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THE DYNAMIC TEXT:
CICERO'S *TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS* AND BEYOND*

To the memory of Francis L. Newton (1928-2025)

Introduction

The objectives of the present study are, first, to provide a simple outline of the transmission of the *Tusculans*, concentrating on the ninth century[1]. Next, I wish to identify three critical issues and, for the bulk of the article, to delve sequentially into these. Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* raises several questions that are fundamentally relevant to the history of textual transmission, to the editing of ancient texts, and to reading them. While the evidence demands careful, micro-level examination and is particular to the *Tusculans*, implications are broader.

A thread connecting the three issues discussed below (§§ 1, 2, 3) is Ciceronian language that can be characterized as dynamic and open-ended. A goal of textual editing is to recover a stable, authoritative text. But a tension arises when we discover that, instead of stability, the speech of the edited work presents itself as dynamic, fluid, open. Cicero, in the *philosophica* and elsewhere, often treats his own speech as in-process – potential rather than definitive – and ongoing. There is evidence of a similar attitude towards Ciceronian speech in the transmission of the *Tusculans*: in the material embodiment of the text (§ 1), and in certain historical readers' engagement with it (§§ 2 and 3). What is demanded, therefore, are creative methods of textual editing able to treat Ciceronian speech not only as *product*, but also as *process*. The third sec-

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[1] For the transmission of the *Tusculans*, see Huelsenbeck (forthcoming); and the critical edition, in the series of Oxford Classical Texts, by Robert Kaster (forthcoming).

tion (§ 3), in addressing the subject of potential doublets in the *Tuscu-lans*, proposes how an editing that is sensitive to the dynamism of the text may, in part, be accomplished.

To start, some basic information about the ninth-century manu-scripts. These hold primacy of place because they are overall the best textual witnesses; and they supply the best information about the so-called prehistory of the *Tusculans* – that is, the material text before the ninth century[2].

G = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. lat. 294. Copied at Reims, saec. $IX^{3/4}$. Some of the same scribes who copied G are seen also in Mont-pellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 126 (*Minor Declamations*, *Excerpta* of the elder Seneca, Calpurnius Flaccus). The en-tire manuscript is online at the Handschriftendatenbank.

V = Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3246. Copied in Italy, saec. $IX^{2/3}$. Ninth-cent. correcting hand (**V²**) is perhaps French, ac-cording to Bernhard Bischoff. The entire manuscript is online at DigiVatLib.

R = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 6332. Copied perhaps near Paris, saec. $IX^{2/3}$. Also contains *Cato Maior de senectute*. The entire manuscript is online at Gallica.

K = Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 943. Perhaps copied at Soissons, saec. $IX^{3/3}$.

F = Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Laud. lat. 29. Copied in northern Italy, perhaps near Verona, saec. $IX^{2/3}$, containing *Tusc.* 5, 114-120[3]. See Figure 1.

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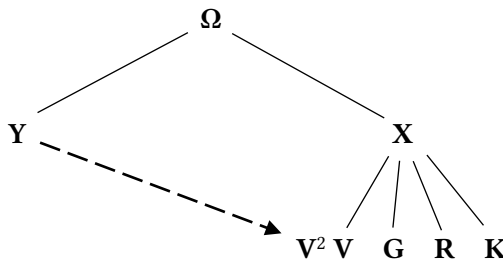
[2] Information on the origins and dates for these manuscripts can be found in Bischoff 1998-2017. For **F**, see Clark 1910, who has images of the recto and verso of the single leaf; and the Digital Bodleian, which has an image of the verso. Two Berlin manuscripts (Phillipp. 1817 and 1832) date to the ninth/tenth century, but contain only small portions of the *Tusculans*; see Marrou 2019, 143-148 and 163-165.

[3] Clark 1910.

The ninth-century witnesses **GVRK** are closely related and descend from a shared ancestor $\mathbf{X}$[4]. A fragment of a fifth manuscript (**F**), a single folio, is also related to the group, if not quite so closely. The fact that it is fragmentary makes securely placing **F** on a stemma difficult (but see below). Two hyparchetypes have been posited. One of these (**X**) is certain: comparison of **GVRK** gives a convincing picture what it was like. The nature of the other (**Y**) is far from clear. The main impetus to supposing the existence of **Y** has been corrections appearing in $\mathbf{V}$[5], entered there in the ninth century by $\mathbf{V^2}$. Many of the corrections are patently authentic. The corrector $\mathbf{V^2}$ had access to good transmitted readings, but his source or sources are unknown.

The following three characteristics of the transmitted text deserve special attention and elicit productive questions. The present article, in discussing these characteristics in turn, is organized into three sections.

§ 1. Textual organization. Scholars have observed that the ancestor of **GVRK** was laid out *per cola et commata* (by clauses and phrases). This kind of layout, more commonly associated with Latin manuscripts of the Bible, assists reading. Another aid to reading was the addition of labels. To keep sight of who says what, the two anonymous interlocutors of Cicero's dialogue were labeled with the Greek letters Δ and M. Who added these? What can these aids to reading reveal about the text's history?

§ 2. Corrections. As mentioned, an active corrector ($\mathbf{V^2}$) in one of the ninth-century manuscripts (**V**) presents readings not found in the other ninth-century witnesses. Besides corrections, $\mathbf{V^2}$ adds variants, notes, and interpolations. What are the source(s) and methods of $\mathbf{V^2}$?

§ 3. Doublets. Editors have suspected that certain passages of the *Tusculans* are redundant. The edition of Michelangelo Giusta (1984), currently the best critical edition, uses specially designed markings (half-brackets) to identify redundant passages as doublets. The question of doublets applies not only to the *Tusculans*, but also to other *philosophica*. Do these potential doublets stem from the author, or do they reflect the interventions of a reader? Is redundancy in fact a textual problem?

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[4] Giusta 1984, XXIV-XXIX argues that **GV** and **RK** do not descend directly from **X**, but from separate apographs of **X**.

[5] E. Ströbel 1890; Pohlenz 1912, on the page («die Überlieferung») facing p. 1; Pohlenz 1918, XVII-XIX. The primary voice of dissent has been Sven Lundström (1964, 1973, 1986). For a summary, see also Harmon 2003, n. 59.

1. *Textual organization*

The layout of the *Tusculans* is conspicuous and wins attention. The fact of the distinctive layout of **X**, which is best seen in **V** and **R**, is established by comparing all four witnesses **GVRK**. However, it is in **R** where the layout is most pronounced, careful, and consistent. **R**, then, seems most accurately to represent the layout of **X**[6]. Theodor Birt, in his seminal study *Antike Buchwesen*, reproduced sample passages from **R**[7]. Max Pohlenz featured a reproduction of the layout of **V** in the preface to his 1918 Teubner edition (X). More recently, Malcolm Parkes included an image of **R** in his history of punctuation in the West, *Pause and Effect* (1992)[8]. There he identifies the layout of **R** as *per cola et commata*, as others had done before him[9]. The point of reference for the label and method is Jerome's preface to *Isaiah*, where he describes an innovative layout adopted for his Latin translation, one familiar to him from manuscripts of Demosthenes and Cicero[10].

There are good reasons to doubt whether the label *per cola et commata* is indeed appropriate and accurate for the manuscripts of the *Tusculans*[11]. Important differences arise, if we compare **R** with manuscripts whose texts are certainly laid out *per cola et commata*, for example, the Gospels of St. Augustine (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 286; late sixth cent.) or the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Bibl. Laur. Cod. Amiat. 1; circa 700 AD). The most obvious difference is the fact that, in **R** and **V**, units of text as defined by spacing are sometimes too long. Occurrence of such long units is not an exception, but can be found throughout the *Tusculans*. Another consideration is a difference in spa-

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[6] Drexler 1964, 4: «Codicis X autem si imaginem tibi fingere uis, en habes opinor in codice R speculum fidele».

[7] Birt 1892, 220 reproduces passages from fols. 76v (*Cato de senectute*) and 2r (*Tusc.*). Dougan (Dougan-Henry 1934, XXVIII) remarks that **R** «is written *stichedon*».

[8] Plate 14 (fol. 81v; Cicero, *Cato Maior de senectute*), with description on facing p. 187.

[9] Graux 1878, 126-127; Pohlenz 1918, XI-XII; Pasquali 1952², 143; Gelsomino 1961, 191-192; Müller 1964, 28-33. And see J. G. Baiter, in J. C. Orelli's edition of Cicero, vol. IV, Zürich 1861, 207 (descriptions of Gudianus 294 and Paris 6332; about the latter, Baiter writes: «versiculis secundum enuntiationes et sententias distinctus»); Ströbel, 1890, 54-55.

[10] *Nemo cum Prophetas versibus viderit esse descriptos, metro eos aestimet apud Hebraeos ligari et aliquid simile habere de Psalmis vel operibus Salomonis; sed quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri, ut per cola scribantur et commata, qui utique prosa et non versibus conscripserunt, nos quoque utilitati legentium providentes interpretationem novam novo scribendi genere distinximus.*

[11] Birt 1892, 180 n. 1 rejects the idea that Paris 6332 (**R**) is arranged *per cola et commata*.

tial composition. In the Codex Amiatinus, each unit begins on a new line. And, until the start of the next new unit, the continuing text is indented beneath the leading line (*eisthesis*). In the *Tusculans*, by contrast, the left margins are straight: units of text are evenly aligned except that large initials, *litterae notabiliores*, are projected into the margins (*ekthesis*). These differences do not mean that the tradition of the *Tusculans* presents a punctuational anomaly. Better comparanda for the layout can be found elsewhere, for example, in two Gospel manuscripts: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 1395, in half-uncial; and, especially, Paris, BnF lat. 17225 (the Codex Corbeiensis II), in uncial[12]. Both are Italian manuscripts copied in the fifth century.

