

P. CORNELII TACITI

LIBRI QUI SVPERSVNT

TOM. I

AB EXCESSV DIVI AVGVSTI

EDIDIT

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EG

STVTGARDIAE IN AEDIVS B. G. TEVBNERI MCMLXXXIII

certo habuit, verba Taciti, quae continerentur Mediceo II, non e Germania in Italiam pervenisse, sed propria niti memoria in meridiana parte Italiae servata. Qua in re iterum neglectum est, quod reperit Quentin<sup>6</sup>, qui e foliis in tertio libro Historiarum permutatis collegit codicem quendam fuisse parentem, qui tantus esset, quantus Mediceus I e Germania importatus. Qua de causa adhuc sub iudice lis est.

Reliqui codices<sup>7</sup>, quibus posterior pars Annalium et Historiarum libri, qui quidem servati sint, continentur, saeculo quinto decimo e codice Mediceo fluxerunt. Digeri autem possunt in tres familias, quae iis distinguuntur locis, ubi verba Taciti desinunt. Atque producti sunt usque ad illud *Flavianus in Pannonia*, quod legitur Hist. V 26,3, ut Mediceus ipse:

1. Laurentianus 68,5 (B)
2. Holkhamicus 359 (Hol)
3. Laurentianus 63,24 (L24)
4. Caesar-Augustensis (i. e. urbis Zaragozae) 9439 (Z)
5. Vaticanus Latinus 1958 (V58)
6. Bodleianus Auct. F. 2,24 (S. C. 27605) (B05)
7. Guelpherbytanus Gudianus 118 (G)
8. Matritensis 8401 (E)
9. Harleianus 2764 (H)
10. Malatestianus Caesenas II 13,5 (Mal)
11. Parmensis 861 (Prm)
12. Jesu Collegii Oxoniensis 109 (J)
13. Bodleianus Lat. class. d. 16 (S. C. 34472) (B72)

6 H. Quentin, *Essais de critique textuelle*, Paris 1926, 176 sq.

7 Ad *Mediceum II* et codices ex eo descriptos quae pertinent, ea F. Römer in libro, quem de *Annalium libris* quinto decimo et sexto decimo conscripsit (WSt Beihft 6, Wien 1976, XI sqq.), diligentissime perscrutatus est.

— ex his codices 5–13 Genuani vel Genuenses nuncupantur<sup>8</sup>—

14. Yalensis I (Y01)
15. Yalensis II (Y02)
16. Urbinas Latinus 412 (U)
17. Yalensis III (Y03);

usque ad illud *potiore*, quod legitur Hist. V 23,2:

18. Vaticanus Latinus 1863 (V63)
19. Neapolitanus IV. C. 23 (N23)
20. Venetus 381 (Ven)
21. Parisinus Regius 6118 (P)
22. Vindobonensis 49 (VIn)
23. Leidensis BPL 16B (L)
24. Neapolitanus IV. C. 22 (N22)
25. Budensis 9 (C);

usque ad illud *evererant*, quod legitur Hist. V 13,3:

26. Vaticanus Latinus 1864 (V64)
27. Laurentianus 68,4 (A)  
(quo in codice verba manu primi librarii scripta Hist. II 69, reliqua libro Historiarum secundo confecto desinunt)
28. Vaticanus Latinus 2965 (V65)

8 Codicibus Genuanis propria verborum memoriam servatam esse iudicavit R. Hanslik in praefatione commentationum, quas scripserunt I. Schinzel (Hist. II, WSt Beihft 3, Wien 1971, XIII sqq.) et H. Weiskopf (Ann. XI–XII, WSt Beihft 4, Wien 1973, VIII sqq.). Sed cf. quae scripserunt R. W. Ulely jr., *The Contribution of the 'Genoese' Recentes to the Establishment of a Text of Tacitus*, *Annals* 11–16, Diss. Yale 1971; H. Heubner, *Gnomon* 45, 1973, 499–46, 1974, 813 sqq.

29. Londiniensis BL Add. 8904 (Or)  
 (ex Oratorio Jesu)  
 30. Neapolitanus IV.C.21 (N21)  
 31. Ottobonianus 1748 (O48)  
 32. Ottobonianus 1422 (O22)  
 33. Hauniensis (i.e. urbis København) Gl. kgl. (K).  
 S. 496 fol

Qui omnes nihil nobis prosunt, nisi quod errores quidam codicis, unde sunt transcripti, librorum coniectura correcti sunt. Ob eam rem hi mihi respiciendi et nominandi sunt visi:

Vaticanus Latinus 1958 (V58), codex miscellaneus anno 1449 Genuae scriptus, cuius pars Tacitea ab Ioanne Andrea de Buxis (i.e. Giovanni Andrea de Bussi, 1417-1475), eo, qui postea a Sixto IV primus praefectus novae bibliothecae Vaticanae est factus, descripta esse videtur et a Puteolano ut fundamentum editionis anni 1476 adhibita est;

Guelpherbytanus Gudianus 118 (G), paulo ante annum 1461 Ferrariae scriptus et Petri Candidi Decembrii (i.e. Pier Candido Decembrio, 1399-1477), familiaris etiam Agricola, factus;

Laurentianus 68,5 (B), inter annos 1450 et 1460 Florentiae scriptus;

Yalensis I (Y01), ante annum 1470 Mediolani, ut videtur, Matthia Corvino auctore scriptus et anno 1518 Beati Rhenani (i.e. Bilde von Rheinau, 1485-1547) factus et ab eo ut fundamentum editionis anni 1533 adhibitus. In eo codice quae hic illic sunt correctae, utrum librarii sint an Rhenani, adhuc parum liquet.

His libris manu scriptis accedit editio princeps, quae cum annis 1472 et 1473 Venetiis a Vindelino de Spira curata sit, etiam Spirensis (*Spir*) appellatur, a libro quodam eius ducta

classis, quam faciunt codices, quos supra numeris a 18 ad 22 notavimus.

His rebus expositis restat, ut quam paucissimis disputemus de codice Leidensi BPL16B (L)<sup>9</sup>, de quo novissimis annis tot fuerunt disceptationes atque controversiae. Nam eum esse codicem Agricola, qui num exstitisset, multi dubitaverant, C. W. Mendell cognovit; eo servari memoriam verborum propriam neque a codice Mediceo ductam et ipse et E. Koestermann iudicavit; eius lectiones Koestermann in *Annalium et Historiarum editionibus Teubnerianis* ex anno 1960 propositis, quod e ratione codicum aequi essent iuris atque codicis Medicei, omnibus locis attulit, multis etiam nimis prope praetulit<sup>10</sup>. Qui quomodo codex ortus esset,

