

# THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF DONATUS' COMMENTARY ON TERENCE

MICHAEL REEVE

ONLY two manuscripts of Donatus' commentary on Terence antedate the fifteenth century, and together they contain less than half of it. The other thirty-odd manuscripts, almost all written in Italy, derive from lost manuscripts discovered by humanists, one at Mainz in 1433 (the Maguntinus), one at Chartres in the late 1440s (the Carnotensis), and perhaps others of which there is no report. Two lost manuscripts survived in northern Europe long enough to improve the editions of Stephanus (Paris, 1529) and Lindenbrog (Paris, 1602; Frankfurt, 1623). Despite the labors of Sabbadini and Wessner at the turn of the century and Zwierlein in a recent monograph,<sup>1</sup> the relationships of these witnesses remain obscure, partly because they change in the course of the commentary and can only be established by more collation than anyone has undertaken, partly because the historical evidence, though fairly copious, never quite sheds enough light on them.

Elsewhere I have tried to show that the Maguntinus and the Carnotensis can be made to account for the whole of the Italian tradition. After examining either in the original or from reproductions all but two of the manuscripts known to me, I still maintain the soundness of this conclusion, but no longer accept my way of achieving it.<sup>2</sup> Rather than risk having to change my mind again, I shall concentrate in this article on the relation-

1. Sabbadini's contributions were "Storia e critica di alcuni testi latini: Donato Terenziano," *Mus. ital. di ant. class.* 3 (1890): 381-468; "Il commento di Donato a Terenzio," *Studi ital. di fil. class.* 2 (1894): 1-134; "Gli scolii Donatiani ai due primi atti dell'*Eunuco* di Terenzio," *Studi ital. di fil. class.* 3 (1895): 249-363; sections 1 and 2 of "Biografi e commentatori di Terenzio," *Studi ital. di fil. class.* 5 (1897): 289-303; "Spogli Ambrosiani latini: commento di Donato a Terenzio," *Studi ital. di fil. class.* 11 (1903): 185-201; "Quintiliano, il *Commentum Terenti* e Cicerone in Francia nel secolo XIV," *Riv. fil.* 39 (1911): 541-43. Many of these studies are reprinted or summarized in Sabbadini's *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), itself reprinted as *Medioevo e umanesimo*, vol. 11 (Padua, 1971), the edition cited in this paper. Before publishing his edition, Aeli Donati quod fertur "*Commentum Terenti*," 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1902-5), Wessner had written "Die Überlieferung von Aeli Donati *Commentum Terentii*," *RhM* 52 (1897): 69-98. O. Zwierlein, *Der Terenzkommentar des Donat im Codex Chigianus H VII 240* (Berlin 1970), made numerous improvements to the text with the aid of the Chigianus and discussed the place of the Chigianus in the tradition, unfortunately without consulting other manuscripts (except O).

2. The results of my earlier research will appear shortly in *Hermes*. Much of the present work was carried out on a grant from the Wolfson Foundation, to which I express my warmest thanks. I am also indebted to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT), to the libraries that supplied microfilms of BDEGILMNQSTVY, Magl. VII 1210, and part of U, and to Professor Zwierlein, who very kindly arranged for me to borrow his film of K from the Mittellateinisches Seminar of the Freie Universität Berlin. The manuscripts that I have ignored are both copies of Calphurnius' edition: Vat. Urb. Lat. 354 (Wessner, "*Commentum*," 1: xxiii-xxiv) and the missing Gandavensis (ibid., 1: xxxv), now Genoa Bibl. Durazzo A VII 13, on which see P. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1963-67), 1: 247, 2: 523.

ships of extant manuscripts and lost manuscripts easily reconstructed from them. The number of contributions to the classification of these manuscripts should outweigh the absence of a wider perspective and a grand conclusion. Historical evidence will be introduced where it confirms or supplements my inferences.

A word about the system of reference employed here. The title of a play refers throughout to Donatus' commentary on it, which I cite mostly by volume, page, and line of Wessner's edition (e.g., 2: 373. 7), but occasionally, where that would be too precise or less helpful, by play, act, scene, and verse (e.g., *Ad.* 2. 4. 13)—admittedly an outdated convention for Terence, but some references of this kind have acquired familiarity in the literature on manuscripts of Donatus. Wessner's symbols for the manuscripts are used, with these additions:<sup>3</sup>

- S Ambros. L 53 sup. (init.-1: 37. 6)
- K Vat. Chig. H VII 240
- Q Cors. 43 E 28
- W Cors. 43 G 13
- Y Cors. 43 G 23
- p Vat. Pal. Lat. 1629 (a. 1474)
- H Mus. Brit. Add. 11906
- J Mus. Brit. Burn. 171
- I Mus. Brit. Add. 21083 (*Eunuchus*, *Phormio*)
- h Matrit. Reg. 2 B 4
- U Esc. E III 3
- e editio princeps (Venice ca. 1471)

I previously divided the text into eight sections, Zwierlein's seven with the fourth split at *Hec.* 5. 1. 2 and the end of the first moved forward from the beginning of *Andria* to the end of the prologue. It will be necessary to alter some of these sections, but I will first set them all out unaltered:

- (1) *Vita-An.* prol.
- (2) *An.* 1. 1-*Ad.* 2. 4. 13
- (3) *Ad.* 2. 4. 13-*Hec.* 3. 5. 8
- (4) *Hec.* 3. 5. 8-5. 1. 2
- (5) *Hec.* 5. 1. 2-fin.
- (6) *Phorm.* praef.-1. 2. 45
- (7) *Phorm.* 1. 2. 45-2. 1. 50, 5. 2-fin.
- (8) *Phorm.* 2. 1. 50-5. 2.

*Eunuchus* here follows *Andria*, and there is no commentary on *Hautontimorumenos*.

3. On S, see Sabbadini, "Spogli Ambrosiani latini," pp. 185-99, and Wessner, "*Commentum*," 2: iii-vi; on KQWYp, M. Warren, "On Five New Manuscripts of the Commentary of Donatus to Terence," *HSCP* 17 (1906): 31-42; for a detailed study of K, Zwierlein's monograph; on JHI, my previous article. I have examined the ed. Rom. 1472 (Paris B.N. Rés. gr. Yc 212) and am certain that it was printed from e. Calphurnius' edition conflates e and a manuscript like f; cf. Wessner, "*Commentum*," 1: xxxiv.

Two of the boundaries in this division, the end of section 1 and the end of section 6, deserve initial consideration. Both are defined by the behavior of the same manuscript, and the exact determination of each brings with it an elimination.

Section 1 ends when KV desert TC and join forces with A (s. xi). I said that this happens at 1: 49, and more precisely it happens between 48. 12 *quasi A quaso* TCKV and 49. 1 *in* TC om. AKV. It cannot be a coincidence that in K the second hand takes over from the first at 49. 1 *ABITE*. As V behaves like K but with no change of hand, there is a strong probability that it derives from K. Without actually broaching the question, Zwierlein offers contrary evidence,<sup>4</sup> but all of his "Sonderlesarten von K" in the introductory treatises, apart from an omission caused by loss of leaves, are recorded by Wessner from V<sup>1</sup>, and so are most of those in *Andria* and *Ad. praef.*-2. 4. 13. Accounting for the implied divergences would be a waste of time, because V does indeed derive from K. At 2: 3. 4-5 and 46. 6-7, V<sup>1</sup> omitted for no obvious reason *cum sit . . . Terentius* and *EGOMET . . . desperationis*, which both occupy a line in K. At 1: 132. 15, where all the manuscripts except V and K have *intelligeret Pamphilus*, V has *intelligere potuisset Pamphilus* and K *intelli Pamphilus* with *intelli* at the end of f. 18v and *Pamphilus* at the beginning of f. 19r; clearly, the scribe of K neglected to complete the unfinished word, and V completes it reasonably but wrongly. So far as I can see, the derivation holds good in section 1 and the rest of *Andria*, in *Ad. praef.*-2. 4. 13, in a small part of *Eunuchus*, and in sections 4 and 5. In *Phormio* and the rest of *Adelphoi*, *Eunuchus*, and *Hecyra*, it does not. More later about V.

