

THE MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *WORKS AND DAYS*

THE *Works and Days* is contained in far more manuscripts than the other Hesiodic poems. Altogether there are something over 260, as against seventy-odd for the *Theogony* and sixty-odd for the *Shield*. Over a hundred of them are later than 1480, the approximate date of the earliest printed edition of the poem; but even when these are subtracted, a formidable number remains, many of which have never been investigated. The present century has seen more done in the way of cataloguing them than the nineteenth, but less in the way of collating them. Since N. A. Livadaras published his list of Hesiod manuscripts in 1963,¹ the disparity between what has been done and what might be done has become more apparent than ever before.

The first edition to contain an extensive critical apparatus was that of Lanzi (Florence, 1808), who presented in an appendix in tabular form the readings of no less than fifty manuscripts. They are, to be sure, not all clearly identified, the collations (mainly the work of other people) are inaccurate, and of course at that date there was no attempt to sort the manuscripts into families; but it was a heroic effort. Further manuscripts were made known by the editions of Gaisford (Oxford, 1814; Leipzig, 1823), Goettling (Leipzig, 1831, 1843), van Lennep (Amsterdam, 1847), Paley (London, 1861, 1883), and Koechly and Kinkel (Leipzig, 1870). Given the fact that these editors regarded manuscripts simply as mines from which variant readings could be accumulated, and not as documents to be used discriminately for the reconstruction of the history of the transmission, it is curious that most of them failed to make full use of each other's materials. Only Koechly and Kinkel drew up a register of all the manuscripts used by their predecessors.

Rzach's early edition of 1884 did not give promise of any departure from these methods. He used a number of the manuscripts that had been used before, and one or two that had not, judging some to be of more value than others, but without further classification. Later, however, he embarked on a detailed investigation of manuscript relationships.² He does not say how many manuscripts he has taken into account, and the number certainly falls far short of the total extant. Nevertheless, he succeeded in establishing a classification into families which is in essentials correct and complete. His editions of 1902-13 were based on these conclusions.

Only five further manuscripts have been collated by subsequent editors: three by Sinclair (who found nothing of value in them), and two by Colonna. A larger number have been investigated by Livadaras,³ raising to sixty-two the total of manuscripts assigned to classes. Livadaras' classifications are correct as far as they go, but there is much imprecision, and he often fails to quote a manuscript's most interesting readings, while the readings he does quote are frequently misreported.⁴ His catalogue of the manuscripts, although it too

¹ In his *Ἱστορία τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ 23; Wien. St. xx (1898), 91-118.*
κειμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου.

² *Symbolae Pragenses* (Vienna, 1893), 165-
94; *Serta Harteliana* (Vienna, 1896), 209-

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *Gnomon* xxxvii (1965), 650-5.

contains inaccuracies and is not quite complete,¹ saves the inquirer much labour; but the discussion of their quality and relationships unfortunately does not.

I must now explain the scope of the present study. A complete survey of the extant manuscripts, even down to 1480, is more than I could contemplate. What I have done is to collate, or at least get enough information to classify, all the manuscripts down to the end of the fourteenth century. I have found that after about 1340 they contribute nothing new either in transmitted readings or in knowledge of the families. The chance that any of the fifteenth-century copies would do so seems small. I do in fact know something about a fair number of them, and I have seen nothing to suggest that further research among them might be rewarding. Most of them give the Triclinian recension, the rest are representatives of one or other of the main families, though never in a very pure form.

HESIOD IN THE ETYMOLOGICA

The Byzantine Etymologica contain many quotations from Hesiod, some of them extensive (up to ten lines in the case of the *Works and Days*), though drastic abbreviation occurs within the tradition: it is usually cod. A of the Genuinum that gives the fullest version.² Some of these quotations are inherited from ancient grammatical sources. Many, however, and especially the longer ones, have been taken directly from a manuscript of Hesiod equipped with scholia, and interpreted with excerpts copied from these scholia.³ In the *Works and Days* they amount to no less than 150 verses. There is seldom any difficulty in distinguishing quotations of this kind. Typically the verses come at the beginning of the entry, introduced only by 'Ἡσίοδος or 'Ἡσίοδος ἐν Ἔργοις καὶ ἡμέραις, and are followed by the scholia (often headed σχόλιον), copied indiscriminately so that several scholiastic comments of unrelated character succeed one another. In an inherited quotation, on the other hand, a statement of the meaning or etymology of the lemma-word precedes and is backed up by the quotation, ὡς παρ' Ἡσίοδω—or the like.

It would be nice if we could assume that the excerpts were all made by the compiler of the Etymologicum Genuinum. Then we would have in effect, for 150 lines of the poem, direct witnesses to the text of a manuscript written not later than the second half of the ninth century, perhaps a hundred years before the oldest of the extant manuscripts. We have papyri of greater antiquity, of course, but this Etymologist's copy would be of particular interest for the medieval tradition, because, even if it should have been written in late antiquity, it was actually extant in the ninth century, and its scholia are essentially the same as those of the surviving manuscripts, only better preserved, and notable for the absence of Proclus' commentary (more on this presently).

The truth is not quite as nice as that, though it is nearly as nice. Firstly, the excerpts in Gen. A and B and the Magnum sometimes appear in the later,

¹ Add: Lond. Harl. 6323 (WD); Harvard Coll. Ms. Gr. 20 (WD, Sc., Th., all with scholia, s. xv/xvi); Marc. App. gr. IX 23 (numero di collocazione: 1041) (WD, Th., Sc., s. xv); Bonon. Univ. cod. 4238 (WD, Th., s. xv ex.).

² I have photocopies of Gen. A at my

disposal, but otherwise I am dependent on published sources, which are far from giving complete coverage.

³ See Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika*, p. 50 n. 1, who gives examples that make the procedure clear.

interpolated manuscripts of the Gudianum, but never (so far as can be judged from de Stefani's uncompleted edition) in the archetype *d*. The Gudianum draws on the original version of the Genuinum, while the archetype of A, B, and the Magnum was a slightly later, expanded version. If the original Genuinum had contained the Hesiod excerpts, their total absence from *d* of the Gudianum would be inexplicable; casual omission would account for some, but there are far too many excerpts involved for this to be acceptable as an explanation of all; nor is a policy of systematic omission conceivable. The Hesiod excerpts, therefore, are a secondary accretion to the Genuinum, and the manuscript from which they were taken need not have been much older than A and B, that is to say, than the tenth century.

