

## Γ AND THE MINIATURES OF TERENCE<sup>1</sup>

THERE is an almost overwhelming mass of material available to the scholar who wishes to investigate the history of the text of Terence's plays. The manuscripts themselves number over 450<sup>2</sup> and of these over 100 belong to the period 800–c. 1300.<sup>3</sup> No one, however, has undertaken a comprehensive recension of even the older group of medieval manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> One reason for this is that the extent to which contamination has occurred makes classification extremely difficult, another is that it is unlikely that the laborious task of examining and studying so many manuscripts will produce much new evidence for the text itself. Many of the corruptions which survive in the plays probably arose at an early stage in the tradition and prior to the archetype of the manuscripts which have been used by past editors. Any marked advance in the constitution of the text would seem to depend on the discovery of a manuscript which belonged to a different tradition. Apart from the manuscripts (and their scholia) we have the ancient commentaries of Donatus and Eugraphius and quotations from antiquity, occasionally found in writers of the classical period such as Varro and Cicero, but more often appearing in the later grammarians and commentators. The value of these quotations has always to be weighed against the possibility that the manuscripts of the author who is quoting are corrupt, and that even if there is no corruption the author may be quoting inaccurately from memory. The same safeguards have to be kept in mind with respect to the commentaries of Donatus and Eugraphius, although this problem is only one of many that face the scholar who wishes to evaluate these commentaries (particularly the former) for evidence of early readings.<sup>5</sup> In view of these difficulties it is not surprising that there has been some dispute about the early history of the transmission.

The manuscripts fall into two main classes. The first of these consists of one member, the famous codex Bembinus (A), written in rustic capitals and dated to the fourth or fifth century. The second is represented by the medieval manuscripts, which are commonly called the Calliopians. This latter class is subdivided into two major groups<sup>6</sup> which present the plays in a different order and display a number of distinctive readings or omissions, the γ-group, some of whose members have illustrations, and the δ-group, which has no illustrated manuscripts. The archetypes of these two classes, Γ and Δ respectively, go back to a common archetype Σ. Up to this point there is general agreement

<sup>1</sup> In the notes Jachmann = G. Jachmann, *Die Geschichte des Terentztextes im Altertum* (Basel, 1924); Jones and Morey = L. B. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The miniatures of the manuscripts of Terence prior to the thirteenth century*. 2 vols. (Princeton, 1931); Leo = F. Leo, 'Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der terenzischen Komödien und der Commentar des Donatus', *R.M.* xxxviii (1883), 316–47. Plates of the miniatures are to be found most easily in the first volume of Jones and Morey.

<sup>2</sup> Jones and Morey, ii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> H. Marti, 'Terenz 1909–1959', *Lustrum*

vi (1961), 119.

<sup>4</sup> Most work has been done on the illustrated and related manuscripts. See R. H. Webb, 'An attempt to restore the γ archetype of Terence's manuscripts', *H.S.C.P.* xxii (1911), 55–110; Jones and Morey, ii. 195–221.

<sup>5</sup> See Wessner's remarks in his edition of Donatus, i (Leipzig, 1902), pp. xlv–xlvi; J. F. Mountford, *The scholia Bembina* (London, 1934), 119; Leo, 323 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of this article I ignore the 'mixed' group of the Calliopians.

among scholars of this century.<sup>1</sup> But on the question of when the two main classes separated there is a wide diversity of opinion. Because of certain errors common to the Bembinus and all the Calliopians ( $\Sigma$ ) Jachmann<sup>2</sup> postulated an archetype which he called  $\Phi$  and placed it in the middle of the third century. The separation was placed much earlier by Marouzeau<sup>3</sup> and Andrieu.<sup>4</sup> They thought that the two branches developed independently from the very first published edition of the plays in the second century B.C. In stark contrast Craig<sup>5</sup> regarded the Bembinus 'with all its inaccuracy' as representative of the standard text in antiquity and placed  $\Sigma$  at the end of the fifth century,  $\Gamma$  and  $\Delta$  coming into being in the sixth century or later. Jachmann, however, dated  $\Gamma$  to the early fourth century and possibly the later third and placed  $\Sigma$  in the second half of the third century.<sup>6</sup> The reconstruction of Marouzeau and Andrieu has no support from the evidence and may be put aside. Those of Jachmann and Craig differ essentially in the date assigned to  $\Sigma$ , which is placed at points approximately two hundred years apart. Craig's dating was based on his study of the Terentian quotations to be found in the grammarians. This showed, he believed, that  $\Sigma$  did not exist until quite late in antiquity.<sup>7</sup> The key-stone of Jachmann's chronology was the date which he gave to the first illustrated  $\Gamma$ -text, after showing that the miniatures were first drawn for a  $\Gamma$  manuscript. Although the stemma proposed by Jachmann has won the greatest support, and justly so, his chronological framework for the stemma has been much less favourably received. Yet one of the conclusions on which his dating was based—the affiliation of the miniatures with the  $\Gamma$  manuscripts and these alone—is still widely accepted. The purpose of this article is to examine once more the relationship of the illustrations to the manuscript tradition of Terence and to put forward the chronological implications of the relationship suggested here.

Since much of what follows will be concerned with Jachmann's arguments, it will be well to start with a brief recapitulation of the conclusions which he reached:

- (1) The scene divisions and scene headings in  $A$  and the Calliopians are derived from the same source, which Jachmann thought was ultimately an edition of Terence done by Probus. The main point here is that the scene division is literary in nature, being designed to help a reading public follow the movements of characters. It is not derived from a producer's copy of the plays.

<sup>1</sup> There were certainly manuscripts in antiquity that differed in greater or lesser degree from the Bembinus and the archetype of the Calliopians, but it is impossible to tell what their relationship was with the surviving branches of the tradition. See S. Prete, *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae* (Heidelberg, 1954), 35-8; Jachmann, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Jachmann, 83 ff., 134-5.

<sup>3</sup> J. Marouzeau, *Térence. Comédies*, i (Paris, 1942), 85-7.

<sup>4</sup> J. Andrieu, *Étude critique sur les sigles de personnages et les rubriques de scène dans les anciennes éditions de Térence* (Paris, 1940), 121. Andrieu, however, tied his conclusions to the acceptance of Marouzeau's view that there

were no significant common errors in  $A$  and  $\Sigma$ . Many of his conclusions are compatible with a later separation. Marouzeau never published a detailed study of the common errors to show that they were not errors at all or that they were 'quasi fatales', made independently in the two branches of the tradition.

<sup>5</sup> J. D. Craig, *Ancient editions of Terence* (Oxford, 1930), 130.

