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CLASSICAL SERIES - PART X. THE VETUS
CLUNIACENSIS OF POGGIO, PP. 1-56**

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by Albert C. Clark

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Anecdota Oxoniensia

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CLASSICAL SERIES—PART X

THE VETUS CLUNIACENSIS OF POGGIO

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO
*PRO SEX. ROSCIO, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO MURENA
PRO CAELIO, AND PRO MILONE*

BY

ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A.

Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford

WITH TWO FACSIMILES



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[UNDER the general title of *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, it is proposed to publish materials, chiefly inedited, taken direct from MSS., those preserved in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries to have the first claim to publication. These materials will be (1) unpublished texts and documents, or extracts therefrom, with or without translations; or (2) texts which, although not unpublished, are unknown in the form in which they are to be printed in the *Anecdota*; or (3) texts which, in their published form, are difficult of access through the exceeding rarity of the printed copies; or (4) collations of valuable MSS.; or (5) notices and descriptions of certain MSS., or dissertations on the history, nature and value thereof. The materials will be issued in four Series:—

- I. *The Classical Series.*
- II. *The Semitic Series.*
- III. *The Aryan Series.*
- IV. *The Mediæval and Modern Series.*]

TO
JAMES S. REID
M.A., LITT.D.
PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE

INTRODUCTION

AMONG the discoveries made by Poggio in the course of his famous mission to the Council of Constance were a number of speeches of Cicero new to Italian scholars. I extract from Voigt a convenient summary of the facts as at present known¹.

The excursions which Poggio made into France appear to have preceded his investigations in German monasteries. If in the latter case he has to share with others² the credit of his discoveries, he was, so far as we know, without a companion in France. And it was precisely in France that he succeeded in making a substantial addition to the writings of Cicero, which since the time of Petrarch had been sought for with peculiar ardour. He found at Cluni³ an ancient MS. much damaged, which contained among other speeches of Cicero those for Sextus Roscius and for Murena. Both were unknown previously, and both appear to have been preserved to the world only through the discovery of Poggio. He rescued the MS. from impending destruction, and sent it to Florence, where Guarino and Barbaro struggled to decipher those passages which were now in a desperate condition from mildew. A second and still richer discovery of no less than eight new speeches was made by Poggio at Langres on the Marne, the old town of the Lingones. He was not able to obtain possession of the old MS., but it is from the transcript which he made that the various copies made by his friends in Florence and Venice are

¹ *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, i. p. 242, ed. 3 (Berlin, 1893).

² I.e. Bartolommeo da Montepulciano, his colleague and travelling companion (*ib.*, pp. 225, 237) and Zonino (*Sosomenus*) of Pistoia (*ib.*, p. 236).

³ The famous Abbey in Burgundy, twenty-three kilometres north of Mâcon, destroyed by the Huguenots in 1562.

derived, and it is through these only that some of the speeches have been preserved, while others have since been discovered in other MSS. The ancient MS. of Langres has now disappeared.¹

It is not my purpose on this occasion to discuss the second group of speeches, viz. *pro Caecina*, the three orations *de lege agraria*, *pro Rabirio Postumo*, *pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*, *pro Roscio Comodo*, and *in Pisonem*. I would merely remark that in my opinion modern writers go too far in attributing to the whole of these a common origin. This statement has been made on the strength of two colophons found in certain MSS. which contain the second *sylloge*¹. The first of these occurs at the end of the *pro Caecina*, which is placed first in the collection, and runs thus:

'Hanc orationem antea culpa temporum deperditam Poggius Latinis viris restituit et in Italiam reduxit, cum eam diligentia sua in Gallia reclusam in silvis Lingonum adinvenisset conscripsissetque ad Tullii memoriam et doctorum hominum utilitatem.'

After this come the other speeches, seven in all, with the following colophon at the end of the *in Pisonem*, which comes last:

'Has septem M. Tullii orationes, quae antea culpa temporum apud Italos deperditae erant, Poggius Florentinus perquisitis plurimis Galliae Germaniaeque summo cum studio ac diligentia bibliothecis, cum latentes comperiisset in squalore et sordibus, in lucem solus extulit, ac in pristinam dignitatem decoremque restituens Latinis Musis dicavit.'

It appears to me that both colophons are to be taken quite literally. It is only for the *pro Caecina* that provenance from Langres is claimed. The other seven speeches were found in French or German libraries, the names of which are not given. It has hitherto been supposed that the final colophon referred to the whole *sylloge*, and that the author of it wrote *septem* for *octo*, supposing that the speeches *pro Rabirio perduellionis reo* and *pro Roscio Comodo*, both of which are fragmentary, were taken to be one oration². This is a violent interpretation, and contrary to the plain meaning of the colophons. I fear,

¹ The best known of these is a MS. (Laur. Conv. Soppr. 12) formerly known as *codex S. Mariae*, described by Baudiui, ii. 431 on Laur. xviii. 7. Cf. Mitarelli, *Bibliotheca S. Michaelis*, p. 254; Halm, *Handschriftenbande der Ciceron. Schriften*, p. 16.

