Textvorschläge zu Plautus’ Truculentus

Vers 934

quamquam hic † qualest †, quam⟨quam⟩ hic horridus, scitus, bellus mihi.

Schon Lipsius stellte ⟨s⟩qualust her, akzeptiert von Seyfert, Ernout, Enk. Allerdings ist squalus selten: in einem Enniuszitat bei Nonius 172,20 (= Enn. scen. fr. 311 V.3). Leo zieht daher Spengels Konjektur vor:

quamquam hic squalet, quam⟨quam⟩ hic horret, scitus ⟨et⟩ bellus mihi.

Näher bei der Überlieferung wäre folgendes:

quamquam hic squalidust, quam⟨quam⟩ hic horridus, ⟨hic⟩ scitus, bellus mihi.

Vers 950

Der Vers wird nach Schoell meist Astaphium gegeben. Diese ist jedoch V. 914 schon fortgeschickt worden. Es spricht also, wie überliefert, weiterhin Phronesium, und zwar beiseit.

Köln

Peter Rau

ROMAN CURSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE TEXT OF THE GEORGICS

During an investigation of the textual history of Vergil’s Georgics, I became interested in the relatively large number of errors, many of them bizarre or at least meaningless, in the surviving majuscule manuscripts of this author1). Few are recognized as variant readings, and with good reason, since they usually do not turn up in the later tradition. In fact, in M, many were rec-

1) The most complete majuscule manuscripts of Vergil’s works are: M – Mediceus Laurentianus lat. XXXIX, 1. P – Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631. R – Vaticanus lat. 3867. called the “Romanus.” Also found in the examples of readings cited below is the fragmentary manuscript A – Vaticanus lat. 3256 and Berolinensis lat. fol. 416, and V – Veronensis XL (38).
tified late in the fifth century by the writer of the subscription in this MS, Apronianus (Consul A.D. 494). Because these readings are often meaningless and obviously incorrect, and since they seem to lower the value of these old MSS as witnesses of the Vergilian text, I wondered about their origin.

The possibility that some of these errors might be traceable to a confusion of letters in the Roman Cursive script was suggested to me by work already done along these lines by Constans (on Tacitus)\(^2\) and by Brunhölzl (on Lucretius and several other Latin writers)\(^3\). But, apart from the work by these two scholars, the possible influence of cursive scripts seems to have been largely ignored. When this possibility was first raised, little attention was paid to it. At the beginning of this century, for example, M. Thompson mentioned the occasional use of a cursive script in literary texts and wrote: "The general application of the Roman cursive hand to the purposes of literature would hardly be expected." After citing some examples of this literary use of cursive, he added the more interesting remark: "From the survival of comparatively so many literary remains in this style, it may be inferred that it was used as a quick and convenient means of writing texts intended probably for ordinary use rather than for the market"\(^4\). Even this limited assessment encourages examination of the text of Vergil's works because of this author's popularity and the widespread and lasting role he enjoyed as part of the school curriculum. Thompson himself goes no further as it is not his task to delve into the origin of textual corruption in specific authors. Since the appearance of Thompson's work, other Latin literary texts in cursive script have been published, including at least one of Vergil\(^5\). Aside from the findings of Constans and Brunhölzl to be discussed shortly, the only serious treatment of this question


\(^5\) Vergil: P. Fuad 1.5 (IV-V) irregular cursive; Sallust: PSI 1.110 (IV) cursive with uncial; Aesop (?): P. Mich. 7.457 (III) cursive.
Roman Cursive Influence in the Text of the *Georgics* has been given by J. Mallon⁶). Other published accounts on the subject of textual criticism make no mention of cursive scripts as a source of corruption⁷).

Mallon, in his thesis, suggests that distinguishing between the scripts of “books” or “literary texts” and those of “documents” is unwarranted. He points out that many books were indeed copied in the scripts used for acts and documents, i.e., often in scripts commonly called “cursive”, although Mallon prefers the term “common scripts”, because he considers “cursive” a quality apparent in different scripts, not a type itself⁸). He also feels that the Capital and Uncial scripts arose from “la fixation et l’arrangement calligraphique d’une écriture vulgaire” and that they, in turn, did not give birth to other scripts⁹).

