem	Tuisconem	Tristonē Tuisman	
4, 5	quamquam	quamquam	quamquam tanquam	
6	Caerulei	cerulei	ceruli cerulei	
10	assuerunt <sup>52</sup>	assueuerunt	assuerunt assuerint	
5, 12	perinde	perinde	perinde proinde	
6, 14	coniuncto	coniuncto	coniuncto cuncto	cuncto b coniuncto β
19	delectos	delectos	delectos dilectos	
8, 11	Albrunam	Auriniam Albrunam or Al- briniam	Auriniam Albriniam	Auriniam Albriniam
11, 13	tum	tamen tantum	tamen	
12, 5	crate	crate	crate grate	
16, 4	locant	locant longant	longant locant	longant (?) b locant β
20, 19	gratiosior	gratiosior gratior	gratiosior gratior	
22, 15	ioci	ioci	ioci loci	ioci loci
26, 6	praebent	praestant praebent	prestant prebent	
7	labore	laborare labore	labore laborare	laborare labōr

<sup>51</sup> All the passages are given in which T, B, or b has any variant reading. At these points C has no variants, and c one only, viz., 6, 14, cuncto. Opposite the reading of Müllenhoff's edition, in the proper column, is given the reading in the body of the text, and immediately below it

the variant. Thus at 2, 12 B has Tristonē in the body of the text and Tuisman as a variant. The reading of T is given in all cases, even when T has no variant.

<sup>52</sup> At 4, 10 Schwyzer reads *adsueuerunt*; Müllenhoff also in *D. A.*

28, 9	Boihaemi	Boihemi	Boihemi Boijemionē	
29, 8	collationibus	collationibus collocationibus	collocationibus	
31, 1	raro	raro	rara	
	7	rara	raro	
	nascendi	nascendi	noscendi	
		noscendi	nascendi	
34, 1	Dulgubnii	Dulgicubuni Dulgibnii	Dulgibini Dulgitubini	
	8	illa	illa	
		illis		
	11	consensimus	consensimus	
		consueuimus		
35, 6	sinuetur	sinuetur	sinuetur	
		sinatur		
36, 2	ac	et	ac	
		ac		
	9	adversarum	aduersarum	aduersarum
		adusariis	aduersariis	aduersariis
37, 4	ambitu	ambitum	ambitum	
		ambitu	ambitu	
	19	Gnaeoque	Marcoquoque	
			Marcoque	
	28	inde	inde	
		nam	nam	
38, 6	sic	sicut	sic	
		sic		
	12	ipso solo	ipso solo (see col- lation)	
			solo	
			ipso	
	16	ornantur <sup>53</sup>	armantur	ornantur
		ornantur	ornantur	armantur
39, 1	Semnones	Semones	Semones	Señones
		Semnones	Señones	
	3	stato	stato	
		stato		
	4	omnes	omnes	
		om̄s,	nōis, numinis	
		nominis, numinis		
	13	Semnonum	Semnonum	Señonum <sup>m</sup>
		Semnonum	Sennonum	

<sup>53</sup>At 38, 16 Schwyzer reads armantur Müllenhoff also in *D. A.*

39, 14 corpore	corpore	corpore	corpore
	tempore	tempore	torpore
40, 5 Suardones	Suarines	Suarines	Suarines b
	Suardones		Suardones $\beta$
41, 2 propior	propior	propior	
		proprior	
43, 12 Lygiorum	Legiorum	Legiorum	
		Lygiorum	
14 Helvaeonas	Heluetonas	Heluetonas	
	Halosionas	Helueconas	
14 Helisios	Helisios	Helysios	
		Halisienas <sup>r</sup>	
15 Nahanarvalos	Nahanarulos	Nahanarualos	
	Naharualos	Naharualos	
15 religionis	religionis	religionis	
	regionis		
31 protinus	protinus	protenus	
		protinus	
45, 5 equorum	deorum	deorum	
	eorum		
8 Suebici	Seuici	Saeuici	
	Sueuici	Sueuici	
19 quaeve	que ue	que ue	
	que ũe		
46, 1 Suebiae	Sueuię	Sueuię	
		Sueuę	
1 Peucinorum	Peucinorum	Peucinorum	
	Peucurorum	Peucurorum	
27 Oxionas <sup>54</sup>	Oxionas	Oxionas	
	Etionas	Etionas	

This table brings out the fact that in one noteworthy respect T resembles B more than it does any other MS. of the *Germania*. As has been noted, there are no variant readings in C at the points under discussion, and c has one only. Eight are found in b, while B and T have thirty-nine and thirty-four respectively. An analysis of these cases shows that at ten points the reading in the body of the text and the variant are identical in B and T, that at six more (viz., 1, 10; 8, 11; 39, 1; 39, 13; 43, 15, and 45, 8) they are very similar, and that in four more instances, not counting 34, 1, the reading in B is the variant in T and *vice versa*. At twenty points, therefore, B and

<sup>54</sup>In *D. A. Müllenhoff* expresses a preference for *Etionas*.

