

## CONTAMINATION IN THE MIXED MSS OF TERENCE: A PARTIAL SOLUTION?

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All of the mediaeval MSS of Terence that have so far been brought to light and examined belong to the Calliopian class, which forms one branch of the tradition as a whole, the other major branch being represented by the Bembinus from antiquity.<sup>1</sup> In a tradition that is as heavily contaminated as that of Terence in the mediaeval period the hope of constructing a stemma of the Calliopians that in any way approaches completeness or credibility is very slight.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it seems doubtful whether long and detailed study of the mediaeval MSS would assist in the recovery of the *ipsissima verba* of our author. Perhaps it is because of the complexity of the stemmatic problem and the apparently limited profit to be derived from time-consuming collation that little work has been done on these MSS. Yet it is in these that must lie the clues to the earlier history of the Calliopian tradition, about which we know so little. This article will concern itself with some MSS whose stemmatic value has not been recognized. Hopefully it will be shown that further progress can be made in extending the hitherto very bare framework of the Calliopian stemma and in providing more information about the early history of the tradition.

The Calliopians can be divided into three main groups. The  $\delta$  class, whose principal members are *D* (*Laurentianus* XXXVIII 24, saec. x), *G* (*Vaticanus latinus* 1640, saec. xi), *L* (*Lipsiensis*, *Stadtbibl.* I 37, saec. x), and *p* (*Parisinus latinus* 10304, saec. x), is characterized by the

<sup>1</sup> I use the term "Calliopian" simply for convenience, without suggesting that all the mediaeval MSS are derived from his "recension." The identity of Calliopius and the extent of his influence on the tradition are problems that remain unsolved.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence 1952<sup>2</sup>) 373: "In nessun altro autore si palesa così chiaramente come qui in Terenzio non già l'errore ma il limite dei metodi lachmanniani."

“alphabetic” order of plays (*An.*, *Ad.*, *Eun.*, *Ph.*, *Haut.*, *Hec.*) as well as by distinctive common readings. *C* (*Vaticanus latinus* 3868, saec. ix) and *P* (*Parisinus latinus* 7899, saec. ix) are the two purest MSS of the  $\gamma$  class. In addition to having common errors in their text these two MSS present the plays in the order *An.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.*, *Ad.*, *Hec.*, *Ph.*, and have illustrations, which also appear in some other members of the  $\gamma$  class. By far the largest number of the Calliopians, however, fall under the rubric of *codices mixti* ( $\mu$ ). Most of these have the plays in the  $\gamma$  order and a few of them contain illustrations derived from the same source as those in *C* and *P*. As their designation suggests, however, they differ from *C* and *P* in that their text shows, in differing proportions, both  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  readings.

The most widely accepted view of the relationship of the mixed MSS to the  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  classes has been that which was propounded in greatest detail in R. H. Webb over sixty years ago in an article whose prime aim was to construct the stemma of the  $\gamma$  MSS.<sup>3</sup> After examining a sample from the large number of the mixed MSS he concluded that the mixed group was descended from the same archetype as *C* and *P*, i.e., the  $\gamma$  archetype, but through an intermediary ( $X^1$ ) which had been contaminated by a  $\delta$  source. He then accounted for the different proportion of  $\delta$  readings that appeared in his sample MSS by subdividing them into three groups and postulating greater or lesser influence from the  $\delta$  class after the split from  $X^1$ . Webb’s conclusions may be valid for some of the mixed MSS with which he was concerned. *E* and *F*, for example, appear to be much closer to the  $\gamma$  than to the  $\delta$  MSS and indeed they are classed with the former in the current OCT. Two points, however, are worth noting. Webb’s results were based primarily on collation of part of one play, and his sample of mixed MSS was a relatively small one. Is “the whole mass of later MSS” to be fitted into a stemma which is based on partial examination of eleven representatives of the *codices mixti*? It seems unlikely that contamination operated so exclusively from the  $\delta$  to the  $\gamma$  MSS. Yet one important factor seems to lend support to Webb’s conclusions—the agreement in the order of plays between the  $\gamma$  and the  $\mu$  classes. But how significant is this? Like the historical linguist, the student of the history of a textual tradition must first reconstruct the prehistory of the

<sup>3</sup> “An attempt to restore the  $\gamma$  archetype of Terence manuscripts,” *HSCP* 22 (1911) 55–110.

evidence that he has at his disposal before giving any weight to a common feature. The agreement between the  $\gamma$  and the mixed MSS has some significance only if the order of plays in these MSS is an innovation; in other words, if the sequence of plays in the Calliopian archetype ( $\Sigma$ ) was that found in the  $\delta$  class or was different from that in  $\gamma$  or  $\delta$ . On this point few scholars have committed themselves and I believe it is true to say that we just do not know the order of the plays in  $\Sigma$ .<sup>4</sup> To find this out more work has to be done on the Calliopians.

Despite the difficulties posed by contamination it is possible to go further than might be supposed. In 1900 the American scholar, Minton Warren, pointed out the importance of paying attention to the verse division in the tradition of Terence.<sup>5</sup> Although he was most interested in the possible reconstruction of the *distinctio versuum* in the Calliopian archetype and his study was confined to the Bembinus and DGP of the Calliopians, this approach won the support of Robert Kauer, who stressed the usefulness of this aspect of the paradosis for determining relationships among the MSS.<sup>6</sup> Its potential value for dealing with a heavily contaminated tradition is apparent. Contamination commonly and often intractably occurs when a scribe replaces a word or phrase in his exemplar by a variant drawn from another MS or from the margins or scholia in his exemplar. After the scribe has finished his task, further additions may be made by later users of the codex, and when this MS itself becomes an exemplar, the procedure may well be repeated. Thus it becomes increasingly difficult to discover the affiliations of a MS purely on the basis of textual readings. If, however, each successive scribe has attempted to reproduce the verse division of his exemplar, the *distinctio versuum* would not usually be

<sup>4</sup> F. Leo, "Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der terenzischen Komödien und der Commentar des Donatus," *RhM* 38 (1883) 316-47, believed that the  $\delta$  group most truly represented the Calliopian recension and that the order of plays in  $\Sigma$  was the alphabetic one: so also (on the latter point at least) L. W. Jones & C. R. Morey, *The miniatures of the manuscripts of Terence prior to the 13th century*, II (Princeton 1931) 20 ff. G. Jachmann, *Die Geschichte des Terenztextes im Altertum* (Basel 1924) 127 ff., also thought that the  $\delta$  branch more accurately reflected the "Calliopian" archetype but did not go into the question of the order of plays in  $\Sigma$ . In his review of Jachmann's book P. Wessner, *Gnomon* 3 (1927) 345, stated his opinion that the alphabetic order was not that of  $\Sigma$  or even of  $\Delta$ , the archetype of the  $\delta$  MSS. One of the major points of this article will be to provide evidence for Wessner's conjecture. More recently, M. Brozek, *Eos* 51 (1961) 79-84, has speculated that the order of plays in  $\Sigma$  was the same as in the Bembinus.

<sup>5</sup> "On the *distinctio versuum* in the manuscripts of Terence," *AJA* 4 (1900) 99-125.

<sup>6</sup> "Bericht über die Terenzliteratur in den Jahren 1898-1908," *JAW* 143 (1909) 176-270, esp. 182-85.

affected by this type of contamination. Even where a scribe has copied longer sections of the text from a MS other than his main exemplar, examination of the verse division may not only confirm what the text itself suggests but also reveal more specifically the relationship of his secondary source to the surviving MSS. For the verse division to be a profitable area of enquiry, however, it is necessary that there be a large enough number of MSS which are to some extent erroneous in this aspect of the text. Fortunately, in those Calliopians which are not written as prose the accuracy of the *distinctio* varies considerably from one MS to another and even from play to play within the same MS. Care must be taken, of course, in the significance accorded to common errors in the *distinctio*. There are certain kinds of errors that could be made independently by many scribes. It is far from inconceivable that several scribes would independently transfer final monosyllabics such as *em* or *ah* to the beginning of the next verse beside the words with which they are closely associated. Conversely, when enjambment occurs and the syntactic unit ends with the first word of the second verse, several scribes might well write the word as the final part of the first verse. Again, an unusually long verse might prompt scribes to divide the verse at the wrong word and agreement between MSS may be coincidental. Isolated common errors of this kind are of limited significance. If, however, two or more MSS consistently agree in erroneous verse division over a continuous section of the text, the evidence for postulating a common ancestor for these MSS is extremely good. Naturally, this conclusion holds good only for the play or section of a play where they agree in errors in verse division. In order to extend this conclusion to other sections of the text where the *distinctio* offers no assistance we must use more traditional methods and examine the text itself. If the readings offered by a MS suggest a relationship similar to that indicated by the verse division, we are on fairly safe ground if we assume that the stemma which the verse division points to is valid here also. We are certainly on safer ground than if we depend on textual readings alone. In a contaminated tradition one might say that there are very few common errors that are of themselves significant stemmatically since they may result from horizontal influence rather than from related descent.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On the problems posed by the "mixed" MSS of Juvenal see U. Knoche, *Die Ueberlieferung Juvenals* (Berlin 1926) 6 ff.

The major Calliopian MSS that are relevant to this study are *DFGLP*. Of these *P* and *F* are written as verse and have an extremely high degree of accuracy. *G* and *L* have the appearance of prose but the *distinctio* of their exemplar is shown by the use of initial capitals in words that began the verse. Parts of *D* are written as verse, parts as prose (sometimes with initial capitals preserving the *distinctio*). Of the other major MSS used by Kauer-Lindsay in the OCT *E* is written as verse but the *distinctio* is quite arbitrary, while *C* and *p* are almost completely written as prose. To give a full picture of the verse division in the purer  $\gamma$  MSS the testimony of a MS that is very closely related to *C* will be invoked—that of *O* (*Bodleianus Auct.* F 2 13, saec. xii).<sup>8</sup> For the purposes of this article I have chosen four MSS from the mixed group, which have been selected because of the significance of the verse division found in them. In their text all four show that contamination has occurred at some point in their history in that they offer both  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  textual errors. The four MSS are *N* (*Leidensis Vossianus* Q 38, saec. x), *P<sup>b</sup>* (*Parisinus latinus* 9345, saec. xi), *P<sup>c</sup>* (*Parisinus latinus* 7900A, saec. xi), and *V<sup>b</sup>* (*Vindobonensis Palatinus* 85, saec. xi).