9 Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Scatone de Vries et post eum G. I. Liefinck XX. Praefatus est C. W. Mendell. Addenda ad praefationes adiecit E. Hulshoff Pol. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff 1966 C. W. Mendell, *AJPh* 72, 1951, 337 sqq.; 75, 1954, 250 sqq. E. Koestermann, *Philologus* 104, 1960, 92 sqq.; - (Continua *Annalium explicatio*), vol. 3, Heidelberg 1967, 20 sqq. H. Heubner, (Recensio *Historiarum* ab E. Koestermann anno 1961 editarum) *Gnomon* 34, 1962, 159 sqq. H. J. Erasmus, *Mnemosyne* 15, 1962, 384 sqq. R. H. Martin, *CQ NS* 14, 1964, 109 sqq. F. R. D. Goodyear, *CQ NS* 15, 1965, 299 sqq.; - 20, 1970, 365 sqq. K. Wellesley, *RHM* 110, 1967, 210 sqq.; - *AJPh* 89, 1968, 302 sqq. St. Borzsák, *RE Suppl.* XI, 1968, 506 sqq. W. Allen jr., *TAPhA* 101, 1970, 1 sqq. F. Brumhölzl, *Zum Problem der Casinenser Klassikerüberlieferung* (Abh. d. Marburger Gel. Ges. 1971, 3) München 1971, 126 sqq. A. Seel, *Studii Clasice* 14, 1972, 95 sqq. R. P. Oliver, *Illinois Classical Studies* 1, 1976, 190 sqq. F. Römer-H. Heubner, *WSt (NF)* 12, 1978, 159 sqq.

10 In praefatione quidem editionis *Annalium*, quam anno 1965 in lucem emisit, Koestermann hanc sententiam immutavit, cum ita fere scripsit (p. XX-XXII), Leidensem quoque a Mediceo pendere, sed ita, ut lectionibus ab alio fonte derivatis ditatus esset.

tus in Marcomanos concessit misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. responsum est non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantes in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

1 47. Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo improvisior graviorque petitis fuit. neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. se-  
disse immensos montes, visa in arduo quae plana fuerint, 10  
2 effuissse inter ruinam ignes memorant. asperissima in Sardinianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aeriario aut  
3 fisco pendebant, in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Si-  
pylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadel-  
phenos, Aegeatas, Apolloni(d)enses, quique Mosteni aut  
Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myri-  
nam, Cymen, Tmolum levari idem in tempus tributis mitti-  
que ex senatu placuit, qui praesentia spectaret refoveret-  
4 que. delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obti-  
nente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum  
oreretur.

1 48. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar  
haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae,  
locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cu-  
25  
ius e domo videbatur, et Pantulei divitis equitis Romani  
hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tra-  
didit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis  
scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuvan-

1 marcomannos, sed 62, 2 marcomanorum ut *codd. Germ.* 42 et  
*Mon. Anc.* 6, 3 et *Stat. siv.* 3, 3, 170 9 deductis 16 Apolloni-  
denses *Ern.* 20 Ateius *Borghesi et Mommsen*] aletus (cf. *Syme,*  
*JRS* 39, 1949, 8) 22 oreteretur, sed i *superscr. ead. m.*

dam praefatus. neque hereditatem cuiusquam adit nisi cum 2  
amicitia meruisset; ignotos et alios infensos eoque princi-  
pem nuncupantes procul arcebat. ceterum ut honestam in- 3  
nocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia  
egentes, Vibidium Virronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium  
5 Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu  
aut sponte cedere passus est.

49. Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abo- 1  
litas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberaeque  
10 et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dic-  
tator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et  
Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum,  
quod apud forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui pri-  
mus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque  
15 navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei aedes a Germanico sacra- 2  
tur: hanc A. Atilius voverat eodem bello.

50. Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. et Appuleiam Va- 1  
rillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosus sermonibus  
divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius inluisset  
20 Caesarique conexa adulterio teneretur, maiestatis delator  
arcessebat. de adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum; maie- 2  
statis crimen distingui Caesar postulavit damnarique, si qua  
de Augusto inreligiose dixisset; in se iacta nolle ad cognitio-  
nem vocari. interrogatus a consule, quid de iis censeret,  
25 quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein  
proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui  
verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. liberavit- 3  
que Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poe-  
nam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra

5 Virronem *Nipp.* (cf. *eundem ad* 11, 32, 2)] uarronem (cf.  
*Syme, JRS* 39, 1949, 17) 10 quam *Lips.*] quas 13 duilius,  
*corr. Or.* 15 a] in 16 A. Atilius *Nipp.*] iatilius 17 uarilliam,  
*corr. Furlanetto*

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS

BOOKS 1-6

EDITED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

F. R. D. GOODYEAR

VOLUME II: *ANNALS* 1.55-81  
AND *ANNALS* 2



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1 Cf. *Plin. N.H.* 5.120 *Macedones Hyrcani cognominati*. But in place is merely called *Hyrcania*.  
2 See for the former *Cic. Flacc.* 71, for the latter Strabo 13. 1045 vno 'Pepoστωv κερκιβην'. Jones, *Greek city* 325 n.65, c asserts they were not free, on the grounds that the lists in appear at *Plin. N.H.* 5.120, 126 represent the August *provinciae*. But the evidence of Strabo, a contemporary, m be ignored.  
3 Otto states and Koesteremann implies it is poetical. It have originated in poetry: see Heubner on 1.31.3.

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47.3 *quique* . . . *nocantur* The switch from names of peoples to . . . *nocantur* and then to names of places is due only to desire for the sense 'plague, contagion' rather more frequent in prose, e.g. *n. N.H.* 26.3, *Lact. Inst.* 2.7.13, *SHA Vers* 8.1.  
It is indeed implied at 3 below.  
4 would have discussed this passage at vol. 1, pp. 346-8.

## CODEX LAVRENTIANVS MEDICEVS 68.1

The character and provenance of this prince of codices, our sole authority for *Annals* 1-6, have been discussed so often and so thoroughly by earlier scholars that the briefest outline will be more than sufficient here.<sup>1</sup> I have nothing new to contribute.

The first Medicean dates from about the middle of the ninth century. It is written in a Carolingian minuscule, except that, towards the beginning, some Merovingian forms occasionally appear. There are corrections by the original hand and others which seem to be by an early, but different, hand. On this matter it is not always easy to judge, but in general M 1 is extremely easy to read. It has many recurrent errors, but few, if any, of special palaeographical interest.<sup>2</sup> In its margin we find numerous annotations: they are usually attributable to the first editor of *Annals* 1-6, Beroaldus the younger.

It is commonly and plausibly surmised that M 1 emanates from Fulda: experts affirm that its script is characteristic of

<sup>1</sup> The most important aid to our study of M 1 is, of course, the magnificent facsimile reproduction, published at Leyden in 1902 as vol. 7.1 of S. de Vries' *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* and accompanied by a valuable introduction by H. Rostagno. Amongst other contributions I must mention those of K. Heraeus, *Studia critica in Mediceos Taciti codices*, Cassellis 1846, I. G. Orelli (aided by I. G. Baiter) in the preface to his edition (Zürich 1846), viiff and in its apparatus, F. Rütter in the preface to his edition (Leipzig 1864), vff, F. Philippi, *Philologus* 45 (1886), 376-80, G. Andresen, *De codicibus Mediceis annalium Taciti*, Berlin 1892, M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis in the preface to his edition of *Ann.* 1-6 (Rome 1940), vff, and E. Koestermann in his preface, pp. vff of the 1960 edition.