T show the same double readings, and at certain points (*e. g.*, 31, 7 and 37, 4) double readings seem to be reported from no other MSS. than T and B.

In this connection we are principally concerned with the double readings common to T and B, but it will be convenient to discuss here a few of those found in T, which do not appear in B. At 11, 13 perhaps the archetype had  $t\bar{n}$ , which would naturally be expanded into either *tamen* or *tantum*, or if misread  $t\bar{u}$ , into *tum*, from which the further error  $c\bar{u}$ =*cum* is an easy one to make. On 34, 1 *cf.* Müll., *D. A.*, p. 62. The readings *illis* and *sicut* at 34, 8 and 38, 6 are reported nowhere else. The second readings *sinatur*, 35, 6, and *regionis*, 43, 15, both of which stand in the text of Cc, were perhaps in the Hersfeld MS., and omitted by B, and possibly, as Müllenhoff thinks (*D. A.*, p. 85), *Suardones*, 40, 5 was added by Enoch to his MS. after B, or the MS. from which B is derived had been copied.<sup>55</sup>

We have just considered some of the instances from the list printed above, where B gives one reading only. It may be interesting to analyze briefly the other cases, *i. e.*, the cases where B gives a double reading. The facts from this point of view are presented in the following conspectus:

T has double readings; B and T, correct one in text	-	-	-	-	8
T has double readings; B and T, incorrect one in text	-	-	-	-	7
T has double readings; T correct in text, B incorrect	-	-	-	-	3
T has double readings; T incorrect in text, B correct	-	-	-	-	1
T has double readings; all four readings incorrect	-	-	-	-	2
T has one reading, correct; B, correct one in text	-	-	-	-	11
T has one reading, correct; B, incorrect one in text	-	-	-	-	3
T has one reading, incorrect; B, correct one in text	-	-	-	-	0
T has one reading, incorrect; B, incorrect one in text	-	-	-	-	1
Total <sup>56</sup>	-	-	-	-	36

The faithfulness with which B has recorded variant readings is one of the strongest proofs which we have of the conscientiousness with which that MS. was copied. Its accuracy in this respect leads us to trust it in other particulars. In a similar way the preservation of a large number of variants in T, some of which are impossible readings, like *tempore* at 39, 14, speaks for the fidelity of the copyist of T. He does not deserve the same measure of confidence as the copyist of B, however, for two reasons. In the first place, at four points where he has preserved variants, he has interchanged the variant and the reading in the text. At least this is the case if we accept the authority of B at these points. In the second place, in sixteen places he has omitted variants which B has preserved. This omission is only partially offset by his possible retention of three variants which the copyist of B overlooked, or did not find in the archetype when he made his copy.

<sup>55</sup>That *Suardones* stood as a second reading in the archetype was surmised by Waitz as early as 1874; *cf.* *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 516, n. 1. The double readings in T at 1, 10; 29, 8; 34, 11; 36, 2; 39, 3; 39, 1; 39, 13; 43, 14; and 45, 19 are not discussed here. A reason-

able explanation can be offered for many of them, but in the present state of our knowledge of the MSS. it would be hazardous to express a positive opinion about them.

<sup>56</sup>The peculiar cases at 34, 1; 37, 19, and 38, 12 have been left out of account.



The resemblance which exists between T and B in the matter of variant readings does not indicate that T is more closely related to B than to b, but only shows that the common variants were in the archetype of T and B, and that both MSS. have preserved them with similar fidelity.

## III

## T AND THE E MANUSCRIPTS

IN the last chapter we reached the negative conclusion that T is independent of B b C c, *i. e.*, of the B and C classes of manuscripts. In this one we shall try to show that it is a member of the E class, a conclusion to which reference has already been made by way of anticipation (p. 22). Tagmann first recognized the connection between Massmann's K (or L), Vat. 2964 (Massmann's Rd), the Nuremberg editions, and the Roman edition of 1474,<sup>57</sup> and Müllenhoff established more definitely (*D. A.*, pp. 78 ff.) their relation to the other MSS. of the *Germania*. Müllenhoff secured a new collation of Rd, and himself examined R<sup>1</sup>. For L and N he took the readings of Massmann. His conclusion after comparing the four texts is as follows: "Es unterliegt . . . keinem bedenken nicht nur die Nürnberger drucke (e<sup>2</sup>) mit dem in anfang und am ende unvollständigen Longolianus unter één zeichen, sondern damit auch den römischen druck (e<sup>3</sup>) und den Vaticanus selbst ( $\eta$ ) als éine hs. E zusammenzufassen, da wesentliche differenzen unter den drei oder vier zeugen allein eintreten, wo die gemeinsame quelle doppelarten hatte, bei denen die abschreiber oder herausgeber sich bald so bald so entschieden, die ohnehin geringen und nicht zahlreichen besonderheiten jeder hs. oder jedes druckes aber bei jenem verfahren ohne schaden verschwinden." (*D. A.*, p. 79.) A comparison of T with any one of the E MSS. will decide, therefore, whether it belongs to that class or not. The comparison can be made most satisfactorily with the Nuremberg editions (e<sup>2</sup>), because, since Müllenhoff wrote the sentence quoted above, a complete and accurate collation of them has been made by Roediger (*cf. D. A.*, pp. 691 ff.).<sup>58</sup> The first thirteen chapters will be enough for our purpose.