As for the end of section 6, Zwierlein showed that, after differing at the beginning of *Phormio*, KR and CO come into agreement somewhere near 1. 2. 45. In fact, Wessner's apparatus, checked in appropriate places,<sup>5</sup> reveals that the transition occurs between 2: 373. 7 *custos cui* CO (1. 2. 37) and 373. 17 *illi loco* KRCO (1. 2. 38),<sup>6</sup> and it so happens that a marked change comes over the script of K after 373. 16 *EXADVERSVM*: the scribe remains the same, but he seems to have changed his pen, as he might on returning to work after an interval. Up to that point R derives from K. The *Sonderfehler* of K that Zwierlein inferred from Wessner's report of R prove illusory on collation of R, and the appearance of K accounts for several *Sonderfehler* of R, for example, 346. 5 *rex*, 372. 11 *prodiit* (-ite altered to -itus in K looks like -iit, and the compendium could be taken for either *per-* or *pro-*), 373. 15 *fieri* (*fig.* K, with an easily misinterpreted *g*). Evidently K had not gone beyond 373. 16 when R was copied from it. After 373. 16, K has errors not shared by R, for example, abbreviated forms of the citations from Virgil in 377. 24-378. 3, 378. 11 *dixerunt* after 10 *ignem*.

Another descendant of K is a manuscript of the commentary on *Adelphoi*, Magl. VII 1210. It omits in the middle of a page a passage omitted by K

4. *Terenzkommentar*, pp. 90-92, 135-36.

5. At 2: 373. 18, "*vel* CO" should read "*vel* KRCO."

6. The two omissions of CO between these points could have occurred independently through homoeoteleuton.

in turning from one page to another, 2: 175. 18–183. 14 *PARERE HAEC* . . . *Terentius*, and the part written by the first of its three scribes contains numerous errors induced by the transalpine hand that wrote *Adelphoi* in K.

The unequal skill of its scribes shows that Magl. VII 1210 is not just a descendant of K but a direct copy.<sup>7</sup> No such demonstration presents itself for V or R, but equally none to the contrary. The assumption that all three are direct copies of K fits several pieces of historical evidence. In my previous article I surmised that Magl. VII 1210 might have been owned by Pierfilippo Pandolfini of Florence, to whom Sabbadini attributed R, and I am now certain that it was. Two hands wrote R,<sup>8</sup> and Sabbadini was right to see the first in Ricc. 647, which has an *ex libris* of Pandolfini.<sup>9</sup> It is identical with the third hand in Magl. VII 1210.<sup>10</sup> R and Magl. VII 1210, then, were written at Florence; but on the authority of Dr. de la Mare I previously disclosed that V is Neapolitan. If copies were taken from K both at Florence and at Naples, K need not have been written in either place. A third possibility is Rome. Aurispa was at Rome in January 1451, when he promised a manuscript to Panormita in Naples, and Jacopo Ammannati was at Rome in October 1451, when Donato Acciaiuoli wrote from Florence in request of one.<sup>11</sup> Aurispa's hand is known,<sup>12</sup> and I am not aware of having come across it in any manuscript of Donatus. When I asked De la Mare about Ammannati's hand, however, the article to which she referred me showed at once that he was the first scribe of K—the one who organized its production, the only one of the four who could cope with Greek, and the one whose transcript of *Phormio* was copied by Pandolfini before completion.<sup>13</sup> The other three scribes escape identification; the

7. It must have been written before K was bound and foliated, because it has the correct order where K inverts ff. 37–38.

8. Wessner wrongly denies this ("Commentum," 1: xii). The first three words of the gathering that follows the change of hand and the blank space on f. 152 were written by the *manus prima* (*m*<sup>1</sup>). Presumably *m*<sup>1</sup> began at the beginning and simultaneously set *m*<sup>2</sup> to work on another portion; *m*<sup>2</sup> finished first, whereupon *m*<sup>1</sup> said, "all right, just finish off this bit."

9. The manuscript has two parts, ff. 1–20 (16–20 blank) and ff. 21–36 (33v–36 blank), and old foliation in the second part shows that it was originally separate; two bifolia were prefixed to the combination, and the *ex libris* occurs on the first verso of the second. Only the first part was written by the hand under discussion.

10. Ff. 1–26 *m*<sup>1</sup>, ff. 27–46 *m*<sup>2</sup>, ff. 47–50 *m*<sup>3</sup>; three seniones, one quinio, one binio. On f. 26v the last eight lines are crammed in and the text ends in the middle of a line. F. 33v, inadvertently left blank, was filled up before the scribe reached the foot of f. 34r; a note on f. 33v draws attention to the error. Moisture has rendered the tops of many leaves of Magl. VIII 1210 and R illegible; both manuscripts have roughly the same format and watermark.

Quite by chance I came across other manuscripts owned by Pandolfini in the library of the Società Colombaria, Florence. Manuscript 241 has a partially erased *ex libris*, 235 an *ex libris* in the same hand as the text (more formal than elsewhere); the note on f. 61v of 241 may also have been written by Pandolfini, and the hand of 239 is not much different. These manuscripts all belong to the Fondo Pandolfini, named after an eighteenth-century Pandolfini. It doubtless contains more of his ancestor's manuscripts, but I ordered 235 and 241 only for their content and had no time to pursue the matter further. According to the librarian, someone in Florence is working on Pandolfini.

11. For the historical material in the rest of this paragraph, see Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, pp. 163–64, and idem, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome, 1931), pp. 126, n. 1, 133.

12. Sabbadini, *Carteggio*, plate opposite p. 3.

13. F.-R. Hausmann, "Armarius 39, tomos 10 des Archivio Segreto Vaticano," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven* 50 (1971): 112–80 and plates after p. 128; plate V is closest. Hausmann remarks (p. 118) that the identification of Ammannati's hand could be "überliefere-

second was probably German,<sup>14</sup> the fourth probably Florentine.<sup>15</sup> Donato Acciaiuoli's letter illuminates the circumstances in which K was produced by taking up what Ammannati had told him:

VIII<sup>o</sup> Kal. Octobris reddite sunt mihi litere tue, quibus certior sum factus commentarium Donati ceptum esse a te scribi ea mente ut non diffideres posse absolvi, deinceps permultis occupationibus te impediri eisque ita quotidie premi ut nil temporis tibi superesse possit quod ad reliquum scribendum conferas; quod profecto tibi evenire existimo, non ignarus et tempus et commoditatem eis semper deesse quibus alieno arbitrio vivendum sit et occupatissimis dominis serviendum. Verum cum id a te expleri non possit et ego omnino habere exoptem, vellem ipsum ad me Florentiam mitti; nam cum primum ipsum suscepero, paucis diebus transcribi faciam idque ad te confestim remittam.<sup>16</sup>

If by chance Ammannati's letter survives, it may reveal more; but the manuscript that Acciaiuoli was so eager to lay hands on, whether in the original or in Ammannati's transcript, can hardly have been any other than the one promised to Panormita by Aurispa, his newly acquired copy of the Carnotensis. Though I have found no evidence that Ammannati was closely associated with Aurispa in 1451, Aurispa commended him to Panormita by letter when he went to Naples in July 1453 on the staff of Capranica. Perhaps he took K with him, and perhaps it had already been to Florence.