The Vienna MS was mentioned by Jean Andrieu in a brief note published in 1940.<sup>9</sup> From photographs of a small part of the text it was clear to Andrieu that the MS belonged to the Calliopian branch of the tradition. Because of the order of the plays he further assigned it to the  $\gamma$  branch. At the same time he noted that it shared with the  $\delta$  MSS the word order *hic sit vir bonus* at *An.* 915. The results of a full collation that he promised to undertake have never, to my knowledge, been published. The next mention of the MS is in the Budé edition, where Marouzeau<sup>10</sup> placed it alongside the purer members of the  $\gamma$  class in his stemma—a placing that cannot have been based on an examination of the MS, as will become apparent. The text of the plays is contained on ff. 58<sup>r</sup>–134<sup>v</sup> and the plays are presented in the order *An.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.*, *Ad.*, *Ph.* The MS ends at *Ph.* 967 (*medio*). It will be seen that the comedies appear in the sequence found in the  $\gamma$  class except that *Hecyra*, which should be in fifth place, is missing.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On this MS see C. Hoewing, "The codex Dunelmensis of Terence," *AJA* 4 (1900) 310–38.

<sup>9</sup> "Nouveaux manuscrits de Térence," *REL* 18 (1940) 54–56.

<sup>10</sup> *Térence*, I (Paris 1942) 87.

<sup>11</sup> A marginal note at the beginning of *Phormio* (f. 120<sup>v</sup>) reads *hic deficit quinta comedia hecyræ*, but this is written in a later hand. Whether *Hecyra* appeared in fifth position in

The text has been written by at least two hands, one of whom is responsible for *An.* 639–981, *Eun.* 1–163, *Ad.* 172–529, 895–997 and the whole of *Phormio*. In these sections the text is written as prose; the rest is written as verse. An interesting feature of this MS is that it uses Greek letters for *notae personarum* in parts of the text. Detailed information of the sigla will be given when the *distinctio* of *Haut.* is discussed. Of the other three MSS *N* has received most attention. Bethe<sup>12</sup> believed that it belonged to the  $\delta$  group, while Webb placed it in one of the three groups of mixed MSS descending ultimately from the  $\gamma$  archetype—in that one which had been most influenced by the  $\delta$  MSS.<sup>13</sup> The plays are in the  $\gamma$  order and are illustrated. The miniatures, however, seem to be independent of those found in the other illustrated MSS.<sup>14</sup> Little attention has been paid to *P<sup>b</sup>* and *P<sup>c</sup>*, in both of which the plays appear in the  $\gamma$  order.

If the results of this study may be anticipated, the verse division in these four mixed MSS will show that for at least part of their text they are drawn from the same archetype as the  $\delta$  MSS. It is not easy, however, to present the evidence briefly and cogently. *D* and *G* tend to be inconsistent and/or inaccurate in observing the *distinctio*. *D* is often in independent error, while there are stretches of the text where we find no initial capitals in *G*. Accordingly, there are very few passages of any length where *DGL* and the four mixed MSS are all in common error. It is necessary, therefore, to supplement those sections where most of the MSS are in common error with evidence drawn from other sections where the recalcitrant MSS have preserved the *distinctio* and are not in independent error. In the interests of brevity and,

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the exemplar of *V<sup>b</sup>* or whether it was in last place and has been lost because of this cannot be ascertained with certainty. Some MSS do have *Hecyra* after *Phormio*: see Webb (above, note 3) 65 note 5 (a list which is by no means complete). For reasons which will become apparent in the course of this paper, however, I believe that *V<sup>b</sup>* is derived from a MS in which the beginning or perhaps all of *Hecyra* was missing.

<sup>12</sup> Terentius, *Codex Ambrosianus H.75 inf. phototypice editus. Praefatus est E. Bethe (Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti duce Scatone de Vries, VIII) (Leiden 1903) coll. 26 ff.* He concludes (col. 46): “Vero haud dissimile puto Vossianum *N* originem cepisse ex gente codicum *DG* qui quidem ipsi picturis carent.” Bethe (with Jones & Morey) dates *N* to the tenth century.

<sup>13</sup> Webb (above, note 3) 74–75.

<sup>14</sup> Jones & Morey (above, note 4) 133: “No certain traces of the old series of miniatures can be found in his pictures” and 147: “It follows that the manuscript copied by *N* was copied as to text only and had no illustrations.”

hopefully, of clarity much of the evidence will be given in tabular form. In the apparatus below the tables an initial capital signifies that in the MSS concerned the word begins the verse or, in the case of *G* and *L* (and sometimes *D*), is capitalized. Words which begin with a lower case letter are those which should stand at the beginning of a verse or should have initial capitals but do not. It is with those words that the numeration in the apparatus agrees. Thus capitalized words which precede them in the apparatus normally stand in the preceding line.<sup>15</sup>

### *Eunuchus*

We shall begin with *Eunuchus* since in this play the verse division is inaccurately preserved to a high degree in our MSS. The first section to be examined is 943–87 (Table 1). This part of the text is missing from *G* and for the verse division of the  $\delta$  archetype we must rely on *D* and *L*. The scribe of *L* has carefully transmitted the verse division of his exemplar in this play as in the other five.<sup>16</sup> *D*, on the other hand, is one of the least reliable MSS as far as the *distinctio* in *Eunuchus* is concerned. Although the text is written as verse down to 1033, there are only about sixty lines which begin and end with the correct word.<sup>17</sup> For almost the whole play *D* offers verse division that appears in none of the MSS that I have investigated so far. It is all the more striking, therefore, that *D* agrees closely with the other five MSS at 943–52 before falling back into its normal procedure. The significant feature of this section of the text, however, is the extent to which *LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* agree in the verse division. Not only do they have common errors (against the correct *distinctio* in *FOP*) but they also show the correct division at the same verses. This kind of agreement continues to the end of the play. From 988 to 1094 they have the correct division at 988–92, 996–1002, 1006, 1019, 1025, 1027–33, 1036, 1039–42, 1045,

<sup>15</sup> Minor orthographic and textual variants in the MSS are not noted in the apparatus. *N*, for example, reads *video a rure* at *Eun.* 967 and begins the verse with the preposition, while *LP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* read *video rure* and begin the verse at *rure*.

<sup>16</sup> A MS written as prose but with the *distinctio* observed by the use of capitals is often a more reliable witness of the verse division in its exemplar than a MS written in verse, since in the latter the scribe may have innovated drastically (as is the case in *E*). In the former one may expect to find capitals at changes of speaker or at the beginning of new sentences even where they do not represent the beginning of a new verse in the exemplar. In *L*, however, there are very few examples of this.

<sup>17</sup> This number excludes the prologue where the *distinctio* is correct.

TABLE I. (*Eun.* 943-87)

Verse Number	Correct verse division	No verse division	Wrong verse division
943-44	<i>FOP DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
945	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
946	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
947	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
948-50	<i>FOP DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
951	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LN DP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
952	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
953	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
954-55	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
956	<i>FOP D</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
957	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
958	<i>FOP</i>		<i>NV<sup>b</sup> P<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup> L D</i>
959	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
960	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup> V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
961	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
962	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
963	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
964	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
965	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LN P<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
966	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
967	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
968	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
969	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> N</i>
970	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
971-77	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
978	<i>FOP</i>		<i>DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
979-80	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
981	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> D</i>
982-85	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D</i>
986	<i>FOP D</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
987	<i>FOP</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>

945 *Quid / miseret DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 946 *Huc / quae DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 947 *Indigna / quae / Numnam LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> In / quae / Turba D* 951 *Factum / dicam DP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Est / dicam LN* 952 *Quae / scis DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 953 *Et / nescio / Atqui LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Eius / nescio D* 954 *Inventa / ille D* 955 *Esse / quid D* 956 *Miseris / hem / conligavit LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 957 *Vt / quid LNP<sup>b</sup> Atque / Thaide / quid P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Thaide / quid D* 958 *Porro / quod / numQuam NV<sup>b</sup> Porro / quod / Numquam P<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup> Porro / quod / Vidi L* 959 *Vidi / tantum D* 960 *Hoc / quis LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup> An / quid V<sup>b</sup> Facinus / An / quis D* 961 *Vidit / prendi LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Vmquam / prendi D* 962 *Nescio / dico DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 963 *Nostrum / obsecro DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 964 *Nequam / atque*



1048–49, 1057, 1067–68, 1073, 1079–80, and 1084. In fifty-six of the remaining seventy lines all five MSS are in common error. The other fourteen verses offer examples where one or two of the MSS are in independent error against a common error or against the correct *distinctio* in the others. The evidence clearly shows that these five MSS are descended from a common ancestor for this section of *Eunuchus*. When G resumes at 1022, it does not offer solid testimony that it shared the errors of the other MSS. It agrees in a few places but almost always at a change of speaker or at a new sentence. In most verses, however, the *distinctio* is simply not marked by the use of capitals. But at other parts of this play, where the verse division is more fully indicated, we find that it agrees in error with these MSS. One of these sections is 745–64, where capitals at *hanc* (1) (744), *haec* (746), *venit* (752), *quantas* (755), *stultum* (761), and *obsera* (763), in agreement with the *distinctio* in  $LP^bP^cV^b$ ,<sup>18</sup> are especially significant, since they cannot be explained by a change of speaker or by the fact that the word begins a new sentence.<sup>19</sup> A further passage where G agrees with some of the MSS is 539–75, the details for which are given in Table 2.<sup>20</sup> The primary reason for citing this passage is to show how the MSS under discussion may be further subdivided. It will be seen that on the basis of common errors the MSS can be subdivided into two main groups—(G)LNP<sup>b</sup> on the one hand and P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> on the other. If we take into account the common errors at 943 ff. and the fact that none of the MSS is a descendant of an other, three possible stemmata (obviously unrefined) present themselves:

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DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 965 Quor | quid | Neque LN Quor | quid | Ne P<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Intro | quid  
 D 966 Pereas | quidquid D 967 Faciam | quidve LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Esse | quidve D  
 968 Rure | dicam LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Video | dicam D 969 Hercle | scio DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Dicam(2)  
 | scio N 970 Sed | ego | Intro LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> Huic | ego | Narra D 973 Neque (2) | ubi  
 D 974 Commuto | sed D 976 Ostium | quis D 977 Gaudeo | quem D 978 Hem |  
 quid DLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 979–80 ere | Primum | quicquid D 981 Mea | quid LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>  
 Factum (1) | quid D 982 Interrogasti | rem D 983 Quendam | eunuchum D 984  
 Thaidi | emit D 986 Chaerea | hem LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 987 Meretrix | an LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> In this section N is in independent error (so also D).