I, 1 rhaetiisq̄ T, rhaetys que e<sup>2</sup> I, II, rhaetis quae III 2 Dañubio T e<sup>2</sup> 6 rheticaꝝ T e<sup>2</sup> 9 Dannubius T, Danubius e<sup>2</sup> 10 Arnobe (aī arbone aī none *marg.*) T, arnobae e<sup>2</sup>.

II, 12 Tuisconē T e<sup>2</sup> I, II, Tuistonem e<sup>2</sup> III 14 conditorisq̄ T e<sup>2</sup> 16 hermiones T e<sup>2</sup> 17 pluēsq̄ T, plures q̄ e<sup>2</sup> 25 etiam *om.* T e<sup>2</sup>.

III, 4 Barditum (Baritū *marg.*) T, barditum e<sup>2</sup> I, II (*d stricken out III*) 7 voces T e<sup>2</sup> uidentur T e<sup>2</sup> 10 Ulixem T e<sup>2</sup> 14 ACKITVPΓION T, Acriniprion (ασκιωυρπιον III) e<sup>2</sup> 16 monimentaꝝ T e<sup>2</sup>.

IV, 2 coñubiis T, connubys e<sup>2</sup> 10 assueverunt T, assueverint e<sup>2</sup>.

V, 15 comertioꝝ T e<sup>2</sup> 20 quoque *om.* T e<sup>2</sup> 21 affectatione T, affectacione e<sup>2</sup>.

VI, 5 cominus T e<sup>2</sup> 10 distingunt T e<sup>2</sup> 12 uarietate T e<sup>2</sup> (*r over te III*) 17 preliantur T e<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> TAGMANN, *De Taciti Germaniae Apparatu Critico*, pp. 69 f.

<sup>58</sup> There are three early Nuremberg editions, but after the first few pages they give exactly the same text.

VII, 6 neque T e<sup>2</sup> 11 fortuna *corr. to* fortuita T, fortuita e<sup>2</sup> II, III, fortuna e<sup>2</sup> I 16 aut T e<sup>2</sup>.

VIII, 9 negligunt T e<sup>2</sup> 11 Auriniam (Albrunam *or* Albriniam [?] *marg.*) T, auri-  
niam e<sup>2</sup> 13 tanquam T e<sup>2</sup>.

IX, 3 Herculem & Martem T e<sup>2</sup> 8 assimilare T e<sup>2</sup>.

X, 5 fortuitu T e<sup>2</sup> 22 explorant T e<sup>2</sup>.

XI, 4 incidit T e<sup>2</sup> 10 ne iniussi T, nec iniussi e<sup>2</sup> 11 cętuum T, coetium e<sup>2</sup> 13  
tamen (tantum *marg.*) T, tñ e<sup>2</sup>.

XII, 7 ascondi T e<sup>2</sup> 8 penaꝝ T, poenarum e<sup>2</sup> 14 adsunt T e<sup>2</sup>.

XIII, 1 private T e<sup>2</sup> 4 tum] tum T, cum e<sup>2</sup> pater] ipsi T e<sup>2</sup> 11 etiam] et̄ & T e<sup>2</sup>  
16 semper & T e<sup>2</sup> 18 cuique *om.* T e<sup>2</sup>.

In the following list some of the readings characteristic of T are given; *i. e.*,  
readings not found in MSS. of the B or C classes:

X, 5 fortuitu T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XI, 10 ne iniussi T, nec iniussi e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XI, 11 cętuum T,  
coetium e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XIII, 6 semper et T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XIV, 9 adolescentum T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XVI, 16 popu-  
lacio T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XVIII, 19 uiuentes T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η 19 parientes T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η XX, 7 in ex aucta T,  
in exauta e<sup>2</sup> (*s over* ut e<sup>2</sup> II) η XXV, 6 verberant T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup> XXVIII, 25 collati T e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η  
XXXV, 13 iniuriam T e<sup>2</sup> XXXVII, 10 consulatum] conventum T e<sup>2</sup> XXXIX, 6 hor-  
rentia T e<sup>2</sup> XLII, 8 Trudi T e<sup>2</sup>η XLV, 19 que ve (v̄ *marg.*) T, quae vero e<sup>2</sup> XLVI,  
16 sola T e<sup>2</sup>η. That T is a member of the E class, so called, to which these four  
MSS. and early editions belong, is apparent without comment.