Zwierlein's monograph on K established its importance, but it has proved to be more important still. Further manuscripts derive from it, but, as I do not know where all of them were written, I postpone discussion momentarily. One more thing should be said about K, however. KA alone put *Adelphoi* before *Eunuchus*, and in my previous article I suggested that the Carnotensis was responsible for this order in K and for the text of *An.* 1. 1–fin. and *Ad.* praef.–2. 4. 13 in KV. That suggestion I see no reason to retract, though I have simplified it by eliminating V and must modify it by substituting *Ad.* 1. 1. 40, where A breaks off, for 2. 4. 13, where nothing happens in K. How much of K after *Ad.* 1. 1. 40 derives from the Carnotensis becomes one of the main problems in the tradition. Unable to solve it yet, I pass to other manuscripts.

Besides descendants of K, two manuscripts used here and there by Wessner, LP, and their relatives, cdk, can be eliminated. They all derive from Y.<sup>17</sup> I have found no errors in Y that they do not share, and some of their errors can be put down to Y's appearance, for example, 1: 37. 18

runsgeschichtlich bedeutsam" and in a footnote mentions Donato Acciaiuoli's letter. I sent him specimens from K, and he kindly tells me that he accepts the identification.

14. He sometimes writes *gw* for *gu* and *v* for *f* or the converse; cf. Zwierlein, *Terenzkommentar*, pp. 9–11, who draws no inference.

15. He resembles Piero Cennini.

16. Magl. VIII 1390 f. 34v. De la Mare very kindly filled out the lacuna in Sabbadini's quotation for me.

17. Y consists of 296 leaves, all quiniones except ff. 131–36; *Eunuchus* ends on f. 136r, and f. 136v is blank.

*ipse . . . totus* om. k, unam lineam efficit in Y; 1: 5. 10–11 *ascribere* k, *ascribitur* in ras. c, *ascrib'r* Y. Single words omitted by the whole family tend to be omitted by Y at the end of a line, for example, 1: 8. 8 *filiam*, 9. 4 *-que*, 39. 9 *non*. It may be that k is a direct copy, but errors shared by Lc and Pd demand intermediaries: 1: 3. 9 *capto* and 5. 4 *utinam* for *autem* Lc, 3. 12 *pulchritudine* for *gratia*, and 3. 13 *docet* for *arguit* Pd. Codices c and d are Florentine, and L, though apparently decorated in Ferrara,<sup>18</sup> was written by the scribe of d. Another manuscript that Y perhaps eliminates for much of the text is N; at least in the *Vita*, however, N generally follows Wessner's *meliores*.

Now to some manuscripts that deserve more attention than they have received. In my previous article, three groups in section 6 were distinguished. As further acquaintance with the manuscripts does not raise the number of groups, I need only enumerate the members of the first two, since the rest with one exception<sup>19</sup> belong to the third: the first consists of KQGHJ<sup>20</sup> and a vexing manuscript (about which more in a moment), the second of CFO. The first, however, may really be two, because, though KQGHJ share errors (e.g., 2: 346. 5 *lepos*, 349. 16 *Nausistrata eque*), they are neither numerous nor hard to correct; certainly QGHJ agree in many errors against K and the rest,<sup>21</sup> and K has lacunae that QGHJ and the rest are free from. Here Δ will denote the source of QGHJ, Θ the source of CFO, and Λ the source of the rest.<sup>22</sup> My immediate concern is with Δ, for much of *Phormio* an unknown but valuable witness.

In section 7, defined by the coalition of KRCFO,<sup>23</sup> Δ often outdoes not only Θ but Λ, too. Particularly noteworthy are its agreements with Stephanus' edition, the lost but certainly medieval Cuiacianus used at second hand by Lindenbrog, and the excerpts in a manuscript of Terence, Ricc. 528 (s. xi). I confine myself to a few examples:

18. "Vine-stem initials look Ferrarese," according to De la Mare.

19. U conflates a text akin to K with one akin to CFO; it is the only manuscript besides K(R) that quotes Ennius at the end of the prologue. In section 5, U has *deletum propter vetustatem* in the text at 2: 334. 2–3, followed by the missing words, which do not fill the space left for them. In section 1 it introduces at 1: 3. 6–7 a transposition found only in K(V), (*natus sit*) *et ad initium tertii* (*natus sit et*) *mortuus*. In *Phorm.* 2. 3 it has a *redactio* only partly *confusa*. Worthless though it may be for the constitution of the text, U could convey something useful about its history. In De la Mare's opinion, the hand is probably Neapolitan or Spanish.

20. As I state in *Hermes*, the ed. Mediol. 1476 is a hybrid of this group and e. Wissowa's suspicion that its source was q (Wessner, "*Commentum*," 1: xviii, xxxiv) must have rested on woefully inadequate evidence. G would be a more promising candidate; but in section 4, whose absence from e leaves the ed. Mediol. pure, G has omissions of its own.

21. In my previous article I reported these readings at 347. 2: *actionem* R *ire actionem* HJ *narrationem* cett. Q, too, has *ire actionem*, G *ne actionem*. More important, I have now collated Gronovius' collation of Pithoeus' lost collation of the lost Cuiacianus, Leid. 759 C 16, which gives *ne actionem* al. *narrationem*.

22. Y stands apart from the other descendants of Λ: 345. 8 *fiscus* KΔY *fili* Θ *festus* Λ, 347. 22–348. 1 *advenisset et eam vellet* KΔΘY *venisset et vellet eam* Λ, 348. 8 *mutato consilio dum* KΔΘ *mutato consilio* Y *dum mutato consilio* Λ, 348. 10 *Nausistratae* (est) *et* Λ om. KΔΘY, 349. 9 *errorem* (et) *Phormio* KΔY om. ΘΛ, 349. 14 *ita ut* KΔΘ *quae cum ita ut* Y *quae cum ita* Λ. Contamination may be responsible.

23. I do not always include F alongside C merely because of its absence from Wessner's apparatus and my collection of microfilms.

393. 12 *non esuris aut* Cuiac., Δ: *ut* cett.  
 394. 2 *agimus* Ricc., Δ: *habemus* KR, C mg.: *amamus* CA: *habemus amamus* O  
 476. 1 *sine arte aliqua* Steph.: *sine arte* Δ, recte: *arte aliqua* cett.  
 478. 5–6 *ex arca sine* Steph.: *ex arcas ne* Δ: *exactis ne* cett.  
 482. 10 *tu deomenu* (i.e., τοῦ δεομένου) *fecit* Δ: *actu deficit* (-fec- RO) ΘV: \*\*\* *fecit* Λ  
 484. 9 *ioco solatam* Δ: *hic consolatam* (-ativam V) cett.: *hic omnino sublatam*  
 Steph.: *hic consedatam* Wessner: fort. *ioco sublatam*

Both Δ and Λ have 2. 1. 4–19, which Θ omits. Full attention to Δ in section 7 will not make a vast difference to the text, because many of its advantages over Θ are reported by Wessner from other sources; but Δ has the merit of being continuous, which the Cuiacianus and Ricc. 528 are not, and largely pure and honest, which Λ and Stephanus' edition are not.

