## SOME TEXTUAL PROBLEMS IN AELIUS DONATUS' COMMENTARY ON TERENCE\*

I

- An. 1,1 sch. 119.4¹ sedulo' si negabat? an 'sedulo' σπουδαίως [id est simpliciter]?

σπουδαίως scripsi: Sosie  $\Gamma\Lambda$ : ut Sosie  $\Theta$ : studiose Kauer: ὡσεὶ ἀπλῶς Wess. (ex Rabb. et Schoel. coniect.)  $\parallel$  idest] vel  $P \parallel \text{simp}^r$  in  $\text{simp}^x$  corr.  $C^2 \parallel$  id—simpliciter] delevi

= p. 81.10–12 Wess.: sedvlo quomodo 'sedulo' si negabat? an 'sedulo' ώσεὶ <άπλῶς> id est simpliciter?

In the first act of Terence's *Andria*, we find a dialogue between the old man Simo and Sosia, the freedman, with the former explaining why he has decided to arrange a false wedding for his young son Pamphilus. He has, in fact, learned that his son, despite being betrothed, has had a relationship with another girl and that—quite a serious matter—the fiancée's father, Chremes, has heard about the clandestine affair. In verses 144–9 Simo reports on the not-altogether friendly meeting he has had with Chremes, who is furious about the complete disrespect that has been shown to his daughter; Simo's only defence is to attempt to deny the truth (146: *ego illud sedulo negare factum*).

Ancient authors derived *sedulo* from *sine dolo*,<sup>2</sup> and thus it could be translated as 'sincerely', 'without deceit'. Hence the question in scholium 119.4: how can the character possibly use the word *sedulo* if he is in fact denying the truth? Surely one cannot deny the truth 'sincerely'. If this etymology is retained, then the sentence makes no sense, and Donatus is of the opinion that a different solution should be proposed.

Unfortunately, this section of the text, where one would expect to find a second meaning for *sedulo*, one that would give coherence to the phrase spoken by Simo, is corrupt: all manuscripts offer the following variant, with minimal differences:

an sedulo Sosie (ut Sosie  $\Theta$ ) id est simpliciter?



<sup>\*</sup> I wish to thank CQ's anonymous referee, B. Gibson and R. Jakobi for their invaluable comments and observations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The first and the third textual instances below provide the reader with the text and apparatus criticus of the edition of the *Commentum* to *Andria* edited by me, followed by the text printed by P. Wessner, *Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1902). For the textual transmission, cf. M.D. Reeve, 'Commentary on Terence', in L.D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 153–6; id., 'The textual tradition of Donatus's commentary on Terence', *CPh* 74 (1979), 310–26; C. Cioffi, 'Un problema stemmatico', *MD* 73 (2014), 113–36; ead. 'Riconoscere la contaminazione', *Hermes* 143 (2015), 356–78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Non. p. 37.27 L, Serv. auct. Aen. 2.374, Isid. Orig. 10.244, 10.247.

Sosie clearly makes no sense, and Wessner<sup>3</sup> decided to print a text that was the result of a double intervention: Sosie corrected into  $\dot{\omega}$ σεὶ (Rabbow) and the incorporation by Schoell of  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\lambda\dot{\omega}$ ς immediately after. This double intervention thus presupposes a huge corruption, triggered by the presence of letters from the Greek alphabet. It is clear that the text reworked in this way stems from the subsequent *id est simpliciter*, but it is difficult to identify a plausible meaning; in addition, it seems to overlook the need (which cannot be taken lightly) to provide an alternative reading<sup>4</sup> to the one presupposed by the question 'Why does he say "without deceit" if he is denying the truth?'.

Kauer rightly disagreed with this textual rearrangement and proposed that the misinterpreted *Sosie* be corrected into *studiose*,<sup>5</sup> based on two glosses from the *Commentarius antiquior*:<sup>6</sup>

[ad *Phorm.* 2,4,13]: sedulo] id est bono studio, sedulum studiosum dicimus, sine dolo ut Hieronymus dicit.

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[ad Phorm. 5,9,12]: sedulo] studiose
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However, this emendation forced him to change the meaning of *simpliciter*, which constitutes the further explanatory coda of *studiose*, defining it as 'geradeaus, rückhaltlos'.