In the same vein, A. Dain expresses the opinion that Uncial was not normally used for library works, but rather for luxury books¹⁰). Actually, Uncial lies outside the range of this problem because of its relatively late appearance. Yet the significance of these remarks is of real interest because of the possibility that the survival of the Rustic Capital manuscripts of Vergil and Uncial MSS of other authors depended more on their value as possessions than on the quality of their texts. From our modern point of view they are indeed valued as texts because of their age, whereas the ancients may have appreciated them primarily for other reasons. The fact is that they contain many errors and it remains to be demonstrated, I think, that they are in all cases better witnesses than some of the later MSS.

Constans and Brunhölzl, for their part, deal with the problem directly and informatively. Each attempts to describe, through a study of the transmitted errors, the archetype of the surviving MSS of the authors in question. Each recognizes a large number of errors caused by confusion of letters and each comes to the conclusion (apparently independently) that many of these

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cases of letter confusion could have occurred only with a copyist working from a IIInd or IIIrd century Roman Cursive script \(^{11}\). Brunhölzl, in particular, challenges the traditional belief that confusion of P and T arises in Capital script, locating it rather, as already noted, in Roman cursive of the IIInd or IIIrd centuries. Nonetheless, the traditional view is still offered in the second edition of Reynold's and Wilson's book *Scribes and Scholars* \(^{12}\). In spite of this, it is more likely that Brunhölzl is correct, as seems clear from personal study of the cursive scripts themselves, using the facsimiles published in the Rylands and Oxyrhynchus collections of papyri \(^{13}\) and in Mallon's *Paléographie Romaine*.

Although neither Constans nor Brunhölzl claims to have found all possible examples of confusion in cursive, there is sufficient overlap in their respective discussions for each to confirm the work of the other. The letters which each identifies as sources of confusion in cursive are: Constans – r, a, and p (e.g., par for rap); n and ri; r taken for ni; t and r; te and re; p and t; f with e, t, i, and s; ci and u. Brunhölzl – b and d; r and a; t and a; p and t; al for ar; e and l. A glance at the following table which I have compiled shows the potential confusion inherent in the cursive scripts. The abbreviated reference at the top of each column identifies the papyrus from which the examples are taken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letters</th>
<th>P. Ryl. 4.611 (A.D. 87/88)</th>
<th>P. Oxy. 17.2103 (IIIrd)</th>
<th>P. Oxy. 1.32 (IIInd)</th>
<th>P. Oxy. 4.720 (A. D. 247)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
<td>(\text{\textasciitilde})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{12}\) Reynolds and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

b) P. Ry. P. Oxy
4.613 4.735
(IIInd) (A. D. 205)

d

b

d

c) P. Oxy. P. Oxy.
1.32 31.2565
(IIInd) (A. D. 224)

e  

f  

g  


The e and u, not mentioned in earlier treatments, are added under c) in the table above because confusion of these letters appears with some frequency in the *Georgics* and seems an obvious source of confusion in the examples of cursive which I examined.

This study is confined principally to the first book of the *Georgics* since it offers a sufficient number of examples for an evaluation of this approach to the study of textual corruption. In the lists below, the capital letters identify the majuscule MS of Vergil in which the variant is found. The reading on the left has been judged correct by Geymonat).