<sup>2</sup> These recurrent errors are copiously illustrated by Heraeus, Rostagno, Lenchantin, and Koestermann.

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this centre<sup>1</sup> and certainly the monk Rudolph, writing there in the mid ninth century, seems to show knowledge of the early books of the *Annals*.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the truth may be about its provenance and that of its exemplar,<sup>3</sup> M 1 was in the end discovered in the monastery at Corvey and thence, in about 1508, brought to Rome and ultimately acquired, after passing through several hands, by Pope Leo X.<sup>4</sup> He commissioned its publication by Beroaldus. And so in the year 1515, after centuries of oblivion, *Annals* 1-6 again emerged into the light of day.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M 1 was at some time joined with another MS of virtually the same date and character. This MS is now Laurentianus 47. 36 or M of Pliny's letters, 'ea scripturae forma quam Fuldensem esse periti agnoscent exaratus' (R. A. B. Mynors, preface to his edition of the letters (Oxford 1963), xvii). When the MSS were separated is as uncertain as when they were joined.

<sup>2</sup> See Lenchantin, *op. cit.* x.

<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have thought, and they could be right, that knowledge of Tacitus came to Fulda from Tours.

<sup>4</sup> See Lenchantin, *Ann.* 1-6, vii-ix. The express testimony of Beroaldus, Soderinius, and Pope Leo, there collected, leaves little doubt that M 1 was not extracted from Germany before the beginning of the sixteenth century. But a few scholars have discounted this testimony and supposed that the MS came to Italy much earlier: see e.g. G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, Berlin 1893, I. 251-3 and L. Pralle, *Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus*, Fulda 1952. Such suppositions are very properly rejected by Lenchantin, by Koesteremann, *op.cit.* v n. 1, and by Mynors, *op.cit.* xvii n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> If I say nothing about the fortunes of *Ann.* 1-6 between the ninth and sixteenth centuries, it is because there is nothing usefully to be said. The most tantalizing problem about this text's transmission concerns an earlier period: when was book 5 mutilated and was its mutilation purely a matter of chance?

## II

### EDITIONS OF THE *ANNALS*

Tacitus was singularly fortunate in his early editors and critics,<sup>1</sup> for he attracted the interest of several of the finest scholars of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The first great age of Tacitean studies begins with Beroaldus' edition in 1515 and ends with Pichena's edition in 1607. In quality, as well as in quantity, the contributions of this period have not been surpassed.

That those early in the field reap the easier harvest is true enough, but not always the whole truth. The *editio princeps* of *Annals* 1-6 by Philippus Beroaldus the younger is no perfunctory and commonplace piece of work. To be sure the

<sup>1</sup> For a convenient survey of editions of Tacitus see C. W. Mendell, *Tacitus: the man and his work*, New Haven 1957, 349-78. Mendell assembles much useful information not readily to be found elsewhere, but some of the opinions he expresses on the value of particular editions are misguided. For much detailed evidence about the work of sixteenth-century scholars on Tacitus see also J. Ruyschaert, *Juste Lipsé et les Annales de Tacite*, Louvain 1949. For a judicious assessment of many aspects of it see C. O. Brink, 'Justus Lipsius and the text of Tacitus', *JRS* 41 (1951), 32-51. I should add that J. E. Sandys, *A history of classical scholarship*, Cambridge 1906-8, has disappointingly little to say about the contributions of some of the most important Tacitean scholars of this period, notably Pichena.

<sup>2</sup> As to the fifteenth century, many true corrections and many false ones are to be found in the MSS of *Ann.* 11-16 and *Hist.* 1-5 descended from M 2. Often enough they passed into the early printed texts, and there was probably some traffic the other way too, from printed texts into MSS. But MSS of this time are rarely, if ever, systematic editions: see E. J. Kenney, in *Classical influences on European culture A.D. 500-1500* (ed. R. R. Bolgar), Cambridge 1971, 119-28. The typical humanist MS, as Kenney says (122), was 'a random hotchpotch of tradition and often wilful and occasionally violent alteration'. And most early printed texts inherited these characteristics from the MSS on which they were based. In recent years Mendell and others have paid far more attention to fifteenth-century MSS of Tacitus than any of them deserve.

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majority of Beroaldus' corrections are such as anyone with a little Latin could have made, given a ninth-century MS never systematically corrected before. But a respectable minority attest perception, judgement, and understanding of Tacitus' usage. Beroaldus has undeservedly been eclipsed by his eminent successors: though he can hardly bulk very large in the history of scholarship, he merits fuller recognition than he has yet been accorded.<sup>1</sup>

The edition pirated from Beroaldus and printed at Milan in 1516 need not concern us,<sup>2</sup> nor the Froben edition of 1519,<sup>3</sup> nor the Juntine of 1527. But the second Froben edition, which appeared at Basel in 1533, is a different matter. This is the first of the great editions of Tacitus. Valuable as had been the services of Puteolanus<sup>4</sup> and Beroaldus, Tacitus now for the first time came into the hands of a scholar of the highest ability and foremost amongst the Latinists of his generation, Beatus Rhenanus.<sup>5</sup> Rhenanus' success may in part be measured by the ready absorption of his conjectures and his observations into the common stock of material upon which his successors worked. But the conjectures at least may conveniently be separated out and assessed. They are naturally far fewer than Beroaldus', but they are not few, and they show the activity of an exceptionally penetrating and disciplined intellect. Indeed I go

<sup>1</sup> The multitude of Beroaldus' corrections poses a problem for the scrupulous modern editor. Like many others before me, I have tried to find a compromise. Such corrections as seem to me of some merit are recorded in the apparatus. All the others, except only the slightest corrections of spelling, are collected in Appendix 1 as 'adnotationis criticae additamenta'.

<sup>2</sup> The notes of A. Alciatus appended to this edition are the only material it contains of any interest.

<sup>3</sup> This edition is of some importance, in that it contains a text of the *Germania* revised and corrected by Rhenanus.

<sup>4</sup> In his Milan edition of 1476 and his Venice edition of 1497.

<sup>5</sup> Rhenanus deserved well of other Latin historians, and he holds a special place of honour as *sospitator Velleii*, badly though his edition of Velleius was executed. But his Tacitus is his best work.