Secondly, the lexicon of 'Zonaras' contains sixteen excerpts from the *Works and Days* (not longer than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lines) which do not occur in the other lexica, and which evidently represent a new contribution by this compiler.¹ They come from *WD* 11, 14, 29, 37; 104; 181; 283; 404, 406; 505, 509, 533; 729; 772, 778, 781. (Note the tendency to bunching.) They offer no distinctive readings which would allow the manuscript used to be classified, and it is *a priori* unlikely to have been the same one used by the diasceuaist of the Et. Gen. So we must leave these excerpts out of account.²

We are still left with an early manuscript, not later than the tenth century, reflected in excerpts in Gen. AB, the Magnum, Symeon, the interpolated Gudianum, and sometimes 'Zonaras'. I shall call it *e*. Its quality may be judged from the following good readings which in the rest of the medieval tradition are either absent or scantily attested:

213 *ἄϊε* for *ἄκουε*. Here only. Surely an ancient variant; cf. vv. ll. at *Il.* 2. 486, 15. 506, *Od.* 1. 352-3.

293 *αὐτὸς*. The superior reading, attested in papyri and testimonia, but in only one of the later manuscripts so far as I know. There is only slightly better support at 296, where again *e* gives the nominative.

304 *ὀργήν*. A variant for *ὀρμήν* in C and D, and known as such to Tzetzes; otherwise *ὀρμήν* prevails.

476 *αἰρεύμενον*. Nearly all later manuscripts have *ἐπρεύμενον*.

496-7 om. It is among the older and better sources that this omission recurs. The lines are missing in a papyrus, ignored by the Scholia Vetera and by Tzetzes, and were originally absent from C and its relative Vat. gr. 904. Plutarch and Proclus knew them, but may have read them in a different place. All the later manuscripts have them in the text.

THE THREE MANUSCRIPT CLASSES

Rzach divided the manuscripts known to him into three families which he called Ω , Ψ , and Φ . Each family was represented by one relatively early manu-

¹ See K. Alpers, *R.E.* xA 749 f.

² Alpers, *Gnomon* xlii (1970), 122, contends that some of the excerpts in the Et. Sym. are also independent of the Et. Gen. But there is no case, as far as I know, where the Et. Sym. has an excerpt and the Et. Gen. has not; and where Et. Sym. gives more, it is almost always the case that the relevant part of Gen. A is lost. Alpers's claim that the agreement of B with Et.

Magn. establishes the text of Gen. is certainly not valid in respect of the extent of the quotation. His claim that the author (expander) of the Et. Gen. could not have been so *geistlos* as to interpolate Hes. + sch. before the words *οὕτως Ὠρίων* (Et. Sym. s.v. *αἰμύλος*) is weakened by Gen. s.v. *ἰθαλίμον*, where much the same thing happens, only with Orion's etymology after the scholia instead of before.

script (C, D, E respectively) and three or more later ones which constituted sub-groups called Ωb , Ψb , Φb . Wilamowitz, desiring to reduce things to essentials, discarded the sub-groups and quoted only CDE; any other readings that he wished to mention were disparagingly labelled 'Byz'. Sinclair did similarly. More recently, the siglum Φ has reappeared. Colonna discovered two Vatican manuscripts which clearly belonged to the same family as E and were independent of it.¹ He admitted two of Rzach's Φb manuscripts as representatives of the same archetype (while simply ignoring the other two). In his two editions of the poem, however, he is content to reconstruct Φ from E and one of his Vaticani (Vat. gr. 2383), or, where E is damaged, from the two Vaticani, without regard to the other manuscripts. Solmsen follows closely in Colonna's footsteps. He has recollated E and Vat. gr. 2383, and takes these as the only pure representatives of Φ . As for the other families, he too follows Wilamowitz and is content with C and D.

My researches vindicate Rzach. The larger number of manuscripts investigated naturally means that details must be modified, and it will appear that Ω and Ψ are entities more elusive than Φ . But it may be stated by way of a start that there are a few manuscripts (' Ωb ') from which it is sometimes possible to get back to an earlier copy than C; that there is a large group of manuscripts (I prefer to call them ψ rather than Ψb) representing a tradition cognate with D, and sometimes preserving the truth against D as well as against $\Omega\Phi$; and that Φ is represented by more manuscripts than those used by Rzach and Colonna, and cannot be reliably reconstructed without using at least five of them.

THE Ω FAMILY

It is natural to begin with

C = Paris. gr. 2771, dated to the middle or second half of the tenth century,² and thus the oldest extant manuscript by a couple of hundred years. Three leaves, containing verses 1-16, 320-36, and 435-53, have been lost. Besides the text of the poem, C has the Scholia Vetera and the commentary of Proclus. In the manuscript tradition generally, the Scholia Vetera and Proclus are not distinguished from each other: already in the time of Tzetzes it was all ascribed to Proclus, and it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that scholars (Usener, Flach, Dimitrijević) realized the difference. But Pertusi discovered that in C they are still distinguished. Proclan excerpts are numbered with Greek letters on each page, while other scholia are marked by various non-numeral symbols.³ Evidently, the conjunction of the two commentaries was recent, and this agrees with the fact that ϵ apparently contained the Scholia Vetera alone.

The scholarly character of C is evidenced not only by the careful layout of Proclus and the Scholia Vetera but also by the high standard of orthography. Iotas are regularly written (adscript) in the long-vowel diphthongs. Accentuations prescribed by ancient grammarians are preserved in many cases where ordinary medieval practice was different: 37 ἄλλά τε, 48 ὅττι μιν, 80 τῆνδε, 554 and 673 οἶκον δέ, 562 νύκτας τε, 606 ὁφρά τοι, 649 οὐτέ τι bis, 656 and 659 ἐνθά με,

¹ *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini* (hereafter abbreviated as *Boll. Com.*) vi (1958), 19 ff.

² A. Pertusi, *Aevum* xxiv (1950), 531-3. A photograph in Livadaras, plate 2. Collated by me.

³ *Aevum* xxv (1951), 147-59, 267-78.