The above line of inquiry inevitability raises questions of lost manuscripts – their number and approximate dates. Several scholars agree that **X** was a manuscript not much older than its descendants **GVRK**[13]. They point to copying errors rooted in a misreading of minuscule script. The efforts of Michelangelo Giusta on these questions have been the most in-depth. He teases out several layers, both below and above **X**. He sees a hyparchetype for **GV** and another for **RK**. And he argues that, behind **X**, three separate layers are discernible: three manuscripts of different line-lengths, what he labels, in chronological sequence from older to more recent, A^1 (14-18 letters/line), A^2 (31-34), and A^3 (20-23)[14]. His conclusions rest on seeing erroneous verbal repetitions and transpositions of large blocks of text. Giusta's exploration of these questions is serious, and his theories should not be hastily dismissed. But the question is undeniably thorny. Certainty is out of reach. Meanwhile, it is possible to proceed more simply, to see into the material prehistory of the tradition by taking full account of what is before our eyes, namely, in the layout not only of **GVRK** but also **F**.

The striking layout of **X**, inappropriately labeled *per cola et commata*, is older than **X** itself and belongs to late antiquity. The idea is supported by comparable layouts of late-antique manuscripts, such as Paris, BnF lat. 17225 (Corbeiensis II). Confirmation comes from study of **F** (see Fig-

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[12] It contains the Old Latin Gospels. The manuscript is online at <u>Gallica</u>.

[13] Pohlenz 1918, XII; Drexler 1964, 1. But see Dougan-Henry 1934, XXVI: «The archetype of group a was an uncial ms belonging probably to the 7th or perhaps to the 6th century a.D.». Dougan's statement is in agreement with Pohlenz and Drexler when they talk about what is behind **X**.

[14] Giusta 1984, XLVI-LVII. In his earlier study (1969-1970, *I prearchetipi*, 99), Giusta states: A^1 (14-18 letters/line), A^2 (29-36), and A^3 (19-24).

ure 1), which further complements the picture of the layout of the *Tusculans* in a late-antique ancestor. Let us call it **Φ**. Whereas collation of the limited text of **F** leaves uncertainty about its relationship with **GVRK**, its layout is more definitive.
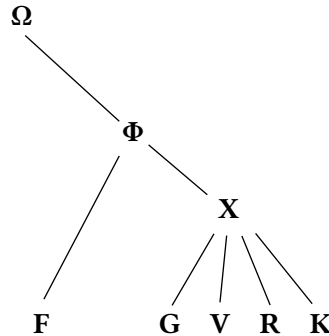
Most remarkable about **F** is its arrangement into three columns. This feature is uncommon. In the case of classical texts in particular, it is a sign of antiquity – a vestige of an earlier textual support, the book roll[15]. As for the punctuational layout of **F**, Drexler correctly perceived its consanguinity with that seen in **GVRK**[16]. The connection is easy to miss at a glance, since **F** does not present text in a way that, in the case of **V** and **R**, has led scholars to use the label *per cola et commata*. To be precise, the layout shared between **F** and **X** consists in: (1) straight left margins, with *litterae notabiliores* projected into the margin; and (2) division into paragraphs by means of the projected initials and blank space used at the ends of textual units. This was the layout of **Φ**.

Where **F** can be compared with **R** (*Tusc.* 5, 114-120), they often agree in their divisions, but not always. Columns of **F** that show greatest

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[15] Clark 1910, 169; Clark 1918, 163-164; Lowe 1925, 207 and 1928, 59. Other three-column manuscripts of late antiquity: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Class.35a (Livy); Paris, BnF lat. 7900A (*Major Declamations*); Milan, Ambrosiana, S.P. 11, 66 (previously R. 57 sup.) (Cicero, orations); Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro H. 25 (Cicero, orations); Stuttgart fragments (https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1648); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29270, 1 (fragment of Matthew; copied fifth cent., Italy; three columns, probably 17 lines; palimpsested; uncial script): https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/2151. There are medieval biblical manuscripts in three columns, *e.g.* the Codex Cavensis, the Codex Hubertianus (London, British Libr. MS Add. 24142), and the Codex Weingartensis (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB II 16); Houghton 2016, 189.

[16] Drexler 1961, 26-27 n. 1: «Übrigens hat jene Schreibung [sc. *per cola et commata*], und zwar im ganzen in Übereinstimmung mit X, auch das Oxforder Fragment F»; Drexler 1961-1964, 21; Drexler 1964, 7-8. Similarly, Giusta 1984, LVIII.

agreement with **R** are marked with *, while columns with greatest disagreement are marked with #.

> **Recto a**: 2 divisions in **F**, both in agreement with **R**, which has 5 divisions total.
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> #**Recto b**: 3 divisions in **F**, all in agreement with **R**, which has 9 divisions total.
>
> ***Recto c**: 6 divisions in **F**, all in agreement with **R**, which has 7 divisions total.
>
> ***Verso a**: 7 divisions in **F**, all in agreement with **R**, which has 8 divisions.
>
> #**Verso b**: 4 divisions in **F**, 3 of which are in agreement with **R**, which has 10 divisions.
>
> ***Verso c**: the same 5 divisions in **F** and **R**.

Since they descend from **Φ** by separate lines, it is not surprising that **F** and **R** sometimes disagree in their divisions, particularly in their number: more divisions were added to **X**. It is not only the divisional agreements, but also the method of layout that argue for the shared compositional ancestry of **X** and **F**.

Comparison of **F** with **GVRK**, then, allows us to conclude that **Φ** followed the method of punctuational layout described above, and it did so in three columns. These two organizational features (division into paragraphs and tricolumnar arrangement) merge in **F**, which reveals itself as more conservative than its ninth-century cousins.

From these conclusions a couple of observations follow. In describing the tradition of the *Tusculans*, the label *per cola et commata* should be avoided. It is incorrect. More than this, the label misleads, since it implies that the *Tusculans* has been put into the shape of scripture. It is more accurate to say that the layout of **Φ** is «traditional»: it follows methods of textual organization, and their implied practices of reading, that were in use in late antiquity, for example, in the fifth or sixth century. This, as we have seen so far (with supporting evidence to follow), is likely to be the approximate date of **Φ**.

Now, another observation that is important, even while its implications are not entirely clear. Cicero's dialogue, which of course is in prose, contains passages of poetry. A couple of these are quite long, while the majority are short. Remarkably, the layout of ninth-century **X** appears to «know» the difference: poetry is organized verse by verse, each marked by a majuscule initial and set on a single line (in **R**; in **V**,

verses often spill over into the next line), while prose is organized into paragraphs. This is particularly true for extended stretches of poetry, most notably *Tusc.* 2, 20-22 and 23-25 (also 2, 50). Here the layout has a different constitution and look, even though still in two columns. What most impresses is the subtlety of the distinction – knowledge of two different textual orders, even while the graphic methods used to define units of verse and paragraphs are identical (majuscule initials and spacing). In short swatches of verse, however, the layout is frequently insensitive to the presence of meter and simply treats verse as it does prose, namely, in paragraphs. This inconsistency should not lead to dismissal of the matter, particularly since the same phenomenon is found in the textual histories of other Ciceronian dialogues (*Cato Maior de senectute* and *De divinatione*). It is alerting us of something. Two kinds of layout are part of the *Tusculans*' textual history. Important considerations, then, are when approximately these two layouts entered the tradition, whether they did so together or separately, and how these layouts articulate with the format of the page.

Comparison of **R** and **V** makes clear that a distinction of layouts, prose vs poetry, resided in **X**[17]. It recognized verses, albeit inconsistently. Therefore, either the scribes of **X** created the layout of verses or they inherited and copied it. The latter is more likely, for reasons described here. **Φ**, unfortunately, is not helpful, since no poetry occurs in the portion of the *Tusculans* that it contains. The inconsistently applied, often faulty verse-layout, as seen in the ninth-century manuscripts, suggests that it has suffered through a process of transmission. The shorter quotations of verse, whose layout is frequently incorrect, were especially susceptible to assimilation to the surrounding prose-layout. If in fact the different layouts predate **X**, how did the poetic verses look in **Φ**? Its columns, each containing around 18 letters (23 maximum), are too narrow to accommodate a line-by-line presentation of the verses. Each verse would begin with an enlarged initial projected into the margin, as seen in **R**. But, then, the dimensions of the narrow column would force the verse to run over into the next line beneath it (as seen in **V**). This would have been problematic for transmission in that it renders prose and verse more easily confusable: both organizations, relying on large, outdented initials to signal division, can appear to fall into paragraphs. The

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[17] In **G** and **K**, divisions often correspond to those seen in **RV**, although **G** and **K** do not apply the same generous spacing of the latter pair.

potential for confusion increases over time, since, as already observed, more paragraphs were added to **X** than were originally in its ancestry. We have, then, two organizations running different courses. One (verses) needs to be preserved, while the other (prose in paragraphs) is evolving and undergoing updates. As the nontypical element within a work of prose, I suspect that the poetic sections were distinguished through spacing early on, probably in antiquity. Later, in late antiquity, came the more widespread shaping of prose into paragraphs. By way of comparison, such a distinction – two organizations running different evolutionary courses – can be seen in ninth-century manuscripts of the prosimetric *philosophiae consolatio* of Boethius[18]. The line-by-line layout of verses, often in columns, is old and conservative, as confirmed by the fact that their script is Rustic Capitals, while the surrounding prose is in long lines, its script is Caroline, and its punctuation «modernized».

The fact that this same phenomenon of two textual organizations is found in other Ciceronian dialogues (*De senectute* and *De divinatione*) also deserves some attention. In **R**, it will be remembered, the *Tusculans* is followed by *De senectute*, where is found the same layout into paragraphs that has been erroneously called *per cola et commata*. (The latter dialogue has a further organizational device in that subsections are marked by initial lines written entirely in uncial.) Evidence of there being two textual orders in the layout of *De senectute*, one for prose and one for verse, consists in accurate use of verse-layout, in §§ 10, 14, 16, possibly 20 (single verse), possibly 24 (single verse), and 73. Incorrect instances are at §§ 1, 20 (two verses), 25 (bis), and 61. Even more remarkable is how the evidence of two textual layouts arises in a dialogue of the Leiden corpus, *De divinatione*. This happens twice (1, 13-29 and 40-44). In two of the primary manuscript witnesses, **A** (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Lat. F 84, fols. 38r-39v and 41r-41v) and **V** (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 189, fols. 43r-45v and 47v-48r), an abrupt compositional change occurs precisely where *De divinatione* shows long stretches of verse[19]. In **A**, a prose layout of long-lines suddenly turns into two columns. Majuscule initials signal the beginning of each verse. Vienna 189, on the other hand, has a two-column layout

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[18] See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7181 (accessible on Gallica), and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18765 (accessible on MDZ).