Leaving aside this latter lexical consideration, Kauer's proposal deserves attention. The second scholium cited by him makes reference to a very interesting passage of the *Phormio* that is somewhat similar to that of the *Andria (Phorm.* 449–54):

CRA: ego, quae in rem tuam sint, ea uelim facias. mihi si hoc uidetur: quod te absente hic filius egit, restitui in integrum aequomst et bonum, et id impetrabis. dixi. DE: dic nunc, Hegio.
HE: ego **sedulo hunc dixisse** credo; uerum itast; quot homines, tot sententiae; suos quoique mos.

Hegio maintains that Cratinus spoke *sedulo*, which, according to the scholium, means that he spoke eagerly, passionately. In addition *sedulo* here adds a very specific character to a verb of speaking, which would support the case for adapting the meaning of *studiose* to *sedulo* in *An.* 146, as it would indicate the effort and fatigue with which Simo denies Chremes' accusations.<sup>7</sup>

This series of data would seem to support Kauer's amendment; yet, two problems remain. First, the following gloss, *id est simpliciter*, creates a very strong disharmony with the concept immediately preceding it, which the semantic displacement attempted by Kauer does not resolve: in Donatus, *simpliciter*, when referring to verbs of speaking, implies the process of explaining the literal meaning of a phrase (cf. Don. *Phorm.* 988.2). In addition, speaking *simpliciter* clearly contrasts with speaking εἰρωνικῶς. The semantic levelling which results (*sedulo–studiose–simpliciter*) seems too artificial:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The particle an is very indicative in this respect (cf. Don. Ad. 32, 217.2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> R. Kauer, 'Zu Donat', WS 33 (1911), 144–54 and 323–35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. F. Schlee, Scholia Terentiana (Leipzig, 1893), 133 and 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In addition, it would not be merely the scholiasts' over-interpretation; *sedulo* may also carry the meanings 'carefully', 'zealously', 'diligently'; cf. *OLD* s.v. 2b. And Donatus himself would have been well aware of this assumption, as shown at *Ad.* 413.3. Another fact worth bearing in mind is what has been said in the immediately preceding scholium (119.3): *EGO ILLVD SEDVLO quanto affectu pater factum quod uiderat negabat!* With the phrase *quanto affectu* one anticipates the interpretation of *sedulo* = *studiose*.

if, in fact, *studiose* captures the sense of the effort required of Simo to refute Chremes, *simpliciter* unfailingly brings us back to the meaning *sedulo = sine dolo*, exactly the meaning that Donatus points out as inappropriate to the context.

The second difficulty relates to how one might explain the genesis of the meaningless *Sosie* from such an innocuous adverb as *studiose*.

These two problems deeply weaken Kauer's solution. One imagines *id est simpliciter* to be a coda added subsequently by some copyist who clearly had not understood well the core of the problem. That is, of course, one possible hypothesis; however, it is also true that to athetize *id est simpliciter*<sup>8</sup> appears fairly unmethodical, since the intervention is forced from its incongruence not with the misinterpreted text but with an emendation.<sup>9</sup>

My proposal is to correct *Sosie* into σπουδαίως (cf. *CGL* s.v. *sedulo*, 251).<sup>10</sup> The Greek σπουδαίως would present two enormous advantages: it would allow the scholium once again to make sense, since it conveys the same meaning as *studiose* (cf. LSJ s.v. σπουδαίως III), but, unlike *studiose*, it would account far better for the corruption into *Sosie*, which was already in the archetype.

With this reading, which fits both in terms of the meaning and in terms of the palaeography (as it allows us to understand the genesis of the untenable *Sosie*), the coda *id est simpliciter* would then be expunged as a later interpolation, as a failed attempt to explain the Greek.

Π

- An. 4,3, sch. 11.7 (= Menander, fr. 44 K.-A.)

11.1 (= v. 726) εχ ara syme h. v. t. 'ex ara' Apollinis scilicet, quem Λοξίαν Menander uocat.

11.7 (= v. 726) ex ara s. v. uerbenae sunt omnes herbae frondesque festae ad aras coronandas uel omnes herbae frondesque ex loco puro decerptae. uerbenae autem dictae ueluti herbenae. Menander sic ἀπὸ Λοξίου σὸ μυρρίνας †χχηησαιετεινε† (fr. 44 K.–A.).

11.1 Λοξίων Meineke, dub. Dziatzko: afiaion A: af ΛΙΟΗ Β: asi sp. rel. K (inc.): as(s)ion Σ: Άγυιαῖον Meineke ('fortasse'): Δήλιον veter. edd.