660 τόσσόν τοι, 665 οὔτέ κε, 672 φόρτόν τ', 757 ἀλα δέ.¹ The margin of the text contains a variety of unusual critical symbols, whose significance is often unclear.²

C was known and used in the later Middle Ages. A number of different hands have made corrections, restored missing verses, and inserted additional scholia. In the text of the poem I distinguish seven hands. Besides the original hand, I recognize:

m², an early hand, using ink of a greenish appearance, which has restored the word ἔχειν in 44.

m³, a fairly small hand, using light brown ink; corrections in 243, 248?, 369?, 550, 594, 740.

m⁴, a small, upright hand of the early fourteenth century; greenish ink. This hand has added 370-2, and perhaps the word χροῖ in 76.

m⁵, a more sprawling hand of similar age; dark brown ink. This hand has added 310 and 496-7, and the word πολλά in 655, and introduced the reading τιννυμένας in 804. An alteration in 309 may also be due to it.

m⁶, a large hand of late appearance; brown ink. Alterations in 62, 102, 148.

m⁷, another large hand; greyish ink. An alteration in 645 and perhaps in 696.

These do not correspond to the seven hands distinguished by Pertusi in the scholia. I have not myself investigated the different hands at work in the scholia, but I am suspicious of Pertusi's conclusions, because the restoration of 1-16 on f. 1, the addition of 370-2, and the marginal duplication of 602, which in my opinion are all clearly by different hands, are all ascribed by him to his seventh hand. The hand (my C⁴) which added 370-2 is perhaps the same as the one which added a scholium on 315 (p. 106. 21 Pertusi, attributed by him to his sixth hand).

The other manuscripts of the Ω group are as follows. (The sigla are new.)

ω₂ = Vat. gr. 904, fourteenth century.³ It has Proclus and the Scholia Vetera, distinguished as in C only somewhat less accurately, and the commentary of Moschopulus.

ω₃ = Vat. gr. 38 (Rzach's F), dated 1322 (not 1323 as sometimes stated). See A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (1964), p. 130 and pl. 99. I rather think the hand is the same as the fourth hand in C. My knowledge of its readings is from Rzach.

ω₄ = Laur. 31. 37 (Rzach's H), fourteenth century. Verses 1-42, 374-419, 655-828 have been lost from the original book and replaced by a later scribe whose text is influenced by the Triclinian recension; I shall ignore these parts. My knowledge of the manuscript's readings is again from Rzach.

The relationship of these manuscripts to one another is somewhat obscured by contamination, but appears from some basic shared errors. ω₂ is linked to C by the following agreements:

¹ On this subject see T. W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias* (1931), i. 216 ff.

² They are listed by Pertusi, *Aevum* xxiv (1950), 543. The commonest is ○ marking a memorable passage. I presume that Ν at vv. 50, 101, 203 and 253 has stichometric

significance ('fifty').

³ Cf. A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, p. 159; Pertusi, *Aevum* xxv (1951), 20-8. Collated by me from microfilm.

62 ἀθανάτησι δὲ (δὲ above the line in C, σι above the line in ω_2) 71
 κρονίδαο (also $\omega_3\omega_4$ D) 116 θνήσκον θ' (also ω_4) 398 θεοὶ
 τεκμήραντο (also ω_3 : ω_4 is missing) 402 ἀγορεύεις (also ω_3 : ω_4 is missing)
 477 ἔξειε 490 προηρότητ' 496-7 om. m¹ 511 τότε βοᾷ (also D)
 559 ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρι τὸ πλεόν 655 πολλά om.

It also has some of the same ancient accentuations as C (37, 554, 649, 656, 659, 660, 757); and it is the only manuscript besides C which differentiates between Proclus and the Scholia Vetera. On the other hand there are many places where it diverges from C in ways that cannot be explained from spontaneous error on either side. Here is a selection:

| ω_2 | C |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 21 χατίζων | χατίζει + ω_3 (deest ω_4) |
| 216 παρελθεῖν | μετελθεῖν + $\omega_3\omega_4$ |
| 235 τοκεῦσι | γονεῦσι + $\omega_3\omega_4$ |
| 273 τερπικέραυνον | μητιόεντα + $\omega_3\omega_4$ |
| 362 τάχα μεῖζον | τάχα κεν μέγα + $\omega_3\omega_4$ |
| 507 ὄς | ᾶς + ω_4 p.c., D a.c. |
| 534 ὦ | οῦ + $\omega_3\omega_4$ |
| 781 σπέρματος ἄρξασθαι | σπέρματα δάσασθαι + ω_3 (deest ω_4) |
| 793 γείνασθαι | γίνεσθαι + ω_3 (deest ω_4) |
| πεπυκασμένος | πεπνυμένος + ω_3 (deest ω_4) |
| 804 τιννυμένας + ω_3 | γεινόμενον (deest ω_4) |
| 806 ὀπιπτεύοντα | ὀπιπεύοντας + ω_3 (ὀπιπτ-) (deest ω_4) |
| 812 γὰρ τῇδε | γὰρ ἡδε + ω_3 (deest ω_4) |
| 820 μέσση . . . δ' αὔτε | μεσσήην . . . δὲ + ω_3 (deest ω_4). |

Now it is characteristic of these and other such readings in ω_2 that they are also found among manuscripts of the Ψ group. Evidently contamination from a Ψ manuscript has occurred. As the scribe of ω_2 shows no awareness of alternative readings himself, he was probably using a single exemplar in which the Ψ variants had already been incorporated.

The Ω -text upon which they were grafted might have been directly descended from C, so far as the evidence of the text goes, for in the circumstances the absence of errors that are in C does not prove otherwise. However, the scholia in ω_2 , in so far as they correspond to those in C,¹ are not derived from C itself but from a common archetype. It is natural to assume that the Ω -element in its text came down by the same route.

Admittedly, text and scholia are not always taken from the same exemplar. ω_3 is a case in point. Its scholia seem to be taken from C itself; they incorporate some of the additions made to C at different dates between the tenth and early fourteenth centuries.² Its text, though related to that of C, is not taken from it. Certain errors shared with ω_2 and ω_4 indicate that these three fourteenth-century copies have a common ancestor (Ωb), although none of them depends

¹ Mixed in with them are other scholia of Pertusi's class *c*. Possibly these came from the Ψ source. Scholia of this class appear in Athous Ivion 209, one of the more noteworthy Ψ manuscripts; though mostly the Ψ manuscripts contain Tzetzes without Pro-

clus/sch. vet.