It would be hazardous in the present state of our knowledge<sup>59</sup> to attempt to find  
the exact relation which the several members of the E class bear to one another, but  
some general conclusions on this point may be stated with a great deal of confidence.  
We have already noted (p. 36) that the preservation in T of variant readings whose  
presence in *Hersfeldensis* is attested by B furnishes proof both of the fidelity of the  
copyist of T and of the excellence of the MS. which he followed. The same infer-  
ence has been drawn (p. 31) from the appearance in T of certain abbreviated forms,  
probably taken from the archetype, out of which errors have developed even in our  
best MSS. These *a priori* considerations are supported, so far as the comparative  
excellence of T and the other members of the E class is concerned, by the presence in  
T of certain words which have been overlooked by the copyists of the other E MSS.;  
*e. g.*, 10, 19, sed T, *om.* e<sup>2</sup>e<sup>3</sup>η and 16, 15 et T, *om.* e<sup>2</sup>, and by the preservation of the  
true reading in T where e<sup>2</sup> and the others have gone astray. Cases in point are 2, 21,  
primi T, pr. enī e<sup>2</sup>, primi enī e<sup>3</sup>, primum η; 15, 6, iidem T, iisdem e<sup>2</sup>; 18, 18, data T,  
parata e<sup>2</sup>, parata (alr data parata *marg.*) η; 19, 5, abscisis] abscisis T η, adscisis e<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>59</sup>An accurate collation of e<sup>2</sup> has been given by Rödi-  
ger, as already noted. The readings of T are given in chap.  
ii of this paper. Müllenhoff examined R<sup>1</sup> and η, but did  
not publish his collations. Some of the readings of R<sup>1</sup> and  
η are given by Massmann, but a comparison of Massmann's  
critical apparatus for B and b with the MSS. themselves  
has led me to distrust the readings which he reports for  
other MSS. WÜNSCH in *Hermes*, Vol. XXXII (1897), p. 43,

reports Müllenhoff as announcing after an examination of  
K (or L) that it was a direct copy of the Nuremberg edi-  
tion, and this statement agrees with the passage quoted  
above (p. 37) from the *Deutsche Altertumskunde* in regard  
to e<sup>2</sup>. Complete collations of R<sup>1</sup> and η are needed, there-  
fore, before the exact relations of the members of the E  
class to one another can be determined with certainty.

adscisis e<sup>3</sup>. Still more significant perhaps are the passages where the writing was not perfectly legible. In some of these places the original copyist of T has first made a mistake, and at once corrected it, whereas in the other E MSS. an error is left uncorrected, *e. g.*, 19, 7, *finere corr. to finire T', finuere e<sup>2</sup>, funere η*; 30, 14, *impedite corr. to in pedite T<sup>1</sup>, impedit η*. In two other cases T is in error, but is nearer the archetype than the other MSS. These are 20, 7, *inexhausta*] *in exaucta T, in exauta η, in ex auta (s over ut in II) e<sup>2</sup>*, and 37, 8, *Papirio*] *Sapirio T, Sapino e<sup>2</sup>, Sapio η*.

In the matter of double readings T bears to the other E MSS. a relation very similar to that which B bears to b, C, and c. It may be remembered, for instance, that we find at 5, 12 <sup>1 pro</sup> *perinde B, perinde b, proinde C c*; at 26, 6, <sup>1 prebent</sup> *prestant B, p̄bēt b, praebent c, p̄stāt C*. In a similar way T has double readings at a great many points where each of the other E MSS. has selected one and omitted the other. Examples of this state of things are 20, 19, *gratiosior (gratior marg.) T, gratiosior e<sup>2</sup>, gratior η*; 31, 1, *raro (rara marg.) T, rara e<sup>2</sup>, raro η*; 31, 7, *nascendi (noscendi marg.) T, noscendi e<sup>2</sup>, nascendi η*; 34, 1, *Dulgicubuni (Dulgibnii marg.) T, Dulgibini e<sup>2</sup>, Dulgicubuni η*; 37, 28, *inde (nam marg.) T, inde e<sup>2</sup>, nam η*; and 39, 14, *corpore (tempore marg.) T, corpore e<sup>2</sup>, tempore η*.<sup>60</sup> It follows from all these facts that T is not a copy of any one of the E MSS., and also that it is one of the best representatives of them.