[19] Gelsomino 1961 interprets the change in **A** and **V**, appearing at *div.* 1, 13-29, as exposing an earlier layout *per cola et commata*, and proceeds to do a colometric analysis. See Müller 1964, 31-33.

throughout; still, the change is obvious in the novel appearance of majuscule initials projected into the margin. In both the Leiden and Vienna manuscripts, a distinction between prose and poetry is evident in the fact that poetry is defined verse by verse, while prose falls into paragraphs, just as we see in the ancestry of the *Tusculans*.

It is no accident that the surprise change of layout in the Leiden and Vienna manuscripts happens where *De divinatione* has extended passages of poetry. It is the prevalence of verse over prose in these sections that has occasioned the retention of a different layout – one sensitive to verse. An earlier, two-column layout has been exposed. In all this there is, it seems, a clue – a view into the workings of historical process. Suppose a text containing a combination of prose and poetry: if the layout is in columns and it is sensitive to verse as distinct from prose, then the kind of subtle graphic distinction between prose and poetry that is here being discussed is readily the outcome. The columnar arrangement and the tendency to mark divisions within prose (paragraphing) cause the two different layouts to approach and resemble each other. The subtlety is a function of the other factors (prosimetric work, columns, sensitivity to verse, paragraphing of prose), and it is fragile. It tends towards homogeneity and loss. Dialogue, too, is a further contributing factor. Passages where there is close exchange between interlocutors, such as happens in the beginnings of each book of the *Tusculans*, encourage the addition of more paragraphs. Take all these factors together and made possible is the magical, attention-grabbing layout preserved in **R**[20].

The use of space is relevant also for considering how the two interlocutors of the dialogue were distinguished in **X** and before. It can be made out that, in **X**, Greek letters M and Δ marked the two speakers. Pohlenz drew attention to an exact parallel in the work of Junillus Africanus, a sixth-century legal minister to Justinian I and author of a work of biblical interpretation in dialogue: the *instituta regularia divinae legis* (*Handbook of the Basic Principles of Divine Law*). In the preface, Junillus explains that Greek Δ is applied for Latin *discipulus*, and M for *magis-*

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[20] Some questions follow: how «magical» in fact is this subtle distinction of layout that is the result of several factors coming together, as described above? Is it significant that, where the combination is found elsewhere, it happens to be in other *philosophica* of Cicero? There may well be non-Ciceronian parallels, although I am not aware of any. Do the parallel layouts suggest a transmissional connection between these works? Cf. the comments of Bailo-Malaspina 2022, 470 about the treatises of the Leiden corpus as separate and independent members coming together at a point in time.

ter[21]. Evidence from **GVK** (**R** omits the Greek letters) shows that M and Δ appeared in **X**; however, their appearance there was inconsistent. Consequently, Pohlenz speculates that originally (in the «archetype», he says) it was spacing that was used to signal different speakers[22]. Reconstruction of **X** does indeed suggest that spacing distinguished the interlocutors. Probably this was true also of **Φ**. But we cannot be certain, since there is no dialogic exchange where **F** is available. It should not be assumed that spacing must predate the use of Greek letters as *indicia personarum*. Their inconsistent appearance in **X** could be the result, not of inconsistent application, but of imperfect preservation. We should keep in mind that the use of Greek letters to mark speakers is older than the sixth century. For example, the famous Codex Bembinus (Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica, MS Vat. lat. 3226), containing plays of Terence, is an instance of a late-antique manuscript (fourth/fifth cent.) that uses Greek letters to differentiate speakers; spacing is not relied upon for this, even though space is used to define verse-boundaries.

If we quickly review the evidence canvassed here, then, the following can be concluded. The method of paragraphing in **Φ** points to late antiquity (cf. Paris, BnF lat. 17225, fifth cent.). The use of Greek letters Δ and M, as *indicia personarum*, can be traced back to the sixth century (cf. Junillus Africanus). Junillus' treatise was known to another sixth-century author, Cassiodorus (*inst.* 1, 10, 1), who recommended the work. Although it is possible to speculate, we cannot see earlier than late antiquity on these questions. These features were together in a sixth-century manuscript of the *Tusculans*: columnar layout; paragraphing by *ekthesis*, *litterae notabiliores*, and spacing; poetry graphically defined verse by verse, not everywhere but in extended passages; and *indicia personarum*, which may or may not have been consistently applied. This sixth-century manuscript I understand to be **Φ**.

These material features, which came together in a particular manuscript, touch not only on issues of transmission. In the textual forms are traces of interpretation and use. I briefly note here some readerly inter-

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[21] *Et ne aliqua confusio per antiquariorum, ut adsolet, neglegentiam proveniret, magistro* M *Graecam litteram, discipulis* Δ *praeposui, ut ex peregrinis characteribus et quibus Latina scriptura non utitur, error omnis penitus auferatur.* See Maas 2003 for the historical context of Junillus' work, an edition, and English translation.

[22] Pohlenz 1911, 628: «Danach hat man anzunehmen, dass das Archetypon unserer Handschriften diese Zeichen nicht gekannt und den Personenwechsel nur durch Absetzen der Zeile oder Freilassen von Raum angedeutet hat».

ests and advantages that are revealed in the shape and graphics of the
text of **Φ**. These observations, which could seem obvious, are important
to bear in mind as the discussion, in § 2 (corrections) and § 3 (doublets),
delves into questions of intensive engagements with the text by past
readers. The connection between form and interpretation, where the
former complements and conditions the latter, warrants emphasis. In **Φ**,
the language of the dialogue is not treated uniformly, but is seen to be
constituted of different kinds: paragraphing breaks up the linguistic flow
and groups it into meaningful blocks; interlocutors are distinguished;
verse is marked as different from prose. Multiple columns and the use of
space for paragraphing mean, simply, more «openings»: places for read-
erly involvement. A text that is open and articulated in the several ways
described here more readily affords points of entry: possibilities for vari-
ants, notes, intrusions, and interpolations.

2. *Corrector V²*

The objective now is not to debate whether, among the readings of-
fered by **V²**, there occur transmitted and authentic readings that were
not in **X**. This I accept as demonstrated, particularly by Pohlenz, Drexler,
and Giusta[23]. (Among the most compelling evidence are those passages
where the text supplied by **V²** reveals an error of haplography)[24]. My at-
tention centers, rather, on the nature of **V²**'s corrections – their sources,
methods, and motives. Drexler, who diligently studied both the correc-
tions applied to **V** and their script (1961), has done the most to advance
our understanding of **V²**. He concluded that the ninth-century correc-
tions seen in **V** were entered there by a single hand[25], and that this cor-
rector worked through **V** at multiple passes[26]. He further argued that
there are historical layers lurking within **V²**'s contributions: some of
these originate in the ninth century, but others derive from a perceptive
reader or readers who lived centuries earlier[27]. A *caveat* follows. The sig-

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[23] See Giusta 1984, LVIII-LIX, citing *Tusc.* 1, 3; 1, 4; 1, 5; 1, 7; 1, 12; 1, 14; 1, 31; 1, 84; 1, 88; 1, 98; 1, 106; 3, 2; 3, 41; 3, 46.

[24] *E.g.*, 3, 41 and 3, 52.

[25] Drexler 1961, 14, 21; 1961-1964, 21; 1965, 70.

[26] Drexler 1961, 19 n. 1 and 26; 1961-1964, 21-22. Giusta 1991, 4 believes **V²** is more than one hand.

[27] Drexler 1961, 28, 29, 36, 58-64.

lum **V²** refers to the *hand* of a ninth-century corrector. This corrector is sometimes the author of the corrections; in other cases, the same siglum **V²** can represent corrections and annotations from earlier eras. **V²** contains multitudes. The siglum refers both to a ninth-century corrector and a tradition.

For a modern critic who considers the interventions of **V²**, it is easy to adopt an evaluative procedure that sorts according to binary categories: counterfeit vs authentic, invented vs found, where counterfeit/invented and found/authentic tend to be correlated. There is evidence, however, for another kind of correction practiced by **V²** that lies aslant this binary evaluation – one that has received less attention, in the case of **V²**, and that fosters a more complex understanding of **V²**'s interests and methods. Underlying many of **V²**'s corrections is what might be called an «internal» method. Corrections do not stem from an outside resource, but are made by drawing on similar language found in other passages. Success of the procedure varies. The method certainly appears in other traditions and, I suspect, is widespread[28]. A related method is when a correction is applied systematically by a kind of policy (*e.g.*, orthographical corrections). The two methods easily overlap. For instance, a corrector may learn to change language in one passage based on language in another; the learned correction is then systematically applied.

Below (List A) I list textual changes applied by **V²** that, most likely, are products of an internal method, with the inclusion of instances of systematic correction. (Always available, although it will not everywhere be true, is the alternative explanation that **V²** found the reading in another manuscript.) The view that an internal method is operative here is based on: first, opportunity of textual comparison, since similar language could be found in the *Tusculans* and, in most of these cases, was spatially very close; and, second, the fact that this is a known method practiced by correctors.

List A. Internal method of correction
1, 12, M. Crassum] **V²**   Crassum **X**. *Cf.* 1, 13 Miser est M. Crassus.
1, 14, concedo non esse miseros qui] concedo <u>eos</u> non esse [...] **V²**. *Cf.* 1, 13, quasi ego dicam <u>eos</u> miseros qui.

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[28] For a ninth-century corrector at work in the traditions of Curtius Rufus and Pomponius Mela, see Huelsenbeck 2021, 134 (systematic corrections) and 148-149 (internal methodology).

1, 37, animos [...] per se ipsos vigentis] **V²**   viventis **X**. *Cf.* 1, 104 sive occide-
rit animus sive vigeat.