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further: if quality of emendations were the only criterion of scholarly excellence, Rhenanus might vie with Pichena and Nipperdey for the second place amongst Tacitean scholars. His conjectures are not often, one must admit, brilliant and exciting, but they possess the more valuable quality of often being right. In his patient attention to grammar and idiom, and his concern with logic and precision, Rhenanus might well be compared with Madvig. Lipsius built upon the foundations which Rhenanus had laid.<sup>1</sup> If his occasional mentions of Rhenanus are mainly adverse criticisms, that is largely the fashion of the time: it was not then conventional to record specific obligations or to express agreement.<sup>2</sup>

The Aldine edition (Venice 1534) has, it seems, no independent value. But the Gryphian edition (Lyons 1542) contains, along with earlier material, some notes by A. Ferretus which are not entirely negligible.<sup>3</sup> And in 1544 Rhenanus produced a second edition (published, like the earlier one, by Froben at Basel), with corrections and modifications.<sup>4</sup> Nothing of importance can be recorded for the next twenty years and more,<sup>5</sup> but a spate of activity

<sup>1</sup> Lipsius based his text on Rhenanus' revised edition of 1544, as Ruyschaert has shown.

<sup>2</sup> Rhenanus' conjectures get a somewhat lukewarm appraisal from Sandys, *History of classical scholarship* 2. 263 and Mendell, *Tacitus* 362, probably because they are usually unspectacular. I do not understand what Mendell means when he says that Rhenanus' corrections 'are on the whole of a conservative character'. In *Ann.* 1-6 at least, while most of his changes are neat and simple, they are not conservative, for as yet there was no firmly agreed text to conserve, and changes do not conserve a text still undetermined. Changes back from a vulgate to the paradosis may properly be called conservative, but these are not in question.

<sup>3</sup> Lipsius used this edition as the starting-point for his commentary.

<sup>4</sup> That it was no mere reprint has been established by Ruyschaert, *Justi Lipsi* 20-1.

<sup>5</sup> This gap is perhaps not wholly the result of chance. A new generation of scholars, such as Vertranus and Lipsius, were to offer a new approach to Tacitus, in particular by the use of more diverse historical evidence. Tacitus became less of a literary text, more of an object for scholarly

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begins with the acute and original notes on the *Historiae* and *Annals* by M. Vertranius Maurus (Lyons 1569).<sup>1</sup> And now a commanding personality appears.

First and indisputably first of all Tacitean scholars stands Justus Lipsius, whose earliest edition of Tacitus was published by Plantin at Antwerp in 1574. Lipsius cannot rank with Bentley and Heinsius and Housman, but he can bear comparison with those who come next, such as his contemporary Scaliger. If he lacks Scaliger's dazzling ingenuity and breadth of interest, he is by no means narrow in scope nor devoid of imagination. He excels Scaliger in sanity of judgement, though he almost equals him in egotism. Lipsius was pre-eminently qualified to edit and interpret Tacitus, by his versatility in conjecture, by his sense for style, and by his perfect knowledge of Roman history, as far as it could at that time be known.<sup>2</sup> His main contribution is twofold: in a vast improvement of Tacitus' text and in the creation of the first complete commentary on Tacitus. Tiny this commentary may be by the scale of later work, but it was the necessary nucleus upon which a mass of later accretions gathered, some inferior and superfluous. Two hundred and fifty years were to elapse before students of Tacitus could discard from direct consideration that body of learned material, based upon Lipsius, which was the substance of so many variorum editions.

If we are fairly to appraise Lipsius' success in conjectural emendation, we must remember that he worked upon a *textus receptus* often far removed from M 1 and M 2. After its initial employment by Beroaldus, M 1 had in the sixteenth century largely been neglected. And M 2 had never been

research. Such a change of attitude naturally takes some time to become established and reflected in published works.

<sup>1</sup> See Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipsius* 38.

<sup>2</sup> A. Momigliano, *JRS* 39 (1949), 190, justly observes that 'his combination of feeling for style with historical knowledge is still a challenge to any editor of an historical text'.

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used directly as the foundation of a printed text. Much of Lipsius' most admirable work was in a sense unnecessary, for in numerous passages he laboured to restore by conjecture what was later found to be transmitted by the Medicean MSS. These conjectures now go unrecorded in critical editions, but, thanks to Ruysschaert, we can at least take account of them in assessing Lipsius' achievement. Even if we were unjustly to set them aside, the number and quality of his other conjectures would still fully justify his reputation as a critic.

Unhappily this reputation is not unblemished. It seems likely that Lipsius drew rather too freely on the work of Muretus (see Brink, 'Justus Lipsius' 51), though in this instance conscious plagiarism cannot be proved. Perhaps it can be proved for Lipsius' use of certain unpublished conjectures of Claude Chifflet: at least Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipsius* 144ff, has produced documentary evidence which strongly suggests that Lipsius knew Chifflet had prior rights to ideas which he published as his own. If this evidence is valid, we cannot exonerate him completely on the grounds that the age in which he lived accepted less exacting standards of scholarly proprietorship than our own. But it is proper to emphasize that the likely cases of plagiarism are, amongst the multitude of Lipsius' conjectures, very few indeed.<sup>1</sup>

One enduring result of Lipsius' work deserves special mention. He established as canonical Vertranius' division<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lipsius' great celebrity led to a good many conjectures being ascribed to him which had in fact been advanced earlier by others. As far as earlier published work is concerned, we may without hesitation restore the correct attribution. Unpublished work poses more of a problem. Perhaps, as Brink says, 'Justus Lipsius' 50, it would be 'an act of justice' to give back his unpublished conjectures to Chifflet. But later scholars, as well as Lipsius, are here concerned, and we cannot assume that they had access to Chifflet's notes, and we cannot usually the fairest solution.

<sup>2</sup> See Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipsius* 147 n. 4. Incidentally Ferretus, not Lipsius, first divided books 5 and 6 of the *Annals*.

## INTRODUCTION

of Tacitus' historical writings into *Annals* and *Histories*.<sup>1</sup> No one now has much confidence that this titlature is correct, but it would be fruitless to change a convention so long accepted, when we have nothing more certain with which to replace it.

The last quarter of the sixteenth century saw an abundance of excellent work on Tacitus. Particular mention is due to the contributions of M. A. Muretus, in his *Variae Lectiones* (Antwerp 1580) and elsewhere, of F. Modius, in his *Nouantiquae Lectiones* (Frankfurt 1584), and of F. Ursinus and I. Mercerus in their *Notae*, published respectively at Antwerp in 1595 and Paris in 1599. Meanwhile Lipsius' edition was going through several revisions.<sup>2</sup> The last appeared in 1607, the year after his death. This year was indeed an *annus mirabilis* in Tacitean studies, being additionally distinguished by the appearance at Frankfurt of the immensely important edition by Curtius Pichena and the useful variorum edition by Ianus Gruterus, and at Hanover of the acute and original notes of V. Acidalius.

Pichena's services to Tacitus are second only to Lipsius'. If Lipsius was a child of his age in his cavalier attitudes to the MSS, Pichena had in no small part grasped one of the great lessons which Bentley was to teach a hundred years later, that MSS must be weighed, not selected at random. He recognized the outstanding importance<sup>3</sup> of the Mediceans,

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed these matters in the second note in my commentary.  
<sup>2</sup> See Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipsii* x-xi and Brink, 'Justus Lipsius' 32 n. 2.  
<sup>3</sup> I choose my words very advisedly here. Pichena did not recognize the unique importance of M 2. If he had, he would have discarded from consideration Puteolanus' edition of 1497.