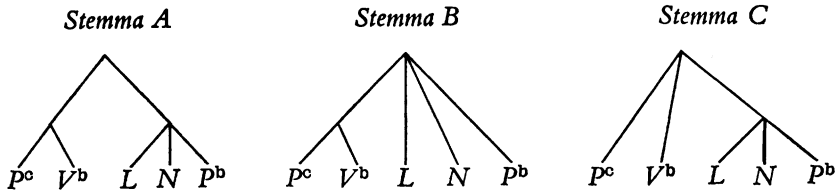
<sup>19</sup> Other agreements of GLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup> are at *quia* (745), *domi* (747), *id* (748), in (754), and *nemo* (757).

<sup>20</sup> I omit reference to D since the *distinctio* in this MS is quite arbitrary at this section.

TABLE 2. (*Eun.* 539-75)

Verse Number	Correct verse division	No verse division	Wrong verse division
539	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
540	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	
541	<i>FOP</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
542-47	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G(542/46)</i>	<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
548	<i>FOP</i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
549	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
550	<i>OP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>F</i>	<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>
551	<i>FOP</i>	<i>GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup></i>
552	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
553	<i>FOP</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
554	<i>FOP LNP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
555	<i>FOP</i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
556	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
557-58	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
559	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
560	<i>OP LNP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>FG</i>	<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
561	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
562	<i>FOP</i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
563	<i>OP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>F</i>	<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>
564	<i>OP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>FG</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup></i>
565	<i>OP</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> G P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
566	<i>OP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>FG</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup></i>
567	<i>OP GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>F</i>	
568	<i>FOP</i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
569	<i>FOP</i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup> P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
570	<i>FOP GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
571	<i>FOP</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
572	<i>FOP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>LNP<sup>b</sup></i>
573	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup> GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
574	<i>FOP</i>		<i>LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> G</i>
575	<i>FOP P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>GLNP<sup>b</sup></i>

541 *Ei / praefecimus LNP<sup>b</sup> Vt / praefecimus P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 542 *Locus / praeteriit P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 543 *Parati / homo P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 544 *Aut / nunc P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 545 *Vt / idque P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 546 *Ab / is P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*  
547 *Qui / quid P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 548 *Conicere / nisi GLNP<sup>b</sup> Neque / nisi P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 550 *Nemo (2) / iamne LNP<sup>b</sup> Nemo (2) / Iamne G* 551 *Gaudium / nunc / Interfici LNP<sup>b</sup>* 552 *Interfici / ne P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 553 *Aliqua / sed LNP<sup>b</sup> Vita / sed P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 554 *Nunc / qui P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*  
555 *Enicet / quid GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 556 *Vnde / vestitum / Quid LNP<sup>b</sup> Vnde / vestitum GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 557 *Sanus / adibo P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 558 *Video / chaerea P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 559 *Vestitus / quid / Quid (2) LNP<sup>b</sup> Vestitus / quid GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 560 *Satine / quid P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 561 *O / nemo P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*



Stemma C will be excluded if  $P^o$  and  $V^b$  are in common error against the correct *distinctio* in the subarchetype of  $LNP^b$ . There is no shortage of examples of this. Verses 542–47 (cited in Table 2) are just the conclusion of a long section beginning at 412 where  $P^o$  and  $V^b$  share the same inaccurate division against the correct *distinctio* in the other group.<sup>21</sup> Conversely, stemma B will be ruled out if  $LNP^b$  are in common error when  $P^oV^b$  have the correct *distinctio*. At 315–50  $LNP^b$  have almost exactly the same verse division, being in common error in twenty of these lines (occasionally with G). With the exception of two verses where it is in independent error  $V^b$  has the correct *distinctio*, while for most of the same passage  $P^o$  is in independent error. Since there is no evidence to believe that  $V^b$  has changed exemplars at this point, the conclusion must be that the archetype of  $P^o$  and  $V^b$  had the correct verse division in this section.<sup>22</sup> Thus stemma B is excluded and we are left with stemma A.

562 Videre / narra GLNP<sup>b</sup> Quem / narra / Quaeso P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 563 Immo / nostin GLNP<sup>b</sup>  
 564 Hanc / istam LNP<sup>b</sup> 565 Sic / Ei / virgo LNP<sup>b</sup> Sic / Hodie / virgo G Data / virgo  
 P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 566 Praedicem / quom / Me LNP<sup>b</sup> 568 Scio / quid GLNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 569  
 Coepi / erat / Quem LNP<sup>b</sup> erat / Quem G Forte / erat P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 570 Fuerat / neque P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>  
 571 Me / ibi LNP<sup>b</sup> Me / ibi / Quid P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 572 Quid / ut LNP<sup>b</sup> 573 Cum / Dedu-  
 cior / pro LNP<sup>b</sup> Deducior / pro GP<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup> 574 Tandem / rogas / Audirem LNP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>o</sup>V<sup>b</sup>  
 rogas / Audirem G 575 Antipho / num GLNP<sup>b</sup>

<sup>21</sup> At 530–37, to give but one further example,  $P^o$  and  $V^b$  begin verses at *veniam* (530), *o* (531), *Thais* (532), *rus* (533), *nos* (534), *Chremes* (535), *certum* (536), and *eo* (537).

<sup>22</sup> In the scene in which 315–50 stand  $V^b$  agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS at 302 *omnes senem perdant*; 304 *quidve es*; 326 *est sceleris*; 341 *dicit*; 335 *contra dono*; 364 *deducam*; 384 *cruciant omnibus modis*; 387 *factum merito*. In addition there is room left for a *nota* at the beginning of 364 (with DGLp<sup>2</sup>Ev). Against the  $\delta$  MSS we find *illum alterum* (300), *bona est* (316), *huc cum* (345), *partes fratris* (354), and *deducam* (371). This predominance of  $\delta$  over  $\gamma$  readings is similar to what we find elsewhere, as will be shown later in this paper. Moreover,  $V^b$  shares with  $P^o$  some unusual errors in the first part of the play: omission of *est* (247), *fortunatum* (298), *quid sit* (349), and *et ei* (352). To these may be added two errors which  $P^oV^b$  share with  $p$ : *adventamus* (255, with the Bembinus) and *numquid vis me aliud* (363).

This raises interesting questions about the archetype of *DGLp*, which are closely related in text and have the alphabetic sequence of plays. It has already been pointed out that *G* shares some of the common errors in verse division shown by *LNP<sup>b</sup>*. Presumably, therefore, *G* is to be placed at some point in the *LNP<sup>b</sup>* stemma, in close proximity to *L*. Because of their textual similarity and the order of plays a similar position in the stemma would seem to hold good for *D* and *p*. In the same branch of this stemma, however, we have in *N* and *P<sup>b</sup>* two MSS which show the allegedly  $\gamma$  order of plays, while in the other branch of the stemma (*P<sup>e</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*) we find another two MSS which attest to the  $\gamma$  order. The most obvious conclusion to which the evidence points is that the  $\delta$  tradition has a much larger membership than has been generally believed. Since it now includes MSS which have a different order of plays and since this order of plays is the same as that found in the other major branch of the Calliopian tradition, it seems that the alphabetic order of plays in *DGLp* is a secondary development within the  $\delta$  tradition. In other words, the alphabetic order is a distinctive feature only of a subgroup of the  $\delta$  class. It follows from this that the  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  classes go back to an archetype which offered the plays in the order that up till now has been termed the  $\gamma$  order. This now becomes the Calliopian order.

Other explanations may be considered: (1) that *N*, *P<sup>b</sup>*, and the archetype of *P<sup>e</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* are descended from MSS which had the plays in the alphabetic order and that the order has been changed to the  $\gamma$  sequence by the scribes of these MSS or of ancestors; (2) that these MSS or their ancestors just happen to draw their text of *Eunuchus* from a  $\delta$  MS and that for the rest of the corpus they derive from ancestors in the  $\gamma$  tradition. Neither of these seems plausible. One might accept that a change in order took place occasionally. That this happened as frequently as acceptance of (1) would suggest stretches credibility. The second explanation will be shown to be wrong from examination of the *distinctio* in other plays where a similar relationship between *NP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>e</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* and the  $\delta$  MSS is indicated. Yet the view that underlies this explanation—that the same stemma need not hold good for the whole corpus—is worth considering further. Indeed Marouzeau felt that the relationship between some of the major MSS varied from one play to

another.<sup>23</sup> This opinion was based on consideration of the text alone. If, in addition, we pay attention to the *distinctio versuum*, we may be able to determine whether changes in the nature of a MS's text are caused by correction from another MS or by the use of a different exemplar as the scribe's main model. Examination of the verse division in the MSS under discussion here will show in fact that scribes changed exemplars more commonly than might be supposed.