<sup>6</sup> Jachmann, 111-12, 118.

<sup>7</sup> Craig was often unconvincing in his explanation of Calliopian readings that are found in antiquity. For criticism see L. B. Jones, 'Ancient texts of Terence', *C.P.* xxv (1930), 318-27.

- (2) Differences in the classes of the tradition with respect to scene division arose through the combination of two or more scenes. Any scene division attested in the manuscripts, even if in only one class of the tradition, was present in the common archetype.
- (3) The miniatures are dependent on the scene divisions and scene headings and only one illustration was made for each scene. The illustrations were based on a reading of the text and not on observation of stage productions.
- (4) The miniatures did not exist before the creation of the archetype of the  $\gamma$ -class of manuscripts and were first drawn for this archetype ( $\Gamma$ ) or for an exemplar derived from it.
- (5) Since the  $\gamma$ -class most often stands alone in having (i.e. retaining) a scene division and has fewest examples of lost scene divisions, the illustrated archetype of these  $\gamma$  manuscripts existed before the Bembinus (c. A.D. 400).

Of these points only the last met strong criticism.<sup>1</sup> Jachmann's dating depends on the arbitrary assumption that the rate of attrition in scenes was the same in the Bembinus tradition and the  $\Sigma$ -class after the separation from  $\Phi$ . This is hardly a solid base on which to construct a chronological framework. Thus the third-century date of  $\Sigma$  which depended to a great extent on his dating of the illustrated  $\Gamma$ -text also becomes suspect. Indeed, some scholars were sceptical that the metrical errors that have to be postulated for  $\Sigma$  could have occurred as early as the period in which Jachmann placed it.<sup>2</sup>

Evidence of another kind, however, suggests that there was an illustrated text in existence at about the same time as the *terminus ante quem* which Jachmann proposed for  $\Gamma$  (A.D. 400). From study of certain features in the miniatures and comparison with mosaics and miniatures in other works several art historians have concluded that the archetype of the Terentian illustrations should be dated to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth.<sup>3</sup> For the sake of a round figure let us say c. A.D. 400. From Jachmann's contention that the illustrations came into being with a direct ancestor of the  $\gamma$  manuscripts and had no connection with any other branch it follows that there was an illustrated  $\Gamma$ -text at this time and that  $\Sigma$  must be dated to the fourth century at the latest. In his admirable bibliography of Terence Marti accepts Jachmann's view, since he states, 'Den Bilderarchetyp setzt man heute an den Anfang des 5. Jhs., was für  $\Sigma$  einen *terminus ante* bedeutet.'<sup>4</sup> Proponents of a later date for  $\Sigma$  might argue on the other hand that, although there was an illustrated edition in existence at the beginning of the fifth

<sup>1</sup> See P. Wessner, *Gnomon* iii (1927), 343; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*<sup>2</sup> (Florence, 1952), 363-4.

<sup>2</sup> Wessner, *Gnomon* iii (1927), 344; Pasquali, op. cit. 365.

<sup>3</sup> See especially A. W. Byvanck, 'Antike Buchmalerei, II: Das Vorbild der Terenz-illustrationen', *Mnemosyne* vii (1939), 115-35, who showed that stylistically the illustrations are closely related to the miniatures of the Virgil *Vaticanus* and to the mosaics in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. He dated the Terentian miniatures to 410-20. Jones and Morey, ii. 45, 117, 200, assigned the hyparchetypes  $\gamma^2$  (of C and P) and  $\gamma^1$  (of F) to c. 500 and c. 450 respectively and the

archetype to the first half of the fifth century. They were reluctant to place the archetype any earlier because of the connections which they believed existed between the illustrations and the Graeco-Asiatic style. Byvanck, 132-4, rejected this association. G. Rodenwaldt, 'Cortinae. Ein Beitrag zur Datierung der antiken Vorlage der mittelalterlichen Terenz-illustrationen', *N.G.G.*, 1925, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 33-49, assigned 350 as a *terminus post quem* for the archetype on the basis of the curtains that appear on the miniatures.

<sup>4</sup> Marti, op. cit. 120; cf. Pasquali, op. cit. 363: 'A ogni modo l'originale delle illustrazione è divenuto ora almeno un *terminus ante quem* per la datazione di  $\gamma$ '.

century, the text of this edition belonged to the same branch of the tradition as the Bembinus and that the first illustrated Γ manuscript took over the illustrations from that edition for a text which was derived from Σ. It seems to me, however, that after Jachmann's study the onus to prove their case is now on those who wish to separate the miniatures and the Γ-text. Jachmann did in fact adduce two examples to support his thesis, which in the absence of any evidence would be the most reasonable one. We shall come to these shortly but before they are discussed a textual point which at first sight does not seem to be of much significance will be looked at.

When the Calliopian manuscripts offer a reading that is quite different from that of the Bembinus, it is sometimes difficult for editors to make out a strong case for one reading against the other. A case in point appears to be *Ad.* 378:

SY. . . . piscis ceteros purga, Dromo;  
gongrum istum maximum in aqua sinito ludere  
tantisper: ubi ego venero, exossabitur;  
prius nolo. DE. haecin flagitia! SY. miquidem non placent  
et clamo saepe. salsamenta haec, Stephanio,  
fac macerentur pulchre.

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378 *Σ* Don. ad *And.* 418: rediero *A*

Most editors have preferred *rediero* of the Bembinus but *venero* has been favoured by several of the more recent<sup>1</sup> and they have an illustrious predecessor in the person of Richard Bentley. If we follow the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* in this case (not an unsound principle to apply in Terence, given the interpolated nature of the Calliopian manuscripts), preference should indeed be given to *rediero*.

The stage action at this part of the play is as follows. Syrus enters at line 364 from the wing by which he left to go to the forum at the end of Act II: cf. 286: 'ego iam transacta re convortam me domum cum opsonio.' On his return he is accompanied by two slaves, Dromo and Stephanio, who probably go into Micio's house at 376 and 380 respectively. While they are entering Syrus gives instructions first to Dromo at 376–8 and then to Stephanio at 380–1.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication in the text that Syrus leaves the stage. When he tells Dromo that the eel is to be filleted 'ubi ego rediero', he means, therefore, 'when I come home'. Strictly speaking, he has not yet returned home from his excursion to the forum.<sup>3</sup> The use of the verb *redire* in the *ubi*-clause might suggest, however, that Syrus is speaking these words when he is leaving a place to which he will return, i.e. that Syrus has actually entered the house. The reading *venero*, on the other hand, offers little scope for an erroneous interpretation. It seems likely, therefore, that *venero* is an explanatory gloss and that *rediero* is the original

<sup>1</sup> Kauer-Lindsay in the Oxford Classical Text; Marouzeau in the Budé edition; A. Pratesi, *Terenzio. Commedie*, ii (Rome, 1952); O. Bianco, *Terentius. Adelphoe* (Rome, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> Marouzeau and Sargeaunt (in the Loeb) interpreted the stage action quite differently. They believed that Syrus entered alone and handed the provisions inside to the slaves. But if this were so, one might expect

Syrus to call on Dromo and Stephanio to come and collect the food. It is true that these two attendants have not been mentioned earlier in the play, but the question of where they came from or how they met in with Syrus is unimportant compared with the evidence of the text itself of this scene.