Pichena had already, before his edition, published information about the readings of the Medicean MSS, in two collections of notes (Hanover 1600 and 1604). Lipsius knew of this crucial information from these notes: see Brink, 'Justus Lipsius' 33 n. 10. His reaction is typical of his time and personality. He was delighted to find many of his conjectures confirmed, but unable or unwilling to perceive that the whole basis of his text of the *Annals* and *Histories* needed to be changed.

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and made them one of the main foundations of his text. Indeed he was the first editor of a printed text to use M 2 at all. And he rescued M 1 from increasing neglect. By his use of these MSS Pichena was able to effect very substantial improvement over all texts earlier current. But he did much more by his own skill, for he was an adroit and careful emendator, endowed with a rare sensitivity to the niceties of Tacitus' language and style. It might have been better for Tacitus if some of Pichena's successors had followed his example, rather than expending so much labour on the fifteenth-century MSS. Pichena was a prophet who won only limited acknowledgment from his contemporaries, and scant praise from posterity.

Gruterus' edition contributes a little of independent value, but, like the Paris variorum edition of 1608, is mainly useful as gathering together the fruits of learned work by scholars of the preceding century. Gruterus is usually credited with establishing the chapter divisions in Tacitus which have become conventional.<sup>1</sup>

The next two hundred years brought only slow and intermittent progress in the study of Tacitus: as a whole this was an arid period and in retrospect the more depressing because substantial advances were being made elsewhere. Tacitus had not ceased to be popular. It was rather that, without new information and new scholarly methods, original research on the constitution and interpretation of his text could not be sustained at the level it had attained by the end of the sixteenth century. We must wait until the mid-nineteenth century before Tacitean studies will again advance so quickly and on so broad a front as in their first and best period.

The edition by M. Bernegger (Strassburg 1638) claims passing mention because it contains notes by I. Freinsheim,

<sup>1</sup> On this convention see below, p. 18. According to Mendell, *Tacitus* 367, the credit for the chapter divisions should go to Pichena, not Gruterus.

## INTRODUCTION

some of which are good. I. F. Gronovius did not himself produce an edition of Tacitus. His notes, together with notes of earlier scholars, were produced by I. Gronovius in his Amsterdam edition of 1672, and again in the Utrecht edition of 1721. They are sometimes illuminating, but, as a whole, Gronovius' contribution to the criticism of Tacitus is somewhat disappointing.<sup>1</sup> The edition by T. Ryck (Leyden 1687) is, as far as original ideas are concerned, unimportant. But Ryck's extensive use of the MS now called Leidensis BPL 16B deserves to be recorded. Even those who utterly discount the extravagant claims recently made for this MS may freely admit that it is an exceptionally abundant source of true, as of false, corrections.

The only edition of any importance which appeared in the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup> was that by I. A. Ernesti (Leipzig 1752), and it fell short of what might have been expected from it. We do indeed, as Mendell says, *Tacitus* 369, have here 'the first attempt at a critical edition'. Ernesti enjoins proper reporting of the MSS and refuses to attribute any authority to a vulgate text. In practice, however, he systematically employs only Gudianus 118 and fails to perceive, as, after the work of Pichena, he should have perceived, that M 2 alone forms the basis for our text of *Ann.* 11-16 and *Hist.* 1-5. In general, though he deserves credit for his discontent with outdated, pre-Bentleian attitudes and though some of his notes show sense and discrimination, Ernesti's tangible services to Tacitus are neither substantial nor very distinguished. I suspect that he was rather unsympathetic to Tacitus' colourful and emotive style: certainly many of his observations seem almost wooden and somehow to miss the point.

<sup>1</sup> I should add a word about I. Gronovius. He offers a few excellent proposals of his own. Further, the edition of 1721 is most attractive in presentation and convenient to use. The younger Gronovius set the standard of the variorum editions of his time.

<sup>2</sup> Those by G. Brotier (Paris 1771) and G. C. Croll (Bipontine 1779) are negligible.

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In the early nineteenth century we enter a period of greater activity and move gradually into an age of transition. In 1801 there appeared at Leipzig a revision of Ernesti by F. A. Wolf and I. I. Oberlin:<sup>1</sup> it makes some contribution both in criticism and interpretation. G. A. Ruperti's first edition of the *Annals* soon followed (Göttingen 1804): of Ruperti more in a moment. I. Bekker's edition (Berlin 1825) scarcely deserves mention, for he does no more than gather together earlier work. There is, in contrast, no lack of originality in the edition by G. H. Walther (Halle 1831-3). Walther was a stubborn and often obtuse defender of the paradox. Though all too often prepared to defend the indefensible and explain the inexplicable, he sometimes rescued Tacitus' text from gratuitous change or time-honoured misunderstanding. Ruperti's second edition (Hanover 1834) is chiefly remarkable for the vast mass of information it presents, bibliographical, critical, and illustrative. It is still useful, though frequently exasperating to the reader, being a strange mixture of old and new, a variorum edition half metamorphosed into an up-to-date edition with commentary. The edition by L. Doederlein (Halle 1841-7) claims passing notice, for he advances a few highly intelligent ideas. I. G. Orelli's edition (Zürich 1846) is on the whole a poor and scrappy piece of work, much inferior to his Horace. But Orelli offers a number of original suggestions, and, more importantly, an account of M 1 and M 2, based on collations by I. G. Baiter, which is fuller than any available before. The contributions of F. Ritter in two editions (Cambridge 1848 and Leipzig 1864) are not contemptible. He might have achieved much if he had been endowed with stability of judgement. As it is, his work is marred equally by irrational conservatism and by irrational conjecture.

By the 1840s one can see four major developments in

<sup>1</sup> The main part of the work was done by Oberlin.

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Tacitean studies: recognition of the authority of M 1 and M 2, formation of a critical apparatus fit so to be described, discarding of much of the material contained in the variorum editions, and use of new evidence, drawn from more intense investigation of the language, of coins and inscriptions, and of other historical sources. These developments are to continue and accelerate in the decades which follow.

The modern period in the editing of Tacitus begins with K. Halm's edition (Leipzig 1850) and K. Nipperdey's edition with commentary of the *Annals* (Leipzig 1852). Halm's original contributions, though considerable, would not place him in the front rank of Tacitean scholars. But the influence of his modest edition has been immense. It, more than any other, has formed the basis of a modern vulgate, adopted without reconsideration by many editors of recent times. Nipperdey's work has been no less influential and in itself is more important. Nipperdey possessed the most alert and penetrating intellect of all who have worked on Tacitus for any length of time, and he merits the highest praise both as a critic and a commentator.<sup>1</sup> His numerous conjectures, though not always compelling, are invariably of some value or interest, if only diagnostically. And many are right. We owe to him a greater improvement of the text than to any editor since Pichena. Again, he created a new style of commentary on Tacitus, drawing as a matter of course upon the latest work in all relevant fields of Latin studies.<sup>2</sup> His commentary is perhaps unduly selective in choice of topics and problems for discussion, but it is distinguished throughout by independence, insight, and good sense. Later work has, not surprisingly, superseded some of Nipperdey's conclusions

<sup>1</sup> Naturally I take account here not only of Nipperdey's 1852 edition of the *Annals* and revisions of it, but also of his edition of Tacitus as a whole (Berlin 1871-6).