It could hardly be expected that many true readings would occur in T which are not to be found in either B b or C c. The following cases may, however, be mentioned: 19, 5, *abscisis*] *abscisis T, adscisis B, accisis b c, accissis C*; 20, 6, *separet*] *separet T, seperet B c<sup>2</sup>, sep & C, separet c*; 30, 1, *Hercynio*] *Hercynio T, Hircynio<sup>o</sup> B, hercynio C c, hircynio b*; 37, 19, *Mallio*] *Mallio T, Mālio B, Manlio b C, Manīlio c*; 39, 1, *Semnones*] *Semones (Semnones marg.) T, Semones (f Señones above) B, senones b, semones C c, Semnones above c<sup>2</sup>*; 40, 1, *Langobardos*] *Langobardos T, Largobardos B, logobardos b, longobardos C c, lōgobardos (Longobardi marg.) β*; 40, 5, *Suardones*] *Suarines (Suardones marg.) T, Suarines B b C c (dones above ines β)*; 43, 14, *Helisios*] *Helisios T, Helysios C c, Helysios (f halisianas above) B, elisios b, and apparently Albrunam<sup>61</sup> at 8, 11, which is found in T only. One should mention in this connection 45, 22 also, where T b alone seem to have preserved the true reading, profertur. The real value of the E class lies in the fact, as Müllenhoff has shown, that it casts the deciding vote when B b and C c are at variance, and thus furnishes a safe basis for the reconstruction of the text at a rather large number of points. In eighty-seven of the one hundred cases where B b and C c offer different readings (cf. p. 30) the agreement of E with the one or the other class may be accepted with safety*

<sup>60</sup> Incidentally it is interesting to notice that the editor of e<sup>2</sup> consistently follows one practice in making a selection between the two readings, while the copyist of η adopts another method. In e<sup>2</sup> the reading which is found in the body of the text in B is selected and the variant is

omitted, while the copyist of η chooses the variant, perhaps in the belief that it is a correction or a preferable reading.

<sup>61</sup> It is possible that the reading in T is Albriniam, but it seemed to me clearly intended for Albrunam.

as the determining factor, and in a fair number of these instances a safe decision could not be made without the help of E. Such cases, for instance, are 2, 24; 4, 10; 10, 22; 42, 7; 45, 4; 45, 28.

## IV

## SUMMARY

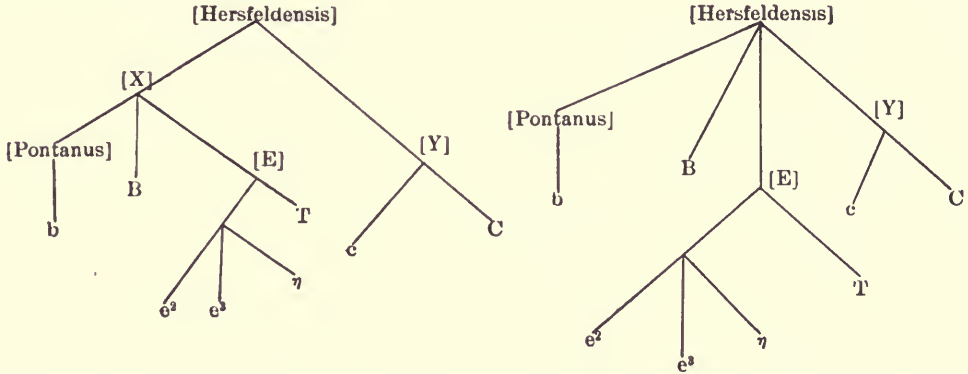
THE main points developed in the foregoing discussion may be set down briefly here. Codex 49, 2 in the chapter library of the cathedral at Toledo contains the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus, an oration by Io. Antonius Campanus, a fragment of an oration, some of Pliny's *Letters*, and another oratorical fragment. The scribe was M. Angelus Crullus Tuders, who, at the end of the *Germania*, and again at the end of the oration of Antonius, speaks of himself as publicus scriba Fulginii. The subscription to the *Germania* bears the date of June 1, 1474; that to the oration of Antonius, December 5 of the same year; while the *Agricola*, which stands between these two works, was in all probability written in the half-year intervening between these two dates.

The MS. of the *Germania* has variants, thirty-nine in number, written on the margin in the hand and ink of the original copyist. There are three different classes of corrections, which are usually inserted above the line. Those of the first class, T<sup>1</sup>, are made by the original copyist, and correct errors committed by him in following the copy before him. The corrections of T<sup>a</sup> are taken from another MS., perhaps from Vindobonensis I, and are to be rejected, except in certain specified cases, where it is clear that the correction serves to restore the reading of the archetype of T. The scribe whom we have called T<sup>2</sup> also inserted the titles and paragraph marks, and his corrections, which are unimportant, come apparently from the archetype of T.