² Pertusi, *Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, p. xvi. But the scribe of ω_3 seems to have made some of these additions in C himself.

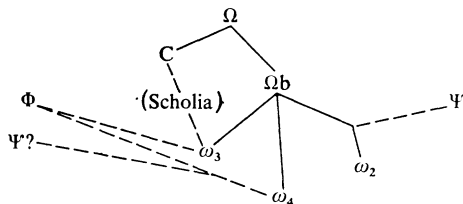
on it constantly. If Ωb were derived from C, then the Ω -element in ω_2 would be derived from C, and I have given a reason for doubting that. Errors peculiar to Ωb are:

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------|
| 83 ἐξετέλεσαν ω_2 , -εσαν $\omega_3\omega_4$ | 95 κέρδεα $\omega_2?$, ω_3 | 239 κρονίδης |
| om. $\omega_2\omega_3\omega_4$ | 462 νεομένη $\omega_3\omega_4$ | |

It can be seen from the list given above of Ψ -readings in ω_2 that these readings are regularly absent from ω_3 and ω_4 , whose agreement with C implies that their readings stood in Ωb —at least in places like 21, 216, 507, 820, where the readings in question are virtually confined to the Ω family. Ωb , then, was free from the Ψ -contamination characteristic of ω_2 . This element entered at a later point.

It can be seen from the earlier list of agreements between ω_2 and C that a number of old readings which must have come down to ω_2 through Ωb are not preserved in ω_3 and ω_4 . These two manuscripts diverge from the Ω tradition independently of ω_2 , and independently of each other. In the case of ω_3 the divergences are in the direction of Φ ; for example, *προσαρήσεται* in 431 is peculiar to Φ , and *ἔπος γ'* in 710 appears related to Φ 's *ἔπος τ'*.¹ In the case of ω_4 some readings are distinctly of Φ origin (477 ἡξεις, 488 μήτ', 520 μίμνη παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ, 640 θέρει τ'), while others perhaps point to Ψ (490 πρωταρότη, 594 πρόσωπον, but these are found in one or two Φ manuscripts too).

The stemma of the Ω manuscripts is therefore



C and its brother Ωb must have stayed in the same place down to 1322, if ω_3 copied from both.²

The practical consequences are (i) that agreement of C with any of the younger manuscripts, where their readings cannot be accounted for from their other sources, takes us back to the earlier exemplar Ω ; (ii) that in the passages where C is missing, agreements among the younger manuscripts (with the same proviso as above) take us back to Ωb , and perhaps to Ω , while even a single member of the group may preserve the reading of Ω when its brethren have taken their readings from another family.

It was Ω that played the primary role in transmitting the commentary of Proclus; and apart from that it shows its worth in the following places:

21 χατίζει (C ω_3): χατίζων sch. vet.?, Tz $\Psi\Phi$ (and ω_2).

54 ιαπειτιονίδη (C): ιαπετειονίδη $\Psi\Phi$ (ω_2), ιαπετειονίδη $\omega_3\omega_4$.

66 μελεδώντας (C): μελεδώντας ceteri.

248 βασιλῆς (C): βασιλεῖς ceteri (the verse is erased in D and cannot be read).

¹ Often the same reading is found in both Ψ and Φ manuscripts. But I believe that Φ is the common factor in the non- Ω readings of ω_3 , as Ψ is in those of ω_2 .

² Its relationship to C is repeated in the relationship of the fifteenth-century manuscript Paris. gr. 2708 to it. This copy has its scholia from ω_3 but its text from Triclinius.

309 ἐργαζόμενοι πολὺν φίλτεροι (C $\omega_3\omega_4$): ἐργαζόμενος πολὺν φίλτερος ceteri.

410 ἐνηφι (C; ἐνηφι Et. Gen. cod. A, from ϵ ; ἐνηφι Planudes, Moschopolus): ἔνν- ceteri.

456 τὸ οἶδ' (C $\omega_2\omega_4$, also ϵ): τόγ' οἶδ' fere Ψ : τόδ' οἶδ' Φ .

496-7 om. (C ω_2 , also pap., sch. vet., ϵ): habent ceteri. The lines are genuine but probably out of place. Plutarch and Proclus knew them, but perhaps not after 495. Their position there in the majority of manuscripts has therefore to be regarded as secondary.

716 νεικεστῆρα (C $\omega_2\omega_3$): νεικητῆρα ϵ $\Psi\Phi$.

730 μηδ' (C $\omega_2\omega_3$): μήτ' Tz $\Psi\Phi$.

764 φημίξωσι (C, also Et. Gen. A): -ξουσι $\omega_2\omega_3$ (also Et. Sym., Tz, and one or two Ψ manuscripts): -ζουσι fere $\Psi\Phi$.

The following isolated readings in ω_2 are of interest:

153 ἡερόεντα (cj. Nauck) before or after correction 206 τήν ὄ γ'
(cj. Peppmüller, but probably the absence of δ' is due to accidental omission)
224 ἐξελάωσι (Triclinius has ἐξελάουσι) 276 διέδωκε 434 the γ'
before ἄξαις, present in the rest of the tradition (apart from one or two
apographa), was at first omitted 783 ἀνδρογόνος τ', which suits μάλα
σύμφορος (Proclus, C a.c.) in 782.

THE Ψ FAMILY

This family comprises a much larger number of manuscripts. Here is the list down to the end of the fourteenth century. (The sigla are new, except for D.)

D = Laur. 31. 39. Twelfth century. Collated by me. There are many corrections and retouchings, perhaps made by the original scribe though not at the same time.

ψ_2 = Vat. gr. 121. c. 1260-80 according to J. Irigoin, *Hist. du texte de Pindare*, p. 216, who is followed by J. Martin, *Hist. du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos*, p. 262, and Livadaras, p. 148.¹ Collated from microfilm.

ψ_3 = Vat. Barb. gr. 4. Second half of the thirteenth century. Contains only selected lines and passages, amounting to a little over three hundred verses in all. See Irigoin, p. 247 n. 5; Livadaras, pp. 152 f.