1, 38, nulli alii docti <u>viderentur</u>] **X**   putarentur **V²** [*Systematic. Drexler
compares* 1, 60 iurarem] putarem **V²**. *Cf. also* 1, 4 excultus doctrina
putabatur].

1, 39, Platonem [...] <u>rationem</u> etiam attulisse] **X**   Platonem [...] <u>rationes</u>
etiam attulisse **V²**. *Cf.* 1, 49 Plato [...] tot autem <u>rationes</u> attulit.

1, 40, rursum] rursus **V²**. [*Systematic. Cf.* 1, 45 rursum] rursus **V²**].

1, 46, neque est enim ullus sensus] neque enim est **V²**. *Cf.* 4, 50 Neque enim
est ulla fortitudo.

1, 108, <u>Condiunt</u> Aegyptii mortuos et eos servant domi; Persae etiam cera
circumlitos <u>condunt</u>] condiunt [...] condiunt **V²** [*The internal method
leads to an error*].

2, 39, alliga] vel obliga **V²**. *Cf.* 2, 38 obligetur.

3, 35, Nam <u>revocatio</u> illa quam adfert, cum a contuendis nos malis <u>avocat</u>,
nulla est] Nam <u>avocatio</u> **V²**

3, 51, non <u>apud</u> exercitum neque <u>ad</u> censores dicere audeant] non apud [...]
apud **V²**

3, 73, cum ad eos impetum suum <u>fortuna</u> converterit] **V²** fortuna *om.* **X**. *Cf.*
3, 71 cum <u>fortuna</u> mutata impetum convertat.

5, 17, i qui nihil metuant, nihil angantur, nihil concupiscant, nulla impo-
tenti laetitia <u>ecferantur</u>, beati sint] **V²**   ecferant **X**   *Cf.* 5, 17 (*six lines
earlier*) si nihil concupiscat, nulla <u>ecferatur</u> animi inani voluptate, quid
est cur is non beatus sit?; 4, 12 laetitia ut adepta iam aliquid concupi-
tum <u>ecferatur</u> et gestiat.

5, 27, Zeno] **V²**   Zenon **X**. *Cf.* 2, 29; 2, 52; 3, 38; 5, 34; 5, 107.

While the list illustrates the workings of an internal method whose basis
is comparison, also appearing here are hints that within the method is a
great complexity and knowledge. Notice 1, 46. The slight change of word
order brings the passage into close parallel with a sentence at *Tusc.* 4, 50.
However, the two passages are spatially remote from each other. The
order *neque est enim* is rare in Latin of any period, whereas *neque enim
est* is Ciceronian and common[29]. It is possible, then, that 1, 46 was
changed by **V²** based on a comparison not with 4, 50, but with Ciceroni-
an or Latin usage more generally – beyond the *Tusculans*. This is not an
isolated case.

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[29] In ancient Latin texts, *neque est enim* is found elsewhere only at *De oratore* 2, 190
(the manuscripts disagree).

There are in fact a number of passages where **V²**'s contributions suggest a reader able to draw on other Ciceronian works while correcting and annotating the *Tusculans*. The possibility, which was raised by Pohlenz and Drexler, deserves greater attention. Below (List B) is a collection of passages that reveal an early annotator whose reading of the *Tusculans* is informed by knowledge of Ciceronian language elsewhere. For some of the passages, this is a general awareness of Ciceronian usage (1, 5; 1, 105; 4, 5; 5, 22). In the other instances gathered here, the connections are more exact and point to specific Ciceronian works, especially the *philosophica*.

> **List B**. Ciceronian reminiscences
> **1, 5**, qui is aetate anteibat] qui hos aetate anteibat **V²** [*Both constructions are Ciceronian*].
> **1, 31**, maxumum vero argumentum est] vel <u>maxumo vero argumento est</u> **V²** [*The phrase, in this construction (predicative dative), appears in classical Latin in only four passages: div. 1, 119; fin. 2, 29; S. Rosc. 75; Livy 26, 31, 6*][30]. Cf. *div.* 1, 119, *quod ne dubitare possimus,* <u>*maximo est argumento*</u>, *quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit*; *fin.* 2, 29, *hoc vero non videre,* <u>*maximo argumento esse*</u> *voluptatem illam, qua sublata neget se intellegere omnino quid sit bonum.*
> **1, 37**, νεκυομαντεῖα] Drexler nepsyomantia **G** NEPCYO mantia **RK** psicho mantia **V²** ψυχομαντεῖα Giusta
> Pohlenz compares *div.* 1, 132, *ne* <u>*psychomantia*</u> *quidem, quibus Appius, amicus tuus, uti solebat, agnoscere*[31].
> **1, 39**, Platonem ferunt, ut Pythagoreos cognosceret, in Italiam venisse ‿ et didicisse Pythagorea omnia primumque de animorum aeternitate non solum sensisse idem quod Pythagoram, sed rationem etiam attulisse] ‿ et in ea cum alios multos tum Architam Tymaeumque cognovit **V²** *in margine superiore.*
> Pohlenz compares *fin.* 5, 87, *cur Plato Aegyptum peragravit* [...]*? cur post Tarentum ad* <u>*Archytam*</u>*? cur ad reliquos Pythagoreos, Echecratem,* <u>*Timaeum*</u>, *Arionem, Locros* [...]*?* Better perhaps is *rep.* 1, 16, *sed audisse te credo, Tubero, Platonem Socrate mortuo primum in Aegyptum discendi causa, post in Italiam et in Siciliam contendisse, ut Pythagorae inventa perdisceret, eumque et cum* <u>*Archyta*</u> *Tarentino et cum* <u>*Timaeo*</u> *Locro multum fuisse*[32].

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[30] Boethius, *in categ. comm.* 162, *Illud quoque* <u>*maximo argumento*</u> *est Aristotelem non de rebus sed de sermonibus res significantibus speculari, quod ait.*

[31] Drexler (1964) compares 1, 115. But there **V**, along with **GRK**, has *sichomantium*.

[32] Cf. Jerome, *adv. Rufin.* 3, 40, *nam post Academiam et innumerabiles discipulos, sentiens multum suae deesse doctrinae, venit ad Magnam Graeciam ibique ab Archyta*

1, 65, Quid porro inventio? Profecto id quo ne in deo quidem quicquam maius intellegi potest] quidem **V²**   *om.* **X** [*The same topic is found in other Ciceronian works: the mind is divine*].

Cf. *nat. deor.* 2, 147, *ex quo scientia intellegitur quam vim habeat qualis<que> sit, qua ne in deo quidem est res ulla praestantior.*

1, 91, Itaque non deterret sapientem mors, quae propter incertos casus cotidie imminet] vel impendet **V²** [*Same topic: death should not be feared*].

Cf. *fin.* 1, 60, *Accedit etiam mors, quae quasi saxum Tantalo semper impendet*; *Tusc.* 5, 15, *Quis enim potest mortem aut dolorem metuens, quorum alterum saepe adest, alterum semper inpendet, esse non miser?*; *Tusc.* 5, 62, *satisne videtur declarasse Dionysius nihil esse ei beatum, cui semper aliqui terror impendeat?*

1, 105, hic ulciscitur] hic se ulciscitur **V²** [*Consistent with Ciceronian usage*][33].

1, 114, Trophonius et Agamedes [...] venerantes deum petiverunt mercedem] quasi mercedem **V²** [quasi mercedem *invokes Ciceronian passages on the topic: virtue is its own reward*].

Cf. *Luc.* 140, *nam quae voluptate quasi mercede aliqua ad officium inpellitur, ea non est virtus sed fallax imitatio simulatioque virtutis*; *fin.* 2, 73, *omnibusque ex rebus voluptatem quasi mercedem exigit*; *off.* 1, 65, *vix invenitur qui laboribus susceptis periculisque aditis non quasi mercedem rerum gestarum desideret gloriam.*

2, 44, audiamus] verum audiamus **V²** Giusta

Cf. *fin.* 4, 72, *verum audiamus*. The exact phrase, with *verum* as conjunction, appears only here.

2, 46, pueri ferunt gloria ducti] pueri ferunt Graeculi ferunt barbari ferunt gloriola ducti **V²** [*Same topic: anything can be endured for honor*].

For **V²**'s *Graeculi ferunt barbari ferunt*, cf. earlier in the same passage (2, 46), *cum pueros Lacedaemone, adulescentis Olympiae, barbaros in harena videris excipientis gravissimas plagas et ferentis silentio*; *Tusc.* 2, 41, *Gladiatores, aut perditi homines aut barbari, quas plagas perferunt!*; *fin.* 5, 48; 5, 61.

For *gloriola*, cf. Cic. *fam.* 5, 12, 9; 7, 5, 3. *Gloriola* appears nowhere else in classical Latin.

4, 4, Quamquam id quidem etiam duodecim tabulae declarant, condi iam tum solitum esse carmen; quod ne liceret fieri ad alterius iniuriam, lege sanxerunt] vel infamiam **V²** [*Same topic: the Twelve Tables condemned defamation in song*].

Tarentino et Timaeo Locrensi Pythagorae doctrinae eruditus, elegantiam et leporem Socratis cum huius miscuit disciplinis, quae omnia, nomine commutato, Origenes in libros suos Περὶ Ἀρχῶν *transtulisse convincitur.*

[33] Drexler, 1961, 45: «ciceronianisch».

Cf. *rep.* 4, 12 (Aug. *civ.* 2, 9), *nostrae contra XII Tabulae, cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in eis hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod* infamiam *faceret flagitiumve alteri.*

4, 5, facile ut appareat nostros omnia consequi potuisse, simul ut velle coepissent] vel et **V²** (= simul et) [*Ciceronian usage. Simul ut and simul et, as equivalent to* simul ac, *are rare; cf. fin.* 2, 33; 5, 24, simul et *ortum est*].

5, 12, Nam etiam in tormentis recte honeste laudabiliter et ob eam rem bene vivi potest] vel tolerabiliter **V²** [*Same topic: Virtue makes the* beata vita *possible even under torture*].