<sup>2</sup> Of course we find some up-to-date information in the old variorum editions, and much of it in a few of them. But in these editions outdated and exploded ideas were continually reproduced. Nipperdey broke this bad tradition in commentaries on Tacitus.

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and occasionally shown his judgement to be errant. For all that, his successors, Furneaux, Koestermann, and I, depend heavily on him: he cleared and marked the path which we have followed.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Tacitus' subject-matter, sources, and historiographical technique attracted more intense and sustained scrutiny than ever before. And, no less importantly, E. Wölfflin in the mid 1860s initiated a more exact and systematic investigation of Tacitus' language and style, some of the fruits of which were to be gathered later in the great *Lexicon Taciteum* of A. Gerber, A. Greef, and C. John (Leipzig 1877-90).<sup>1</sup> The results of all this work brought substantial benefit to commentaries on Tacitus, and some benefit to his text.

Three lesser contributions of this period claim brief mention, the edition of the whole of Tacitus by F. Haase (Leipzig 1855), of the *Annals* by A. Draeger (Leipzig 1868), and of *Annals* 1-3 by R. Novák (Prague 1890). Haase and Novák offer a little at least which is new and interesting,<sup>2</sup> and Draeger sometimes shows the independence to be expected from one so deeply versed in Latin usage as a whole and Tacitean usage in particular.

The only contribution which, for its intrinsic merit and enduring influence, may in modern times be compared with the work of Nipperdey, is the edition and commentary by H. Furneaux (Oxford vol. 1 1884, 2 1896, vol. 2 1891, revised by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher 1907).<sup>3</sup> Furneaux was one of the most unassuming, level-headed, and judicious of

<sup>1</sup> There is much in Gerber-Greef with which one may disagree. Naturally so, for it is a scholarly work and full of controversial opinions. I esteem it the more every time I look at the wretched computerized products which now masquerade as lexica and concordances.

<sup>2</sup> It was Haase who in *Philologus* 3 (1848), 152-3 finally settled the problem about the division of books 5 and 6 of the *Annals*.

<sup>3</sup> Mendell, *Tacitus* 373, does gross injustice to Furneaux by setting his edition on a level with the trivial work of Holbrook, now deservedly ignored.

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*Annals* (Heidelberg 1963-8) he has greatly advanced our understanding of Tacitus as a historian and stylist. But he has little to say which is not entirely derivative about detailed matters of text and language.<sup>1</sup>

The edition of *Annals* 1-6 by M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis (Rome 1940) is hard to judge fairly. I shall resist the temptation to damn it for that extreme conservatism which R. Syme has inordinately praised.<sup>2</sup> Lenchantin's edition is, for all its faults, the work of a learned man and a scholar. Though his grasp of Latinity is weak and uncertain, he could occasionally produce new ideas of no little cogency.

The edition of the *Annals* by H. Fuchs (Frauenfeld 1946-9) is of only slight importance, but it is not uninteresting. Fuchs possesses one quality which many of his predecessors have lacked, independence. He refuses to accept the easy doctrine that all the textual problems in Tacitus which can be settled were settled long ago. Unfortunately his critical powers are not commensurate with his admirably sane approach to his work, and, as a result, he has imported into the text various dubious or unnecessary conjectures. But he is not always finding unreal problems: in his paragraphing he has rightly broken away from the practice of most recent editors, who have acquiesced too willingly in a convention founded neither on reason nor authority.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His dependence on Furneaux for observations on Tacitean usage is hardly less than scandalous, but it has passed largely unnoticed by reviewers. He has at least paid the plagiarist's penalty, for some of the information he copies is erroneous or at least incomplete. One must, I fear, admit that there is a good deal of justice in Syme's bitter remark (*JRS* 38 (1948), 123) about 'the sloth and the psittacosis of the commentators'.

<sup>2</sup> See the next section of this introduction.

<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between paragraphing on the one hand and division and sub-division of chapters on the other hand. Chapter-divisions and sub-divisions, in Tacitus as in quite a lot of other Latin texts, may primarily now serve to provide a convenient system of reference. They fall within the sphere of convention. But in marking paragraphs, which may or may not be identical with

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The school-edition of *Annals* 1 by N. P. Miller (London 1959) deserves brief notice. Miller offers many just and pertinent observations upon Tacitus' language and style, and some of them are original. If she had consistently thought for herself, particularly on textual matters, her book would have been outstanding amongst its kind.

Much work remains to be done, though at present the Leyden MS, like King Charles' head, is diverting attention from the main business. But a 'law of diminishing returns' applies inexorably to the study of such texts as the *Annals* and *Histories*: we cannot reasonably expect future contributions as substantial and exciting as those of the past.

## III

### ON EDITING TACITUS

Conservatism has been prevalent in the editing of Tacitus throughout this present century,<sup>1</sup> though recently, thanks not least to the activities of C. W. Mendell and E. Koestermann with the codex Leidensis, we have had two new contenders for supremacy, Chaos and Confusion. Of the worth of the Leidensis I have written at length elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Here I shall be concerned with the problems of editing Tacitus more generally<sup>3</sup> and, in particular, to say something against

chapters, we attempt, however imperfectly, to represent divisions which properly belong to the writings we are editing. And so paragraphing falls within the sphere of criticism. Of course all this complexity derives from a long accretion of scholarly work. Those scholars who made the original chapter-divisions were trying, often rightly, to do exactly what we can now do with our paragraphs, while retaining their numeration.

<sup>1</sup> H. Fuchs' divergence from current fashion has been mentioned above. More importantly, E. Koestermann sometimes exercises independent thought on textual matters, and to good effect.

<sup>2</sup> *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965), 299-322 and 20 (1970), 365-70.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience I shall take examples from *Ann.* 1. 1-54.

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the pronouncements of that eloquent apostle of reaction, R. Syme, delivered for the benefit of editors of Tacitus everywhere in *JRS* 38 (1948), 122-31.

The arbitrary and violent use of conjecture by several eminent scholars of the mid nineteenth century inevitably fostered a conservative revival,<sup>1</sup> in which Tacitus' editors were not slow to take part.<sup>2</sup> But more particular reasons may be advanced for the poverty of work on Tacitus' text over the last two or three generations. Since Nipperdey no critic even of the second rank has edited Tacitus and very few critics have concerned themselves with his text.<sup>3</sup> It is not therefore surprising that something like a *textus receptus* has established itself. By this I mean specifically that for the generality of editors of Tacitus in the last hundred years many open questions about punctuation, paragraphing, and the correction of scribal error appear to be closed questions: they simply follow their immediate predecessors. Again, the linguistic studies of the so-called 'Swedish school', E. Löfstedt,<sup>4</sup> N. Eriksson,<sup>5</sup> and G. Sörbom,<sup>6</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> See Housman, *Manilius* 1, pp. xli-xliv.