<sup>3</sup> For this use of *redire* alone in the sense 'come/go home' cf. *Eun.* 811.

reading. Further evidence of a more substantial nature can also be adduced in favour of *rediero*.

In the Calliopian manuscripts there is a scene division immediately before Syrus' words at line 364. In the illustrated manuscripts three figures are shown in the miniature that depicts the action that follows—Dromo, Syrus, and Demea (Plate I). Dromo is sitting inside the house cleaning a fish; beside him on the ground are two other fish and an eel in a bowl. Syrus is walking away from the door and towards Demea who is on his left. Although Syrus is facing the *senex*, his right arm is extended and points in the direction of Dromo. That lines 376 ff. are the basis of the drawing can hardly be doubted since Dromo is portrayed, while Stephanio is not. The probable reason for this is that only Dromo was named in the scene heading in the manuscript on which the illustrated text was based.<sup>1</sup> Since it was the practice for the illustrator to depict all the characters who appeared in the heading, the obvious section to choose was that where all three were involved—376 ff. How has the artist interpreted the stage action at this point? He believed that Syrus entered the stage from the house. This is the conclusion to be reached from comparison with other figures making similar entrances<sup>2</sup> and from consideration of the miniature as a whole. If Syrus is not drawn as entering from the house, his striding position is inappropriate unless we believe that he is shown walking away from the door after he has called inside to Dromo without actually leaving the stage.<sup>3</sup> But if that is how the illustrator imagined the action, why was Dromo not drawn behind the door carrying the fish instead of already cleaning them? The two figures of Dromo and Syrus, taken together, show that the original artist thought that Syrus was speaking 376 ff. as he came out of the house and that Dromo was already occupied in cleaning the fish.<sup>4</sup> He has obviously misunderstood the stage action.<sup>5</sup> The reason for his error must be, I believe, that he read *rediero* and not *venero* at line 378!<sup>6</sup>

Let us return to Jachmann's contention that the first illustrations were drawn in conjunction with a *Γ* manuscript. Now we have found that they were linked

<sup>1</sup> Only Dromo is named along with Demea and Syrus in the scene headings at line 355 in the Bembinus, which has no scene division at 364.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the figure of Lesbia at *And.* III. 2 (481 ff.), who is drawn 'in a more static fashion but who is pointing and also looking inside the house, and that of Mysis at *And.* IV. 2 (684 ff.), who is facing the other characters on stage but is pointing inside.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to the striding figure of Syrus here are the figures of Geta at *Phorm.* I. 2 and of Syrus himself at *Ad.* II. 2. The manner in which Syrus is drawn is not confined, however, to characters who are entering. The figure which most closely resembles that of Syrus at *Ad.* 364 is that of the same character at *Ad.* II. 3 (254 ff.) where he is not entering. This latter miniature depicts the end of the scene where Ctesipho hears the sound of the door and Syrus calls on him to wait. Syrus apparently is moving towards Ctesipho to try and prevent him from leaving. That Syrus' posture is typical of an

entering character is shown, however, by the fact that in the miniature at *Ad.* II. 3 in the codex Bodleianus Auct. F. 2. 13 (O) Syrus is clearly drawn as if he is entering from the house.

<sup>4</sup> It is also possible that Dromo was not named in the scene heading and that the original illustrator drew him to indicate what was happening inside the house, as at *And.* III. 1, where Archylis and Glycerium are drawn behind the door. Even if this were so, the presence of Dromo and the absence of Stephanio would still indicate that the illustrator was depicting the action at 376 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Jachmann, 16 ff., cited this miniature as a classic example for proof that the illustrations were not based on observation of stage productions of the plays.

<sup>6</sup> A contributing factor may have been a misunderstanding of *ceteros* in line 376. The illustrator may have taken this to mean that Dromo was already engaged in cleaning fish.

with a manuscript which offered *rediero* in *Ad.* 378. Yet *venero* is the reading of all the Calliopians. Faced with this situation we would normally postulate *venero* in Γ and Δ and in Σ. If Jachmann's theory is accepted, an additional step has to be inserted in the stemma of the γ-branch of the tradition. The immediate illustrated archetype of the γ manuscripts had *venero*, but this archetype has to be derived from an earlier illustrated Γ manuscript which had *rediero* and which presumably also had *venero* as a variant reading or a gloss. This earlier Γ manuscript would reflect what was in Σ. In the other branch of the Calliopian tradition *venero* had replaced *rediero* before or with the appearance of Δ. The stemma for this part of the tradition would be as shown in

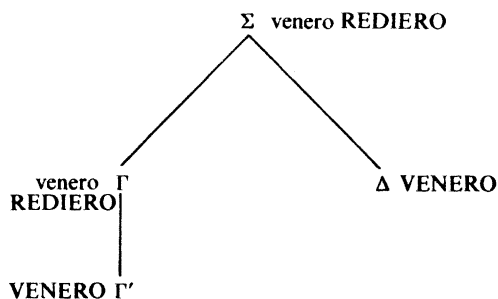


Fig. 1.

Figure 1. Such a hypothesis is not impossible and the postulation of Γ' might account for the greater degree of interpolation which is found in the γ manuscripts compared with the δ-group.<sup>1</sup> As far as the text of *Ad.* 378 is concerned, *rediero* would derive support from the two main branches of the tradition. But since we now have evidence of an illustrated manuscript with a reading that is not attested in the surviving Calliopians but is found in the Bembinus, Jachmann's view of the relationship between the miniatures and the Γ-text needs to be re-examined.