From the evidence presented in Tables 1 and 2 it was shown that *N* is descended from the same hyparchetype as (G)*LP*<sup>b</sup> and that this sub-archetype and the subarchetype of *P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> have a common ancestor. In one section of the play, however, at 676–745, *N* has the correct *distinctio* where (G)*LP*<sup>b</sup>*P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> are very frequently in common error. This is clearly at odds with the proposed stemma and unless it can be demonstrated that for this section of the text *N* has a different tradition, the validity of the stemma is in doubt. After 745 *N* is in independent error in the *distinctio* and does not show common errors with *L* and *P*<sup>b</sup> until 840 ff. When the text of *N* at 668–839 is examined, we find that the MS agrees to a considerable extent with the  $\gamma$  class. Against the  $\delta$  class or its representatives *N* reads *vietus vetus* (688), *ego nesciam* (690), *taceamne an praedicem* (721), *atqui* (740), *teque illaque* (748), *tibi dono do* (749), *apage sis* (756), *hominum* (757), *te parvam* (766), *ipsi opus patrono est* (770), *hic ego* (781), *hoc iam* (783), *nunc vir* (785), *ego caput tuum hodie* (803), *iam haec tibi* (811), *ubi velis* (813), omission of *ita* (814), *est factum* (821), *dicam misera* (822), omission of *tu* (831), and *comprende iube* (836). With the  $\delta$  group it shares only *mihi verba sunt* (727) and *haec animo* (769). After 840, however, the situation is quite the reverse and the text shows almost immediately a majority of  $\delta$  readings: *istaec* (864), *me non fecisse* (878), *magis nunc* (879), and *ingenio sum* (880). The same is true for the final part of the play where the errors in verse division reveal *N*'s affiliation with the  $\delta$  tradition.<sup>24</sup> If the verse division had not been

<sup>23</sup> Marouzeau (above, note 10) 83.

<sup>24</sup> At 951–1000, for example, *N* most frequently agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS: *huius* (952), *vellem* (958), *facinus facere audet* (959), *deprehendi* (961), *hoc ita putant* (965), *ex te* (966), *narra* (970), *siet* (970), *ille noster* (974), *quid est quid trepidas* (978), *tunc* (985), and *venturum* (999). With  $\gamma$  *N* reads *esse ortum* (966), *ehem* (976), *inrumpere* (996), and *iam diu* (1000).

The section of the text before 668 provides greater difficulty. *N* has errors in common with *LP*<sup>b</sup> in the *distinctio* at 539–87. From that point to 668 it shows independent errors in the verse division. Up to 587 the MS (in which 384–469 are missing) offers a fairly

considered, the sudden change in the nature of the text at 668–839 would have prompted suspicions that *N* (or an ancestor) had suffered contamination from a  $\gamma$  source in this section. The fact that *N* also shows here the correct *distinctio* against common errors of  $LP^bP^cV^b$  and thus creates a conflict with the stemma based on the rest of *Eunuchus* shows, I believe, that we are dealing here, not with correction of the text, but with the actual copying of the text from a MS belonging to the  $\gamma$  class.<sup>25</sup>

### *Andria*

Verse division in *Andria* offers less help than it did in *Eunuchus* since there is a much higher degree of accuracy in the *distinctio* in this play. What evidence there is, however, seems to confirm the membership of the four mixed MSS in the same tradition as the  $\delta$  MSS, although it is less clear whether the relationship among the MSS is the same as for *Eunuchus*. Certainly  $P^c$  and  $V^b$  show a fair number of common errors in the *distinctio*, in particular at 176–95. Unfortunately common errors among the other MSS occur where *L* is deficient. At 197–202 we find that  $GNP^b$  are in common error in marking a new verse at *conari* (197), *callidus* (198), and *callide* (201), while  $NP^bP^cV^b$  begin a verse at *ad* (199)

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high proportion of readings that are found in the  $\delta$  MSS or in some of them: 238 *me noti*; 239 *quid ais homo* ( $p$ ); 255 *adventamus* ( $p$ ); 278 *usque ad lucem*; 302 *omnes senem perdant*; 316 *est bona*; 324 *quemquem esse ego hominem* (DGL); 354 *fratris partes*; 490 *adsentari huic animum*; 519 *haberem*; 536 *malem in rem*; 565 *quod ego eius*, and 566 *ipsum me*. After 587, however, *N* almost always agrees with the  $\gamma$  group: 588 *et per alienas*; 593 *collocant*; 595 *et ventulum*; 598 *qui*; 599 *simul omnes*; 604–605 *occasionem mihi ostentam*; 634 *vero me*; 639 *licet*; 643 *ego illum*. Thus, the conclusions drawn for 668–839 may well be extended to include 588–667.

<sup>25</sup> Examination of the *distinctio* at 676–745 confirms this conclusion. In this passage, as in the whole play, the verse division in *FOP* is extremely accurate. There are in fact only two errors in these MSS and *N* agrees with them on both occasions. At 715–16 *N* and *FOP* end 715 with *oiei* and begin 716 at *alio* against a different common error in  $LP^bP^cV^b$ . Since the Bembinus has the same error as *N* and *FOP*, the mistake was probably present in the Calliopian archetype. The other common error of *N* and *FOP* is at 698–99 where these MSS place *non* (699) at the end of 698, while the Bembinus has *non* in the correct initial position. Here again, however, since  $LP^bP^cV^b$  have a different common error, it is possible that *FNOP* have not innovated here but have preserved an error in  $\Sigma$ . In themselves these errors that *N* shares with *FOP* are inconclusive, since we might deduce from them that *N* goes back to an earlier point in the  $\delta$  tradition than the archetype of  $LP^bP^cV^b$ . But when these common errors are taken in conjunction with the  $\gamma$  nature of *N*'s text in this passage, the conclusion that *N* has drawn from a  $\gamma$  MS at this point seems sound.

instead of at *ea* (200), *G* having no capital at either word. At 200–201 *GP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* mark the beginning of a verse at *molam*, where *N* is apparently in independent error, beginning the verse at *ego*. In a somewhat longer passage, 160–70, *NP<sup>b</sup>* are in common error against the correct *distinctio* in *GP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*. What the evidence suggests is that *GLNP<sup>b</sup>* can be subdivided with *NP<sup>b</sup>* being placed in a close relationship.<sup>26</sup>

Since the *distinctio* does not offer much in the way of evidence, it is worthwhile to look at the text of these MSS more closely. All four of the mixed MSS show more  $\delta$  than  $\gamma$  readings. As an example of the nature of their text the results of a full collation of *V<sup>b</sup>* for this play are given.<sup>27</sup>

Agreement of *V<sup>b</sup>* with  $\delta$  or with two members of  $\delta$ :

- 205 *dicas*] *V<sup>b</sup>D<sup>1</sup>G*: *dices* cett.  
 252 *quid ego dicam*] *quid ego nunc dicam V<sup>b</sup>DG*  
 347 *vita est*] *est vita V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*   
 357 *forte ibi*] *ibi forte V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*   
 361 *ego me continuo*] *egomet continuo V<sup>b</sup>D<sup>1</sup>G<sup>2</sup>p* Don.  
 362 *illo*] *illoc V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$ v*: *illuc* cett.  
 420 *erit usquam*] *usquam erit V<sup>b</sup>GLp*  
 427 *malle melius esse*] *esse melius malle V<sup>b</sup>GLp*  
 509 *hoc mihi*] *mihi hoc V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*   
 532 *obviam*] *obviam Chremem V<sup>b</sup>DGL*  
 665 *scelus*] *o scelus V<sup>b</sup>LpII<sup>b</sup>*  
 706 *me nunc V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$* : *nunc me* cett.  
 714 *me opperire hic V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$* : *opperire me hic* cett.  
 720 *laborem*] *dolorem V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*  Don.  
 726 *hinc sume*] *sume hinc V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*   
 742 *posisti*] *apposuisti V<sup>b</sup>DGL*: *posuisti  $\gamma$ p*  
 784 *iam V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$* : om.  $\gamma$   
 809 *semper eius dictast V<sup>b</sup>D<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>p*  
 915 *vir sit*] *sit vir V<sup>b</sup> $\delta$*   
 934 *post* 935 *V<sup>b</sup>D<sup>1</sup>G<sup>1</sup>V*

<sup>26</sup> *D* lacks 98–179 and is in independent error at 197 ff. *P* and *O* have the correct *distinctio* in the sections discussed.

<sup>27</sup> The information about the other MSS is taken from the critical apparatus of the OCT.

Agreement of  $V^b$  with the  $\gamma$  MSS:

- 293 *haec te*] *te haec*  $V^b\gamma$   
 425 *quoiquam homini*] *homini quoiquam*  $V^bCPEv$   
 615 *me inventurum*  $V^bCP$ : *me iam inventurum*  $\delta v\eta$   
 672 *convorti hoc malum*  $V^b\gamma$ : *hoc convorti malum*  $\delta$   
 677 *periculum adire*]  $V^b\gamma$ : *adire periculum*  $\delta$   
 717 *putabam*] *putavi*  $V^b\gamma$   
 762 *ego dico*  $V^b\gamma$ : *dico ego*  $\delta$   
 877 *piget*  $V^bPC^1Ev^1$   
 927 *esse Atticum*] *Atticum esse*  $V^b(-am)\gamma$   
 959 *deorum vitam*] *vitam deorum*  $V^b\gamma$

Thus  $V^b$  agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS against the  $\gamma$  MSS in the proportion of approximately 2:1. If we include places where  $V^b$  agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS and one or more of the less pure of the  $\gamma$  MSS (e.g.,  $Ev\eta$ ) against  $CP$ , the proportion jumps to 4:1. With the exception of sections which will be discussed below this predominance of  $\delta$  readings is typical not only of  $V^b$  in the other plays but also of the other three mixed MSS.<sup>28</sup>

### *Hautontimorumenus*

As in *Andria*, the correct *distinctio* is very well preserved by the MSS in this play. Despite this, some interesting conclusions emerge. Before we turn to these, however, we shall deal briefly with those aspects of the verse division that seem to confirm the findings based on the evidence of *Andria* and *Eunuchus*.  $N$  and  $P^b$ , both of which again offer a higher proportion of  $\delta$  than  $\gamma$  readings, make very few errors. It is significant, however, that where they do err they frequently err together: 348 (*verum* / *Istuc*), 522 (*Et* / *faceta*), 527 (*Atque* / *vicinum*), 531 (*dico* / *Adulescentis*), 596 (*Aut* / *repperisti*), 658 (*de* / *Nescio*), and 1033

<sup>28</sup> To exemplify the nature of the text of  $NP^bP^c$  a sample of the places where they agree with the  $\delta$  MSS against the  $\gamma$  group is given: 293 *haec te*; 377 *esse iniurius videatur*; 442 *ipsus*; 529 *has fieri*; 544 *a me impetrare*; 677 *adire periculum*; 726 *sume hinc*; 771 *quod*; 773 *positum puerum*; 784 *audivi iam omnia*; 842 *iam nunc* (this verse is missing from  $N$ ); 915 *sit vir* (*sit bonus vir*  $N$ ); 927 *sese* (*vel se*) *civem esse atticum*. The three MSS also have (with  $V^b$ ) scene division at 206 and 965. To this list may be added places where two of the MSS have the  $\delta$  reading against the  $\gamma$  reading in the other: 613 *pollicitus sum*  $NP^b$ ; 717 *putabam*  $NP^c$ ; 774 *dabit magis*  $P^bP^c$ ; 944 *egomet*  $NP^b$ .