Section 8 is defined by the independent and often virtuous behavior of O, which Zwierlein rightly or wrongly attributed to the Carnotensis.<sup>24</sup> Codex O is matched and sometimes surpassed in this section by Δ, which continues to agree with Stephanus or the Cuiacianus against the rest of the tradition. First, an example that makes an important difference to the text:

432. 17–19 *TENE ASYMBOLVM VENIRE VNCTVM ATQVE LAVTVM E  
 BALNEIS haec non ab Apollodoro sed de \*\*\* translata sunt omnia:  
 "quippe . . ."* (there follows a long quotation in senarii)  
*sed de sexto salis* \*\*\* Λ: *sed de cen* \*\*\* V: *redeas* Θ: lac. O: *sed e sexto satir-  
 arum Ennii* Steph.

Wessner and Vahlen mistrusted Stephanus despite the *velustum exemplar* given to him by Ascensius; but the descendants of Δ have these readings:

- Q *se de sextos at rarum est mi*  
 G *se de sextos alias rarum est \*\*\**  
 H *se de sextos rarum est*  
 J *se desertos atr rarum mi*

It does not take much ingenuity to extract precisely what Stephanus gives (*est mi* < εἰμι). At one stroke, then, the ascription to Ennius is confirmed and Stephanus vindicated. GHJ, I cannot resist pointing out, are three of the seven manuscripts that, according to Wessner, "nullius omnino pretii ad crisin factitandam aut sunt aut esse videntur";<sup>25</sup> he did not know Q. Here are more good readings (again just a few examples):

447. 4–5 *illi crimina* de Steph., OΔ: *illa criminandi* cett.  
 453. 18 *stat* Steph., OΔ: om. cett.  
 455. 26 *convenientiae* Cuiac., OΔ: *veritatis* ΘΛ<sup>2</sup>: *conventionis* VA  
 465. 12 *furtim* Cuiac., Δ: *ferrum* O: *separatim* cett.

These examples appear in Wessner's apparatus (without, of course, the

24. *Terenzkommentar*, pp. 111–12. His derivation of CO from the Carnotensis in section 6, which I challenged in my previous article, has now been overturned by my proof that the change at the end of section 6 occurs not in CO but in KR. His other contention about the Carnotensis in *Phormio*, that it lacked section 7, can stand if K derives from the Carnotensis in section 6.

25. "*Commentum*," 1: xxiii; Wessner continues, "*ex parte enim* minus mihi innouerunt, quam ut certam de eis proferam sententiam" (emphasis added).

reading of Δ), but others can be found:

445. 3–5 *capere dicimus cum id quod in nobis (non) est assumimus*  
*assumimus* RCV, (non) Karsten: *assumemus* K: *assumamus* Λ:  
 [cum] . . . an *sumamus* OΔ  
 457. 14–15 *artificiose personam (non) reprehendit sententiam reprehensurus*  
*reprehendit* ΘVA, (non) Sabbadini: *deprehendit* O: *defendit* Steph., Δ  
 464. 10 *volup* Steph.: *volupe* OΔ: *voluptatis* cett.

In this section, O does not derive from Δ, which has a *redactio confusa* in 2. 3. It is uncertain whether any errors unite OΔ against ΘVA.

At this point an apology is owed to a manuscript mentioned in my previous article, codex I. It contains *Eunuchus* and *Phormio* in different hands, and I said that *Phormio* was garbled almost beyond recognition. Garbled it is. It skips passages, and its wording often bypasses points where the other manuscripts disagree; small disturbances in the order suggest that it may have been put back together from marginal citations in a manuscript of Terence.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, it quite clearly has the original *redactio distincta* in 2. 3 (the second sequence is simply absent), it preserves a good deal of Greek (not written simultaneously with the Latin),<sup>27</sup> and it has numerous readings of merit. In it can be recognized a source akin to Δ but not so corrupt:

369. 15 *necessaria fabulae praestructio (per- Δ) ad fabulae περιπρασιν (perifrasin Δ)*  
*avaritia Demiphonis* IΔ: *necessaria est* (om. CO) *ad fabulae (-am CO) per*  
*istas in (peristasim Λ) avaritia Demiphonis* cett.  
 370. 2 *solum* IΔ: *solos* cett.  
 352. 27 *praetermisit* IKΘA: *pertransit* Δ

Indeed, codex I is less corrupt, or better emended, than all the other fifteenth-century witnesses in a surprising number of places:

- §6 356. 13–14 *loco motus* schol. Bemb. (s. vi): *motus loco* I: *locus motus* cett.  
 367. 17 *a coniectura cui (bono)* Schoell: *a coniectura quae dicitur cui bono* I  
 §7 397. 9 *sustinet* Cuiac., I: *fuit tenet* Δ: *suae tenet* cett.  
 408. 9 *gravem* Steph., I: *gratam* cett.  
 §8 428. 1 *litis molimen* Bentley: *molimen litis* I: *militis molimen* ΘO: *vulgus molimen* ΔVA  
 430. 2 *κυρολογία* Bentley, I: *acyrologia* vel sim. VA: lac. Δ: om. ΘO  
 433. 17 *latratoris* Schoell, I: *latratoris* KC: *latraturis* Λ: *latratoribus* OV:  
*latranibus* QR: *latrantium* G  
 448. 10 *minores aetate* Sabbadini, I: *minores aetates* O: *minoris aetatis* cett.  
 458. 21 *amant iungi* Cuiac., I: *amantium* g. G: *amantium* Q: *amantum* O:  
*amanti* V: *amanti* \*\*\* Λ: *deest* Θ  
 463. 7 *ferre* Steph., I: *prae* ΘG: *per* VAQ: *parere* O  
 470. 2 *horia autem est locus in quo* Cuiac., I: *hara autem est in qua* OΔ:  
*har(r)a autem in qua* cett.

26. A speaker in Angelo Decembrio's *Politia Litteraria* says, "Terentium habeo . . . in locis difficilioribus expositionibus Donati circumscriptum"; cf. Sabbadini, "Il commento di Donato," p. 20, n. 1. Manuscripts like this are probably lying undiscovered, because no one looks at late copies of Terence; cf. n. 45.

27. The Greek that e offers in *Eunuchus* and *Phormio* came from codex I or a relative.



- §7 478. 5 *ex arca sine* Steph.: *ex area sine* I: *ex arcas ne* Δ: *exactis ne* cett.  
 481. 3 *lurcones* Nonius, I, G<sup>2</sup>: *laucones* Δ: *claucones* (gl- V) cett.  
 484. 2 *delata* Steph.: *dilata* I: *illata* ΔΛ: *dicta* ΘV

As I do not doubt I's kinship with Δ, some of these readings are likely to be conjectures, especially where the other manuscripts agree; conjecture may also be expected in excerpts, which serve little purpose unless they make sense. Even so, conjectures seem to be in the minority.

Fortunately, codex I has an interesting text of *Eunuchus*, too, and it is not garbled. The manuscripts of *Eunuchus* fall into the following groups. As elsewhere in the commentary, TCF have omissions from which the rest of the manuscripts are free, for example, 1: 272. 12 *paulatim*, 298. 19 *et depravatam*, 350. 7 *amatorie*. Other omissions, such as 307. 17 *bene*, 324. 21–22 *VOCABVLA . . . accipimus*, 352. 9 *hortative*, are shared by the manuscripts that adopt the interpolations listed by Wessner (1: xxxi); since these manuscripts almost all derive from Λ in section 6, they presumably do so here. There remain BKV, which do not constitute a group, and IEQHe,<sup>28</sup> which do: 266. 3 *nunc* for *noster*, 292. 18 *erratum* for *mirum*, and omission of 302. 9 *nigram*, 309. 23–24 *ideo . . . probavit*, 331. 2–4 *quod . . . perdidit*, to name a few errors from many. Within the group contamination has run riot:

271. 17 *quibus* IE: *quidvis quibus e: quidvis* QH cett.  
 275. 18 *in illo* IEQH: *nulla e* cett.  
 275. 21 *ipse* IE: *rem* QHe cett.  
 275. 21–22 *(quia) qui . . . verba (deceplus est)* QHeΛ: *qui . . . verba* IEBKVΘ  
 276. 6 *translatam* om. EQH: *hab. Ie* cett.  
 279. 12 *non si* EQHe: *sed I* cett.  
 306. 21 *ancilla (figurate illi) e, ancilla (figurative illi) Λ: ancilla* IEQH cett.