Cf. *Tusc.* 2, 61-62 (Posidonius resists pain), *«nihil agis, dolor! quamvis sis molestus, numquam te esse confitebor malum». Omninoque omnes clari et nobilitati labores continuo fiunt etiam* tolerabiles; *Tusc.* 5, 17, *quodsi est qui vim fortunae, qui omnia humana, quae cuique accidere possunt,* tolerabilia *ducat* [...] *cur is non beatus sit?*; *fin.* 3, 42, *eorum autem qui dolorem in malis non habent ratio certe cogit ut in omnibus tormentis conservetur beata vita sapienti. etenim si dolores eosdem* tolerabilius *patiuntur qui excipiunt eos pro patria quam qui leviore de causa.*

5, 22, item beatam vitam, etiamsi ex aliqua parte clauderet, tamen ex multo maiore parte optinere nomen suum] claudicaret **V²** [*Both verbs are consistent with Ciceronian usage*].

Cf. *fin.* 1, 69, *si amicitiam propter nostram voluptatem expetendam putemus, tota amicitia quasi* claudicare *videatur*; *off.* 1, 119, *ut constare* [...] *possimus nobismet ipsis nec in ullo officio* claudicare; *Brut.* 227, *cum vitio vocis tum etiam ineptiis* claudicabat.

As reminiscences of other Ciceronian works, Pohlenz and Drexler call attention to **V²**'s interventions at 1, 37 (*div.* 1, 132), 1, 39 (*fin.* 5, 87), and 4, 4 (*rep.* 4, 12)[34]. Drexler adds the possibility of 1, 5 (*Brut.* 95 f. and 333): there, in a list of Roman orators (*Galbam Africanum Laelium* [...] *Catonem* [...] *Lepidum* Carbonem *Gracchos*), **V²** supplies *Carbonem* where **GRK** mistakenly repeat *Catonem*. Since **V²** can turn up authentically Ciceronian text for the *Tusculans* where it is corrupted or absent in other witnesses, it is difficult to distinguish between original text that **V²** has found versus an annotator's extra-traditional corrections or notes (*e.g.*, at 1, 37 Giusta accepts **V²**'s correction; likewise 2, 44). The sources of **V²**'s corrections at 1, 5 (*Catonem*) and 1, 37 (*psichomantia*) are ambiguous: were these found or did an internal method produce them? Also ambig-

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[34] On 1, 39, Drexler 1961, 26-27: «ein gelehrter Korrektor vorläufig unbestimmter, aber sehr viel älterer Zeit erinnerte sich der Stelle aus de finibus und schrieb nach ihr seine Bemerkung an den Rand». On 4, 4, Drexler 1961, 60.

uous is **V²**'s correction at 1, 65, whose origin could be purely syntactical rather than thematic. But in the cases of 1, 39 and 4, 4, a link with other Ciceronian works appears inescapable.

At 1, 39, the topic is Plato's travels to Italy to learn Pythagorean lore. The passage calls to mind, for our early annotator, one or two other passages where Cicero recounts the same story, in *De finibus* (5, 87) and *De re publica* (1, 16). These passages complement *Tusculans* 1, 39, since they provide names of Pythagoreans whom Plato came to know in Italy (*et in ea cum alios multos tum Architam Tymaeumque cognovit*). The annotation draws the three passages together, like to like.

4, 4 makes reference to the Twelve Tables and their condemnation of defamation by song. The subject is, again, the teachings of Pythagoras and how these were imparted by song. Our annotator knows to connect this passage with a parallel passage in *De re publica* 4, 12, where the Twelve Tables are quoted. (Augustine's quotation of the passage may have been the source.) The annotation appears slight, a single word: in one place Cicero wrote *iniuriam* (4, 4), in another *infamiam* (*rep.* 4, 12). But contained in the note is a full equipment: access, smarts, and a reading strategy.

While 1, 39 and 4, 4 show an annotator who compared passages of the *Tusculans* with other Ciceronian works and did so on the basis of language, we can also understand the comparison as based on similarity of topic: Plato's travels to Magna Graecia, in the first instance, and the Twelve Tables, in the second. And, in fact, both of these cases of reminiscence cited by Pohlenz and Drexler fall under the broader topic of Pythagoras.

Some other passages in the list (1, 91; 1, 114; 2, 46; 5, 12) support this possibility: an internal method whose interest is not solely linguistic, but also topical. Why might this be important? Examination of an annotator's work on these passages yields further clues as to date, resources, and interests. And it sets us on the trail of recovering an historical practice of reading – a particular kind of engagement with Cicero's work that may lie outside of modern assumptions (more on this below).

At 1, 91, above *imminet*, **V²** adds *vel impendet*. Why? The reader is attuned to the topic of the passage: the fear of death, and the sage person's immunity from it. Elsewhere, when Cicero expands on this topic (*Tusc.* 5, 15; 5, 62; *fin.* 1, 60), he uses the verb *impendere*: such is the import of the note. It cannot be determined whether the comparison is with other pas-

sages of the *Tusculans* or with *De finibus*, or with all of them. The imagery of *Tusc.* 5, 62 and *fin.* 1, 60 is especially memorable: the hanging sword menacing Damocles, and the hanging rock threatening Tantalus. In each, the verb is integral to the image.

For 1, 114, the sentence in question occurs in the peroration to Book 1. The topic here, as throughout Book 1 (1, 9, *malum mihi videtur mors*), is «death is not an evil». Cicero supplies a series of *exempla* illustrating how the gods have rewarded virtuous persons with death. First, the famous story of Cleobis and Biton. Next is the *exemplum* of 1, 114: Trophonius and Agamedes built the temple to Apollo at Delphi. Their prayer for a reward (*merces*) – nothing trifling, but whatever is best for humans – was answered with death. **V²** adjusts *mercedem* to *quasi mercedem*. The change reveals the annotator's interpretation. Occurrence of the combination of *quasi* and *merces* is limited. The phrase appears in an entry found in a collection of *differentiae*[35], in the Digest of Justinian[36], and in three passages of Cicero's *philosophica*. Church fathers (Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome) sometimes use the phrase. But in the three Ciceronian passages, the topic is the same: virtue is its own reward[37]. **V²**'s addition of *quasi* draws together the passage of the *Tusculans* with Cicero's recurrent explorations of the topic elsewhere.

The subject of debate in Book 2 is pain, and whether it is the greatest evil, as the student interlocutor proposes (2, 14, *Dolorem existimo maxumum malorum omnium*). At 2, 46, Cicero brings on *Virtus* herself to speak: Spartan children are able to endure pain, also barbarians in the arena; all the more so should we. The passage elicited a note from an annotator, transmitted by **V²** in the bottom margin: *graeculi ferunt barbari ferunt*. Despite its brevity, the note displays sensitivities both topical and linguistic. It is in full resonance with the Ciceronian context. The annotation serves as topical identifier. Here is a line of argument that is ongoing (language similar to the annotation is found just before, at 2, 41); and the topic is recurrent in other Ciceronian works (*fin.* 5, 48; 5, 61): an *a fortiori* argument that cites *exempla* to illustrate the endurance of pain for the sake of honor. Besides the marginal note, **V²** further intervenes by changing *gloria* to the diminutive *gloriola*. The form is Cice-

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[35] *GL* 7, 519-532 (*Inter ultionem et vindictam*), at 529, 26-27, *Decus et gloriam. Decus est instrumentum cuiusque, gloria quasi honoris merces.*

[36] 19, 2, 25, 1; 47, 8, 2, 24.

[37] And see *fin.* 5, 61-69 where this topic appears, with many *exempla* and uses of *quasi*.

ronian and rare in classical texts. Probably the annotator did not cull the word from Cicero's epistles[38]. The diminutives in the note (*Graeculi, gloriola*) are a sympathetic extension to Cicero's presentation of the argument, particularly its *a fortiori* aspect. Even children are willing to suffer pain. And just above (2, 45), Cicero refers to Epicurus' endurance of pain with the rare diminutive *forticulus.*

At 5, 12, Cicero touches on the recurrent topic of whether the happy life, the *vita beata*, can take place in the context of bodily suffering, including torture: «Even under torture it is possible to live rightly, honorably, admirably and therefore to live well». For *laudabiliter*, V^2 suggests that *tolerabiliter* is another valid term. On what basis? The note, again, connects the present passage with other Ciceronian passages (*Tusc.* 2, 61-62; 5, 17; *fin.* 3, 42) on the same topic: virtuous or honorable action makes pain tolerable. More generally, the topic of this passage (5, 12) is clearly related to the topic of 2, 46, just commented on. Both concern one of the four cardinal *virtutes*, namely *fortitudo*, and the endurance of pain (see *e.g.*, in a discussion of *fortitudo, fin.* 1, 49, *si tolerabiles* [sc. *dolores*] *sint, feramus*).

Some passages of List B (1, 31; 2, 44; 4, 5; 5, 22), while manifesting an interest in language, show the annotator rooting around in those Ciceronian *philosophica* where he also shows topical interests. Taken together, these engagements with the *Tusculans* and other Ciceronian works point to a much earlier, pre-Carolingian layer among the materials transmitted by V^2[39]. Drexler's argument for an early layer among V^2's work rests on seeing a stark contrast between learned corrections and notes versus other interferences that are inexpert. Skill narrows the field. Add to this limitation the question of access. The early corrector betrays both readerly sophistication and knowledge of several of Cicero's dialogues. Possibilities are *De re publica, Brutus, De finibus, De natura deorum, De divinatione*, and *De officiis.* It is *De finibus* that presents itself most consistently.

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[38] *Gloriola* appears elsewhere at: Ausonius, *prof. Burd.* 10, 51; Jerome, *epist.* 58, 6; 105, 2; 108, 15; *adv. Rufin.* 1, 20; Paulinus of Pella, *praef.* 1. For discovery of the diminutive on one's own, see *e.g.* John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, «*Sic transit Gloriola* (is there such a latin Word?) *mundi*». In response, Jefferson cites Cic. *fam.* 5, 12. For the letters, see Cappon 1959, 574-576.