The MS. T shows the errors common to the four authoritative MSS., B (Vat. 1862), b (Leidensis), C (Vat. 1518), and c (Neapolitanus), and therefore evidently goes back, as these MSS. do, to the codex which Enoch of Ascoli brought into Italy from Germany in the fifteenth century. It is, however, independent of any one of the four MSS. mentioned above. This conclusion rests upon a number of facts. T cannot be a simple copy of any one of these MSS., because it is correct at many points where each of the others shows a false reading, or has omitted a word. The theory that it may have been a copy of one of the B or C MSS., extant or now lost, is likewise untenable. At one hundred points or more the readings in B b and C c differ, B b showing the true reading at one point, C c at another. At these points T agrees first with one group, then with the other, giving a correct text in eighty-seven of the instances mentioned. An analysis of these cases shows that, if we regard T as a copy of a B b MS., with corrections from a C c MS., we must assume that the copyist rejected the incorrect readings of B b and selected the true ones in 80 per cent. of the cases involved. If we regard T as a copy of a C c MS., with corrections from B b, the percentage rises to 94. Neither supposition seems credible. Furthermore, in cer-

tain cases T alone of the five MSS. under discussion preserves the reading of the archetype. Finally, at a number of points, T seems to be nearer the archetype than the others, and to give us the forms out of which errors or divergent readings in the others have developed. The independence of T becomes still more apparent if it be compared with an individual (extant) MS. of the B or C classes, because to the cases where it is correct with B b, while C c is wrong, must be added those where B or b or C or c is in error, while T gives the true reading.

It is more closely related to the B class than to the C class. At points where the one is correct and the other incorrect, T, if in error, is in error in almost every case with the B MSS. Equally significant are the three cases where the two groups differ, and both are wrong. In all these cases T follows B b. The retention of variant readings in T shows the fidelity of the copyist, and establishes a resemblance between that MS. and B, but does not prove that T is more closely related to B than it is to any one of the others.



T belongs to the E class, the independent members of which are Vat. 2964 (Massmann's Rd), the Nuremberg editions, and the Roman edition of 1474. This fact is apparent from the common errors of these four manuscripts and editions. It is independent of the other members of its class. The variants show this to be the case; as well as the true readings in T at points where all the others are in error. It is perhaps most conclusively shown at the points where the writing in the archetype of the E MSS. was not perfectly legible. At several of these points the copyist of T first made a mistake and then corrected it, whereas in the other E manuscripts and editions the error is left uncorrected. The copyist of T has also retained the double readings, which, in most cases, do not appear in the others. In this respect it bears the same relation to the other members of the E class that B does to b C c. T is therefore independent of the other members of the E group, and is apparently the best representative of that class.

The value of T lies partly in the true readings which it has preserved at points where B b C and c are all in error — although no one of these is new — but mainly in

the fact that the testimony of the E class settles the reading at the points where B b and C c are at variance, and thus places textual criticism at these points on a more secure basis. The exact relation of the E MSS. to one another cannot yet be determined, since a full collation of one of them is still lacking. Furthermore, it is not certain whether B is a direct copy of Enoch's MS. or not. Making a reservation covering this point, and merely for the sake of illustrating one of the forms which the relation of the E MSS. to one another may take, we may draw alternative stemmata (see the preceding page), the difference between the two being that in one it is assumed that a MS. intervened between B and Enoch's MS. (Hersfeldensis?), while in the other B is regarded as the direct descendant of Enoch's MS., in which case E, the archetype of the E MSS., becomes also a direct descendant of Enoch's MS.<sup>62</sup>

## APPENDIX I

## CORRECTIONS TO MÜLLENHOFF'S CRITICAL APPARATUS TO THE GERMANIA

The following corrections in Müllenhoff's critical apparatus, or additions to it, should be made:

I, 6 Renu<sup>h</sup>s C; II, 2 ad<sup>v</sup>ētibus C, 11 celebrat C; V, 1 specie] spē C; 9 negaverint] nauigauerīt B, 18 simpliti<sup>u</sup>s C, 21 secūt<sup>u</sup> C; VI, 14 urbe (?) *corr. in* orbe B; IX 8 speciem] spēm C, 8 erroris, *corr. in* oris C; X, 9 aphibueāt (= prohibuerant *sive* prohibuerat] C; XI, 8 si cōstituit C, 14 priceps C; XII, 13 ex plebe] & ex plebe (& *deleto*) C; XIII, 1 nichil B, 12 ei<sup>2</sup> eius C, 15 haec] hec B, 15 hae] he B; XIV, 2 cōmittatui C, 15 incēti C; XV, 12 nō mō|a|singlis C; XVI, 9 speciem] spēm C, 17 ignorā<sup>l</sup> (= ignorantur) C; XVII, 8 foeras *corr. in* feras C, 11 femine B; XVIII, 5 ambion<sup>u</sup> C, 15 admouetur C; XIX, 8 pudicie B; XXI, 10 imodo *corr. in* modo C; XXVI, 2 agro C, 11 species] spēs BC; XXVIII, 7 reñumque, 21 quidem] q̄ C, 25 conlocati B; XXX, 14 qué C, 15 honorāt C; XXXI, 11 cede B; XXXIII, 2 Anguiuaros *corr. in* Anguiuarios C; XXXIV, 4 friscis *corr. in* frisicis C; XXXV, 7 pp̄lis C; XXXVI, 3 iocundius B, 4 ī potentis B, 4 falsi C; XXXVII, 1 sinum] sitū B, 10 consulatum] con<sup>tu</sup> B, 13 galię ue C, 16 cedem B, XXXVIII, 4 q̄ q̄ C; XL, 15 suñut B, 18 conuers<sup>at</sup>ione C; XLII, 1 h<sup>u</sup>mum duros C; XLIII, 10 dirimit C; XLIV, 3 apulsui *corr. in* appulsui *a m. rec.* C, 13 sceuiunt *corr. in* lasciuiunt C; XLV, 15 fhertia C, 24 oletē C; XLVI, 2 fonniorū 4-13 domiciliis sunt in plaustro *om.* C, 13 fōnis<sup>i</sup> (= fonnii) C, 28 ferarum C.