In order to demonstrate conclusively that the miniatures were first drawn for a Γ manuscript, Jachmann looked for instances where the illustrations could be linked with readings that are unique to the γ-group and therefore to the Γ-text. The chances of finding many examples where there are significant differences in the manuscripts in the few lines of a scene illustrated by a miniature and also clear links between the miniature and one branch of the tradition are very low indeed. Jachmann, however, found two such examples, both of which related to disagreement in the manuscripts concerning the assigning of words to the characters on stage.<sup>2</sup> Since the order in which the characters are named in the scene headings in Δ and δ and drawn in the miniatures in the γ manuscripts usually follows the order in which they first speak in the scene, such disagreement may be crucial.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Haut.* 1001: ad Menedemum hunc pergam Δ: ad Menedemum hinc pergam δ: hinc nunc ad Menedemum pergam γ. See Jachmann, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Jachmann, 99–106.

<sup>3</sup> Departures from the usual order in the miniatures are discussed by J. C. Watson,

'The relation of the scene headings to the miniatures in manuscripts of Terence', *H.S.C.P.* xiv (1903), 55–172, esp. 71 ff. His conclusion, however, that the scene headings are derived from the miniatures is unconvincing. There are a few departures from the normal order in the scene headings in the

One of Jachmann's examples was *Eun.* v. 8 (1031 ff.). If the current Oxford Classical Text is consulted, it will be seen that the order of names in the scene heading (CHAEREA-PARMENO-GNATHO-THRASO) agrees with the sequence in which they speak. In the miniatures of this scene, however, the characters are drawn in the order Chaerea-Parmeno-Thraso-Gnatho. The order of speaking would be in accord with the order of drawing if the words 'audin tu, hic quid ait?' (1037) were spoken by Thraso and not by Gnatho, to whom they are given in the OCT and most editions. A look at the critical apparatus shows in fact that these words are assigned to Thraso in three illustrated manuscripts (*CP<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>*) and it is a likely assumption that these manuscripts have retained what was in the archetype of the  $\gamma$ -group.<sup>1</sup> If there was no evidence that the words in question were ever assigned to Thraso in the other branches of the tradition, there would be good support for Jachmann's theory. In the Bembinus and the major manuscripts of the  $\delta$ -class, however, Thraso is named before Gnatho in the heading. From this we would conclude that antecedents of the Bembinus and the  $\delta$ -class also gave the words to Thraso and that the  $\gamma$  manuscripts alone have preserved what was in  $\Phi$ . Unless we can date the change of *nota* in all branches of the tradition other than the  $\gamma$  tradition prior to the creation of the first illustrations, this example is of no value in attaching the miniatures to the  $\Gamma$ -text and to no other.

Jachmann realized the limited value of *Eun.* v. 8 and placed much greater weight on *Haut.* II. 4 (381 ff.). Here the miniatures portray five characters: Bacchis, Antiphila, Clinia, Clitipho, and Syrus (Plate II). From the last two lines of the preceding scene, however, it is clear that Clitipho left the stage:

SY. abeas si sapias. CLIT. eo.

quid istic? SY. manebit. CLIT. hominem felicem! SY. ambula.

In II. 4 the young man is not mentioned and none of the major manuscripts assigns any words to him. There is no indication, therefore, that Clitipho returned in the course of the scene. In the non-illustrated manuscripts the scene headings give quite regularly the names Bacchis, Antiphila, Clinia, and Syrus. How, then, is the discrepancy between the illustration and the text to be explained?

Solutions to the problems go back as far as the seventeenth century. In his 1671 edition of Terence, Tannegui Le Fèvre brought the text into harmony with the miniatures by giving to Clitipho instead of to Clinia the words at lines 400-1: 'Syre, vix suffero: | hocin me miserum non licere meo modo ingenium frui'. Although this conjecture was damned by Bentley in typical fashion,<sup>2</sup> it was accepted by Bethe, who believed that this was proof 'dass die Terenz-Illustrationen nicht mit einer der uns bekannten Textrezensionen ursprünglich verwachsen sind'.<sup>3</sup> Jachmann rejected Le Fèvre's alteration to the text but thought that there was a kernel of truth in his suggestion. He proposed that although Terence did not give lines 400-1 to Clitipho the original

Bembinus: cf. *And.* v. 5; *Haut.* II. 3; IV. 7; *Phorm.* II. 1; II. 3; *Ad.* II. 1; II. 3; II. 4; V. 2. The view of Kauer, *Burs. Jahresh.* cxliii (1909), 192-3, that the Bembinus betrayed the influence of the illustrations in some of these cases, was refuted by Jachmann, 90 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Watson, *op. cit.* 90, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Ad loc.: 'Nihil quicquam vidi absurdus: ut equidem suspicer hominem flore Liberi uvidum hoc scripsisse'.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bethe, 'Die antiken Terenz-Illustrationen', *Arch. Jahrb.* xviii (1903), 96.

illustrator found such an assigning in the text he was using.<sup>1</sup> In his bibliographical survey of the work done on Terence in the years 1898–1908 Robert Kauer had revealed that the codex Valentiennensis (*v*), a manuscript of the γ-class but with no illustrations, did in fact assign these words to Clitipho.<sup>2</sup> Jachmann concluded that *v* alone retained the reading of the Γ-text. Since the error of the illustrations at *Haut.* II. 4 could be explained by a textual error that is unique, as far as we know, to a Γ-text, there are good grounds for believing that the illustrations were first drawn for a Γ manuscript.

Quite apart from the doubtfulness of *v*'s preserving alone what was in Γ, this solution still leaves some aspects of the miniature unexplained. In the illustration Bacchis stands apart on the left. Left of centre Antiphila and Clinia are drawn embracing each other. On the right there are the figures of Clitipho and Syrus. Clitipho is looking towards Syrus but his right forearm is extended. He is apparently referring to the three characters on his right. Syrus is reaching forward with his right arm and is about to grasp (in *P*) or has already grasped (in *C*) Clitipho's cloak at about hip level. The figures on the left clearly depict the stage action at lines 406 ff., where Antiphila and Clinia greet and embrace each other. But the manner in which Clitipho and Syrus are drawn seems inappropriate to this part of the scene. The deictic gesture of Clitipho is out of place here, and it would be better to connect it with 401: 'hocin me miserum non licere meo modo ingenium frui'. As for Syrus, it requires an elastic imagination to link his posture with his words at 409: 'ite intro; nam vos iamdudum exspectat senex'. Jachmann's solution, therefore, is not quite so convincing as it seems at first reading and I should now like to offer a quite different one which explains the two problems posed by the miniature—the presence of Clitipho and the manner in which Clitipho and Syrus are portrayed.