[39] Drexler 1961, 36: «So steht denn also schon jetzt das Ergebnis dieses Kapitels fest: V^c kann Korrektur eines weder sehr einsichtigen noch sehr sprachkundigen Korrektors des IX. Jahrhunderts, oder die richtige oder falsche Korrektur eines sehr viel klügeren und gelehrteren Mannes älterer Zeit, vielleicht verschiedener Männer verschiedener Zeiten, schliesslich echte handschriftliche Überlieferung sein».

An exact date for an early layer of annotations is impossible. But, given the parameters, Boethius (c. 480 – c. 525 AD) should be among the prime suspects. He belongs to the same period as the lost, late-antique manuscript **Φ** – that layer of the tradition where (as discussed above) conspicuous material features came together, namely, the layout and the marking of interlocutors[40]. These features support reading and close engagement with the text. He possesses the necessary skill and access. And, undeniably, he is an invested reader of Cicero's dialogues[41]. In his *Consolatio*, while drawing on many works of Cicero and others, Boethius is deeply indebted both structurally and substantively to the *Tusculans*. He quotes at length from the dialogue in his commentary on Cicero's *Topica*[42]. And in an important passage (*Tusc.* 2, 4), **V²** supplies an alternate reading that agrees in error with Boethius against **X**[43]. However, what exactly is revealed by this agreement is, again, ambiguous. **V²** similarly has agreements with the fourth-century lexicographer Nonius Marcellus against the other manuscripts[44]. Whereas the agreement at 2, 4 could mean that the annotation was authored by Boethius himself, it certainly reflects what is clear about **V²**'s additional manuscript **Y**: it carried extra material deriving from various times and sources. An efficient explanation for the diverse material that **V²** offers is to suppose that, apart from his own brain, he had one main external source **Y** that served as a collecting point – a container of a variety of corrections, variants, and notes. These accumulated over time and were passed down. It is easy to believe that **V²**, in fact, is not giving us all that was available in **Y**. In a typical pattern, his efforts are strongest in Book 1, then weaken thereafter, particularly after Book 3[45].

Besides offering clues as to date, the corrections, variants, and annotations of List B indicate some of our reader's interests and methods. A quick review of these. The annotations draw together like to like. They

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[40] Pohlenz 1918, XVII tentatively suggests the sixth century («Mavortii saeculo»).

[41] Ludwig Bieler's edition (1984²) of the *Philosophiae consolatio* cites potential sources. See also Alfonsi 1945; Courcelle 1967; Gruber 2006.

[42] Boethius, *In Ciceronis topica* 372, 31-41 (Orelli-Baiter) quotes *Tusc.* 2, 4-5; ibid., 391, 7-13 and 18-24 (Orelli-Baiter) quotes *Tusc.* 1, 57-58.

[43] *Tusc.* 2, 4, *in ipsa enim Graecia philosophia tanto in honore numquam fuisset, nisi doctissimorum contentionibus dissensionibusque viguisset*] *vel crevisset* **V²** Boethius. In the same passage (2, 5), **V²** changes *praeferant* **X** to *transferant* (Boethius).

[44] 1, 42 *ex quibus*] *vel unde*; 3, 14 *fidens*] *confidens*; 3, 42 *viam*] *vim*; 3, 43 *accipenserem*] *vel accipienserem*. See Giusta 1984, LVIII.

[45] Drexler 1961, 25.

see Cicero returning to topics within and across dialogues: Pythagoras, fear of impending death, virtue as its own reward, and endurance of pain and the *vita beata*[46]. Further, the annotations (complementary information on Plato's travels; a summarizing note, using Ciceronian diminutives, about suffering for honor) add to and adapt Ciceronian speech. Implicit in the annotator's interests and methods is an orientation toward Cicero's language. It is treated as open-ended, not fixed but provisional and adaptable. One is free to engage with it, participate, and build on it. The annotator appears to know instinctively a couple of things about Ciceronian speech that are often undervalued, misunderstood, or dismissed in modern readings: (1) The cyclical nature of Cicero's treatments – and how to use this knowledge to inform reading. (2) The substance of Ciceronian speech. His language is adopted not simply to enhance one's own eloquence, but one thinks with and through it[47].

3. *The question of doublets in Cicero's* philosophica

Giusta (1984) marks certain passages in the *Tusculans* as authorial doublets, what he describes as «eiusdem loci duplex ipsi auctori tribuenda tractatio» (1984, CIV), and «due successive redazioni originali giustapposte l'una all'altra» (1991, 2)[48]. He cites I. I. Reiske as first detecting these (*Tusc.* 1, 108-109)[49]. The redundant passages, according to Giusta, occur exclusively in Books 1 and 3. And the person likely responsible was a *grammaticus*, who gathered together Cicero's reworkings of some

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[46] The topics are important and recurrent in the *philosophica*: Pythagoras and transmission of his teachings (prefaces to *Tusc*; *rep.* 2, 28-29); fear of impending death (the tyrant Dionysius recurs in this context); virtue is its own reward (*leg.* 1, 48; *Luc.* 140; *fin.* 2, 73; 5, 61-69; *off.* 1, 65); endurance of pain and the *vita beata* (*Ac.1* 23; *fin.* 1, 49; 5, 48; 5, 61; *off.* 3, 117; several times in *Tusc.* 5).

[47] This attitude towards Cicero is finely illustrated by Lactantius, who in his *Divinae institutiones* shares topical interests with our annotator: Pythagoras (3, 2, 6; 4, 2, 4), virtue is its own reward (3, 11, 10; 6, 11, 16; 7, 11, 4), and the *vita beata* and torture (3, 27, 4). See MacCormack 2013 (*Cicero in late antiquity*), and, in particular, her comment on Lactantius and Cicero, 257-258: «the connection between the two was a matter not just of style but of content, for Ciceronian allusions, quotations and ideas pervade most of what he wrote». For another example of this attitude, cf. Boethius' interweaving of comments and Ciceronian text in his commentary on Cicero's *Topica* (Reinhardt 2003, 84-85).

[48] See Giusta 1968-1969; 1984, LXI-LXVIII; 1991, 97-111.

[49] Giusta 1984, LXI-LXII.

passages and simply juxtaposed them beside the original versions[50]. The passages so marked are: *Tusc.* 1, 4; 1, 7-8; 1, 12; 1, 50-51; 1, 57-58; 1, 59-61; 1, 65-71; 1, 87; 1, 87-88; 1, 91; 1, 108-109; 3, 7-8; 3, 8-10; 3, 10-11; 3, 14; 3, 16-17; 3, 52-55; 3, 56[51]; 3, 61-74; 3, 75-79; 3, 81-82; 3, 82-84. This is a lot. And, indeed, some of the identified duplicates cover very large textual swaths. It is unsurprising, then, that Giusta's edition, to some at least, can seem radical, meddlesome, and disruptive[52].

The question of authorial doublets is not confined to the *Tusculans*, but arises also in other philosophical works: *De finibus*, *De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*, and *De officiis*[53]. Giusta's marking of potential doublets might seem new, but in fact the questions foregrounded by his work are familiar and of long standing[54]. Ignoring the questions will not make them disappear.

In the wake of Giusta's arguments, the general contours of a larger debate might be readily predicted, between those critics who see authorial doublets and those who do not. Explanations might be found for Ciceronian incoherence and redundancy, whether real or only apparent. Or, if it is accepted that passages identified by Giusta are problematic, we could dig deeper, asking: to what extent might other portions of the text fall under suspicion as redundant? Are the redundancies actually hints of something else – interpolations? Once a modern reader is made sensitive to the possibility of intrusions, Cicero's treatise can seem riddled with them. We face up to an uncomfortable fact: in a text like the

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[50] Giusta 1984, LXII-LXIII, «cum libros I et III ipse auctor emendasset uel potius multis locis iterum scripsisset, eamque ob rem factum esset ut duae eorum librorum editiones exstarent, utramque simul aliquem grammaticum edidisse, ea ratione usum, ut, quibus locis eae editiones dissentirent, utramque adferret, ubi nihil interesset, semel textum describeret».

[51] The marking of 3, 56 is confusing; see Giusta 1984, note *ad loc.*, and 1991, 267 («due redazioni originarie compenetrate l'una nell'altra»).

[52] Giusta (1991, XV) sees a veiled reference to his edition when Grilli 1987, 105 speaks of how the editions of Pohlenz, Drexler, and Marinone did not subject Cicero's work to «terremoti testuali».

[53] Giusta 1991, 97-100 cites instances in Plautus; Terence; Cic. *fin.* 5, 21; *off.* 1, 36-37; 1, 145-146; 2, 21-22. The OCT of Winterbottom 1994 marks five passages: *off.* 1, 40; 1, 82; 2, 22; 3, 29; 3, 82. Reynolds' edition of *De finibus* (1998) uses double brackets at 3, 18; 3, 32 (nothing in Moreschini 2005). For *De natura deorum*, *e.g.* 2, 91-92 and 2, 98-104; 2, 121 and 2, 127 (Pease 1955-1958, 775, 791, 875-876). For *De divinatione*, Sander 1908, 20-21 on *div.* 2, 143; Dyck 2020, 31 with n. 94, 241-242.

[54] Nisbet 1967, 223 (in a review of Fedeli's 1965 edition of *De officiis*) draws a connection with the *Tusculans* on the question of interpolations and calls for «an examination of the problem directed at the Ciceronian philosophical corpus as a whole»; see also Dyck 1996, 53-54.

Tusculans, there are many passages where it cannot be known definitively that this is Cicero's language rather than that of an annotator[55]. Such heightened sensitivity – a principal duty of the critical editor, after all – is a reasonable response and extension to Giusta's method. At this point, it is fitting to define more exactly what I see as the enduring value of this method. Even if Giusta's idea about doublets is wholly or in part wrong (so I argue below), his treatment, which exhibits both skepticism and imagination, nonetheless retains worth. Giusta's approach elevates scholarly debate; his edition demands vigilance of editors and readers of Cicero; it insists that nothing be taken for granted. He sees with fresh eyes, challenging a perfunctory faith in textual stability. Such vigilance, and openness to possibilities, are not easy to sustain. Right or wrong in its results, the principles of Giusta's edition stand as a challenge to future editors.