(*quos / Si*). They agree with *D* at 527 (no capital in *G*) and with *G* at 596 and 658 (where *D* is in independent error in both cases). At 348 both *G* and *D* have the correct *distinctio* (the latter, however, probably by coincidence, since the division in the immediate context is quite wrong). In all the above examples *FOP* have the correct division. There seems no good reason for denying *N* and *P<sup>b</sup>* the same place that they occupy in the stemma suggested for *Eunuchus* and *Andria*—membership in the  $\delta$  branch of the tradition and a closer relationship to each other than to *DGp*.

It is the other three MSS (*LP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*) that provide more interesting findings. We shall begin with *L*. This MS was the best representative of the  $\delta$  class in *Eunuchus* as far as the *distinctio* was concerned. In its text too *L* stands squarely within the  $\delta$  tradition for most of the corpus. Webb, however, concluded from his study of part of the text of *Haut.* that *L* belonged to the mixed group and was descended from the  $\gamma$  archetype. In this latter conclusion he was correct—but only for this play and, as will be seen shortly, for *Hecyra*.<sup>29</sup> A glance at the critical apparatus for this play in the OCT reveals that after 123, where *L* agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS in reading *perturbato*, *L* consistently stands with the  $\gamma$  MSS against the representatives of the  $\delta$  class. Any suspicion that an ancestor of *L* has simply been subject to “horizontal” contamination is dispelled by what the verse division reveals. In addition to a few instances where the initial word of a verse has not been capitalized *L* has nineteen errors in the *distinctio*. Two of these (657 *Ilico / cognovi*; 891 *Scire / quid*) are unique to *L*. Of the others eight are shared with most of the other MSS and are probably derived from the Calliopian archetype.<sup>30</sup> More significantly, however, seven of the other nine are shared with *FOP* against the correct *distinctio* in at least two of *DGNP<sup>b</sup>* (the others being missing or in independent error). These errors common to *L* and *FOP* are 124 (*adsido / Adcurrunt*), 174 (*hinc / Quinam*), 445 (*tum / Contenta*), 505 (*quam / An*), 568 (*Subigitare / vel*), 1005 (*tam / In*), and 1042 (*Pudet / dicere*). The remaining examples are at 590

<sup>29</sup> Webb (above, note 3) 67; cf. also Marouzeau (above, note 10) 83.

<sup>30</sup> These are at 72 (*At / enim*); 314 (*Heus / non*); 398 (*Vah / ergo*); 582 (*Quin / mihi*); 795 (*meam / Me*); 851<sup>a</sup> (*erravi / Res*); 1011 (*Oh / iniquos*); 1015 (*mi / Confitere*). The Bembinus has the same errors at 72, 582, and 1015. These, therefore, go back beyond the Calliopian archetype. At 314 both *G* and *N* have the correct *distinctio*. Accordingly, the common error found in the other MSS may have arisen independently.

(*Qui / at*), where again *L* agrees with *FOP* but on this occasion against the correct *distinctio* in *P<sup>b</sup>* alone, *DGN* writing 589–90 as one verse, and at 406 (*salve / O*), where only *D* of *DGNP<sup>b</sup>* has the correct division.<sup>31</sup> To express the situation somewhat differently, *P* has seventeen errors in the verse division in this play; *L* has every one of them and adds two of its own. This is hardly coincidence; *L*'s text of this play after line 123 has been drawn from a  $\gamma$ -like MS.

Examination of the text and of the *distinctio* found in *P<sup>c</sup>* and *V<sup>b</sup>* also yields significant results. From 1 to 434 the verse division in these MSS is inaccurate to a high degree and almost identical. From 435 onwards, however, the two MSS are almost the equal of the others in the correctness of the *distinctio*, although they again have unique common errors at 890–97. Now a sudden change in the quality of the *distinctio* warrants further investigation. It does not necessarily indicate a change of exemplar but this is certainly a possibility to be considered. Throughout the play *P<sup>c</sup>* and *V<sup>b</sup>* show a close similarity in their text, coinciding for the most part in agreeing now with the  $\gamma$  MSS, now with the  $\delta$  MSS. I shall therefore confine my remarks about the text to *V<sup>b</sup>*. Up to 434 this MS shows a high preponderance of  $\delta$  readings as in *Andria*:

$\delta$  readings:<sup>32</sup>

1	<i>vestrum sit</i>	192	<i>se miserum esse</i>
26	<i>quam ob rem</i>	211	<i>cenae quid nobis siet</i>
39	<i>assiduo</i>	261	<i>dolet monuisse frustra</i>
72	<i>at enim dices me</i>	270	<i>ei esse</i>
75	<i>ab re tua est oti</i>	299	<i>cum eius tam neglegenter (sic)</i>
77	<i>nihil a me</i>	339	<i>istius</i>
81	<i>se ut</i>	396	<i>scio semper</i>
99	<i>rem</i>	398	<i>me reducem</i>
123	<i>perturbato</i>	415	<i>nihil periculi</i>
134	<i>eieci hinc</i>	426	<i>adibo atque alloquar</i>
139	<i>quaerens parcens</i>	430	<i>domi est</i>
156	<i>ille est credere ausus</i>	431	<i>ita est</i>

<sup>31</sup> *P<sup>b</sup>* here agrees in error with *L* and *FOP*. This may be coincidental.

<sup>32</sup> Some of the  $\delta$  readings include cases where one of the less pure  $\gamma$  MSS (*E*, for example) agrees with the  $\delta$  group. Conversely, some readings which are found in  $\gamma p$  are regarded as  $\gamma$  readings.

*γ* readings:

23 <i>se applicasse hunc</i>	269 <i>huius</i>
80 <i>opus est facto</i>	383 <i>di ament</i>
193 <i>quidem esse in</i>	430 <i>hic apud me</i>

After 434, however, *V*<sup>b</sup> consistently offers *γL* readings against *DGp* for the rest of the play. Indeed the only reading that it shares with these MSS against *γL* seems to be *pro ornamentis* at 836 with *D*<sup>1</sup>*G*—not a significant agreement since many of the other MSS read *ornamentis*.

Since it is so inaccurate, the *distinctio* in *P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> at 1–434 does not provide any clues to the affiliation of their archetype. But since the nature of the text is similar to that of *Eunuchus* and *Andria* there is no reason to doubt that for the first part of *Haut.* the archetype of *P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> was using the same exemplar as for these two plays. In the remainder of the play, however, *P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> not only have a *γ* text but also show the same errors in the *distinctio* as *FOP* and *L* at 445, 505, 568, 590, and 1042, discussed above in connection with *L*.<sup>33</sup> The conclusion, therefore, is that in the archetype of *P*<sup>o</sup>*V*<sup>b</sup> the text of *Haut.* was copied from two exemplars, the first part of the play being drawn from a MS in the *δ* tradition and the remainder being copied from a *γ* MS.

This use of a *γ* exemplar for the second half of *Haut.* has added significance since it is in this section of the text that *V*<sup>b</sup> most frequently uses Greek letters for *notae personarum*—at 512–613 and 842–1067. In addition they appear at *Ad.* 81–171 (after which there is a change of scribe). Up till now three major Terentian MSS in which Greek letters are used have been known: the Bembinus and two MSS of the *δ* class, *D* and *p*. In the last of these the system of notation closely resembles that of *D* for *Andria* but for the remainder of the corpus the MS has innovated and is not relevant to our purpose.<sup>34</sup> For purposes of comparison we shall confine ourselves to the Greek letters used by *D* and *A* in the same section of the text as they appear in *V*<sup>b</sup>. The scene headings in *V*<sup>b</sup> are sometimes missing or are illegible (on microfilm) but

<sup>33</sup> At 1005 *P*<sup>o</sup> and *V*<sup>b</sup> begin the verse at *tibi* and not at *in* as in *L* and *FOP*.

<sup>34</sup> For details of *p* see J. Andrieu, "Sigles grecs et sigles romains dans la tradition de Térence," *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, II (Paris 1949) 105–17. On the *notae* in *A* and *D* see the same author's *Étude critique sur les sigles de personnages et les rubriques de scène dans les anciennes éditions de Térence* (Paris 1940). See also his wider study of sigla in antiquity in *Le dialogue antique* (Paris 1954).

the letters given below can be read quite clearly at some point in the scene. For convenience the names are given in the same order for the three MSS.