11.7 sic Menander Λ: om. B  $\parallel$  ἀπὸ Λοξίου Saekel: κολεξιασ Α: om. nul. sp. B: om. sp. rel. ΚΣ: κοΔΕξΙΑC Lind.: ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς Bentley: ἀφ' ἐστίας Jakobs: ἀπὸ δ' ἐστίας Dübner: ἀπὸ Λοξία Meineke  $\parallel$  σὰ μυρρίνας Clericus: om. nul. sp. B: om. sp. rel. ΚΣ: σὰ μυρρίναις Dziatzko: CYMYPPYNAC Lin.  $\parallel$  †χχηησαιετεινε† Α: om. nul. sp. B: om. sp. rel. ΚΣ: ΧΧΗΚΔΙΕΥΕΥΕΙΝΕ Lin: λαβοῦσ' ὑπότεινε Saekel (praeeunte Meineke): ἐπὶ γῆς διάτεινε Dübner: χρῆσαι γύναι Dziatzko

Serv. Aen. 12.120: abusive 'uerbenas' iam uocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliua uel myrtus. Terentius 'ex ara sume hinc uerbenas', nam myrtum fuisse Menander testatur, de quo Terentius transtulit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> It should be admitted, however, that *id est simpliciter* would fit in very well with the rationale of the scholium if it were placed just after the first *sedulo*: *quomodo sedulo*, *id est simpliciter*, *si negabat?*<sup>9</sup> A pather way to ratio *id est simpliciter* would be to greate a pay lamper with sedulo. But such a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Another way to retain *id est simpliciter* would be to create a new lemma with *sedulo*. But such a gloss would only make explicit a semantic fact that has already been accepted with the question *quomodo-negabat*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, ed. G. Goetz, vol. 7 (Leipzig, 1901).

To accomplish his plan, Davus needs Chremes to see the child, so he asks Mysis to take some herbs (*uerbenae*) from the altar and lay them at the door, so that the newborn child can be laid upon them.

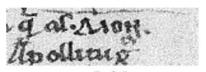
Verbenae are aromatic herbs used in holy ceremonies; Donatus therefore affirms that uerbenae are grasses and foliage used to adorn the altars in festivals. In fact, any type of grass served this purpose, provided that it was gathered from an uncontaminated place, and he supports this explanation by constructing a sort of etymological link between uerbenae and herbae, namely herbenae. This latter linguistic observation is followed by a quotation from Menander, which most likely mentioned these decorative plants.

The issue was probably not so easily settled and, indeed, Servius seems to have a different idea as to the nature of the *uerbenae* cited by Terence: he observes that to call all holy herbs *uerbenae* is not entirely legitimate, pointing out that with *uerbenae* the Latin poet is translating a passage from Menander, where only myrtle is mentioned.

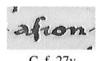
The text of Menander to which Servius refers should be the same as the one quoted by Donatus, which has survived in a form that is difficult to reconstruct, with the exception of the word indicating myrtle, μυρρίνας (cf. sch. 11.7). In its first section, some have found one of the customary epithets for Apollo, Λοξίας, a name which is much more common in tragedies than in comedies, even though examples do occur in Menander. A reference to Apollo in this line of Greek is quite probable, given that in the previous scholia (11.1-3) Donatus suggests that the altar mentioned by Terence is most likely to have been dedicated to this very divinity. Judging by Donatus' words, even if they are a little vague ('ex ara' Apollinis scilicet, quem ... Menander uocat), Menander must have expressly mentioned Apollo, naming him  $\Lambda \gamma υιοιῖον, 12$  instead of  $\Lambda οξίαν, 13$  as the quotation in 11.7 would seem to suggest.

The reading Άγυιαῖον was proposed, not without doubt, by Meineke<sup>14</sup> and, since then, has been unanimously accepted. However, in my opinion, it could be questioned, since, in the light of the misinterpreted Greek, Meineke's variant is as likely as the variant that seems to be suggested by the following passage from Menander, that is,  $\Lambda$ οξίαν.