The process of contamination has left its mark in e at 271. 17; QH have been in contact with Λ at 275. 21–22, e at 306. 21, wherever the interpolations originated. The simplest assumption, therefore, is that E and I are the pure members of the group, the former being more corrupt than the latter. It deserves notice, however, that QH in *Phormio* descend from Δ. In *Phormio* Δ stands for the common source of QGHJ, and in that sense it can only be traced from the beginning of section 4, *Hec*. 3. 5. 8; its errors include 281. 22 *conclamatione per totam* in section 4 and 319. 9–10 *quod immisit sit quod me vocat* in section 5. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that QH derive from it in *Eunuchus*.

What, then, was the source of these valuable manuscripts, Δ and I? Q, though it does not in general excel the other descendants of Δ in sections 4–8, preserves a subscription that distinguishes Δ from all the other fifteenth-century witnesses: “Aelii Donati v.c. oratoris urbis Rome commentarium in Terentii Phormione explicit.” Compare the subscriptions in A (s. xi), “Apli Donati v̄c oratoris urbis Rome commentum Terentii . . .,” and in the Cuiacianus, “Aelii Donati v.c. oratoris urbis Romae commentum Terenti

28. G sometimes follows IEQHe, but not consistently enough to deserve serious attention.

Phormionis explicit." Warren observed the resemblance,<sup>29</sup> but it has won Q no friends, and certainly it fails to betray the source of Δ. If either Δ or I antedated 1450, when a copy of the Carnotensis arrived in Italy, the source could not have been the Carnotensis; but Donatus seems to have attracted self-effacing scribes, and the earliest of the few dated manuscripts was written in 1459. In fact, codex I could well antedate 1450, and for two reasons I do not think Δ can have derived from the Carnotensis. I shall not press these reasons here, however.

Sections 4 and 5 are the best place to start discussing the rest of the Italian manuscripts. In place of section 4 Oare have nothing, xp a lacuna, mn an interpolation. In section 5 they agree in, for example, the following errors: 2: 320. 16 *obsequentem*, 322. 25 *tantam et* for *quantumque*, 325. 14 *quasi* for *quam*, 325. 24–26 *HIS . . . ANIMVM* om. (homoeoteleuton), 329. 22–24 *ut . . . permittente* om. (homoeoteleuton). These recur in DMSqtfWh, which do not omit section 4;<sup>30</sup> D and M, however, show signs of having gone elsewhere for it.<sup>31</sup> Evidently all eight reinstate the defective source at 5. 1. 2. It must have been Λ, the source in section 6 of all sixteen witnesses except O, because z, which agrees with them in *Hecyra* up to 3. 5. 8, has this note at the bottom of the page that includes 3. 5. 8 (f. 146r): *ιστεον οτι απο εδω εως το τέλος αυτης της κωμωδίας εξ άλλων αθηβοιλιον εγραψεν ο μαρτινος*. The note implies that *ο μαρτινος* returned to his original exemplar at the beginning of *Phormio*, where z derives from Λ. Two other manuscripts that do the same as z are V and Y.<sup>32</sup> All three derive in sections 4 and 5 from K; corrections by the first hand of K appear in their text at, for example, 325. 8 *gratum* BCK<sup>1</sup> *segregatum* K<sup>2</sup>VYz, and they omit, for example, 284. 23 *hoc tantopere* and 323. 4 *tarde*, omitted by K in embarking on a new page and a new line, respectively. I have not tried to determine the sources used by all the descendants of Λ that remedy the omission of section 4, but M conflates manuscripts like K and Δ (283. 4 *dixit* MΔ for *dictum*, 284. 23 *hoc tantopere* om. MK) and W manuscripts like D and Δ (281. 22 *conclatione* WΔ, 285. 2 *hunc* for *hic autem* WD); I should expect sqtf to do the same as M.<sup>33</sup>

Most of the manuscripts that derive from Λ in sections 5 and 6 agree in errors and interpolations throughout the commentary. The tradition can be best surveyed by indicating which manuscripts do not derive from Λ. Those that nowhere derive from it are ABSTCFKRIE, roughly Wessner's *meliores*; I called the source of CFO in section 6 Θ, and I will use the symbol throughout for the source of CF and their kin.<sup>34</sup>

N derives from Θ in the *Vita*; QJ up to the end of *An. praef.*; O and

29. "Five New Manuscripts," p. 32.

30. The microfilm of h that I consulted at the IRHT had no pretension to completeness, and I may be wrong to infer from its behavior in sections 1 and 2 that it does not share the omission; but I should be surprised if h did not belong to this group.

31. Cf. Wessner, "*Commentum*," 1: xix, xxi.

32. Yz already agree closely in section 1—1: 6. 9 *areore* Y *artore* z for *auctore*.

33. So close are tf throughout the commentary that one may well be a copy of the other. The same applies to mn.

34. I have already done this for simplicity on p. 315, where Θ stands variously for the source of CFO, KR CFO, and KR CF. I do not think that the ambiguity vitiates any of my arguments.

presumably amn, which share its distinctive interpolations in section 1, up to some point between 1: 65. 10 and 66. 8; q until the hand changes after three seniones at 1: 190. 11 *hic paulo / sapientior inducitur* (*An.* 3. 3. 20).

QHe desert  $\Lambda$  for something else in *Eunuchus*; MsqtfWh for other things in section 4; Yz for K in sections 4 and 5; QGHJ for  $\Delta$  in sections 4–8; O for  $\Theta$  in sections 6 and 7 and for something like  $\Delta$  in section 8; codex a for  $\Theta$  when the first hand returns at *Phorm.* 1. 4. 21 *ex metu* (2: 401. 23) and then for the same thing as O in section 8;<sup>35</sup> D for  $\Theta$  in section 4 and after *Phorm.* 2. 3. 4; W for  $\Delta$  where the hand changes at *Phorm.* 2. 3. 1 *QVAESO | interim* (439. 16).<sup>36</sup>

V derives from  $\Lambda$  only in *Ad.* 2. 4. 13–*Hec.* 3. 5. 8 and at the beginning of *Phormio* (though V<sup>2</sup> derives from it where V derives from something else).

My knowledge of U is limited, but I have mentioned its behavior in *Phormio*.

All the Italian manuscripts, U and V apart, have now been classified throughout the commentary in as much detail as an editor is ever likely to need. Before discussing the remaining parts of V, let me set out the available sources section by section. The old section 2 must go, not only because the elimination of V in *Ad.* praef.–2. 4. 13 leaves *Ad.* 2. 4. 13 insignificant, but also because AK invert *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoi*, within which the behavior of K may change. In order not to cause confusion by inventing a completely new division of sections, I will exclude *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoi* from the sequence and understand by section 2 merely the rest of *Andria* from 1: 49. 1 and by section 3 merely *Hec.* praef.–3. 5. 8. Manuscripts that do not cover a whole section are in brackets.