On the question of redundancies in the *Tusculans*, as I say, the major interpretive approaches and their projected tendencies are foreseeable. It could even be said that such a controversy has already played out, namely through arguments about the text of *De officiis*. The long debate on this treatise is relevant and enlightening, and (I would urge) some knowledge of it should be acquired before formulating an opinion about the textual state of the *Tusculans*[56]. What the debate about *De officiis* well illustrates is the messiness of the tradition and, in confronting this messiness, a diversity of interpretive strategies. Paolo Fedeli (1973) discerned basically three types of approaches to problematic passages of *De officiis*: critics see interpolations, they see authorial reworkings, or they see symptoms of *Unfertigkeit* – that is, roughness of composition, based on the idea that Cicero composed hastily and could not bring the treatise into a final state[57].

A vulnerability of Giusta's theory is its singularity. To bolster his case for seeing doublets in the *Tusculans*, he (1991, 98-100) calls attention to three passages of *De officiis* (1, 36-37; 1, 145-146; 2, 21-22) as instances of

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[55] Cf. the comment by Mariotti 1985, 107 on the question of authorial variants: «Anche quando si è sicuri della presenza in una determinata tradizione di varianti d'autore, si pone spesso ugualmente il problema di distinguerle dalle varianti di trasmissione. Non è sempre facile discernere la variante alternativa o la correzione risalente all'autore dall'abile interpolazione o dalla corruzione speciosa».

[56] See Fedeli 1973, 392-408.

[57] For Cicero's tendency to make emendations, and the potential for their misunderstanding, see *fam.* 16, 22, 1; *Att.* 16, 3, 1; Pecere 2010, 116 and 187.

a broader phenomenon. In so doing, he betrays the rigidity of his method. In fact, interpretations of the three passages, just as in so many other places of the same treatise, have varied. Whereas some critics see an authorial doublet, others see interpolation, or no problem[58].

The comparison with *De officiis* that Giusta makes is apt. But the conclusion that should be drawn from the comparison is that, in the *Tusculans* as in *De officiis*, interpretive responses are likely to vary. Questionable passages in the *Tusculans* may be open to more than one plausible understanding. Ambiguity persists, and often resists attempts at a definitive solution. Since it is unlikely that one explanation will cover all cases of detected redundancy (again, the tradition is messy), and in fact more than one explanation may be plausible for a single passage, textual critics and other readers need to be flexible in their thinking. To some degree, the editorial tools themselves may be too limited and rigid. Single brackets, double-brackets, Giusta's half-brackets – all these can feel like overcommitments. The choice itself can seem false, pushing our interpretation beyond the domain of knowledge into that of creed. And choosing not to mark questionable passages, with little or no note in the *apparatus criticus*, can seem evasive.

So, we reach the current state of matters. Giusta's hypothesis is too rigid and singular. However, his intense engagement with the *Tusculans*, at once rigorous and imaginative, turns up valuable questions. The hypothesis may be rejected, while the questions remain. As described, the general outlines of a larger controversy on questions raised by Giusta are foreseeable. Given this state of affairs, there is justification for wanting to see beyond, if possible, the deep woods of a familiar debate and its winding tracks.

If the solutions are variable (interpolation, doublet, no markings), the nature of the problem – the kind of passages that evokes questions – is more uniform. Set to one side a passage like *off.* 1, 36-37 (cited by Giusta), which is more easily identifiable as an interpolation[59]. Contrast this with another kind of passage, much more abundant, where questions and ambiguities persist. Here the source of doubts – passages where readers may ask themselves: «Did I not read this already? Where else is this?» Such questions frequently arise in the dialogues because circular move-

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[58] *Off.* 1, 36-37: double-bracketed by Atzert[3], but an interpolation according to Atzert[4], Fedeli 1965, and Winterbottom 1994. *Off.* 1, 145-146: Atzert[3] double-brackets, but Atzert[4] deletes; unmarked in Fedeli and Winterbottom. *Off.* 2, 21-22: Atzert[3] and Winterbottom double-bracket; Atzert[4] and Fedeli delete.

[59] See Dyck 1996, 143-144. Similar is *off.* 1, 40.

ments are at the very heart of Ciceronian discourse[60]. *Off.* 1, 101-103 can illustrate the phenomenon and several of its complicating aspects.

> 101. Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura: una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est ὁρμή Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. [Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet. Omnis autem actio vacare debet temeritate et neglegentia, nec vero agere quicquam cuius non possit causam probabilem reddere; haec est enim fere descriptio officii]. 102. Efficiendum autem est ut appetitus rationi oboediant eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam aut ignaviam deserant, sintque tranquilli atque omni animi perturbatione careant; ex quo elucebit omnis constantia omnisque moderatio. [...] 103. Ex quibus illud intellegitur, ut ad officii formam revertamur, appetitus omnes contrahendos sedandosque esse excitandamque animadversionem et diligentiam, ut ne quid temere ac fortuito, inconsiderate neglegenterque agamus.

The bracketed sentences (1, 101) have been suspected in part due to repetition of nearby material, in 1, 102 and 103[61]: above, parallel material is marked with the same kind of underlining (solid, dotted, dashed). Responses to the problem vary. Atzert[3] double-brackets, whereas Atzert[4] deletes. Fedeli deletes. Winterbottom leaves unmarked, but, noting that the passage was deleted by Facciolati, comments in the *apparatus criticus* «fortasse recte»[62].

Contributing to the ambiguity are resonances of this passage with similar passages found elsewhere. Elements of it recur in *De officiis*, appearing at 1, 8 (*medium officium*) and 1, 132 (*motus autem animorum duplices sunt*). Beyond *De officiis*, the same elements can be seen at *fin.* 3, 58, on *officium medium*; and, on the duplex nature of the *animus*, at *Tusc.* 2, 47 (cf. also 4, 10):

> Est enim animus in partis tributus duas, quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers. Cum igitur praecipitur ut nobismet ipsis imperemus, hoc praecipitur, ut ratio coërceat temeritatem. Est in animis omnium fere natura molle quiddam, demissum, humile, enervatum quodam modo et languidum. Si

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[60] Leeman 1975, 140-141, 146, in describing *De oratore*. See also May-Wisse 2001, 18-19.

[61] See Fedeli 1961-1964, 80-82; Thomas 1971, 41-49; Dyck 1996, 261-263.

[62] Facciolati, ad loc.: «Ex Officii descriptione, quae est in lib. 3 de Fin. c. 17 haec omnia consarcinata videntur. Si tollantur, tum sensa, tum verba rectius inter se congruent».

nihil esset aliud, nihil esset homine deformius. Sed praesto est domina om-
nium et regina ratio, quae conixa per se et progressa longius fit perfecta virtus.
Haec ut imperet illi parti animi, quae oboedire debet, id videndum est viro.

Note that a bracketed sentence of *off.* 1, 101 (*Omnis autem actio va-
care debet temeritate et neglegentia*) finds resonance in the *Tusculans*
passage above (*hoc praecipitur, ut ratio coërceat temeritatem*). Whose
redundancy is it? Ambrose (*off.* 1, 98; 1, 228-229) read the athetized
passage. If its athetesis is correct, then the interpolation is deep. We
recall how, among **V²**'s corrections, are the annotations of a late-
antique reader who could compare several Ciceronian dialogues. The
passage straddles a line.

K. B. Thomas (1971) argues that there is nothing unusual in the
redundancy of *off.* 2, 21-22, another passage cited by Giusta to sup-
port his case for doublets. I want to follow Thomas' line of thinking
for a moment, since his strategy and the passages that it leads him to
draw together can help advance our inquiry. The approach of Thom-
as, generally, is to defend the authenticity – the normalness – of pas-
sages that others have thought problematic. In defense of 2, 21-22, he
(29) calls attention to the redundancy of *off.* 1, 11-15, which editors
have not seen as problematic[63]. Thomas connects a debatable passage
with a broad, normal Ciceronian tendency: repetitiveness. (Cicero has
more than one subvariety of repetition, and Thomas speaks here of
recapitulation, the circling round to arguments just made to present
them in a brief summary.) The tendency is, indeed, one of the main
sources of interpretive limbo: Cicero's *normal* habits of repetition of-
ten result in formal features that can appear *abnormal* to vigilant
modern readers – and justifiably so, since such repetitions in ancient
texts can be proper symptoms of intrusion[64].

In *off.* 1, 11-14, Cicero explains the origins of human virtues, and
concludes *quibus ex rebus conflatur et efficitur id quod quaerimus hon-
estum* (1, 14). Then, just a few sentences later, this same conclusion is
repeated, in 1, 15, together with the four origins of *honestum*:

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[63] See Dyck 1996, 98-99, on *off.* 1, 15-17.
[64] See, *e.g.*, Tarrant 1987, 293-294 on a type of annotation that seeks to give a «cita-
tion or parallel».

Off. 1, 13-14, In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio. Itaque cum sumus necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre audire addiscere, cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum aut admirabilium ad beate vivendum necessariam ducimus [**prudentia**]. Ex quo intellegitur, quod verum simplex sincerumque sit, id esse naturae hominis aptissimum [**iustitia**]. Huic veri videndi cupiditati adiuncta est appetitio quaedam principatus, ut nemini parere animus bene informatus a natura velit nisi praecipienti aut docenti aut utilitatis causa iuste et legitime imperanti; ex quo magnitudo animi exsistit humanarumque rerum contemptio [**fortitudo**]. 14. Nec vero illa parva vis naturae est rationisque, quod unum hoc animal sentit quid sit ordo, quid sit quod deceat, in factis dictisque qui modus [**temperantia**].

Off. 1, 15, Sed omne, quod est honestum, id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua. Aut enim in perspicientia veri sollertiaque versatur [**prudentia**], aut in hominum societate tuenda tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide [**iustitia**], aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore [**fortitudo**], aut in omnium quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et **temperantia**.