Navigauerīt V, 9 in B is a surprising error, and its occurrence may abate a little our confidence in the accuracy of the copyist of that MS. The -is form in inpotentis 36, 4 is one of the characteristic forms in B, if that MS. be compared with Cc. It is interesting to notice that there is no variant over qué 30, 14 in C. It had seemed strange that the copyist of C, while neglecting variant readings everywhere else, even where difficult proper names occurred, should have inserted one here. For sinum 37, 1 M. reports sinum BCc, situm b. This made it look as if situm were an error peculiar to b, and rendered it somewhat difficult to account for the same error in E without supposing that one MS. was corrected from the other. It is clear, however, now that the error existed in the archetype of the B and E MSS. Pudicie 19, 8 may be added

<sup>62</sup> Brackets inclosing a name or a letter indicate that a MS. is now lost. For a discussion of the relation which T bears to B and b respectively *cf.* p. 32.

to the list of places (*cf.* 9, 4; 21, 14 etc.) where B has made a mistake in writing a word of which b has preserved the correct form. The fact that the copyist of B first wrote *urbe* for *orbe* at 6, 14 reminds one of the error which was actually committed at 2, 5 by several E MSS. The most interesting of these new readings is *con* 37, 10 in B. All of the E MSS. have at this point *conventum*, which evidently came from an incorrect expansion of the abbreviated form which the copyist of B has brought over without change into his text.

## APPENDIX II

## NOTES ON A MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING PLINY'S LETTERS

The Codex, No. 49, 2 in the Chapter Library at Toledo, in which the *Germania* of Tacitus is found, also contains the *Letters* of Pliny. They run from folio 66r. to 221v., and, as already noted in my article on the *Germania*, on folio 221v. stands the subscription *Caii Plinii oratoris atque Phylosaphi Dissertissimi epistolarum liber octavus et ultimus explicit foeliciter deo grās*, and below *Finis, Perusie in domo Crispolitorum (?) 1486, AMHN Τελωσ, M. Angelus Tuders*. This subscription led Dr. Wünsch, who was allowed to make only a very few notes on the MS., to the very natural conclusion that only Books VIII and IX were given (*cf. Classical Review*, XIII [1899] p. 274). I found, however, on examining it, that the MS. contained Books I-VII and Book IX. The first leaf is gone, so that the text begins with an *ut solebas*, I, 3, 2. The manuscript does not end with an incomplete letter, as Dr. Wünsch thought, but IX, 40 is given in full. The twenty-seventh letter of the fourth book is lacking, and the letters are frequently numbered, until we reach 100 at V, 6, when the numbers cease. After No. 8 the letters in Book V stand in the order 21, 15, 10-14, 16-20, 9. The MS. apparently belongs, therefore, to Keil's second group (*cf. Praef. pp. v-vi*), of which the oldest representative is the codex archivii Casinatis of the year 1429. Manuscripts of this class are freely corrected from the one-hundred-letter collection. This accounts for the fact that the letters are numbered up to V, 6.

I did not have time enough at my disposal to make a complete collation of the MS., but I subjoin readings for the first few letters at the beginning and the end of it. The numbers refer to the pages and lines of Keil's edition.

II, 20 *aduocaris te om. foelix 21 tempus] tennis est enim om 22 curas] curas et 23 negocium ocium 24 vigilię in<sup>his</sup> etiam 27 cepit 28 quod] q̄ modo] modo i (i deleta)*

*Superscriptio* Ep̄la 1111 Pli. S Pompeię Celerinę socri S P

33 Otriculano (otriculanus *in marg.*) Carsolano (carsolanus *in marg.*) 34 vero *om.* balneum 36 Plauti dictum *in marg.* 38 mei] mei te