ψ_4 = Laur. 32. 16 (Rzach's I, Solmsen's S, also mine in the *Theogony*). A.D. 1280. See C.Q. xiv (1964), 175, and works there cited, adding Livadaras, pp. 160-3.

ψ_5 = Ambr. G 32 sup. (Rzach's L). Late thirteenth century.² I have checked some of its readings.

ψ_6 = Ambr. C 22 inf. (Solmsen's J in the *Shield*). Late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Cf. Gallavotti, *Riv. Fil.* n.s. xii (1934), 555 f.; Turyn, *De codicibus Pindaricis*, p. 9, and *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*, pp. 37 f.; Irigoin, pp. 239-41. Collated by me.

ψ_7 = Vat. gr. 915 (my Q in the *Theogony*). Before 1311. Cf. C.Q. xiv (1964), 177, and works there cited, adding Livadaras, pp. 151 f. Collated from microfilm.

¹ Colonna, *Boll. Com.* ii (1953), 28, dates it to the early thirteenth century; Turyn, *De codicibus Pindaricis*, p. 39, to the early fourteenth, but on stemmatic rather than

palaeographical grounds.

² So C. Gallavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur Bucolici Graeci*, p. 245.

ψ_8 = Vat. gr. 1910. Late thirteenth century (Livadaras, p. 156; thirteenth/fourteenth, J. Martin, op. cit., p. 241). Contains only vv. 140–201 and 641–828. Collated from microfilm.

ψ_9 = Athous Iviron 209 (olim 161). c. 1300 (Irigoin, p. 297; Livadaras, p. 153; early fourteenth century according to Turyn, *De cod. Pind.*, pp. 24 f.; . . . *Aeschylus*, p. 120; *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, pp. 325 f.). Collated from microfilm.

ψ_{10} = Paris. gr. 2707. Dated to 1301 and signed by Michael δ *Συναδηνός*. Livadaras, pp. 185 f. Collated by me.

ψ_{11} = Paris. gr. 2774. Watermark of c. 1300; signed by Michael Tribides. Cf. O. Schroeder, *Philol.* liv (1895), 280 f.; H. Schultz, *Abh. Gött.* 1910 (4), 21; Irigoin, pp. 262 f.; Livadaras, pp. 155 f. Collated by me.

ψ_{12} = Laur. 32. 2 (Rzach's K). c. 1310. See Turyn, . . . *Aeschylus*, p. 74; *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*, p. 41; . . . *Euripides*, pp. 222 ff.; G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, pp. 126 ff. My knowledge of its readings is from Rzach.

ψ_{13} = Vat. gr. 57. Watermarks of c. 1320–40. See Turyn, . . . *Aeschylus*, p. 76; . . . *Sophocles*, p. 42; Colonna, *Boll. Com.* ii (1953), 29; Livadaras, pp. 186 f. Collated from microfilm.

ψ_{14} = Vat. gr. 1825. First half of the fourteenth century. The last page of text (vv. 815–28) is lost. Collated from microfilm.

Laur. conv. soppr. 15 (watermarks of the mid-fourteenth century; partially collated by me) is an apograph of ψ_{14} , corrected from a Triclinian copy.

ψ_{15} = Laur. conv. soppr. 158. Fourteenth century. Cf. *C.Q.* xiv (1964), 172 f. Partially collated by me.

ψ_{16} = Vat. gr. 216. Dated to 1342. Contains only vv. 770–828, with the commentary of Iohannes Protospatharios. Cf. Livadaras, p. 187.

ψ_{17} = Vat. gr. 51. Dated to the fourteenth century by Mercati and de' Cavalieri, but to the fifteenth by H. Schultz. I have taken notice of its readings from Lanzi and from Livadaras, p. 185.

ψ_{18} = Vat. gr. 44 ff. 229^r–231^v. Fourteenth/fifteenth century. Contains only vv. 1–43 and 305–64. Livadaras, p. 191.

For some fifteenth-century manuscripts of this class cf. below, p. 183.

The unity of the family is loose. It consists in the propensity of its members to agree with each other in shifting combinations rather than in any tendency for them all to agree against $\Omega\Phi$. I am unable to find an example of a specific corruption which sets Ψ apart from the rest of the tradition and is reproduced in all the Ψ manuscripts. The nearest approach is $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ for $\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ in 576. It is in all the Ψ manuscripts, but it also appeared as a variant or correction in Φ , and it is just the sort of reading—a *lectio faciliior*—which was liable to be diffused horizontally. The fact that it appears in all Ψ manuscripts, therefore, does not prove that they descend from a common ancestor. There must have been one particular manuscript in which it first appeared—perhaps already in antiquity—and from which it has found its way to each of our Ψ manuscripts; but there is no guarantee that other readings from the same exemplar have come down by the same route and appear in the same places. It looks as if there was no Ψ archetype in the sense of a manuscript all of whose errors were handed on to the later copies. Some of the errors in such a manuscript must have been omissions or *voces nihili*, and we find no such errors spread over the

whole family. So perhaps we are dealing not with a family in the true sense but with a kind of Byzantine vulgate fed by several springs—with the confused remainder that is left when we have set aside the real family groups.

The clearest division within Ψ is between D and the rest. The rest are collectively in error against D in the following places:

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|---|-----|------------|-----|------------|
| 29 | ὀπιπτεύοντ' (ὀπιπεύοντ' D) | 116 | ὡς ὕπνω | 141 | ἐπιχθόνιοι | | |
| 304 | ἱκελος | 319 | ἀνολβίην . . . ὄλβον | 324 | ἀναιδείην | 325 | τέ μιν |
| 338 | δὴ | 490 | πρωτηρότη or πρωταρότη (προηρότη D, with the first η in ras.) | 594 | εὐκραέος | 783 | ἀσύμφορος. |

But the division is not consistently maintained, for in other places we find D in error with some of the others. For example:

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 132 | ὅταν D ψ_{11} (p.c.?) ψ_{12} ψ_{14} (p.c.?) ψ_{15} | 141 | θεοὶ (for θνητοὶ) | | |
| D i.r., ψ_{15} | 146 | ἐμελλε D ψ_6 | 196 | στυνγερώπις D p.c.? $\psi_8\psi_{14}$ | |
| 297 | αὖ D $\psi_2\psi_4\psi_5\psi_7\psi_9\psi_{10}\psi_{11}\psi_{13}$ | 362 | τοῦδ' D ψ_9 | 405 | τ' om. D |
| a.c. $\psi_4\psi_9\psi_{10}\psi_{11}$, ψ_{14} a.c.? | 477 | ἱξῆσαι D ψ_5 | 512 | μάζε' D, ψ_{11} a.c. | |
| 611 | ἀποδρέπεν D p.c., ψ_7 | 695 | ἐπὶ D $\psi_6\psi_8\psi_9\psi_{13}\psi_{14}$ | 708 | πρότερον |
| D $\psi_6\psi_7\psi_{13}$ | 749 | λούεσθαι D $\psi_7\psi_8\psi_{11}$, ψ_{14} p.c. | | | |

That the division between D and the rest nevertheless has a historical basis is suggested by a consideration of the connections that sometimes appear between Ψ manuscripts and Ω . The most notable agreements are:

| | |
|---|--|
| 71 κρονίδαο ΩD | 98 ἐπέλ(λ)αβε (ancient variant? cf. sch.) ΩDψ ₄ ψ ₅ |
| ψ ₁₁ ψ ₁₂ 106 ἐκκορυφήσω CD | 186 βιάζοντ(ες) C a.c. D a.c. ψ ₈ |
| 263 δίκας ΩDψ ₂ ψ ₅ ψ ₁₃ ψ ₁₄ | 392 θέλησθα ΩDψ ₁₄ 436 (deest C) |
| γύην ΩbΨ 490 προηρότητ' Ω, προηρότη D (first η in ras.), τῷ προαρότη | |
| ψ ₁₁ 507 α̃ς C, D a.c. ω ₄ p.c. (also a v.l. in the Φ family) | 511 |
| τότε βοᾷ C (corr. m ¹) ω ₂ D | 535 ἀλευάμενοι C ω ₃ (m ¹) ψ ₂ ψ ₇ ; in ψ ₁₁ |
| apparently changed to -όμενοι <i>currente calamo</i> | 559 (ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρι) τὸ πλέ- |
| ον Ω, τὸ πλείον ψ ₈ ψ ₉ | 597 ἱερὰν ΩD 666 ἀποθθήσειε Ω, D a.c. or |
| p.c. 687 κατὰ ΩD, v.l. in ψ ₈ ψ ₁₄ | 788 κέρδεα Ω (κέρτομα C m.al.) |
| ψ ₇ (γρ. κέρτομα). | |

It will be observed, firstly, that D is the manuscript which figures most constantly in the list, and secondly, that in a number of cases (71, 106, 511, 597, 666) these readings of D are corruptions of a kind that one would not expect to travel horizontally. This suggests that D, and D alone, goes back lineally to the same exemplar as Ω (I assume not Ω itself because of 490). This common archetype of Ω D it will be convenient to call X. It must then be supposed that the non- Ω readings which link D with Ψ are due to contamination with a precursor of the later group. Most of them can easily be understood in this way; though a few, such as $\xi\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon$ in 146, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\delta'$ in 362, do not look likely horizontal travellers.

Setting D aside, can we assume an archetype for the rest (which I shall call ψ)? I have given a list of the places where an error is common to them all. But all these readings occur also in manuscripts of other families, and so are evidently of the sort which can be transmitted horizontally, or else of the sort that can develop spontaneously. Hence I am inclined to regard them as the readings which happen to have occupied the whole of the group instead of just part of it, and not as a set of readings which had to appear in the whole group because

they appeared in a particular copy from which the group was directly descended. One of them, *πρὸς ἀνολβίνην . . . πρὸς ὄλβον* for *πρὸς ἀνολβίην . . . πρὸς ὄλβω* in 319 (also in Φ), has an identifiable, datable origin. It is a conjecture of Tzetzēs, as appears from his note: *αἰδώς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίνην ἐγὼ μὲν γράφω μετὰ τοῦ ν, καθὰ καὶ ἐξηγησάμην· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ν γράφουσιν*. A reading found in all the ψ manuscripts, then, is not necessarily older than the twelfth century.

Within ψ , a tendency is observable for certain copies to agree with one another.

(i) $\psi_2\psi_7$: 111 *κρόνω* (altered by a second hand in ψ_7) 535 *ἀλενά-μενοι* 667 *γε* om. 741 *θῆκαν* (+ ψ_{13}) 774 *τε* om.—D agrees with these two manuscripts singly more than with any others of the family: 435 δ' om. D a.c. ψ_2 (ψ_{14} a.c.) 476 *έόντα* D a.c. ψ_7 m¹ 500 *κομί-ξιν* D (a.c.?) ψ_2 a.c.? 556 δ' D ψ_7 (sscr. ψ_{14}) 611 *ἀποδρέπειν* D p.c. ψ_7 650 γ' i.r. D: δ' ψ_2 714 *νόος* D a.c. ψ_2 (+ ψ_8 p.c.). This perhaps means that these two manuscripts had a closer relationship than most to D's non- Ω source.

(ii) $\psi_5\psi_{12}$ (ψ_{14}): 329 *εὐνῆς* om. (rest. m² in both; in ψ_{14} the word is transposed before *κρυπταδίσης*) 403 *ἀχρήμιος* (sscr. m² in ψ_{14}) 598 *πρῶτον* (sscr. ψ_{14}) 606 δ' 622 *ἐπὶ* (+ ψ_{14}) 633 *τε καὶ σὸς πατῆρ* 640 *θέρει* δ' (+ ψ_{14}) 650 γ' om. 652 *ξὺν* (sscr. ψ_{14}).—These are all errors except 606 (an easy change) and possibly 652.