<sup>2</sup> C. D. Fisher may well represent them. In the preface to his *Annals* (Oxford 1906) he smugly asserts that, as far as he dared, he has followed the Medicean MSS through thick and thin. Predictably he wins high praise from R. Syme, *JRS* 38 (1948), 128-9. More surprisingly C. O. Brink, *JRS* 41 (1951), 32 n. 1 calls Fisher's editions 'meritorious'. Where their merit lies I do not know, but it certainly lies neither in original contributions nor in the fidelity to M 1 and M 2 which Fisher claims he has shown. He has, for example, foisted on Tacitus numerous spellings not in M 1, even though that MS' text is often no less acceptable than what he prints: so, quite unaccountably, he often prints -is accusative plurals where M 1 offers -es (see in the first few pages of the *Annals* 1. 3. 3, 1. 9. 3 (*bis*), 1. 9. 5, and 1. 10. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Brink's magisterial paper, already mentioned, stands in a class of its own amongst modern writings on the text of Tacitus, unless one should set beside it some of the exceptionally acute discussions of particular textual problems by H. Heubner.

<sup>4</sup> In particular *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aethiopiae*, Uppsala 1911 and *Syntactica*, vol. 1<sup>2</sup>, Lund 1942, vol. 2 Lund 1933.

<sup>5</sup> *Studien zu den Annalen des Tacitus*, Lund 1934.

<sup>6</sup> *Variatio sermonis Tacitei*, Uppsala 1935.

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lent an appearance of authoritative support to the irrational proceedings of such ultra-conservatives as M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis.<sup>1</sup> Syme (*JRS* 38 (1948), 123) would have us believe that the Swedes have shown that 'Tacitus is capable of anything if he can avoid the normal, the monotonous, the conventional'. Fortunately no editor of Tacitus has in practice carried this theory to its logical conclusion by reinstating all the corruptions which his MSS offer. Those who wish to contemplate the worst excesses of *Korruptelenkult* must for the present look elsewhere. But, when the *textus receptus* of Tacitus has in recent years been changed at all, the change has usually been calculated to bring it nearer to the MSS. Not all these changes have been for the worse,<sup>2</sup> but more often than not return to the MSS has been one and the same thing as departure from what *ratio et res ipsa* suggest that Tacitus wrote.

We owe to Löfstedt and his pupils a fuller and more precise understanding of Tacitus' language. But, for all that, their work is open to many criticisms, general and particular. I shall raise some of them in what follows.

The most important way in which the 'Swedish school' has influenced editorial practice is by encouraging editors to preserve anomalies and inconsistencies, in orthography, in grammar, and in syntax. Here again we may see the effects of a reaction. In the mid nineteenth century several editors of Latin prose texts, most notably Madvig, showed a persistent inclination to remove anomalies and standardize the usage of the authors they edited. And they went rather too far.<sup>3</sup> More anomalies are to be found in Latin literature,

<sup>1</sup> In particular in his edition of *Ann.* 1-6 (Rome 1940), described by Syme *JRS* 38 (1948), 128 as 'that model of scholarly conservatism'.

<sup>2</sup> For example 1. 4. 4 *exulem*, rightly restored in place of the conjecture *exul*, commonly accepted, and 1. 34. 1 *seque et* in place of *Sequanos*, for long the vulgate: see my notes on these passages.

<sup>3</sup> One may admit, I think, that Madvig's attempt to tighten Livy's (or syntax, by adjusting anomalous passages to accord with Livy's (or

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even of the best periods, than we can emend away convincingly. But it does not follow that all anomalies are to be admitted. The main basis for judgement on these matters must be provided by examination of the standards and pre-tensions of each individual author. Ready acceptance of anomalies, provided they may somehow be explained, is a form of linguistic interpretation which Löfstedt applied with conspicuous success to Latin writings of a late period and low stylistic quality. And this same approach may be useful in dealing with such a writer as Propertius, whose language is sometimes as wayward and unpredictable as his thought. But it is most doubtful whether it may properly be applied to the works of such meticulous and self-conscious stylists as, for instance, Cicero in his published speeches and his treatises, or Tacitus. Close examination of their works will show that they imposed on themselves rigorous standards in vocabulary and phraseology and that they consciously kept to those standards.

I will risk seeming to labour the obvious and explain why I describe Tacitus as a 'meticulous and self-conscious stylist'. He is such (i) because of his obsessive concern to find words which are, for his purposes, exactly right in quality and tone. He excludes or discards those which are not.<sup>1</sup> And (ii) because he maintains a consistent stylistic level. There is change and development in his language and style, but there are no abrupt movements up or down, either towards a spurious elevation or towards colloquialism. His constant striving for variety in word and phrase is kept in check by a no less constant striving to create a style of the utmost dignity. And (iii) because his innovations are not arbitrary. It would be hard to find in Tacitus an instance of total divergence from usage earlier attested. For the most part

even Cicero's normal usage, was somewhat misguided. But Madvig and his contemporaries were not so misguided as some of our anomalists, to save themselves thought, would like to believe.

<sup>1</sup> For some further observations on these matters see Appendix 2.

## ON EDITING TACITUS

Tacitus' innovations are no more than extensions, some indeed bolder than others, of linguistic developments already to be traced in the literature surviving from the first century A.D.:<sup>1</sup> no doubt, if the historical writings of this period had survived, Tacitus would appear much less of an innovator altogether. Further, his extensions of earlier usage seem rarely to be isolated: we may usually find parallels or analogies elsewhere in his writings. In a word, Tacitus was neither inattentive nor haphazard in his use of the language he had inherited.

A stylist such as I have just sketched is not, I submit, 'capable of anything'. He will not, from mere whim or carelessness, depart from the basic rules of grammar and syntax established by the practice of his predecessors over two hundred years and more. Sometimes indeed, for a definite stylistic purpose, he may strain the powers of his language: the 'impressionistic' syntax which Tacitus employs at I. 41 is an excellent case in point. But the vast majority of the MS readings which the Swedes defended<sup>2</sup> and Lenchantin printed with acclaim from Syme are harsh departures from established usage which serve no explicable purpose whatsoever. Take, for example, the gross solecism transmitted at I. 9. 4 *non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ab uno regeretur*.<sup>3</sup> What had Tacitus to gain by omitting *ut*, except the space of two letters? He would have gained nothing in expressiveness, or in emphasis, or even (since equally bad syntax is found on the walls of Pompeii) in novelty.

'A conservative approach to M', says Syme *JRS* 38 (1948), 123, 'is recommended not merely by disillusion and by dis-

<sup>1</sup> I have argued or at least illustrated this proposition in several notes in my commentary. The case of *glisco*, used increasingly freely as an alternative for *eresco*, is as pertinent as most others, and somewhat better documented: see on I. 1. 2 *gliscens*.