III, 1 *diverteris 4 servos] suos 6 per se ipsos*

*Superscriptio* Pli. S. Voconio Rufo S P ep̄la V 10 M.] Marco humilioremque 12 tectiora] tetora 13 aurileni *corr. in* aruleni 16 cicatrices tigniostrum (*stigmatosum marg.*) 17 Senecionem 18 quidem] q̄ Mettius Catus meis] eis 19 ego] ego aut 21 quin 25 reminiscebantur *corr. in* reminiscebatur me ipsum 24 v. 13 nitebatur *corr. in* nitebamur 25 cause Mettii 26 relegatus a Domitiano 27 sentias Iterum ego (*Iterum ego verbis deletis*) 29 affuisse 30-1 si de hoc . . . sentias *om. sed in marg. add.* 34 quidem esse 38 ergo ex

IV, 1 *mox a (a deleta) 2 reconcilient corr. in* reconciliet venit *corr. in* pervenit 3 cum] qum (*qui tum marg.*) 5 ferre] perferre 6 a Spurinna] ait Burina 7 porticu] portam (*porticu marg.*) 10 parce] p̄ce (*paxa sive para marg.*) cui ego dispicies] inqens : quoi disp̄ciets (*dispiciēs marg.*) putas 11 decepi *corr. in* decipi Mauricum] maritum 12 ab exilio] · n · ab exilio 13 illam *corr. in* illum 14 comitem *corr. in* comitem 17 quod] q̄ aliqn 18 Ruffo Ruffus 19 secula *corr. in* seculi 20 dcm : q<sup>2</sup> 21 potuisse] potius se existimare 23 secūdi 24 iudicii]

studii 25 quor es *om.* 26 quid]  $\bar{q}$  Metti 27 et *om.* 27 haesitabundus] haesitabundus inquit interrogavi 28 ut *om.* 34 Maricus 35 esse *om.*  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\lambda\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\varsigma$  se diligenter 36 curatur] evitatur (*amatur marg.*) 37 amore fortius concussa] concisa (*concupsa marg.*)

V, 1 ut] ex ut Maritum 2 et] est 3 providere *corr.* in providere temtante *corr.* in temtandi 4 constabat quia]  $q^2$  equū

*Superscriptio* Plinius · S · Cornelio Tacito S · P · ep̄la VI 10 ridebis] videbis *corr.* in ridebis ego] ego Plinius 11 et quidem]  $e\bar{q}$  cēpi 12 et quiete *om.* *sed in marg. add.* 13 erat] erant aut (*aut deletum est et non in marg. additum est*) 14 pugilares 16 agitatione] acogitatione 18 ipsamque *corr.* in ipsumque 21 non] non (*dum in marg. add.*) 22 vale *om.*

*Superscriptio* Pli · S · Octavo Rudo · S · P · ep̄la VII 26 idem]  $\bar{q}$  *deletum est et idem in marg. additum est* 27 Iovi Optimo Maximo Homerus v. 29 *om.* 30 ac renutu] atque rem tuo voto 32 ex advocatorem *pr. m.* 36 petis (*a supra e scripta*) id (*illud supra id scripto*)

Pagina CXCVI

*Superscriptio* C · P · S · Paulino Suo S · P · 7 hec 8 a *om.* 10 nisi te] in me 11 locandorum] tuscanorum(?) 13 lustro] iusto 14 plerique 16 natum]  $n\hat{a}$  putant 16-17 occurrendum ergo] occurrendum quoque 17 et] a  $\varphi$  (= a et?) est] est  $\varphi$  (= est et?) 18 locū alioqui] alioqn 20 iustius] istius redditus 21 acris 23 tentanda 24 non]  $n\bar{o}m$  25 quoque ut]  $\bar{q}$   $\bar{i}$  ut (*una littera ante i erasa est*) gaude gratulatione] celebratione

*Superscriptio* C · P · S · Saturnio suo S · P · 29 ita ut 30 librorum *corr.* in librum 31 cui]  $\bar{q}i$  (= quoi)

*Superscriptio* G · P · S · Mustio S · P · 36 haruspiciam monitu *om.* reficiendam ceteris

CXCVII, 1 et in maius *om.* cum sit] quom scit 2 aliquid stato] quū statio 3 magnus] magis populē *corr.* in populi 5 ergo *om.* 5-6 religioseque] religio seq, 6 aedem] eandē extrusero 7 aede *corr.* in aedi has *om.* 8 quattuor] cui<sup>or</sup> quoius 9 parentes *corr.* in parietes 10 vel faciendum] faciundum vel emendum *om.* 11-12 vetustate sui partibus 13 istinc esse] e · incēsse 14 rationem *corr.* in ratione loci *om.* possum 15 circumdare templo] Tito Livio templi] temporalis abruptissimis] ablutissimis 16 ripibus *corr.* in ripis pratū] templūm pratū (*templum delete*) 17-18 ipsum . . . melius *om.* 18 invenies

*Superscriptio* C · P · S · Fusco · S · P 25 permutem] permulto *corr.* in permutet 27 post] post cenā 28 iam non 31 nunc]  $n\bar{o}$  ver et autumnum quae] vere tantum nunq, 32 hiemem] hiemem statim mediam ita]  $I\bar{a}$









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