**Confusion of s (\(\Gamma\)) and c (\(\Gamma\)):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>25</th>
<th>invisere MP</th>
<th>inviserc R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>nec (sperant) M(^1)PR</td>
<td>ne (sperant) M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>fatiscat AMRP(^2)</td>
<td>faticat P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>(oculis) capti APRM(^2)</td>
<td>apti M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>praediscere MP</td>
<td>praedicere AR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>concurrere MP</td>
<td>consurgere R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>(inveniet) scabra M(^1)R</td>
<td>sabra M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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15) Here in the case of s and c, and sometimes elsewhere, omission occurs after two distinct letters (sc) have been misread (as ss) and what then appeared as a superfluous s was eliminated.
Confusion of s (σ) and t (τ):
G I  211  usque AMR  utque P
     218  cedens ARM² P²  cedent P cadens M
     256  tempestivam (silvam)  tempessivam P
     258  diversis APRM²  diversit M
     314  messis PRM¹  messit M
     506  facies M  faciet R
     166  venis PM²  venit M

G II

Confusion of t (τ) and c (κ):
G I  52  sit AMRP²  sic P
     111  (procumbat) culmus  ulmus A
     174  currus AMRP²  turgus P
     315  lactentia M¹ P  latentia M iacentia R
     422  concentus RM¹  contentus M
     456  nopte M  note R
     3  crescentis M¹  trecentis M
     236  oblitum P  oblicum M

G II  236

Confusion of y (Υ) and u (ύ):
G I  166  Mystica AP  mustica MR
     306  myrta MR  murta P
     337  Cyllenius M  Cullenius R
     345  fruges RM¹  fryges M

G II  168

Confusion of e (Ε) and u (ύ):
G I  10  et MRP²  ut P
     78  urunt MPRA¹  erunt A
     82  requiescunt AMP  requiescent R
     117  umore AMRP²  emore P
     135  ut MPR  et A
     439  sequentur M  sequuntur R¹
     446  rumpent M²  rumpunt R rumpentu M

G II  168

Confusion of t (τ) and r (τ):
G I  257  signorun AMRP¹  signotum P
     370  at Boreae RM¹  arboreae M
Confusion of r (\(\text{r}\)) and s (\(\text{s}\)):
G I 102 laetus AMR \(\text{laetur P}\)
266 facilis (rubea) AMR \(\text{facili P}\)
G II 415 caeditur MR \(\text{caeditus P}\)

Confusion of a (\(\text{a}\)) and r (\(\text{r}\)):
G I 66 pulverulenta AMR \(\text{pulveaulentr P}\)
224 credere APR \(\text{caedere M}\)

Confusion of b (\(\text{b}\)) and d (\(\text{d}\)):
G I 91 adstringit MPR \(\text{abstringit A}\)
127 quaerebant PR \(\text{quaeredant M}\)
240 ad APR \(\text{ab M}\)

Confusion of g (\(\text{g}\)) and s (\(\text{s}\)):
G I 387 gestire RM\(^1\) \(\text{sestire M}\)

Confusion of u (\(\text{u}\)) and n (\(\text{n}\)):
G I 17 Pan ovium PRM\(^2\) \(\text{pan onium M}\)
457 moneat RM\(^2\) \(\text{moveat M}\)

Confusion of s (\(\text{s}\)) and i (\(\text{i}\)):
G I 49 messes AMR \(\text{meises P}\)

Confusion of ar (\(\text{ar}\)) and al (\(\text{al}\)):
G I 145 artes AMPR\(^2\) \(\text{altes P}\)

Confusion of m (\(\text{m}\)) and nc (\(\text{n}\)):
G I 137 tum MPR \(\text{tunc A}\)
139 tum APRM\(^1\) \(\text{tunc M}\)

Confusion of m (\(\text{m}\)) and nt (\(\text{nt}\)):
G I 201 lembum MPR \(\text{lembunt A}\)

Confusion of eru (\(\text{eru}\)) and ruu (\(\text{ruu}\)):
G I 300 fruuntur PR \(\text{feruntur M}\)

Confusion of am (\(\text{am}\)) and ma (\(\text{ma}\)):
G I 115 amnis AMR \(\text{manis P}\)
G II 313 ima MR \(\text{iam P}\)
Confusion of ra (Ἁ) and m (Ἀ):
G II 321 cum PRM² cura M