af AIOH B: afiaion A: asi sp. rel. K (inc.): as(s)ion  $\Sigma$ 







<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. Men. Sam. 474 with Sommerstein's commentary (Cambridge, 2013), ad loc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 631 with D. Mastronarde, *Phoenissae* (Cambridge, 1994), ad loc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For a short summary, cf. A. Körte, *Menandri quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1959), loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. Meineke, Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum (Berlin, 1847); C. Dziatzko, 'Die Andria des Menander', RhM 31 (1876), 243–53. Regarding fr. 40 (= 44 K.–A.) Körte writes: 'quamquam e Donato 7 et Servio verba ἀπὸ Λοξίου σὺ μυρρίνας satis certo restituta sunt, tamen miramur, quod Dona. I Apollinem non Λοξίαν sed Αγυιαΐον appellat—hoc cognomen in corruptis litteris latere perspexit Mein.'. Cf. J. Clericus, Menandri et Philemonis reliquiae (Amsterdam, 1709); T. Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta (Leipzig, 1880–1888); A. Saekel, Quaestiones comicae de Terenti exemplaribus Graecis (Berlin, 1914); R. Kassel and C. Austin, Poetae comici graeci, vol. 6.2, Menander. Testimonia et fragmenta apud scriptores servata (Berlin, 1998).

In sub-archetype  $\Gamma$ , represented by AKB,<sup>15</sup> there must still have been a reading from the Greek as proven by the reading of B and the space left by K; A<sup>16</sup> attempts instead a transliteration; in  $\Sigma$ , represented by  $\Theta$  and  $\Lambda$ , the process of transliteration has already occurred. The codex of reference cannot, therefore, be A, which here creates an innovation by attempting to transliterate the Greek letters into Latin ones, but must be B, which retains the more ancient state of the text. If we compare the texts in A and B,  $\Gamma$  could have read something like *as. AION*.

The readings as.  $\Lambda ION$  ( $\Gamma$ ) and assion ( $\Sigma$ ) may easily result from the corruption and transliteration of  $\Lambda o\xi i\alpha v$ :  $\Lambda$  and  $\Lambda$  are not infrequently mistaken for each other in Greek capital letters, O could have been read as a lunate sigma and therefore transliterated into s;  $\xi$  could have been rendered with a Latin X, which in turn could potentially be construed as  $\Lambda$ .<sup>17</sup>

The reading Λοξίαν solves, with little effort, the aporia between scholia 11.1 and 11.7, and Saekel's emendation (ἀπὸ Λοξίου) of the first part of fragment 44 (= 40 Saekel) can be accepted without reservation.

Ш

- An. 4,2, sch. 25.3

25.3 (= v. 708) QVID TV HINC QVO TE AGIS admonitio discedentis, ut solet; nam a quo discedere desideramus, admonemus eum [ubi uadat uel quo eat] idem facere. Per interrogationem admonet Dauus Charinum, ut <et> ipse abscedat Charinus, qui nunc ultimus remanet.

25.3 discedendi *Schopen*  $\parallel$  a quo] si quem *Schopen*  $\parallel$  desideramus] uolumus B  $\parallel$  eum] cum CT  $\parallel$  ubi (quo B *Schopen*) uadat – eat *post* interrogationem *transp. Schopen, seclusi*  $\parallel$  idem *Wess.*: id A: id BK  $\Sigma$   $\parallel$  facete *Bentley*  $\parallel$  et *ante* ipse *add. Wess.*  $\parallel$  Charinus *post* ipse *transp.*  $\Lambda$   $\parallel$  discedat C (*corr.*  $C^2$ ): discedat *vel* abscedat *codd.*  $\Lambda$   $\parallel$  nunc] *om.* C: non T

= p. 210.9–14 *Wess.*: QVID TV HINC QVO TE AGIS admonitio discedentis, ut solet; nam a quo discedere desideramus, admonemus eum, ubi uadat uel quo eat. idem facete per interrogationem admonet Dauus Charinum, ut <et> ipse abscedat Charinus, qui nunc ultimus remanet.

Act four, Scene two finds Mysis, Davus, Pamphilus and Charinus on stage: the wedding is once again at hand and there seem to be no solutions. In the general fear that there is no way to prevent the wedding that Simo has so much desired, Davus announces to everyone that he has a plan: what the plan is, however, he does not say, because he has no time to waste on words, so he asks everyone to leave him alone. Mysis and Pamphilus go away, Charinus stays on to moan, as usual. Davus sees that Charinus has not gone away and asks him 'What about you? What direction are you going to take?'

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$   $\Gamma$  and  $\Sigma$  are the main branches of the tradition of Donatus' commentary on *Andria*; for more information about manuscripts and their relationship, cf. n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Meineke's reading seems to be close to the text by A (and, to a lesser extent, to the text by B); we should note, however, that transcriptions of Greek by Latin copyists are subject to corruptions that are often not possible to reconstruct, so the reading closest to the corrupted letters might not be the right one. Cf. F. Ronconi, *La traslitterazione dei testi greci* (Spoleto, 2003), 75–123.