<i>Ad.</i> 81	<i>B</i> DEMEA	<i>A</i> MICIO			<i>V<sup>b</sup>DA</i>
<i>Ad.</i> 155	<i>B</i> SANNIO	<i>A</i> AESCH.	? PARM. <sup>35</sup>		<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>B</i> SANNIO	<i>A</i> AESCH.	<i>P</i> PARM.		<i>D</i>
	<i>B</i> SANNIO	<i>A</i> AESCH.	<i>Γ</i> PARM.		<i>A</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 512	<i>E</i> SYRVS	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>V<sup>b</sup>D</i>
	<i>B</i> SYRVS	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>A</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 562	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>E</i> SYRVS	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.		<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>B</i> SYRVS	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.		<i>DA</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 842	<i>Δ</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>Δ</i> MENED.	<i>Γ</i> CHREMES			<i>D</i>
	<i>B</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>A</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 874	<i>Δ</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>Δ</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>B</i> SYRVS	<i>D</i>
	<i>B</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>A</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 954	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>Δ</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>B</i> SYRVS	<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>B</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>Δ</i> SYRVS	<i>A</i>
	No new scene				<i>D</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 1004	<i>E</i> SOSTR.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>E</i> SOSTR.	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.		<i>D</i>
	<i>Φ</i> SOSTR.	<i>A</i> CHREMES			<i>A</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 1024	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>E</i> SOSTR.	<i>A</i> CHREMES		<i>V<sup>b</sup></i>
	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>Φ</i> SOSTR.	<i>A</i> CHREMES		<i>A</i>
	No new scene				<i>D</i>
<i>Haut.</i> 1045	<i>M</i> MENED.	<i>C</i> CHREMES	<i>E</i> SOSTR.	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>V<sup>b</sup>D</i>
	<i>B</i> MENED.	<i>A</i> CHREMES	<i>Φ</i> SOSTR.	<i>Γ</i> CLIT.	<i>A</i>

The above table shows that *V<sup>b</sup>* is closer to *D* than to *A* in its use of sigla. Against the Bembinus *V<sup>b</sup>* and *D* agree in employing *Δ* for Menedemus (842 ff.), *E* for Sostrata (1004 ff.), *E* for Syrus (512 ff.), and of *B* for Syrus at 954 ff. A notable similarity occurs at *Haut.* 1045 ff. where both *V<sup>b</sup>* and *D* abandon the use of Greek letters for Menedemus and Chremes and employ the initial letters of their names instead.<sup>36</sup> At 562 ff., where *D* agrees with the Bembinus against *V<sup>b</sup>*,

<sup>35</sup> The scene heading at 155 in *V<sup>b</sup>* is illegible on microfilm and the Greek sigla are abandoned with the change of scribe at 172. The words *hem serva omittit mulierem* (172), the only place where Parmeno can speak, seem to be ascribed to Aeschinus, although AESC before these words is far from clear.

<sup>36</sup> This practice occurs elsewhere. Other scenes where *V<sup>b</sup>* uses the initial Roman letter are *An.* 581, 607, 625, *Eum.* 1031 and *Haut.* 53. At *Eum.* 539 both *V<sup>b</sup>* and *D* employ *A* for the *nota* of Antipho against *B* of the Bembinus. This could of course be either the Greek or Roman letter.

it is not clear whether *D* or *V*<sup>b</sup> has innovated. A scribe of *V*<sup>b</sup> or of an ancestor may have chosen to continue to use *E* for Syrus, the siglum employed in the preceding scene, rather than change to *B*. Alternatively, the innovation may have taken place in the tradition of *D*, where the use of *A* and *Γ* for Chremes and Clitipho may have led to the replacement of *E* by *B*. Apart from this uncertain example, however, the algebraic system in *V*<sup>b</sup> is very similar to that found in *D*.

But how are we to account for the presence of this *D*-like system in a section of the text which has been drawn from a MS that belonged to the  $\gamma$  tradition? The use of Greek letters for *notae* was once regarded as a distinctive feature of the  $\delta$  class within the Calliopian tradition.<sup>37</sup> It is quite possible, however, that the system of Greek notation in *D* was also present in the  $\gamma$  tradition but has been lost in those MSS of the  $\gamma$  class that have survived. Kauer in fact pointed out that Greek sigla appear in a MS of the  $\gamma$  class— $\epsilon$  (*Einsiedlensis* 362).<sup>38</sup> This MS, however, tends to use the Greek equivalent of the initial letter of the name rather than the *A*, *B*, *Γ*, . . . system of *D*. In *Eunuchus*, for example, we find *Π* used for Parmeno, *Θ* for Thraso, and *X* for Chremes. The main point that Kauer was making, however, that the absence of Greek sigla in the major  $\gamma$  MSS may be simply an accident of history, seems valid. The difficulty has been that no positive evidence has been found to support it. This deficiency has now been rectified, I suggest, by the presence in *V*<sup>b</sup> of the same algebraic system found in *D* in a section of the text which is derived from a  $\gamma$  MS. One cannot, of course, be absolutely certain. It seems very unlikely, however, that a scribe would have copied the text for *Haut.* 512 ff. from a  $\gamma$  MS and would have followed the usage of his main exemplar (a MS in the  $\delta$  tradition) in designating the speakers *within the text* by Greek letters. It is much more probable that the system of Greek sigla was taken along with the text from the  $\gamma$  MS.

### *Phormio*

In this play the *distinctio* in *L* is as well-preserved and as inaccurate as in *Eunuchus*. Fortunately for our purposes, however, *D* is a much

<sup>37</sup> Leo (above, note 4) 317.

<sup>38</sup> Kauer (above, note 6) 196 note 1.

better witness to the *distinctio* in its exemplar than it is in *Eunuchus*. Although the text is written as prose, the verse division of *D*'s exemplar is consistently indicated by the use of initial capitals.

Throughout most of the play *DLP*<sup>b</sup> share a large number of common errors in the *distinctio*. From 156 to 165 all three have verse division at *consci*us (156), *in* (157), *quod* (158), *tum* (159), *haec* (160), *veniat* (161), *quia* (1) (162), *amore* (163), *vita* (164), and *ut* (165). For the next twenty verses they have the correct *distinctio* (*D* occasionally failing to mark it by the use of capitals) but after this common errors begin once more: *quid* (184), *remedium* (185) (but no capital in *D*), *taceam* (186), *miserum* (187), *animi* (187), *nam* (188), *senis* (189), *atque* (190), *aut* (191), *aut* (192; no capitals in *D* here or in the three preceding examples), *nescioquod* (193), *ah* (193), *revocemus* (195), and *quisquis* (196; no capital in *D*). Similar passages to this where the three MSS agree both in error and in having the correct *distinctio* are 208–18, 315–45, 465–84, 505–13, 538–63, and 733–65.<sup>39</sup> In all these sections *G* consistently fails to mark the verse division but does agree in a few cases: *animi* (187), *aut* (191), *Phaedia* (208), *illis* (331), *prima* (346), *postilla* (347), *a* (732), and *egestas* (733). The *distinctio* points, therefore, to a common ancestor of *DLP*<sup>b</sup>, and probably of *G*, for the text of *Phormio* up to 765.

After 765, however, *P*<sup>b</sup> has hardly any errors in the verse division while errors common to *D* and *L* continue to occur: 809–19, 831–40, 848–84, 1015–25, and a few other isolated lines. The situation is similar to what we found in *Haut.* with respect to *V*<sup>b</sup> and in *Eun.* with respect to *N*. Does the correctness of the *distinctio* in *P*<sup>b</sup> after 765 indicate that this MS goes back to an earlier stage in the  $\delta$  tradition than *D* and *L* or are we dealing once more with the use of a different exemplar? Up to 765 *P*<sup>b</sup> shows a close affinity in its text with the  $\delta$  tradition. The  $\gamma$  readings that it has in this section are usually correct. Verses 355 and 356 are in the correct order against *D*<sup>1</sup>*GL*<sup>1</sup>*p*, it reads *dignum factis* at 430 and *labore partum* at 46. Alongside the few  $\gamma$  readings in 1–765 we note the following  $\delta$  readings: *poeta si non* (13), *ab illo* (21), *quaeret me* (51), *adimat hanc mihi* (161), *egomet . . . providissem* (189), *ibi obstupescit* (284), *adventum* (315), *senis* (323), *nequid* (491),

<sup>39</sup> At 538–63 *D* frequently uses capitals at change of speakers and at new sentences. On occasion, therefore, it *appears* to mark the correct *distinctio* against a common error of *L* and *P*<sup>b</sup>.

*flentem et nihil ferentem* (521), *igitur dum licet* (549), *et istaec mihi res* (588), *adeo experirier* (589), *minas est inquit* (662), *perinde scribito iam mihi* (668), *adeo nunc mecum argentum* (679), *sunt dabunt* (703), *digressos esse* (722), and *inveniam misera* (728). After 765 the situation reverses. *P<sup>b</sup>* now offers very few readings that are distinctive of the  $\delta$  group—*vapulabis* (850), *an verebamini* (901)—and a large number of points where it agrees with the  $\gamma$  MSS: *dudum re* (786), *o Iuppiter* (816), *nostri hoc* (819), *tantundem ego* (846), *dici mihi* (855), *me censen* (875), *quae inter sese ipsi* (876), *dixi liberalis* (905), *paratum esse* (907), *tu uxorem* (936), *cedo cape* (950), *dixisse id nemini* (953), *hoc actumst* (1009), *nunc magis* (1024), and *adeo indignum tibi* (1040). The same pattern that was found in *V<sup>b</sup>* for *Haut.* and *N* for *Eun.* emerges here for *P<sup>b</sup>*; a change in the quality of the *distinctio* is accompanied by a striking difference in the nature of its textual readings. *P<sup>b</sup>* is drawn, therefore, from a  $\gamma$  MS for the final part of *Phormio* (765 ff.). Fuller collation of this and other MSS may clarify further the nature of this second exemplar. Some of the readings cited above suggest a close relationship with  $\eta$  (see the OCT critical apparatus at 855, 907, 936, 950, and 953).