The degree of Ciceronian repetition alters our understanding of normal versus problematic text (incoherent, misplaced, interpolated). *Off.* 1, 13-15 illustrates, again, two complicating aspects of Ciceronian repetitiveness highlighted earlier (*off.* 1, 101-103): often we see circular movement not only in neighboring passages, but also in spatially distant passages within and across dialogues. Because Cicero's point of focus here is the four cardinal virtues, the connecting-lines are numerous.

Treatments of the four virtues recur many times across Cicero's *philosophica*, *e.g.* in *De natura deorum* (3, 38)[65], *De finibus* (1, 46-50; 4, 19; 5, 36; 5, 58), and in the *Tusculans* at 1, 64; 2, 31-32; 3, 14-17; 3, 36-37; and 5, 41. Facciolati observes correctly that *off.* 1, 11-14 is closely paralleled at *fin.* 2, 43-47[66]. To a reader comparing the two passages the connections

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[65] See Pease 1955-1958, 1036-1037.

[66] «Capitis hius doctrina fere tota, ac totidem verbis expressa est in lib. 2 de Fin. c. 14».

between them are manifest. Actually seeing the connections can be revelatory. For instance, it is unclear whether *off.* 1, 13-14 includes a description of one of the virtues, *iustitia*. But a comparison shows that language at *off.* 1, 13 (*quod verum simplex sincerumque sit, id esse naturae hominis aptissimum*) is a compact version of fuller language at *fin.* 2, 46 (*omnia vera diligimus, id est fidelia simplicia constantia, tum vana falsa fallentia odimus, ut fraudem periurium malitiam iniuriam*). We better understand Cicero's manner of thinking. We find ourselves within the ecosystem of the *philosophica* – a single, interconnected linguistic environment. Language, inseparable from ideas, constitutes the members of the ecosystem.

As another creature of this environment, found in the same passage above (*off.* 1, 13), we might notice the phrase *humanarum rerum contemptio* (contempt for human affairs). This and related language Cicero often uses in connection with the virtue *fortitudo* and *magnitudo animi*[67]. Other appearances: *rep.* 1, 28; 6, 20; *part.* 81; *Luc.* 127; *fin.* 5, 73; *Tusc.* 1, 95; 2, 11; 2, 32; 2, 33; 3, 15; 4, 51; 5, 4; *off.* 1, 17; 1, 61; 1, 66; and 1, 67 (note neighboring passages), 1, 72; 2, 37-38; 3, 24; 3, 100.

Now the present investigation, on the one hand, seems to have come round to something quite ordinary: parallels and the noting of parallels through cross-references. To be sure, there are long-standing scholarly instruments for taking stock of these: concordances, commentaries, indices, and *apparatus locorum parallelorum*. On the other hand, the subjects of the present discussion (persistent circular movements within the *philosophica*; language straddling the line between authorial and interpolative) suggest circumstances more idiosyncratic and exigent. What comes to the fore is the integral relevance of parallels: (1) for a fundamental understanding of Cicero in the *philosophica*, and (2) for making informed and, where appropriate, more nuanced judgments about the textual-critical status of passages. The ability to see parallels is not merely an enhancement or convenience. Because (as argued here) knowledge of parallel language is integral to reading the *philosophica*, there is a pressing need for a system of cross-references that is more conspicuous and specially designed for the purpose.

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[67] The «Index rerum et uocabulorum memorabilium» of Atzert[4] has the entry *contemptio humanarum rerum*, with cross-reference to *despicientia*.

It is telling that, to make sense of the repetitions within Cicero's dialogues, critics sometimes like to draw an analogy with music[68]. The analogy attempts to cope with the fact that not all speech or text is of the same nature. Different kinds of texts carry different expectations and require different strategies from readers. Books, in their organization and tools, are meant to accommodate themselves to this fact, to signal in various ways the different kinds of text and how to approach these. The circular movements of Ciceronian discourse would be less surprising in the context of oral delivery. But because these movements are now embodied in text, they present to modern readers a kind of *textual* discourse that is largely unanticipated – one invested in *process*, not in efficient transport to a destination, not in finality. Music is similar in that its purpose is not strict efficiency. The benefits are in the doing itself. Ciceronian discourse is tentative; it rehearses topics and explores their associative connections, seeing what might turn up. Cross-references acquire a special value in the *philosophica* because they help respond to and reflect idiosyncrasies of Cicero's methods.

To conclude, I here outline what a system of cross-references might entail[69]. I then offer examples of the sort of topics, with pertinent references, that would be accounted for in such a system as applied to the *Tusculans*. The key components (underlined below) are: a program of topics, labels, an index, and marginal references.

> The system of cross-references consists of a program of topics that are both significant and recurrent in the *philosophica*. The goal is not an exhaustive or indiscriminate list of vocabulary or phrases. Each topic is given a concise label (a word or short phrase), ideally in Latin but a vernacular could also be used.

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[68] Leeman 1975, 141 compares *De oratore* with the «repetitions and circular movements» of the symphonies of Anton Bruckner; Büchner 1952, 94 speaks of a «musikalisches Motiv» in *De amicitia*; Douglas 1990, 153, observes that «Zieliński called the Fifth *Tusculan* C.'s "Eroica". Certainly its use of recurrent themes strongly suggests musical parallels».

[69] Study of the Thompson Chain Reference Bible has helped my thinking, although the system described above does not include a network of links as does the Thompson Bible; see Nelson-Bath 2012. See also Mondin 2009, who offers a stimulating discussion of the «diatext», a concept that attempts to see «l'insieme delle diverse forme concrete in cui il testo esiste nel corso della sua vicenda documentata» (77). Note, however, that while this concept addresses the fluid nature of text, it does not encompass the kind of tentative speech described above (Ciceronian discourse) — *i.e.*, speech that is instrinsically dynamic, regardless of whether or not it is ever made text.

> An <u>index</u> gathers together the topical labels. All of the relevant citations are given under each label.
>
> In the text of the work, the existence of parallels for a given passage is noted in the side or bottom <u>margins</u>. Because there may be many parallels on a page, rather than giving the topical label together with a standard form of citation, it is more efficient to use only the topical labels in the margin. In the case of longer labels, abbreviated forms of a label may be used. If the labels require too much space, each topical label may be assigned a number.

Example topics found in the *Tusculans*:

> consuetudo: *Tusc.* 2, 35; 2, 38; 2, 40; 2, 42; 2, 49; 5, 74; *off.* 1, 59 (athetized)
>
> gloriari verbis philosophiae: *Tusc.* 2, 31; 2, 33; 3, 37; 5, 30; *fin.* 2, 51; cf. also *Luc.* 143
>
> oculus animi vel mentis: *Tusc.* 1, 45; 1, 67; 1, 70; 1, 73; 3, 15; 5, 39; *Luc.* 129; *fin.* 4, 37; *nat. deor.* 1, 19; 2, 43; 2, 45; 2, 98; 2, 161; *Cato* 83
>
> providentia naturae: *Tusc.* 5, 37-38; *nat. deor.* 2, 98-104 (Pease: doublet of 2, 91-92); 2, 120-122
>
> revocatio ad contemplandas voluptates: *Tusc.* 3, 33; 3, 35-46; 5, 74; *fin.* 2, 106
>
> saecula postera ad se pertinere: *Tusc.* 1, 31-32; 1, 89-1, 91 (Giusta: doublets in 1, 91); *fin.* 2, 60-63; *Cato* 24, 82
>
> semina virtutis: *Tusc.* 3, 1-2; *fin.* 4, 18; 5, 18; 5, 43
>
> tormenta Epicuri: *Tusc.* 2, 44; 2, 45; 5, 74; 5, 88; *fin.* 2, 94; 2, 96; 5, 80
>
> tria genera bonorum (animus corpus externa): *Tusc.* 4, 62; 5, 24; 5, 51; 5, 76; 5, 85; *Ac.1* 19-20; 1, 21; *fin.* 3, 43; 5, 84; *off.* 3, 28
>
> triplex philosophiae divisio: *Tusc.* 5, 68; 5, 71-72[70]; *Ac.1* 19; *Luc.* 116; *fin.* 3, 72; 4, 4; 5, 9-11

The example topics focus on repetitions in the *Tusculans*, and appearances of the same topics elsewhere in the *philosophica*. Naturally, multiple topics can appear in the same passage (*e.g.*, the torments of Epicurus, and the Epicurean recommendation of *revocatio ad contemplandas voluptates*). Topics can be defined by phrases or by a single term (*consuetudo*). There are broad, highly productive topics that are expounded at length (*providentia naturae*; the four cardinal virtues mentioned earlier) and motifs more precisely defined (*gloriari verbis philosophiae*) that are recurrent in the *Tusculans* but appear less often elsewhere. As described above (seeing connections can be revelatory), the central rationale for a system of cross-references is to grasp Cicero's manner of thinking – to

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[70] Douglas 1990, 158 speculates that Cicero inserted § 70 later, as an «afterthought».

understand him on his own terms, not merely with reference to Greek models and traditions; to follow his method and process, rather than to attempt to see past him. As exemplifying this purpose, I might single out *semina virtutis*, which is expressed summarily in the preface to *Tusc.* 3, and is better understood with the support of passages from *De finibus*. Also among the sample topics are passages where, according to Pease and Giusta, the question of doublets comes into play. As anticipated, the collecting of repetitions finds in its trawl also those passages that some critics may find questionable.

Above I spoke of a desire to see beyond a predictable, not-always productive debate about the status of repetitive passages. The system of cross-references does not «solve» the problem of questionable passages, at least not according to the terms typically used to define the problem: is this an interpolation or doublet or an instance of *Unfertigkeit*? Naturally, critics will make their own judgments, using brackets and other tools as they see fit. Cross-references do not choose. Their purpose, rather, is to help see better, more widely. In so doing, they can help alleviate pressure towards limited options and hard commitments. A facing, conspicuous system of cross-references works to address the problem of questionable passages because it avoids the scenario where critics and readers are made to over-commit, forced to choose a single option from a limited menu. The argument here is for a broader understanding – greater awareness of the tradition and, as a result, greater sympathy towards Ciceronian methods – and for a bibliographic tool that supports this cause.

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Figure 1. Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Laud. lat. 29, recto.