- (1) *Vita*–*An.* 1. 1. 1 (1: 3. 1–49. 1 *AVFERTE*)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , A, [S]
- (2) *An.* 1. 1. 1–fin. (1: 49. 1 *ABITE*–261. 17)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , AK, [B]  
*Eunuchus* (1: 265. 1–497. 6)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , [B], K, V, IE  
*Adelphoi* (2: 3. 1–185. 19)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , [A]K
- (3) *Hec.* praef.–3. 5. 8 (2: 189. 1–271. 8 *dicere*)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , [B], K
- (4) *Hec.* 3. 5. 8–5. 1. 2 (2: 271. 8 *an*–319. 8 *servatus*)  $\Theta$ , B, K,  $\Delta$
- (5) *Hec.* 5. 1. 2–fin. (2: 319. 9 *NEC POL*–342. 5)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , [B], K,  $\Delta$
- (6) *Phorm.* praef.–1. 2. 38 (2: 345. 1–373. 16 *EXADVERSVM*)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , K,  $\Delta$ , I
- (7) *Phorm.* 1. 2. 38–2. 1. 47/49 (2: 373. 17–ca. 418), 5. 1. 19/29–fin. (2: 472–484. 9)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , [V],  $\Delta$ , I
- (8) *Phorm.* 2. 1. 47/49–5. 1. 19/29 (2: ca. 419–472)  $\Theta$ ,  $\Lambda$ , V,  $\Delta$ , Oa, I.

35. Neither Sabbadini nor Wessner observed that codex a is written in two hands.

36. Though D and W are close relatives, D seems not to have switched at exactly this point: 435. 20 *dicitur Phormionem*  $\Theta\Delta W$  *Phormionem dicitur*  $\Lambda D$ . W confirms that the home of D was Bologna (cf. Wessner, “*Commentum*,” 1: xix) by adding on f. 53v the *alter exitus* of *Andria* together with the following note: “hic textus ex antiquissimo Terentio Sancti Domenici de \*\*\* [*ras. 7 litterarum*] habitus est, quem tamen non arbitror esse Teren \*\*\* [*ras. 7 litterarum*] neque stillus neque sententiae superioribus congruunt.” At first sight the gaps are annoying, but the second can easily be filled by conjecture (*-lii nam*) and the first by reference to Prete’s edition of Terence (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 111, where a manuscript that he cites for the *alter exitus* has this note: “hanc scenam nusquam alibi vidi praeterquam in codice Terentii qui est in catenis apud S. Dominicum Bononiae.”

No manuscript is more of a hodgepodge than V. In *Eunuchus* and sections 7 and 8 it derives from neither K nor Λ, but even within *Eunuchus* one passage, roughly 1: 308. 11–332. 17, was taken straight from K. This curiosity came to my attention while I was scanning Wessner's apparatus in order to find out something not revealed in his introduction, how much of the Greek in V was written at one stretch with the Latin. The point is important, because a scribe who includes the Greek in some passages and leaves gaps for it in others unwittingly says something about his sources. In *Andria* and *Ad. praef.*–2. 4. 13, where its exemplar K has no Greek, V has none either, apart from later additions in *Ad. 1. 2. 62*–2. 1. 33 (2: 34. 1–42. 24). In most of *Eunuchus* the Greek was there from the start, but not in the brief passage I mentioned. Why V should have switched to K for this passage is unclear; I do not know whether it switched back because K omits 333. 7–339. 13 *vitiassē . . . formarum*. V also has Greek at six points in *Hec. praef.*–2. 1<sup>37</sup> and then regularly from 2. 2. 6 (2: 236. 20 ἀνακόλουθον) to the end of the commentary. From 2. 2. 6 on, all V's Greek in *Hecyra* came from K, even between 2. 2. 6 and 3. 5. 8, where all the Latin derives from Λ. In K, the first hand (the only one that copies Greek) returns at 2. 2. 3 (236. 3), and a comparison of the Greek in K and V puts the matter beyond question; at 254. 4, for instance, εχ- in V is a misreading of a very curly χ- in K. In sections 4 and 5, as I have said, V is a straightforward copy of K. At the beginning of *Phormio* it derives from Λ, but other parts of *Phormio*, and the Greek throughout, do not derive from K, Λ, Θ, or Δ.

What accounts for the independence of V in unadjacent plays, *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*? Probably its Neapolitan origin. Well before Aurispa acquired a copy of the Carnotensis in 1450, his copy of the Maguntinus had supplied Panormita at Naples with an unspecified part of the commentary,<sup>38</sup> and Valla had used *Eunuchus* in his *Elegantiae*, which he almost certainly wrote at Naples.<sup>39</sup> Codex I, it will be remembered, contains *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*, albeit in different hands and different states; unfortunately, I could find no watermarks. There is further evidence that *Eunuchus* circulated either alone or at the head of other plays. E contains nothing else, and De la Mare has pointed out to me that the Venetian scholar Lauro Quirini lent a manuscript of *Eunuchus* alone to Maffeo Vallaresso in the early 1450s (Vat. Barb. Lat. 1809 ff. 283, 304, 314–15).<sup>40</sup> QMr originally began

37. 2: 190. 9, 191. 3, 193. 12, 193. 17, 199. 5, 230. 5.

38. In an undated letter ("1442?" Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, p. 161; "1439?" idem, *Carteggio*, p. 96) Aurispa tells Panormita that "cupidissimi codicum novorum et doctissimi" have kept his Donatus, of which "Karolus [Marsuppini] solum id transcripsit quod tu habes."

39. Sabbadini, "Il commento di Donato," p. 19, n. 1; A. Casacci, "Gli *Elegantiarum libri* di Lorenzo Valla," *Atene e Roma*, n.s. 7 (1926): 188; F. Adorno, "Di alcune orazioni e prefazioni di Lorenzo Valla," *Rinascimento* 5 (1954): 193, 194, n. 2. In a letter assigned by Sabbadini ("Il commento di Donato," p. 18, n. 4) to March 1441, Valla says explicitly that he had seen only *Eunuchus*.

40. Vallaresso's phrase "tam preciosum antiquitatis monumentum" in the last letter probably refers to the text rather than the manuscript. On Quirini's life up to the 1450s, see V. Branca (ed.), *Lauro Quirini umanista* (Florence, 1977), pp. 11–13; he seldom left Venice or Padua but did visit Florence in 1441.

with it,<sup>41</sup> and the inventory of Aurispa's library at his death in 1459, just published,<sup>42</sup> opens with the following entry: "1. . . . Donatus in Terentium, scriptus in carta bombicina mezana quaternorum vigintiduorum, qui incipit: Hic masculini generis; explicit: fermo, non inquaternatus."<sup>43</sup> This manuscript might have saved a lot of trouble by surviving, especially since it cannot quite be taken for granted that *fermo* is a version of *Phormio*.<sup>44</sup>

So much for the Italian manuscripts. Broadly, three connected problems remain: the extent of the Carnotensis, the value of  $\Lambda$ , and the stemma in each section. I could say something about all of them now; but, having already written one article that is largely out of date, I prefer to say more at another time. I will therefore finish by dealing with the only fifteenth-century *meliores* that I have not yet had occasion to discuss—S, namely, the Ambrosian excerpt owned by Fr. Pizolpasso († 1443), and Leid. B.P.L. 191BF.