(iii) $\psi_6\psi_9\psi_{10}$: 132 *ῆβήσῃ τε* $\psi_6\psi_{10}$ (= Ω , D p.c.) 220 *ἐλκομένης ῥόθος* $\psi_6\psi_{10}$ 456 *τόδ'* $\psi_6\psi_{10}$ (+ ψ_{13} , sscr. γ , and Φ) 528 *πανέλλησι* $\psi_6\psi_9$ (+ ψ_{14} a.c., Φ) 559 *τὸ πλεῖον* $\psi_6\psi_9$ (τὸ πλεόν Ω) 611 *ἀπο-δρέπεν* $\psi_6\psi_9$ 623 δ' om. $\psi_6\psi_9$ 647 *φυγεῖν* $\psi_6\psi_9$ (φεύγειν ψ_2) 760 *ὑπαλεύαιο* $\psi_6\psi_9$.—Sometimes these manuscripts are free from corruptions which have spread through the rest of the ψ group: 476 *αἰρεύμενον* ψ_6 , *αἶρ-* ψ_{10} (*έρ-* ceteri) 647 *λιμὸν ἀτερπέα* $\psi_6\psi_9$ (*ἀτ. λ.* the rest except ψ_8 ψ_{14} , which have *λιμὸν ἀτερπῆ* like CD Φ) 656 *μεγαλήτορος* $\psi_6\psi_9\psi_{10}$ (*-ρες* ceteri) 672 *ἐς πάντα* (*εὖ π.* ceteri)

(iv) $\psi_{13}\psi_{14}$: 237 *νήσονται* (*ῖ* sscr. ψ_{13} , *ῖ* sscr. ψ_{14}) 244 *δέ τ'* 451 *ὄμβρινοῦ* (*ὄμβρινοῦ* ψ_7 m¹, ψ_{12} a.c.) 610 *ἐπίδη* (*-οι* ψ_{14} a.c. or p.c.; *γρ. ἐστ'* ψ_{13} , *σὶ* sscr. ψ_{14}) 709 *σ' ὄγ'* (a.c. in ψ_{14}) 721 *ἀκούσης* (*αι* sscr. ψ_{14}).—These are mostly errors. *σ' ὄγ'* in 709 is attractive, but against two papyri.

None of these liaisons is constant, and I cannot compose anything in the nature of a stemma.

Many good readings are found in Ψ manuscripts and not in C/ Ω or Φ . Here they are.

29 *ὀπιπεύοντ'* D (*δ[ῖ]ππι]σπεύοντ'* C, *ὀπιπιπεύων* Et. Gen. A, *ὀπιπτεύοντ'* $\psi\Phi$). Perhaps inherited by D from X.

64 (*διδασκ*)*εμεναι* ψ_{11} m². So Origen's quotation. Cross-contamination is a possibility.

66 *γυιοβόρους* ψ_4 m²: *γυ(ι)οκόρους* the rest with Origen, sch. vet., Proclus. I believe *-βόρους* to be right (argued at length in *Philol.* cviii [1964], 158 f.), but its appearance in ψ_4 is probably due to conjecture or accident, not to tradition. This manuscript contains a number of conjectures. I deal with them separately below.

- 132 ἡβήσαι τε D a.c. (-ση τε p.c. with Ω ψ₆ψ₁₀ψ₁₂ p.c.; -σειε ceteri).
- 196 στυγερῶπης ψ₂ψ₄ψ₇ψ₁₁ψ₁₂.—D p.c.?, ψ₈ψ₁₄ have the phonetically equivalent -ῶπης, while ψ₅ψ₆ψ₉ψ₁₃ have -ωπῆς or -ωπής with CΦ.
- 235 τοκεῦσι D ψ₂ψ₄ψ₉ψ₁₀ψ₁₁, and m. rec. in ψ₅. Possibly an ancient variant.
- 273 τερπικέραυνον D ψ₄ψ₅ψ₁₀ψ₁₁ψ₁₂, γρ. ψ₁₄. Read by Tzetzes, and a marginal variant in one of the main Φ manuscripts. Perhaps an ancient variant.
- 280 ἀγορεῦσαι D. Preferred by most editors.
- 288 λείη (as read by Plato and Xenophon) sscr. ψ₃ according to Livadaras—probably by someone who had read the quotation.
- 293 αὐτός ψ₁₂ with ε and papyri, and similarly D ψ₁₂ in 296.
- 315 κτεάτων ψ₂ψ₁₂ψ₁₃ (ψ₁₁ v.l.?). The word is omitted in D. Worth considering.
- 325 οἶκον ψ₁₃ a.c. ψ₁₄ψ₁₅, with Proclus and a papyrus. C is absent here. Ancient variant.
- 331 τοκῆα ψ₁₈ with ε (τοκῆς A). Perhaps accidental.
- 338 δὲ D. Perhaps accidental.
- 381 φρεσὶν ἦσιν Dψ. Not accepted by all editors, but *difficilior lectio*.
- 389–91 indicatives in Dψ (except ψ₁₀ in 389), preferable to the subjunctives in CΦ (ΩΦ in 391), but not necessarily preserved by tradition.
- 391 γυνὸν σπείρειν Dψ (γυνὸς D p.c. here and in the parallel phrases): γ. δὲ σπ. CΦ. Not difficult to find by conjecture.
- 423 τρίπηχυν Dψ₄ with a papyrus.
- 443 ἰθεῖάν κ' ψ₄ψ₁₀ψ₁₃ with two papyri.
- 468 ὄρπηκι ψ₁₃ (with Proclus?). Certainly right, and not likely to be a conjecture, since scribes and editors have almost all failed to see any difficulty in ὄρπηκα, and ψ₁₃ is not otherwise characterized by emendatory activity.
- 490 πρωτηρότη ψ (and Tzetzes; πρωταρότη ψ₇ψ₉ψ₁₃ψ₁₄ a.c. ψ₁₇; τῷ προαρότη ψ₁₁) is nearer the presumed original πρωιηρότη than the προρη- or προαρ- of the other manuscripts.
- 500 κομίζεω D (a.c.?) and perhaps ψ₂ a.c. Better sense than κομίζει.
- 549 πυροφόροις ψ₁₀ (glossed σιτοφόροις), as conjectured by Hermann. It does not look a conjecture; the same considerations apply as in the case of ὄρπηκι in 468.
- 568 ὀρθρογόνη ψ₂ψ₄ψ₆ψ₇ψ₉ψ₁₀ψ₁₂ψ₁₃ψ₁₄ with sch. vet.; known to Tzetzes.
- 606 δ' ψ₅ψ₁₂. Perhaps accidental.
- 640 οὐδέποτ' ψ except ψ₉ψ₁₀ψ₁₄: οὐποτ' CDΦ.
- 647 λιμὸν ἀτερπέα ψ₆ψ₉. Cf. above, p. 171.
- 695 ποτὶ ψ₂ψ₄ψ₅ψ₇ψ₁₀ψ₁₁ψ₁₂, γρ. ψ₁₄, with two papyri, citations, and sch. vet. lemma.
- 709 σ' ὄγ' ψ₁₃ψ₁₄ a.c.
- 735 δυστήνοιο ψ₇ with Plutarch.
- 767 δατέεσθαι ψ₇ψ₁₀ψ₁₄ (sscr. α).
- 781 σπέρματος ἄρξασθαι Dψ₂ψ₄ψ₆ψ₉ψ₁₀ψ₁₁ψ₁₇, γρ. ψ₁₄, with a papyrus.
- 783 οὐ σύμφορος D (perhaps ω₂). ψ₅ has μάλ' οὐ σύμφορος in 782, probably from a marginal correction of 783.
- 785 κούρη τε Dψ₂ψ₄ψ₅ψ₆ψ₈ p.c. ψ₉ψ₁₁ψ₁₇, sscr. ψ₁₀ψ₁₄; -ησι τὲ ψ₁₂. κούρη τε, also in a papyrus, is nearer the presumed original κούρη γε than the κούρησι of the other manuscripts.
- 793 γείνασθαι ψ except ψ₈ψ₁₃, γίνασθαι D.
- πεπυκασμένος Dψ₂ψ₄ψ₆ψ₇ψ₈ p.c. ψ₉ψ₁₀.