There is, however, a section of the text in the first part of *Phormio* where *P<sup>b</sup>* has the correct *distinctio* against common errors of *D* and *L*. This is at the beginning of act II in the lines composed in “long verse” (231–52). The information is given in Table 3. In the table no mention is made of the MSS other than *DGLP<sup>b</sup>* since they show no errors in the *distinctio*. Although *D* is somewhat lax in noting the division by the use of capitals, the points where it agrees with *L* are significant: *simultatem* (232), *o* (1) (233), *scientem* (237), *animum* (240), *omnis* (241), *ferant* (242), *animo* (245), and *omne* (246). There is no sound reason for the scribe of *D* to have written an initial capital in those words unless they began the verse in his exemplar. It will be noted that *G* is correct in three places against a common error of *DL*. Twice, however, the capitals appear at a change of role (237 and 247) and in the third (241) the capital is found at a word which begins a sentence. *G*, therefore, may be accidentally correct at these lines. The important point is that *P<sup>b</sup>* has virtually the correct *distinctio* in this section where the hyparchetype of *DL* and possibly of *DGL* was in error. Given the large number of common errors of verse division in *DLP<sup>b</sup>* in the play down to 765, this suggests that *P<sup>b</sup>* goes back to a point in the  $\delta$  stemma

TABLE 3. (*Phorm.* 231-52)

Verse Number	Correct verse division	No verse division	Wrong verse division
231	<i>DGLP<sup>b</sup></i>		
232	<i>LP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	
233	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>DL</i>
234	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>DL</i>
235	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>D G L</i>
236	<i>DGLP<sup>b</sup></i>		
237	<i>GP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DL</i>
238	<i>DLP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	
239	<i>DGLP<sup>b</sup></i>		
240	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	<i>L</i>
241	<i>GP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DL</i>
242		<i>DG</i>	<i>LP<sup>b</sup></i>
243	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>DL</i>
244	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	<i>L</i>
245	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	<i>L</i>
246	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>DL</i>
247	<i>GP<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DL</i>
248	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>G</i>	<i>DL</i>
249	<i>LP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	
250-52	<i>P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DG</i>	<i>L</i>

233 *Simulatem* / *revereri* *DL* 234 *O* (1) / *monitor* *DL* 235 *mihi* / *demiror* / *Atqui* *L*  
*Vix* / *demiror* / *Atqui* *G* *dem* / *Atqui* *D* 237 *verum* / *Scientem* *LD* (*Ver.* / *Sc.*) 240  
*Atque* / *ita* *L* 241 *Animum* / *quam* / *Omnis* *DL* 242 *meditari* / *Secum* *LP<sup>b</sup>* 243  
*Ferant* / *pericla* *DL* 244 *Cogitet* / *aut* *L* 245 *Morbum* / *communis* *L* 246 *Animo* /  
*quidquid* *DL* 247 *Omne* / *o* *DL* 248 *Est* / *meditata* / *Sunt* *L* *meditata* / *Sunt* *D* 250  
*Compedes* / *opus* *L* 251 *Accidet* / *quidquid* *L* 252 *Eveniet* / *sed* / *Hominem* *L*

prior to the hyparchetype of *DL*. The text of *P<sup>b</sup>* in this section does not indicate a change of exemplar. It reads *age* at 232 and *repperi iam* at 235, on both occasions with most of the Calliopians; it omits the second *maxume* in 241 with *DGLpE* (though the word has been added by a second hand). With the  $\delta$  group it offers *veniens* at 243 (with *D<sup>1</sup>GL<sup>1</sup>*), *dam(p)na exilia* in the same line and *quantum* in 247. The only place where it agrees with the  $\gamma$  MSS against the  $\delta$  group is at 249: *molendum mihi esse usque in* (with *CFL<sup>2v</sup>*). The text of 231-52 does not, therefore, oppose the conclusion to which the *distinctio* in this section pointed. Thus further evidence is provided that the alphabetic order is a second-



ary development in a tradition where the primary order was that which is found in the  $\gamma$  class.

Of the three other MSS to be considered ( $NP^cV^b$ ) the last may be dispensed with quickly, since in *Phormio* the text is written as prose.<sup>40</sup> In its readings the strong  $\delta$  flavor of the text that appeared in *An.*, *Eun.* and the first half of *Haut.* is also apparent in this play. The text of *N*, however, shows a marked difference in its nature. Throughout the whole play it stands almost without exception with the  $\gamma$  MSS against the  $\delta$  group. In the *distinctio* there are very few errors indeed and thus it offers little help in confirming that *N* is drawn from a  $\gamma$  MS for this play. At the end of the play, however, it agrees twice with  $P^b$  in a unique common error; at 871 (*quod* / *Quodnam*) and 889, where the verse begins with *datum*. This is the section of the play where  $P^b$  is derived from a  $\gamma$  exemplar. Thus, indirectly, the  $\gamma$  source for *N* is confirmed at the same time as a close relationship between  $P^b$  and *N* is indicated for the end of the play.<sup>41</sup>

The verse division is more helpful when we turn to  $P^c$ . This MS displays a large number of errors in the *distinctio* that are shared by *F* and  $\nu$ , *codex Valentiennensis* 448 (420), two MSS which are usually grouped with the  $\gamma$  class. The longest passages occur at 750–828 but there are other isolated agreements throughout the play: 163 (*Dolet* / *amore*); 184 (*tum* / *Ad*); 277 (*Adimunt* / *aut*); 281 (*Non* / *ita*); 285–86 (*laudo* / *Sed* / *ere*); 291 (*Horunc* / *nam*), etc. For the final part of the play (832–1055), which is missing from *F*, common errors continue to occur frequently in  $P^c$  and  $\nu$ . In text  $P^c$  agrees almost always with the  $\gamma$  group—a striking difference from the nature of its text in the three plays already discussed. Thus the *distinctio* and text of  $P^c$  indicate a change of exemplar for  $P^c$  in this play and a close relationship with *F* and  $\nu$  of the  $\gamma$  class. Exactly what that relationship is will be clarified by closer examination of the text of the three MSS. That it was the scribe of  $P^c$  and not the scribe of the archetype of  $P^cV^b$  who changed exemplars is suggested by the fact that  $V^b$  has in this play, as in *Andria* and *Eunuchus*, a high proportion of  $\delta$  readings.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Occasionally the text is written in paragraphs which often begin with a new verse; so, for example, *Ph.* 441–64.

<sup>41</sup> In the earlier part of the play *N* agrees with *OP* and  $P^c\nu$  in beginning 194 at *domum* and in placing *sanus es* at the end of 193. *DGLP^b* have a different error (*Ah* / *sanus*).

<sup>42</sup> These include 13 *poeta si non*; 46 *labore sit partum*; 51 *quaeret me*; 98 *vicinus*; 161

*Hecyra*

For this play we have to rely for the most part on examination of the text to establish the relationships among the MSS, since most of our MSS show very few errors in the *distinctio*. Only *FP<sup>c</sup>v* show a fair number of common errors: 115 (*Hanc* / *amabat*); 272 (*Heu* / *certum*); 273 (*Sed* / *nam* / *Transire*); 277 (*Noxiam* / *sed*); 282 (*Umquam* / *quam*); 324 (*Nescio* / *cesso*); 325 (*Certo* / *quonam*); 326 (*Adfectam* / *nam*). Other common errors occur at 353–60, 431–32, 527–28, 614–15 and continue sporadically until the end of the play. The close relationship among these three MSS for *Phormio* seems, therefore, to hold good for *Hecyra* as well.<sup>43</sup>

Of the other MSS *V<sup>b</sup>* lacks this play, while *P<sup>b</sup>* has a high proportion of  $\delta$  readings, as in the other plays. From a sample of points in the play where there is disagreement among the Calliopians *P<sup>b</sup>* agrees with the  $\delta$  class or its representative(s) in 54% of the cases and with the  $\gamma$  class in 29%. In the remainder it is either in independent error or has a reading that appears in both the  $\delta$  class and in at least one of the purer  $\gamma$  MSS.<sup>44</sup> For this play too then *P<sup>b</sup>* belongs to the  $\delta$  tradition.

In *Hecyra*, as in *Haut.*, the text of *L* has a very close affinity with the  $\gamma$  group. *N* also consistently stands with the  $\gamma$  MSS. The little evidence that the *distinctio* provides supports the view that *L* and *N* are drawn from a  $\gamma$  MS for this play. Apart from a few errors which seem to have been present in the Calliopian archetype *L* and *N* share three errors with *PO* against the correct *distinctio* in the  $\delta$  group, represented here by *D* and *P<sup>b</sup>*. Two of these are at 190 (*rescivit* / *Heri*), where *D* is in independent error, and 521 (*Scio* / *sed*). The other is at 319, which both *L* and *N* write as two verses (*Nullus* / *Nescioquod*), while *P* also

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*aegritudinem*; 182 omission of *iam*; 221 *nos hic*; 355 *post* 356; 392 *istoc*; 491 *nequid*; 491 *idem et ego metuo*; 521 *flentem et nihil ferentem*; 548 *ignotum abducat*; 588 *et istaec mihi res*.

<sup>43</sup> Since *Hecyra* is missing from *V<sup>b</sup>* and since *P<sup>c</sup>* changes its exemplar for *Hecyra* and *Phormio*, it is possible that in the archetype of *P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* *Hecyra* was missing or defective at the beginning of the play.

<sup>44</sup> This sample consisted of eighty places, chosen from throughout the play. The  $\delta$  readings include 23 *studio ac labore atque arte*; 43 *turba non est*; 110 *non tu*; 164 *esse ingenio*; 220 *est mirum*; 236 *signi hoc sat*; 238 *lassam oppido aiebant tum esse*; 262 *ille ut redeat*; 299 *re me aut*; 300 *porro nisi*; 311 *animus eum infirmum*; 368 *me repente*; 538 *posse filiam tuam*; 579 *di bene ament*; 594 *iam me tenet*; 595 *nunc mihi*; 596 *expectet*; 609 *faciundum sit fortasse post*; 643 *natum illum et tibi illam salvam*; 787 *vin ego*; 798 *referet*; 867 *resciscere*.