The Leidensis, a manuscript of Terence probably written near the lower Rhine, is every bit as vexing as codex I. It has introductory matter and marginal annotations that include fairly faithful excerpts from the introductory treatises and prefaces of Donatus;<sup>45</sup> and the text it drew on was a good one, because at 1: 20. 4 it had *vilitem*, omitted by all the other manuscripts except AS, and it did not follow  $\Lambda$  in 1: 37. 11 (*eam sibi*) *petebat*, 2: 3. 16 *autem* (*et*), or 2: 4. 18 *lenis*. It seems closer to  $\Theta$  than to anything else, though the evidence (all from the first volume of Wessner) is not concordant:

- 9. 5      *nobis* AS: om.  $\Theta$ : *certe* K: *scenae* O: *populi* JA: *semper* Leid.
- 27. 8      *relatus* AA: *sic latus* S $\Theta$ : *simulativus* Leid.
- 27. 14      *quod* AS $\Theta$ : *quia*  $\Lambda$  Leid.
- 38. 4–5    *et Philomena*  $\Theta$ : *Philomena vero*  $\Lambda$  Leid.: *deest* A
- 268. 3     *se non ante* BKVIEA: *non ante se*  $\Theta$  Leid.

The simplest explanation of the agreement between the Leidensis and  $\Lambda$  in

41. In Q, *Andria* ends in the middle of a gathering (f. 57v) and *Eunuchus* begins on the next (f. 61r). On M, see Sabbadini, "Il commento di Donato," pp. 50–51. Ff. 1–148 of r consist entirely of quiniones except for one quaternio, ff. 51–58; *Andria* ends on f. 58v, most of which is blank. Admittedly these facts will bear another construction: while the scribes of QMr were beginning on *Eunuchus*, other scribes were beginning on *Andria* from the same exemplars. The scribe of Y began on *Adelphoi* (cf. n. 17), and I attach no significance to that.

42. A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca* (Padua, 1976).

43. The other entries for Donatus or what may be Donatus are these: "288. item Donatus in Terentium, in papiro"; "336. item Donatus in Terentium, in membranis quaternorum sedecim non inquaternatis, quem dominus Joannes donare promisit domino Malatestae Novello"; "387. item Donatus in Terentium, in papiro, sine albis"; "391. item comentum Terentii, in papiro, sine albis"; "577. item Donatus in Terentium, novus, in membranis vigintiquattuor quinternionum, depaginatus." I can identify only the last, which is either L or d. 336 looks at first sight like M, but the gatherings do not square.

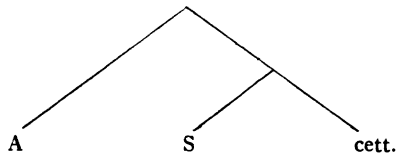
44. Might not the manuscript have ended with, e.g., 2: 424. 28 *sermo*?

45. While inspecting a snippet of miscellaneous and inadequately labelled film from Madrid at the IRHT, I noticed Donatus' argumentum to *Eunuchus* in another manuscript of Terence (7804?), but it came from e. The extracts in Vindob. Scot. 212, part of which I saw on microfilm at the IRHT, might be interesting if their date were really 1452, because they derive from A; but I doubt this date.

38. 4-5, though it will not serve at 27. 14 against the unanimity of ASΘ, is that they are correct.

Sabbadini, who discovered S, denied that it had any connection with either the Carnotensis or the Maguntinus,<sup>46</sup> even though in 1436 the Maguntinus went through Pizolpasso's hands; but, so far as the Maguntinus is concerned, Sabbadini apparently had no better reason than that its presumed descendants, TCF, have errors absent from S. This reason would have satisfied C. H. Beeson, who maintained that certain errors peculiar to T or C could only have been caused by abbreviations in a manuscript older than the fifteenth century and therefore to be identified with the Maguntinus itself;<sup>47</sup> but I think he underestimated the varieties of fifteenth-century script. Perhaps one day the watermark in S will help;<sup>48</sup> the hand is French, but Frenchmen visited Italy. Meanwhile I can safely say that the stemma of the passage covered by S (at any rate up to 1: 23 or thereabouts) is this:

FIGURE 1



All the manuscripts except A are united by the omission of 1:14. 10 *prior(um)*, 15. 1 *ad*, 15. 15-16 *consistens nunc* (homoeoteleuton), 18. 13 *tollerent*, 19. 7 *egerunt*,<sup>49</sup> 20. 9 *non aut*, and all except AS by the omission of 7. 11 *non*, 8. 8 *post*, 9. 5 *nobis*, 9. 7 *item*, 20. 4 *vilitatem*, 23. 9 *morum*, to say nothing of other errors. If the scribe of S had copied out the whole commentary, editing it would be far less arduous.

That a new edition is called for has already been shown by Zwierlein's study of K. Now, however, K has turned out to eliminate parts of three manuscripts used by Wessner, VRL; two more witnesses of consequence have emerged, Δ and I; and V has been exposed as a veritable edition in itself. There is a further point, one that I am reluctant to make, because I know what collating this long and tiresome text is like. In the first sixteen pages of *Hecyra* that I examined, I found three serious errors in Wessner's edition: 270. 18 *uxori (amori codd. omnes)*, 322. 13 *reclamavit meretrix et (reclamavit meretrix statim et codd. omnes)*, 323. 4 *longe B ex silentio longum*

46. "Spogli Ambrosiani latini," p. 197.

47. "The Text Tradition of Donatus' Commentary on Terence," *CP* 17 (1922): 300-301.

48. James Butrica, who has very kindly examined it, writes: "Unfortunately, it is one of the difficult ones, three mounts in a circle surmounted by a cross; it seemed to me to be closest to B. 11869 (Palermo 1413, var. Nieuwport, Belgium, 1417)."

49. As Rufinus (s. v?) cites the passage without *egerunt* (*GLK.*, 6: 554. 7), either the division between A and S *cett.* goes back to Rufinus' time, which no one now believes, or *egerunt* is an interpolation, which disqualifies it from appearing in the list. I cannot believe, however, that every reading in the list is an interpolation.

CV (*longum* BCV). At 2: 410. 21 Wessner's conjecture *cogilaturae* appears in all the manuscripts, and D is misreported five other times on the same page in spite of having been collated by Vahlen, Dziatzko, and Wessner himself (1: xix). Room, then, for elementary improvement, too.

#### POSTSCRIPT ON THE CUIACIANUS AND CODEX I

Before the Cuiacianus (Cujas' manuscript) disappeared, one of the brothers Pithoeus had collated it. The collation has also disappeared, but Lindenbrog used it for his edition (Paris, 1602; Frankfurt, 1623) and Gronovius transcribed it.<sup>50</sup> As these sources show that the Cuiacianus often had a better text than the surviving witnesses (e.g., Greek where they pass over it), every effort must be made to recover its readings.

On which edition did Pithoeus collate the Cuiacianus, and which did Lindenbrog take as his foundation? Gronovius reports readings that would not have needed recording on any edition earlier than Stephanus' of 1541, for example, 2: 206. 23 *persuasit* (sic codd., Steph. 1529, 1536: *suasit* 1541). The same edition served Lindenbrog, as I established by comparing his second edition with Stephanus' first and then seeing whether Stephanus' later editions accounted for any of the differences.<sup>51</sup> The coincidence makes it possible that Gronovius transcribed not Pithoeus' collation itself but Lindenbrog's copy, and possibility becomes probability in the light of Lindenbrog's statement in the preface to his second edition: "DONA-TI duo exemplaria habuimus, et illa [like two copies of Terence] Pithaeorum accurata diligentia ad MSS. codd. Antonii Contii et Iacobi Cuiacii Antecessorum Bituricensium collata." Fr. Pithoeus lent him, that is, separate collations of A and the Cuiacianus; yet neither he nor Gronovius distinguishes them. One expects better of Gronovius; but, if Lindenbrog's copy lay before him and Lindenbrog had run them together, to do better was not in his power. That Lindenbrog's copy lay before Gronovius would also explain 1: 36. 12 "γρ. aut canticis" and 83. 23 "ἴσως nervis," which Lindenbrog puts forward as conjectures of his own. If, therefore, only Lindenbrog's copy of Pithoeus' collation of the Cuiacianus can be reconstructed, the two editions whose differences may yield other readings of the Cuiacianus besides those that appear in Gronovius' transcript or Lindenbrog's notes are Lindenbrog's and the one Lindenbrog used, Stephanus' of 1541. For comparison I chose Lindenbrog's second edition rather than his first because the second would have had to be collated anyway for its emendations. I then checked my list of differences against his first. Most of them already occur there, and for none of the rest can his copy of Pithoeus' collation be proved responsible.