Carl Robert<sup>3</sup> linked the figures of Clitipho and Syrus with the stage action at 379–80 and those of the other three characters with 406 ff. The gesture of Clitipho certainly suits the question at the beginning of 380, 'quid istic?', referring to Clinia. But what is Syrus doing? Robert said he was 'den Clitipho zum Abgehen drängend', but if 'drängen' is meant in the physical sense of 'pushing', Robert's interpretation is erroneous, as Jachmann pointed out. Later, Robert described the miniature as an example of scene-combination.<sup>4</sup> To this Jachmann made several objections. First, he referred to his first chapter where he had demonstrated that when the illustrations were first drawn the illustrator drew only one picture for each scene that he found in his text. Since there is an illustration before *Haut.* II. 3 and there is no evidence of a scene division between the beginning of II. 3 and II. 4, we would have to suppose that there were two pictures for II. 3 and that the picture for II. 4 was incomplete, Syrus being absent.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, if the figures of Clitipho and Syrus

<sup>1</sup> Leo, *G.G.A.* 1903, 996, had thought that a 'Regisseur' was responsible for the assigning of the words to Clitipho. O. Engelhardt, *Die Illustrationen der Terenzhandschriften* (Inaug.-Diss. Jena, 1905), pp. 70–1, suggested Calliopius.

<sup>2</sup> Kauer, op. cit., 199.

<sup>3</sup> C. Robert, *Die Masken der neueren attischen Komödie* (Halle, 1911), 99.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik* (Berlin, 1919), 189. Here Robert is more accurate

(or at least less ambiguous) in his description of the action but less specific in relating the miniature to a particular part of the text.

<sup>5</sup> Jachmann's criticism here seems to be based on his unwillingness to accept the possibility that some miniatures were combined in the course of transmission with the loss of scene divisions and of figures (such as Syrus here) who appeared in both or all of the pictures so combined. Note also the *petitio principii* in an argument in a later work of



are linked with lines 379–80, they would by the normal practice of the illustrator be on the left side of the illustration. In other miniatures where different parts of a scene are depicted in the same picture, the earlier part is shown on the left.<sup>1</sup> With Jachmann I believe that Robert was mistaken in linking the figures of Clitipho and Syrus with 379–80. Consider, however, lines 375 ff.:

sy. sed quam cito sunt consecutae mulieres!  
 CLIT. ubi sunt? quor retines? sy. iam nunc haec non est tua.  
 CLIT. scio, apud patrem; at nunc interim. sy. nihilo magis.  
 CLIT. sine. sy. non sinam inquam. CLIT. quaeso paullisper. sy. veto.  
 CLIT. saltem salutem . . . sy. abeas si sapias. CLIT. eo.

Syrus has taken hold of Clitipho at line 376 ('quor retines?') to prevent him from going up to Bacchis and perhaps ruining the plan which has just been hatched. He probably continues to restrain the young man in this manner in the next two lines. The two figures of Clitipho and Syrus are a faultless representation of the stage action at 376 ff.<sup>2</sup> I would go further and state that these are the only lines in either Act II. 3 or Act II. 4 with which both figures agree. *The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that these two figures were in a miniature that was positioned at some point prior to line 376.* The implication of this conclusion is that the miniature at line 381 is probably a conflation of two miniatures.

Since this conclusion forms the basis for all that follows, a few remarks on why it did not appeal to Jachmann may be in order. Kauer<sup>3</sup> believed that the illustrations were not originally connected with the scene division and scene headings but that they were drawn in the margin beside the section which they described. It was only later that they were combined into one miniature at the beginning of each scene. To this view Jachmann was strongly opposed. Believing that the illustrations were dependent on the scene division he explained those illustrations which depict different parts of a scene by the fact that the original artist drew only one picture for each scene and that he had to include all those characters who were named in the scene heading. Sometimes, however, there was no single moment when all the characters were involved in the action and sometimes they were not all present on stage at the same time. On these occasions the artist drew a composite picture of different parts of the scene. Perhaps, however, because of his opposition to Kauer's hypothesis, Jachmann did not entertain seriously enough the possibility that scenes were combined in the illustrated manuscripts, as they certainly were in the other branches of the tradition. In the non-illustrated manuscripts two scenes could be combined by simply omitting the second scene heading where all the characters in the second scene were already named in the heading of the first, or by dropping the heading of the second scene and adding to the heading of the first scene the names of those characters who appeared only in the second.

Jachmann: 'ante *Phorm.* v. 3, 12 et *Ad.* v. 5 artificem antiquum in editione sua scaenarum interstitia nulla invenisse eo evincitur quod iam ante *Phorm.* v. 3, 1 Demiphoem Nausistratam Chremetem depinxit Chremete v. 3, 12 demum scaenam intrante . . .' (*Terentius. Codex Vaticanus latinus* 3868 . . . phototypice editus. Praefatus est G. Jachmann [Leipzig 1929], 13).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *And.* III. 2; IV. 2; IV. 4; *Haut.* IV. 4; *Eun.* III. 2; *Hec.* III. 4; v. 4; *Ad.* v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In the miniatures there are two other examples of a character holding on to another's cloak. At *Ad.* v. 2 Syrus is trying to hold back Demea and prevent him from entering the house; cf. 780–1: 'DE. mitte me . . . non manum abstinēs?' At *Phorm.* v. 1 Chremes is pulling Sophrona away from the door (cf. 741).

<sup>3</sup> Kauer, op. cit. 210.

In similar circumstances in an illustrated text the second miniature could on occasion be dropped without the first being altered in any way. Jachmann did admit that some miniatures may have been lost in this way.<sup>1</sup> In cases of one or more figures being added to a miniature from another there would often be no means of detecting a conflation. Some illustrations, however, do present difficulties or peculiarities that can only be accounted for, I believe, if we assume that two miniatures have been combined into one. Two conspicuous examples are the illustrations at *Hec.* III. 4 and v. 4, where one character is drawn twice. In each case two characters enter at the beginning of the scene after a monologue by a character who remains on stage. After a short entrance dialogue one of the entering characters sees the person on stage and begins a dialogue with him (or her). In III. 4 the third character (Sosia) leaves the stage before the second part of the scene, in v. 4 Parmeno remains. It seems to me that what has happened here is that instead of having to copy two miniatures with three figures in the first and two (or three) in the second, the illustrator (and scribe?) has chosen to draw only one miniature with four figures, combining elements of the two pictures. There are other possible examples<sup>2</sup> but Jachmann rejected the idea that they were conflations. In several cases the evidence, I believe, is against him.

Having said this, I shall now state what I believe to be the history of the miniature that now stands in our manuscripts at the beginning of *Haut.* II. 4 (i.e. before line 381) and then give the reasoning behind this reconstruction.