TABLE 4. (*Ad.* 96–111)

Verse Number	Correct verse division	No verse division	Wrong verse division
96	<i>FNOP DGLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
97	<i>FNOP</i>	G	<i>DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
98	<i>FNOP D</i>	G	<i>LP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
99	<i>FNOP</i>	G	<i>DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
100	<i>FNOP D</i>	G	<i>LP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
101	<i>FNOP DV<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>GP<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>L</i>
102	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	
103	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
104	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	DG	<i>LP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
105	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	G	<i>DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
106	<i>FNOP DGLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>		
107	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
108	<i>NOP P<sup>b</sup></i>		<i>DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>F</i>
109	<i>NOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	G	<i>DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>F</i>
110	<i>NOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	FG	<i>DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>
111	<i>FNOP P<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup></i>	

97 *Micio / dico DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 98 *homine / Imperito LP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 99 *qui / Quod DLP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*  
 100 *quorum / Istuc LP<sup>b</sup>P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 101 *non / Flagitium L* 103 *Neque (1) / effringere DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*  
 104 *Si / non LP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 105 *Nos / id DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* 107 *facermus / Et DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*  
 108 *sineres / Dum DGLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>F* 109 *potius / Expectatum DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>F* 110 *alieniore / Tamen DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>*

breaks the line into two parts, indenting at *nescioquod*. This is not a great deal of coincidence but given the extremely high degree of accuracy in these MSS some significance may be accorded it.

### *Adelphoe*

There is only one passage of any length in this play where the *distinctio* offers much help. At 96–111 we find *DLP<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* (and to some extent G) in common error against the  $\gamma$  group (see Table 4). In their text *P<sup>c</sup>* and *V<sup>b</sup>* have a predominance of  $\delta$  readings. Once more the evidence points to their membership in the  $\delta$  tradition. The close relationship between these two MSS is further attested by their own unique common errors elsewhere in the play.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Common errors appear at 169 (*Parmeno / nimium*); 653 (*Perii / nil*); 655 (*sic / Miletum*); 656 (*quid / Quid* (3)).

$P^b$  is interesting in that it shares errors with these MSS at 97–100 but is correct thereafter. This agreement may be as coincidental as that of  $F$  with the  $\delta$  MSS at 108 and 109, being prompted in this case by the greater than usual length of 96. There are a few other isolated examples, however, where  $P^b$  agrees with the  $\delta$  MSS against the correct *distinctio* in the  $\gamma$  group: 159 *quamquam* / *Non* (with  $DGLP^c$ ), 310 *Ah* / *me* (with  $DLP^c$ ,  $G$  having a different error); 330 *Ah* / *me* (with  $DLP^c$ ,  $G$  not observing the verse division) and 376 *Atque* / *absurda* (with  $DGLP^c$ ). From these agreements and from the evidence of 96–111 I conclude that  $DGLP^b P^c V^b$  are derived from a common ancestor for *Adelphoe* and that  $P^b$  broke off from the tradition prior to the existence of the hyparchetype of  $DGLP^c V^b$ . As far as the relationship between  $DGLP^b$  is concerned, such a stemma would agree with that which was postulated for the first part of *Phormio* on the basis of the *distinctio* at *Phorm.* 231–52. It would, however, differ from that which was offered for *Eunuchus* (above p. 133).<sup>46</sup> The text of  $P^b$  certainly confirms a close relationship with the  $\delta$  MSS. The readings that it offers for the first two acts of *Adelphoe* are given by way of example:

$\delta$  readings:

5	<i>duci id factum</i>	187	<i>aequi modo</i>
55	<i>insuevit</i>	187	<i>vaha</i>
64	<i>est durus</i>	209	<i>accipiat faxo</i>
64	<i>aequom et bonum</i>	214	<i>facerem</i>
77	<i>nescire se</i>	228	<i>illud</i>
78	<i>ipse</i>	233	<i>refrixit</i>
82	<i>rogas me</i>	235	<i>quam hic nunc</i>
105	<i>tunc</i>	255	<i>aequom est facere</i>
140	<i>gravius quicquam dicere</i>	265	<i>offert</i>
162	<i>mihi iniuriam</i>	268	<i>illam facile hercle</i>
168	<i>nunc tu iam</i>	272	<i>scire</i>
181	<i>pergis</i>	281	<i>obsecro hercle hominem</i>

$\gamma$  readings:

71	<i>rursum</i>	189	<i>est orta</i>
108	<i>licet</i>	208	<i>ego</i>

<sup>46</sup> This does not necessarily mean that one of the stemmata is wrong.

135 <i>ullum</i>	208 <i>has rationes</i>
184 <i>es leno</i>	208 <i>deputo</i>
184 <i>nunciam</i>	256 <i>te nunc</i> <sup>47</sup>

It will be noted from the information in Table 4 that *N* is again distinct from the  $\delta$  group. For this play, as for *Hec.* and *Ph.*, the text has been copied from a  $\gamma$  exemplar. It consistently offers  $\gamma$  readings and shares a few errors with *FOP* against the correct *distinctio* in the  $\delta$  group. These four MSS write 302–03 and 359–60 as one verse and begin 412 at *praeceptorum*.

So ends this examination of the four mixed MSS, in which close attention has been paid to the *distinctio versuum*. One of the conclusions which has emerged is of a general nature. We must not assume that a Terence MS dating from after the tenth century will occupy the same position in the stemma for all six plays or even for the whole of one play.<sup>48</sup> All four of the mixed MSS derive, in varying proportions, from exemplars belonging to both major classes of the Calliopians. At one extreme stand *N* and *P<sup>c</sup>*. In *N An.*, *Haut.* and most of *Eun.* are drawn from a  $\delta$  source, while the other three plays go back to an exemplar in the  $\gamma$  tradition. *P<sup>c</sup>* departs from the  $\delta$  tradition for the second half of *Haut.* and for its last two plays, *Hec.* and *Ph.*, as does *L* for its last two plays, *Haut.* and *Hec.* At the other extreme are *P<sup>b</sup>* and *V<sup>b</sup>* which derive for the most part from a  $\delta$  MS, the exceptions being the end of *Ph.* in the former and the second half of *Haut.* in the latter. These four MSS were chosen for this study because they are written in verse and because they display errors in the *distinctio* that also appear in the  $\delta$  MSS. They were not chosen because it could be shown that they used more than one exemplar. This fact emerged only in the course of the investigation. Unless this is pure coincidence, we must regard it as far from uncommon for scribes of Terence at this period to move from one exemplar to another for different sections of the text. This practice may well be true for the traditions of other popular classical authors.

<sup>47</sup> To fill out the picture I give the  $\delta$  readings of *P<sup>b</sup>* in the last part of the play: 941 *non hoc*; 946 *te amo*; 946 *ego quid dicam*; 950 *multumst tamen*; 953 *est omnium*; 955 *et dictumst*; 955 *MI. gaudeo* (ante rasuram); 960 *liberum aequom*; 970 *eho Syre*; 992 omission of *id*.

<sup>48</sup> If this statement seems obvious, it bears repeating.

The use of exemplars from both the  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  branches of the tradition is relevant to the conclusion reached in this article that the alphabetic order of *DGLp* is a secondary development within the  $\delta$  branch, membership of which has now been widened to include MSS that have the  $\gamma$  order of plays. Since the four mixed MSS are drawn from both  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  exemplars, it might be argued that these exemplars presented the plays in different orders and that scribes chose to arrange the plays in the order of the secondary source (the  $\gamma$  MS), perhaps because this was the more common order within the tradition. It seems significant, however, that in *N* the first three plays are in the  $\gamma$  order (*An.*, *Eun.*, *Haut.*), while it is in those plays (with the exception of *Eun.* 668–839) that the text has been drawn from a  $\delta$  source. If the reverse were true, i.e., if the first three plays had been drawn from a  $\gamma$  source and the last three from a  $\delta$  MS, the argument that *N* had rearranged the last three plays to harmonize with the  $\gamma$  order of the first three would be more plausible. The burden of proof now lies with those who wish to deny that the hyparchetype of *DGLp* is descended from a MS with the plays in the  $\gamma$  order. Even if they were to be successful in this, the significance of the  $\gamma$  order for initially classifying a MS is nevertheless reduced, since we have four MSS with the  $\gamma$  order of plays which are derived in part from a  $\delta$  source. The other conclusion of this article moves in the opposite direction, since it has been shown that the system of algebraic notation found in *D* was also present in the  $\gamma$  branch of the tradition. This has been suspected in the past. The Greek sigla that appear in the second half of *Haut.* in *V<sup>b</sup>* provide what is up to now the best confirmation of this view.

The primary purpose of this paper has been to show the importance of the *distinctio versusum* for building the stemma of Terence and for casting more light on the history of the tradition. Accordingly, I have given only limited information about the text of the MSS under discussion except where the *distinctio* pointed to the possibility of the use of a second exemplar. It is obvious that full collation of these and other MSS (including the major Calliopian MSS) is necessary if the relationships among the MSS are to be more clearly defined. I have no doubt that such work will result in a refinement of the views propounded here or in an extension of them to other sections of the text. It is equally obvious that the methods applied here must be applied to other

MSS of Terence in which the text is written as verse.<sup>49</sup> When that is done, it should be less difficult to fit into the stemma other MSS which are written as prose and whose relationship must be determined on the basis of their text alone.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> I give two examples. *Codex Erlang.* 391, saec. xii, has the errors in the verse division found in *NP<sup>b</sup>* at *An.* 160–70 and *GNP<sup>b</sup>* at *An.* 197–202. Its text has a high proportion of  $\delta$  readings. The MS, therefore, seems to be closely related to *N* and *P<sup>b</sup>* in this play. The other MS is in The Hague (Koninklijke Bibl. 72 J 49, saec. xiii). This MS has most of the common errors of *P<sup>c</sup>V<sup>b</sup>* in the *distinctio* in *An.*, *Eun.*, and *Haut.* In *Adelphoe*, however, the *distinctio* is the same as that found in *E.*

<sup>50</sup> Of other traditions that of Plautus would appear to be the most promising for yielding results from consideration of the *distinctio*. Both *B* and *D* of the Palatines show erroneous verse division. For discussion and reconstruction of the colometry attested to by the *distinctio* in the Ambrosian and *B* see C. Questa, "L'antichissima edizione dei *cantica* di Plauto," *RFIC* 102 (1974) 58–79, 172–88. In conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to the Canada Council for a research grant in support of this study.