The editions relevant to the Cuiacianus, then, are Stephanus' of 1541 and Lindenbrog's of 1602. After comparing them and collating Gronovius' transcript, I have three conclusions to offer, one of them disturbing.

50. Cf. Wessner, "*Commentum*," 1: xvi, xxxv-xxxvi.

51. The edition of 1541 deserves the credit for several emendations that Wessner ascribes to Lindenbrog, e.g., 2: 240. 6 *auctivum*, 364. 20 *dictum*.

The first, deducible from Wessner's apparatus, is that very few readings of the Cuiacianus have been preserved in *Eunuchus* and next to none in the part of the commentary covered by A, namely, the introductory treatises, *Andria*, and *Ad. praef.*-1. 1. 40. It would be rash to draw inferences from this about a manuscript accessible only at three removes.

The second conclusion is that, though Lindenbrog felt free to touch up quotations from extant authors, Terence included, most of his other alterations unquestionably derive from a manuscript. The following, for instance, recur in K-2: 43. 4 <et> *inimicum*, 57. 22 *gaudens*, 64. 2 *dixerat*, 71. 23 *o tempora o mores*, 76. 18 <mire> *interponitur*, 77. 1 *amet*, 82. 18 *impurus* <aulem>, 86. 8 *in physicum*, 99. 5 *novum* (for *vitium*), 191. 4 *addiscat*, 205. 13 <id est claudus>, 224. 18 *augmenta*.<sup>52</sup> Of Lindenbrog's alterations, therefore, even those that cannot be shown to derive from a manuscript may well do so.

"A manuscript"—and therein lies the disturbing point. The readings that I cited from codex I in *Phormio* included one in which it agreed strikingly with the Cuiacianus: 2: 470. 3 *horia autem est locus in quo* I, Cuiac.: *har(r)a autem (est) in qua* ΘΔΟΛ. If, as I maintained, codex I has a close affinity with Δ, a grouping like this should not occur. Here are more places where it nevertheless does occur (with a fuller treatment of the passage just cited):

469. 14 *observatum* I, Lind. in textu et adnot.: *obstetricum* ΘΔΛ: *obstrictum* O  
 469. 18-19 *ponatur. imitabantur aspirationem in exhalando* I, *ponatur. an quod imitabantur aspirationem in exhalando* Lind. in textu: *mutabantur in exhalando* O: *mutabantur (imit- Θ) an ab halando* ΘΔΛ  
 470. 2-3 *in qua inclusa servatur. horia autem est locus in quo pecora concluduntur* I, . . . *horia autem est locus in quo inclusa servantur* Lind. in adnot.: *in qua (quae Θ) concluditur et (ob- OR<sup>1</sup>, ab- R<sup>2</sup>K, ad- C) servatur. har(r)a autem (+ est ΔO) in qua pecora includuntur (con- O) ΘΔΟΛ*  
 470. 4 *mysticus . . . haruga* I, Lind. in adnot.: *rusticus (mist- O) . . . (h)ar(r)a* ΘΔΟΛ  
 474. 10 <et habet primam longam. quando autem significat aliud, primam brevem habet> I post 9 *statu* (omisso 9-10 *Plautus . . . signa*), post 10 *signa* Lind. in textu  
 475. 7 *quasi omnis cena prout in se lactatur insultat* I, *qui in omni scena prout in se iactatur insultat* Lind. in textu: *quasi omnis senatus (scena \*\*\* Θ, \*\*\* Λ) provenisse (prout in se Θ<sup>2</sup>) laetatur (-etur Δ) ΔΘΛ: senatus saltem Gron., Lind. in adnot.*  
 475. 13 <senibus leno ob fallaciam mire exultat> I inter 7 et 14 ceteris omissis, <SENIBVS ob fallaciam mire exultat> Lind. in textu post 13 *superiore*  
 479. 17 *aheros alteri* I, *alteri alteros* Lind. in textu et adnot.: *alter (altus RKO) alterum* ΘΛ: *latera alterius* Δ  
 482. 4 τῆς (συγγνώμης καὶ) I, Lind. in textu  
 482. 6 *alias partes addidit ad* I, *alias partes adducit ad* Lind. in adnot.: *praestes eos (praesto ΘΛ<sup>2</sup>) addidit* ΘΔΛ

52. As Wessner either ignores these readings of Lindenbrog or takes them for conjectures, they do not appear in Zwierlein's list of agreements between K and the Cuiacianus (*Terenzkommentar*, pp. 132-33).



484. 5 *facilius* I, Lind. in adnot.: *facetius* ΘΔΔ  
 484. 8 *paternarum deliciarum vindex* I, Lind. in textu: *censor paternarum deliciarum* ΘΔΔ  
 484. 9 *ioco solatam* IΔ, *hic ioco sublatam* Lind. in textu (*hic omnino sublatam* Steph.): *hic consolatam* ΘΑ

The readings cited here from Lindenbrog's edition all have one thing in common, whether printed in his text or ascribed to "MS." in his notes: they are absent from Gronovius' transcript. This would not be significant if Gronovius' failure to alter Lindenbrog's text confirmed that it derived from Lindenbrog's copy of Pithoeus' collation; but Gronovius often records a reading already adopted in Lindenbrog's text by underlining it and writing *v.c.* in the margin (some compensation for his unhappy choice of edition). As he does not do so in any of the relevant passages listed above, nor records any of the readings I have cited from Lindenbrog's notes, Lindenbrog surely used another source besides Pithoeus' collation. A second reason for thinking so is the nature of the differences between Lindenbrog's reading and the reading of ΘΔ(Ο)Α: whereas guaranteed readings of the Cuiacianus, or at any rate of Lindenbrog's copy of Pithoeus' collation, tend either to support one branch of the extant tradition or to account for corruptions in its various branches, the readings under discussion do neither. Their source, granted that it was not the Cuiacianus, comes immediately to hand—codex I or something very like it.<sup>53</sup> It does not seem to have been used throughout *Phormio*: I have found no significant agreement with codex I against other manuscripts and Gronovius' transcript before 2: 469. 14.<sup>54</sup> The disturbing point is not Lindenbrog's use of such a source but his complete silence about it in the preface and his indiscriminate use of "MS." in the notes. Be that as it may, unburdening the Cuiacianus of its readings appreciably lightens the task of assessing both the Cuiacianus and codex I.

Dr. T. S. Pattie of the British Library kindly tells me that nothing is known about the history of codex I before it was sold as lot 1559 in the auction of H. Drury's library (1827).

*Exeter College, Oxford*

53. 2: 481. 11 *gnaviter* Lind. in adnot., *graviter* cum cett. I, perhaps tells against codex I.

54. The only possibilities are 466. 17 *definitivum* Lind. in textu et fort. I (mendose scriptus), *definitum* cett., and 463. 1 *μόνος* Lind. in textu et I, *μόνος γε* ed. Stephani 1541.