<sup>2</sup> In so doing they were sometimes anticipated by Walther and by W. A. Bachrens, *Beiträge zur lat. Syntax, Philologus*, suppl. 12, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> On this passage see Brink *JRS* 41 (1951), 45 n.

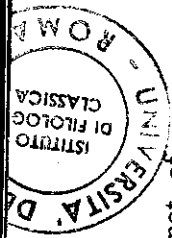
## INTRODUCTION

taste for all the emendations, "magna moles et impropera", but by sound doctrine.' And later (127) he suggests that we should 'follow the doctrine of the Swedes and endorse the style and syntax of Tacitus to the utter limit of rapidity, acerbity, and abruptness'. Wise men before descending such a precipice have a close look at the credentials of their guides. That is what C. O. Brink has done in *JRS* 41 (1951), 32-51 and what I have done in various parts of my commentary. See in particular Brink's discussions of 1. 10. 5 *gravius* (43-4), 1. 12. 3 *sed et* (44-5), 1. 28. 3 *et si alii*, my notes on 1. 4. 4 *aliquid*, 1. 41. 1 *triste*, 1. 41. 1 *et externae fidei*, and Appendix 5, in which Sörbom's views on ellipsis are submitted to scrutiny. From examination of the pronouncements of the 'Swedish school' on these passages and many others it becomes abundantly clear that their doctrine is not 'sound', not based on full and judicious inquiry. Indeed I must go further: much of their work is shoddy, ill-considered, and misleading.<sup>1</sup>

Löfstedt and his pupils were not well qualified to deal with the text of Tacitus, for they misjudged the character of his writings, not perceiving that all his works reveal him as immensely painstaking in choice of word and phrase,<sup>2</sup> as largely self-consistent even in his innovations, and as governed by an exacting sense of stylistic propriety. Or, if they perceived any of this, they failed to grasp the consequences for work on Tacitus' text. Our knowledge of Tacitus' high stylistic quality must influence our decisions on all the passages where the MSS present a divergence from his own normal

<sup>1</sup> Still, as I have said, we have all learned a good deal from it. And I should add in fairness that, though Löfstedt is sometimes inaccurate (see my note on 1. 1. 1 *neque...neque*) or deficient in judgement (conspicuously so about 1. 41. 1), his work is in a different class from Sörbom's and Eriksson's.

<sup>2</sup> Some sections of his work bear more tokens of *limate labor* than others, not in diligent avoidance of repetitions, but there is scarcely a single chapter to be found which could be described as carelessly written.



## ON EDITING TACITUS

usage or from literary Latin as a whole. We shall not, of course, assume that every abnormality must be evened out, that there can be absolutely nothing idiosyncratic in Tacitus; but we shall examine every textual problem in relation to Tacitus' usage in general and, above all, try to weigh the probabilities in each particular case, asking, for instance, 'is corruption or anomaly more likely here?'. The Swedes erred by preferring anomaly everywhere they possibly could, and that was far too often. A more flexible and open-minded approach to the editing of Tacitus is now more than overdue.

## IV

### ASPECTS OF TACITEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

My purpose in this essay is to sketch certain characteristics of T.'s historical writings which I consider important.<sup>1</sup> It may, I hope, be of some use to the reader to have set out here, albeit rather briefly and dogmatically, several themes and lines of interpretation which will be developed further in the commentary.

To no small extent the subject-matter of the *Histories* and *Annals* was determined by the traditions of the annalistic genre to which these works belong. By choosing to write annalistic history T. accepted an obligation to record the major events of each year within the spheres of political, military, and constitutional history.<sup>2</sup> But, while he was not

<sup>1</sup> But some important aspects of T.'s historiographical technique, such as his use of his sources, will not be discussed here, since I have no general observations to make upon them which I have not already made in *Tacitus, Greece & Rome, Survey 4*, Oxford 1970.

<sup>2</sup> It was also traditional to record the deaths of leading men, prodigies, and any notable disasters. And T. does indeed record such matters,

eum. quibus additis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum per fugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuueni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. deriguntur acies pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, uagis incursibus aut disiectas per cateruas: quippe longa aduersum nos militia insueuerant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere. ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque aduectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derapta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum, ac mox per dona et legationes petiuisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. meminissent modo tot procliorum, quorum euentu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum penes utros summa belli fuerit.

1 Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in hostem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum tenens illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur. uacordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres uagas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum filius eius seruitium adhuc tolerent. at se duodecim legionibus 25 petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam seruauisse, mox condicionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit integrum aduersum 3 Romanos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. his uocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum 30 a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti 4 libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur. non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis euentu, fuis

22 uagas Draeger: uacuas M: fort. incautas uel inualidas 31 recenti Lipsius: recente M

utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursus pugna, ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. id signum percussus fuit; et transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit mistique legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia. respondit sum est non iure eum aduersus Cheruscos arma Romana inuocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuisset. missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

47. Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprouisor grauiorque pestis fuit. neque solitum in tali casu effugium subueniebat in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. sedisse immensos montes, uisa in arduo quae plana fuerint, effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant. asperrima in Sardinianos 20 lucis plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centies sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo 3 proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones 20 Hyrcani uocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum leuari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque. delectus est M. 4 faletus† e praetoris, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.

25 48. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cuius et domo uidebatur, et Pantulei, diuitis equitis Romani, hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tradidit M. 30 Serulio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuuandam praefatus. neque hereditatem cuiusquam adit nisi cum amicitia 2

3 Marcomanos Fisher: marcomannos M 12 diductis Beroaldus: deductis M 19 Apollonidenses Ernsti: apollonienses M: Apollonidenses Orelli 23 aletus] Aetius Borghesi: Aletius Orelli: Aienus uel Aietius uel Aletius Syme

accidians,<sup>1</sup> momentar-  
 rasing. *aut* could be mis-  
 of items (or consulting  
 utive and two distinct

Apollonidea) and Mag-  
 But *libertas*, i.e. internal  
 nless *immunitas* too was

b is quite common in  
 .21 *longa pace cuncta re-*

eli, since, as Syme shows,  
 might have produced  
 i's *Aletius*, neither com-  
 ions *Aletius*, *Aletius*, and  
 l. An inscription may in

es [Dio 57.17.7] which  
 of a *legatus Augusti pro-*

57.17.7-8, unless influ-  
 Tiberius' public munifi-  
 (ears) over inheritances.  
 ne, that in this chapter,  
 ere is nothing but un-  
 r on 1.75.2 *eroganda* . . .

splendid public bene-  
 ur'. I think in *publicum*  
 nd is used attributively  
 'et domi *servauisse*, 4.14.3

nati. But in *ILS* 156 the

Strabo 13.3.5 ἐλευθέρα  
 325 n.65, categorically  
 t the lists in which they  
 the Augustan *formula*  
 nporary, must not thus

petical. It may indeed  
 1.3.