In the edition of Terence in which the scene division was created there were scene headings immediately before line 376 and immediately before line 381. These divisions were still in the text for which the illustrations were first drawn (*Ψ*). Accordingly, there were originally two miniatures. In the first the figures of Clitipho and Syrus which now occupy the right-hand side of the miniature before line 381 appeared on the right. On the left were Antiphila and Bacchis. The original miniature before 381 was the same as that which is now in the manuscripts, except that instead of the figures of Clitipho and Syrus there was only Syrus, perhaps pointing into the house. In a later illustrated text (*Ψ'*) the illustrator was forced to combine these two miniatures into one before line 376 because the scribe had not left room for the second before line 381. The combined illustration was the same as that which now appears in some of the γ manuscripts before line 381.

In the Calliopian tradition the scene division at line 376 had been lost and the scene (376–80) had been merged with the preceding one. When the miniatures were taken over from *Ψ'* into a Γ manuscript, the 'editor' was faced with a problem. In the text which he was using he had a division before line 381, while the illustrated text had a miniature before line 376 and nothing before 381. What he did was to place the illustration at the scene division in his Γ-text. It has survived in that position in our medieval manuscripts.

#### *Scene division at both 376 and 381*

Most often scene division coincides with an entrance and is normally found in Terence immediately before the entering character speaks. We occasionally

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. 13.

<sup>2</sup> On the miniature at *Phorm.* v. 3 see Watson, op. cit. 151–2. At *Haut.* v. 1 and v. 2 the discrepancies between the illustra-

tions in *C* and *P* show that conflation has occurred in at least one if not both of the manuscripts, though at a later stage in the transmission.

find division when a character is left alone on stage and delivers a monologue (*Hec.* 274, *Haut.* 213; cf. *And.* 432, where two characters are left on stage) and even when there is no change of personnel but simply a change of metre (*Eun.* 943, *Haut.* 980). In *Haut.* 11. 3 no characters enter and speak after the initial entrance of Syrus and Dromo at line 242. We may look, therefore, for changes of metre. This happens at lines 257, 265, 312, and 340 and a miniature may have appeared at any of these points, since the miniature at line 242 probably depicts the beginning of the scene. I have rejected these positions for the miniature in question in favour of line 376 from consideration of the problem as a whole. We have to explain the loss of a scene in the other branches of the tradition and this is more likely to have happened in the case of a short scene.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the very fact that two miniatures were combined suggests that Clinia was not represented in the first. This will be shown shortly. We would, therefore, have to place the scene division after line 360, where Clinia speaks. Nevertheless, the position of a scene division at line 376 would be exceptional and no exact parallel in Terence can be found. It should be remembered, however, that there are other 'irregular' scene divisions in Terence.<sup>2</sup> Lines 376–80 may have been given a separate scene heading because they form a transition between what has preceded and 11. 4. They are set off from the rest of 11. 3 by the exclusion of Clinia from the dialogue and from 381 ff. by the exit of Clitipho at line 380. They are also set off from what has immediately preceded by the change in Clitipho's attitude. At line 374 he has just said that Syrus will be surprised how he will conceal his feelings for Bacchis. Yet the moment that the women are announced in 375 it looks as if he will endanger the scheme of Syrus. This change of direction, so to speak,<sup>3</sup> and the significance of Clitipho's inability to control his feelings for Bacchis as far as the duping of Chremes is concerned (cf. 563 ff., 915 ff.) may have prompted a scene division before line 376.

An alternative hypothesis would be to postulate for *Ψ* a scene division at 376

<sup>1</sup> Donatus indicates a scene division at *And.* 722 after the short monologue of Mysis. The Calliopians have combined this brief scene (716–22) with the following one. At *Ad.* 511 the *γ* manuscripts do not have a new scene for the short monologue of Hegio (511–6). In this article I have followed the view of Jachmann, pp. 50 ff., that any scene division found in a group of manuscripts is to be regarded as an 'original' scene division. J. Andrieu, *Le dialogue antique* (Paris 1954), 155–6, thought that Jachmann was too dogmatic and believed that scene divisions were added as well as lost. Jachmann excluded too rigorously, perhaps, the possibility of any addition (e.g. with respect to a scene division at *Haut.* 593, found only in *F*). But as far as the textual tradition of Terence is concerned I believe that Jachmann is nearer the truth than Andrieu, whose arguments often support rather than contradict Jachmann's thesis.

<sup>2</sup> At *Haut.* 562 and *And.* 533 the scene division does not occur immediately before the first words of the entering character but

before words spoken by a character who has remained on stage from the preceding scene. The 'normal' division would have been at *Haut.* 563 and in the middle of *And.* 533: cf. *Ad.* 81, 364, 636, *Haut.* 954, *Hec.* 767. At *Haut.* 980, where the metre changes, a new scene is indicated in *D*, *G*, and *p*, although a more natural place would have been at line 978 where Chremes leaves the stage and where Kauer–Lindsay place it. At *Eun.* 909 Thais and Chaerea go into the house, leaving Pythias alone on stage. She speaks to herself for two and a half lines, then Chremes enters with the nurse in the middle of 912. One might expect the scene division to coincide with Chremes' arrival, but the scene begins at 910.

<sup>3</sup> Note the scene change (*γ*) at *Eun.* 943 where Pythias begins to play her trick on Parmeno. It is true that the metre also changes at 943 but the change of direction may have been a factor: cf. *Plaut. Aul.* 537, where there is a new scene in similar circumstances but no change in metre.

and none at 381. The miniature that has survived would not then be a conflation but would have illustrated two moments of one scene. As noted earlier, however, it would be unusual for the later episode to be shown on the left side of the picture. Another factor against this is that the Bembinus and the  $\delta$  manuscripts are agreed in having the scene division at 381 with the normal order of names in the heading. If the scene division had been moved from 376 to 381, one might expect to find some traces of the reordering of names. With scene divisions at 376 and 381 the agreement of *A* and the  $\delta$ -class would not be surprising.<sup>1</sup>

*The reason for the conflation*

If a decision to suppress one of the pictures was made before the section of the text was written out, we must assume a careful reading of the text. The simplest solution would have been to omit the first illustration. Although (on our reconstruction) this picture probably contained Bacchis and Antiphila, who did not appear in the miniature of the preceding scene and therefore entered in the section 376–80, a reading of the lines would have shown that they did not speak until 381. The first illustration could have been omitted and the second faithfully copied without creating any anomalies. Therefore the combined miniature was caused by a mistake on the part of the copyist who failed to leave space for one of the illustrations. If he had written 376 ff. immediately after 375 and not left room for the miniature at this spot, the mistake would have been easily masked by dropping the miniature at 376. Thus, we can conclude that the copyist did not leave space for the miniature at line 381.