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  Cf. Serv. Aen. 6.89 (under the entry Λοξίας in the apparatus criticus); for the confusion created by X/Λ, cf. Ronconi (n. 16), 82.

Scholium 25.3 is focussed precisely on this last question of Davus. In this case, nothing underlines the problems of the scholium more than the literal translation of the text printed by Wessner, and thus:

QVID TV HINC AGIS is the typical admonition for someone who is leaving: in fact, we remind the one we wish to get away from about the direction in which he is headed or where he is going. By asking a question and with a comical effect, Davus gives such an admonition to Charinus, so that Charinus will decide to go since he is the last one remaining there.

One of the most obvious problems of this passage is the section of the text *admonemus eum ubi uadat uel quo eat*: the verb *admonere* means (despite its many nuances) to remind someone of something or to urge someone to do something or—as in this case (i.e. followed by an indirect question), where it has a prescriptive meaning—to tell how something must be done (cf. *TLL* 1.764.77 s.v. *admoneo*; *OLD* s.v. *admoneo* 4).

With Wessner's text, we understand that Davus is reminding Charinus of where he has to go, whereas in reality he limits himself to merely asking where he has to go. It appears that Davus already knew where Charinus had to go and, therefore, has reminded him of this, which is quite the opposite of what Terence writes.

The only way to leave *ubi uadat uel quo eat* in that position would be to imply a verb of asking (he admonishes him by asking him where he is going). But this is an unacceptably strained interpretation: such an ellipsis would be totally unprecedented. This problem had, in any case, already been recognized by Schopen, who settles it by moving the indirect question around (*ubi-eat*) and by placing it after *interrogationem*.

Amongst the various possible interventions, deletion is perhaps the least problematic in terms of restoring an acceptable sense: *ubi uadat uel quo eat* can be deemed a later addition, which not only distorts the sense of Donatus' comment, but is also linguistically unacceptable. First, the use of *uado* as a synonym for *eo* is only found in the spoken and/or late language, where it usually is confined to natural phenomena. Second, and this is the most interesting aspect, the interrogative is defective at a syntactic level. If the commentator had felt the need to insist on the verb 'go', then he would have simply written *quo uadat uel eat. Vbi* is used by Donatus in indirect questions as well, but it indicates simply a state of place, not of movement: cf. Don. *Ad.* 364 *scilicet scire ubi siet* (cf. *An.* 800). The connection *ubi* + the verb *uado* can only be found in medieval writers.

Another essential step, if one wishes to re-establish the text, is to reject Bentley's correction *facete* for the transmitted *facere*: it seems neither necessary nor grounded on Terence's context. Where would the facetious effect be? Davus' questions are in no way comic: the servant is, quite simply, anxious to get rid of Charinus and only his later words (*narrationis incipit mi initium*) can be considered in an ironical way.

Donatus is pointing out that a person who wants to get away from someone else would do it in a roundabout way, by asking him where he intends to go. And Davus attempts precisely this expedient with Charinus. The scholium operates on a double level: first there is a generalization, and then the principles of that generalization are applied to this specific case.

In support of this solution, it is also useful to recall a passage from Don. Ad. 433.3, where in relation to verse 433 (SY: tu rus hinc ibis? DE: recta. SY: nam quid tu hic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See J.N. Adams, 'The lexicon: suppletion and the verb "go", in *Social Variations and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2013), 792–820.

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agas, ubi ...) there is an explanation of the purpose of certain interrogative sentences that are typologically similar to those under examination: TV RVS HINC ABIS qui consuetudinis memor est, animaduertit has interrogationes non inquirendi causa poni, sed admonitionis loco esse apud eos, quos uelimus abscedere. sic igitur interrogat, ut hortetur, et sic pronuntiat, ut et fiat et amplietur, quod facit.

I would accordingly propose the following text:

QVID TV HINC QVO TE AGIS admonitio discedentis, ut solet; nam a quo discedere desideramus, admonemus eum [ubi uadat uel quo eat] idem<sup>19</sup> facere. per interrogationem admonet Dauus Charinum, ut <et> ipse abscedat Charinus, qui nunc ultimus remanet.

Davus wants to get away but, rather than say 'I'm going ...', he asks Charinus where he has to go and, in so doing, he admonishes him to go: this interpretation also finds confirmation in the opposition *discedere—abscedere* that informs the scholium itself.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cf. Don. An. 625.5, where I believe the restoration of id<em> is virtually certain.