² Mitarelli, l. c.

therefore, that the very convenient title of *Lingouenses*¹ given to the whole of the *syllage* is not justified by the facts.

I now return to the Cluni MS. The date of the discovery is fixed by a letter of Leonardo Bruni to Poggio, dated Jan. 2, 1415, in which he says²:

'Tu nuper in Gallia orationes duas M. Tullii, quas nostra secula numquam viderant, tua diligentia perquisitas reperisti.'

The place is known from several passages in the letters of Poggio³, who speaks of '*orationes Tullii . . . quas detuli ex monasterio Cluniacensi*,' and of '*orationes meae Cluniacenses*.' The illegible condition of the MS. is described by Guarino, who remarks upon the lacuna in *Rosc.* § 132⁴:

'Quod factum est situ et exemplaris vetustate quod vir doctissimus Poggius ex Gallis ad nos reportaverat, qui et huius orationis et alterius pro Murena repertor hac actate fuit. Ut autem clarissimus et doctissimus vir F. Barbarus dicere et deplorare solet, occaecatum adeo exemplaris codicem, unde haec exarata est oratio, Florentiae viderat, ut nullo pacto inde transcribi verbum potuerit.'

That the MS. contained other speeches besides the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena* appears from an inquiry made by Poggio when writing to Niccolò Niccoli: '*Orationes meas Cluniacenses potes mittere. . . Scribas mihi quae orationes sunt in eo volumine praeter Cluentianam, pro Roscio, et Murena*'⁵. No one appears to have drawn attention to an entry in the twelfth-century Catalogue of Cluni⁶, in which occurs:

'496. Cicero pro Milone et pro Avito et pro Murena et pro quibusdam aliis.'

It is highly significant that this, the only mention of the *pro Murena* in the mediaeval Catalogues, should occur at the place where this speech was found by Poggio. The further fact that the *pro Cluentio* was found in the Cluniacensis of Poggio, and in the MS. described, is strong confirmatory evidence that Poggio's MS. was no other than No. 496 in the Cluni Catalogue. If so, it must also have contained the *Miloniana*.

¹ R. Sabbadini, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, vii, p. 99.

² *Epistulae*, ed. Mehus, iv, 4.

³ *Epistulae*, ed. Tonelli, i, pp. 100, 153.

⁴ Guarino's commentary upon the *Fasciana* is printed among a number of similar works, *In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis doctissimorum virorum Enarrationes*, Basilicae, 1553, pp. 82-101. Halm, who quotes this passage from a Paris MS. (Lat. 7822), does not seem aware of this.

⁵ Tonelli, i, 153.

⁶ Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 478.

Of the history of the MS. after its arrival in Italy little is known. Niccolo Niccoli retained it, like many other of Poggio's books¹, and was very reluctant to let it out of his hands. Poggio after his return to Italy from England wished to consult it. He writes to Niccoli to this effect on Nov. 6, 1423², and repeats the request in a letter dated June 14, 1425³, in which he says that he is intending to have a copy of Cicero's speeches made by his own scribe. The writer was to be an ignorant Frenchman⁴ whom he was training, who was then employed upon a copy of Spartianus. The Cluniacensis arrived in Rome, where Poggio was, in 1427⁵, and in Nov. 1428 Niccoli was clamouring for its return⁶. Poggio sent it back to Niccoli by Pier Candido Decembrio with a letter dated December 13, 1429, in which he says 'ut obsequar voluntati tuae mitto ad te per Candidum nostrum antiquum illud volumen Orationum Tullii'.⁷ Nothing is known of its fate after this date.

I have been at pains to put together the first-hand evidence concerning the lost Cluniacensis, from which all existing copies of the *Rosciana* and *Murciana* are derived, since it is obvious that, if the inquiry into the pedigree of its descendants is to be followed by any degree of success, the method pursued must be historical. The best example of such a method is to be found in Kiessling and Schoell's Preface to Asconius, an author discovered by Poggio at St. Gallen in 1416. It is there shown that three transcripts were made, viz. by Poggio himself, by Sozomenus of Pistoia, and by Poggio's colleague, Bartolommeo da Montepulciano. By a comparison of these it is possible to fix the readings of the *Saugallensis*, and to distinguish from them the corrections and conjectures of the Italians. In the case of Cicero's speeches, however, a wholly unscientific method has been followed. The MSS. have been not weighed but numbered. This was first done by the learned Jesuit, Lagomarsini, who denoted by numbers the Florentine MSS. which he employed, without attempting to discriminate between them. A similar method was adopted by the collators of various Oxford MSS., the readings of which were published in the large Clarendon Press edition issued at the end of the eighteenth

¹ Tonelli, i. 203.² *Ib.*, 100.³ *Ib.*, 153.⁴ *Ib.*, 'Habeo . . . Gallicum qui parum novit. Hoc utar.'⁵ *Ib.*, 159.⁶ *Ib.*, 265, 273.⁷ *Ib.*, 294.