*The original miniature at 376 and the conflation*

Faced with having to draw only one miniature at 376 instead of two (at 376 and 381), the illustrator had to depict Bacchis, Antiphila, Clinia, Clitipho, and Syrus. They were not all shown in the original miniature at 376, for if they were, the illustrator could have copied it faithfully and the combined miniature would never have been required. The miniature at 376 showed, therefore, either Clinia or the two women. Clinia is referred to at line 380 but the women are more pertinent to the manner in which Clitipho and Syrus are portrayed and they seem to be on the stage at line 376: 'iam nunc *haec* non est tua'. Clinia has been omitted, therefore, from my reconstruction.<sup>2</sup> The illustrator could have solved his problem by drawing Clinia on the extreme right or perhaps standing between the two groups (cf. Clitipho in *Haut.* iv. 4) in a rather apathetic pose. It should be kept in mind, however, that we are concerned here not with the original artist but with one whose task it was to *copy* his model. He may have been more inclined, therefore, to copy Clinia from the miniature at 381 than to add something of his own creation.<sup>3</sup> But since the

<sup>1</sup> If there were scene headings at 376 and 381, the former probably contained only the names of Clitipho and Syrus. Suppression of the former would not have affected the scene heading of the previous scene: cf. the apparent loss of the same two names in *A* at *Haut.* 980.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible, however, that neither

Clinia nor the two women were drawn.

<sup>3</sup> Study of the miniatures at *Haut.* v. 1 and v. 2 shows, I believe, that later illustrators used the pictures at their disposal for different purposes when pictures were combined. The figure of Chremes in v. 1 (*P*) is the same as the figure of Menedemus in v. 2 (*C*). See Jachmann, 138–48.

figure of Clinia could hardly be extracted on its own from the picture at 381, he took over the figures of Antiphila and Bacchis as well.

### *The postulation of $\Psi$*

The question arises whether it is not possible to accept these steps in the reconstruction of the miniature's history and yet place them within the tradition of the  $\Gamma$  manuscripts. Let us suppose that a  $\Gamma$  manuscript had the two illustrations, one before line 376 and the other before line 381. We must postulate another  $\Gamma$  manuscript ( $\Gamma'$ ) in which the two miniatures were combined. The reasons that led us to believe that the combination was caused by a scribe's failure to leave space for the second picture still apply. Thus  $\Gamma'$  would have had the combined miniature at 376 and nothing at 381. Another  $\Gamma$  manuscript has to be postulated ( $\Gamma''$ ) in which the miniature was moved from 376 to 381, the position it now occupies in the  $\gamma$  manuscripts. It is this last stage that is the most difficult to explain if we wish to attach the illustration to the  $\Gamma$  manuscripts and no others. The miniature must have been moved out of a desire to have it at a more natural or more usual place for a scene division—immediately before the first words of the newly arrived characters. But what little evidence there is seems to me to work against an editorial decision of this nature. A case in point is the miniature which appears at *Eun.* 943, where the  $\gamma$ -group alone has a division. The preceding scene begins at 923, where Parmeno holds the stage alone. During his monologue Pythias, who had left the stage at 922, returns. She speaks her first two lines (941–2) as an aside: 'ego pol te pro istis factis et dictis, scelus, | ulciscar ut ne impune in nos illuseris'. She begins her intrigue at the next line where she cries out in feigned anger 'pro deum fidem! facinus foedum!...' The miniature stands before 943. Yet it would be more usual for a new scene to begin at Pythias' entrance or at least immediately before her first words—before line 941. If at some stage in the  $\Gamma$ -tradition there was a move to 'regularize' scene divisions, one would expect this example above all others to have been affected. Actually what one finds in the tradition of Terence is that the classes of manuscripts do not differ in where they place a particular scene division but in respect to whether they have it or not. This does not indicate that the position of each scene division was made uniform by the influence of the different branches on each other. Rather it indicates that as long as a scene division survived its position was faithfully retained. Variations only arose when a particular scene division was suppressed in one or more classes.<sup>1</sup> Let us see, however, whether there is any evidence to show that an illustrated  $\Gamma$  manuscript was contaminated by other branches of the tradition with respect to scene division. Such evidence would consist of examples where (1) the  $\gamma$ -group agrees with  $A$  or the  $\delta$ -class in suppressing a scene division and (2) the miniature of the preceding scene in the

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting exception to this at *Phorm.* 795: 'NAVS. faciam ut iubes. sed meum virum ex te exire video? CHR. chem Demipho'. The Bembinus has the scene division before this line. *D.*, however, places it immediately before Chremes' first words. The position in *D* would be the more normal. Both manuscripts, however, name Nausistrata first in the heading and this suggests that the scene may have begun originally

before 'sed meum virum... video'. Thus 'regularization' has occurred in *D.* Unfortunately, the  $\gamma$  manuscripts do not mark a scene division here. Against this one example we should take into account the fact that the different branches of the tradition are usually in agreement, even where the scene begins at an unusual place, as at *And.* 533 and *Haut.* 562, or in the middle of the line, as at *And.* 581, *Ad.* 81, 364, 635.