Confusion of p (Π) and r (Ῥ):
G II 389 pinu MR rinu P

These examples from the *Georgics* strongly confirm the earlier suggestion of cursive influence. It is also clear that a number of variant readings as well as the obviously erratic mistakes arose in manuscripts written in cursive scripts. Even a cursory examination of variant readings from elsewhere in the Vergilian text further strengthens this conclusion. Confusion of cursive s and r, for example, seems likely in:

- Aen. VI 528 additus PR additur FM
- Aen. VIII 115 fatur MRV fatus P
- Aen. X 446 miratus M miratur PR
- Aen. X 621 fatur MP fatus M²R
- Aen. XII 496 testatus MV testatur PR

and of t and s in:
- G III 127 nequeat RM² nequeant P nequeans M
- G IV 282 habebit M habebis P habenis R
- Aen. VIII 239 intonat MP insonat R
tuo sibi M suossibi P¹
tuo tibi in suo sibi corr. P
- Aen. V †II 529 tonare M² torare M sonare PR
- Aen. IX 645 (se) mittit MR (se) misit P
- Aen. X 245 spectabit R spectabis MPV
- Aen. X 696 manens PR manen M manet M²
- Aen. XII 455 volant PR volans MP²

Since it is likely, as I suggested in an earlier study¹⁶), that the majority of important variant readings in the Vergilian text arose

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¹⁶) *A Study of the Greek Word-lists to Vergil's Aeneid Appearing in Latin Literary Papyri*, University of Cincinnati Dissertation 1968 (unpublished), 37. See also my “The Greek Word-lists to Vergil and Cicero,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 52, No. 2, Spring 1970, pp. 307–308. The papyri texts of the *Aeneid* from Egypt and elsewhere in the Near East give evidence of being the end products of a lengthy Eastern tradition. Since they do not exhibit an independent textual tradition, but rather merely echo the variant readings of the surviving majuscule MSS in the West, it seems clear that these variant readings are quite old and were already in existence when MSS of Vergil were first brought to the East.
early (well before the time of the earliest surviving MSS and papyri), it seems reasonable to conclude that a better understanding of the early textual history of the Vergilian corpus (as well as that of other Latin authors) can be obtained only by accepting the fact that cursive scripts were used in the early stages of the transmission of the text.

Akron/Ohio  
Robert E. Gaebel

THE LOW BIRTH-RATE IN ANCIENT ROME:  
A POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTING FACTOR

There is considerable evidence to show that Roman society in the late Republic and early Empire was afflicted by a low birth-rate. Augustus in 18 B.C. found it necessary to pass the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* in the hope of raising the birth-rate by penalizing the unmarried and the childless. In 9 A.D. he attempted to supplement this law with the *lex Papia Poppaea*. The very existence of this legislation indicates that the problem of childlessness was widespread and long-lasting, a view which is further supported by references to this subject in Latin literature\(^1\).

A number of theories have been put forward by scholars to explain this fact. Among these are the notion that Romans prac-

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1) Augustus's attempt to raise the birth-rate did not lack precedent in Roman history. Valerius Maximus tells the story that the censors Camillus and Postumius, as early as 403 B.C., had fined elderly bachelors for failing to marry and sire children (Val. Max. 2.9.1) and Metellus Macedonicus, censor in 131 B.C., made a speech urging men to marry and procreate, which was read out to the Senate by Augustus in support of his own legislation (Suet. Aug. 89.2). However it seems unlikely that Augustus's attempts to solve the problem were very successful. Tacitus states explicitly that they were not (Tac. Ann. 3.25) and in view of the fact that the Augustan legislation was reinforced by Domitian and re-enacted in the second and third centuries A.D. it seems that the low birth-rate continued. Jones disagrees with this view and argues that there was a slow but appreciable increase in the birth-rate following Augustus's legislation (A.H.M. Jones, *Augustus* [London 1970], p. 136). Nevertheless there is considerable evidence for the existence of marriages which produced no children at all or only one child, as Balsdon shows (J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Roman Women* [London 1962] pp. 194 ff.).