γ-class is a conflation of two earlier illustrations. But the γ-group agrees only twice with the Bembinus and twice with the δ-class in combining scenes: *And.* v. 5-v. 6; *Haut.* v. 2-v. 2, 27 ff.; *Phorm.* v. 6-v. 7; *Hec.* v. 3-v. 3, 18 ff. In only the second of these are there signs of possible conflation in the preceding miniature, but the combination took place at a later stage of the tradition than that with which we are concerned (see above, p. 97 n. 2, and p. 99 n. 3). The hypothesis that the miniature was moved from 376 to 381 within the Γ tradition has little if any evidence for support. It seems more likely that the change in position occurred when the illustrations were taken from one textual tradition (Ψ) and joined with another (Γ) which had a scene division at a different place.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion from this study of the miniature at *Haut.* II. 4 is that the illustrations were not first drawn for a Γ manuscript and that there were at least two illustrated manuscripts in existence before the illustrations were taken over into a Γ manuscript, one (Ψ') being the copy of the other (Ψ). The miniature at *Ad.* 364, which points to a text which had *rediero* at 378, may be seen now as confirmation, since there are no longer grounds for believing that any Γ manuscript or even that Σ ever had *rediero*. The agreement of the miniature at *Ad.* 364 with the text of the Bembinus suggests a possible link between the illustrations and that manuscript or at least the class of which the Bembinus is a representative. Ψ can hardly be derived from the Bembinus since it retains scene divisions that have been lost in that manuscript (e.g. *Eun.* 943, 1049, *Phorm.* 441, *Ad.* 364, 958, quite apart from *Haut.* 376). Nor could the miniatures have been made for a direct ancestor of the Bembinus. In two examples characters (not κωφὰ πρόσωπα) who are present on the stage in a scene are not drawn in the miniature. At *Phorm.* II. 2 (591) only Geta is drawn, although Demipho and Chremes are on stage and Geta notes their presence in his monologue (600). At *Ad.* II. 3 (254) Sannio is absent. The reason for the omission of these three characters is probably that they were not named in the scene headings. In the Bembinus, however, all three do appear in the scene headings and it is unlikely that the names were absent in a direct antecedent. It is possible, therefore, that Ψ is to be traced back to Φ either directly or through a manuscript which broke off from the Bembinus class prior to the Bembinus itself or through a manuscript which broke off from the Φ → Σ stage of the tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Ψ should probably be dated earlier than the emergence of the Γ-text on the same grounds that Jachmann's dating of the Γ-recension to before A.D. 400 was criticized. For if Ψ came into being after the Γ-recension, we would have to place a Γ-text in the fourth century from the dating of the illustrations on stylistic grounds to the early fifth century. This seems very unlikely for a heavily interpolated text. The evidence of the codex Sangallensis (*Sa*) is not very helpful. In the few lines of text which the palimpsest reveals it shows Σ-like interpolations but it does not agree completely with what we would expect of a descendant of Σ. It may be a manuscript of the Bembinus class which has been contaminated by Calliopians or vice versa, or it may have been derived from an antecedent of Σ. The codex is dated to the late fourth century or to the fifth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This raises the question of the extent to which the scene division in the first illustrated Γ manuscript was influenced by the presence and position of the miniatures in Ψ. It is possible that scene divisions which

had been lost in Σ were reinstated.

<sup>2</sup> This discussion is based on the supposition that Ψ is derived from Φ. It is possible that this is not the case.

<sup>3</sup> See Marti, *op. cit.* 120.

As far as absolute dating goes, the working hypothesis has to be, I think, that the date of the illustrations is the date of  $\Psi$ . If ninth-century manuscripts can retain the stylistic characteristics of the early fifth century, I can see no reason for assuming that the  $\Gamma$  manuscripts did not faithfully reproduce the characteristics of the illustrations of  $\Psi$ . The first illustrated  $\Gamma$  manuscript should be placed therefore in the fifth century at the earliest and in the second half at that. The stemma proposed here is shown in Figure 2.

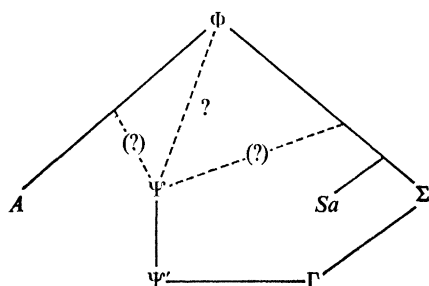


Fig. 2.

The conclusion that an illustrated text existed separate from and prior to the first illustrated  $\Gamma$  manuscript is not new. But the weak foundations for this view were ably demolished by Jachmann. Although this paper attempts to reinstate the older hypothesis, it does so in a modified form and very much within the framework of Jachmann's other findings, to which it owes a considerable debt.

Finally, I would like to make a suggestion which concerns the order of the plays in the different branches of the tradition. In this respect the  $\gamma$  manuscripts differ from both  $A$  and the  $\delta$ -class. The rationale underlying the order in the last two is quite clear. The Bembinus follows closely the chronological order (more accurately perhaps the order of composition),<sup>1</sup> while in the  $\delta$ -class the plays are arranged alphabetically, *Phormio* (*Formio*) coming before *Hautontimorumenos* and *Hecyra*. No satisfactory reason for the order in the  $\gamma$ -class has been given. Leo<sup>2</sup> suggested that the sequence was based on the authorship of the Greek originals, the first four, *Andria*–*Eunuchus*–*Hautontimorumenos*–*Adelphoe*, being derived from Menander, and the last two, *Hecyra*–*Phormio*, from Apollodorus of Carystus. This is not very convincing. The order of the first three plays in the  $\gamma$  manuscripts, *Andria*–*Eunuchus*–*Hautontimorumenos*, is the same as that in the Bembinus, which probably retains the order of plays in  $\Phi$ .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. Klose, *Die Didaskalien und Prologe des Terenz* (Diss. Bamberg, 1966), 17 ff., suggests that *Eunuchus* was composed before *Hautontimorumenos* but produced third after *Andria* and *Hautontimorumenos*. This view is based on the information in the *didascaliae* that *Eunuchus* was 'facta II' and that *Hautontimorumenos* was 'facta III'. Leo, p. 324, thought that this information was the work of a later 'Grammatiker'.

<sup>2</sup> Leo, 319.

<sup>3</sup> The order in the Bembinus seems to be the one followed in the Suetonian life of

Terence (see Leo, 320) and may have been the order of plays in  $\Sigma$  as well as in  $\Phi$ . The order of plays in the  $\delta$  manuscripts is almost certainly late and probably connected with the strange position of the *didascaliae* (after the prologues) in the  $\delta$  manuscripts. Jachmann, 131–2, made the attractive suggestion that the *didascaliae* in the  $\delta$  branch were originally taken over from an ancestor of the  $\gamma$  manuscripts. Presumably the model of  $\Delta$  had no *didascaliae* and their absence may have caused the ordering of the plays into alphabetical sequence.



Plate I. The miniature at *Ad. 364* in *P* (no. 500 in Jones and Morey).





Plate II. The miniature at *Haut*. 381 in *P* (no. 361 in Jones and Morey).

The order of the last three plays in the γ manuscripts is *Adelphoe-Hecyra-Phormio*, the reverse order of the last three plays in the Bembinus. It will be noticed, however, that the two groups of three in the γ manuscripts are in alphabetical order: *Andria-Eunuchus-Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe-Hecyra-Phormio*. I suggest, therefore, that at some time there was a two-volume edition of Terence which was based on a manuscript which contained the plays in the traditional order. In the second volume, however, the order *Phormio-Hecyra-Adelphoe* was changed so that these plays could appear in alphabetical sequence, which by chance was the order of the plays in the first volume. Since the Terentian corpus is hardly large enough to require two volumes, the most likely occasion for such a division would have been the production of a de luxe illustrated edition—either Ψ or Ψ' or the first illustrated Γ manuscript.

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