820 μέσση Dψ (-ην ψ₈ a.c.) and a papyrus.

δ' αὐτε ψ except ψ₈ψ₉ψ₁₃, with a papyrus; δέ τε D.

In addition there are a number of metrical and syntactical improvements which appear only, or for the first time, in ψ₄, a manuscript produced in the circle of Planudes (who copied part of it himself, though not the Hesiod)¹ and characterized throughout by emendations of this sort: these readings, like the one at 66 (above), should probably also be regarded as emendations. They are:

20 ἀπάλαμόν (also ψ₉, and E p.c.) for ἀπάλαμόν III ἐμβασίλευεν
(also ψ₉ψ₁₁, al., ω₂) for ἐβασ- 262 παρκλίν- (also Tricl., al.) for παρα-
κλίν- 391 ναίουσιν (+ Tricl.) for -σι in the rest of ψ 408 ἀρνῆται
m² (+ψ₇, ψ₉ a.c. or p.c., ψ₁₂ Tricl.) for ἀρνείται 665 θνητοῖς (+ψ₈ψ₁₁,
al.) for -οῖσι 712 ἡγήτ' p.c. (+ Tricl.) for ἡγεῖτ' 723 τε (+ω₂)
for δέ 756 νύ τι (sscr. τοι; also ψ₁₀ and a papyrus) for νύ τοι 783
ἄμοφος sscr. ξυ m², sc. ἀξύμοφος, for ἀσύμοφος.

Of the good readings presumed inherited in the family and not found outside it, the greatest number are found in D. Of those that are not in D, the greatest number are in ψ₁₂. Of those that are not in D or ψ₁₂, four are in ψ₁₃, two others in ψ₇, one in ψ₆ and ψ₉, one in ψ₁₀, and perhaps one in ψ₁₈. This method of analysing a contaminated tradition, as I have explained in my *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, pp. 43-6, serves to reduce to a minimum the number of manuscripts that need to be cited in an apparatus, and it suggests which manuscripts in the group are most independent of each other and go back most directly to the earliest phase that can be reached.

TZETZES

John Tzetzes composed his commentary about 1135-40. It is actually the text of his lectures, delivered to an audience to whom he had supplied a text equipped with interlinear glosses.² We can often infer what his text read. In places he shows himself aware of variants: 2 δὴ and Δί', 141 ἐπιχθόνιοι and ὑποχθόνιοι, 304 ὁρμήν and ὀργήν, 568 ὀρθογόνῃ and ὀρθρογόνῃ; but he may have used no more than one manuscript that had a few variants in the margin.

I have mentioned some agreements between his readings and ψ (273, 490, 568), and in general they are appropriate to an early representative of that class. Most of the ψ manuscripts carry his commentary, and we must allow for the fact that his opinions have sometimes influenced their text. His banalizing conjectures in 319 (ἀνολβίην and ὄλβον) and 696 (τριήκοντα—εἴτε Ἡσιόδου εἴτε μεταγραφικὸν τὸ παῖσμα τυγχάνει) have affected in the first case all the ψ manuscripts and in the second case all except ψ₄ψ₈ψ₁₃.³ But even if we explained all the correspondences in this way, we would still have to postulate a manuscript resembling ψ as the source of Tzetzes' text. The following further readings of his are found in ψ manuscripts and not in C/Ω:

¹ It does not contain, and seems to antedate, Planudes' scholia, on which see Pertusi, *Aevum* xxv (1951), 342-52, and Atti del VIII. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini i (1951), 177-82. In WD 22 Planudes conjectures ἀρούμεναι, but this does not appear in ψ₄, which has ἀρόμεναι.

² p. 132 Gaisford (Oxford, 1820) ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἀκροαμένοις φημί ὅτι ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι νῦν

χωρίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν οὐκ ἔδει πολυλογίας, λέξεων δὲ βραχειῶν τινῶν· καὶ γέγραφα ταύτας ἀνωθεν τῶν ἐπῶν. Cf. ἀκροατέον in his prolegomena, line 60 Colonna (*Boll. Com.* ii [1953], 35).

³ Rzach misreports ψ₈ = his L. It has τριήκοντα. I disregard here ψ₁₇, which follows Triclinius in both verses.

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 20 ἐγείρει | 21 χατίζων | 90 πρώην? for πρὶν | 98 ἐπέ(μ)βαλε |
| 106 ἐκκορυφώσω | 113 ἄτερ πόνων | 132 ἡβήσειε | 186 βάζοντ' |
| 261 βασιλήων | 265 οἱ θ' | 310 apparently present | 357 κἄν |
| μέγα? | 410 ἔννηφιν | 485 ἀρόσεις | 507 ὅς |
| 575 κάρφῃ? | 646 τρέψῃς | 714 νόον | 730 μήτ' ἀπογυμνωθῆς |
| 804 γινόμενον. | | | |

Only five *prima facie* non- ψ readings call for mention:

216 μετελθεῖν (?). This is Ω , but it also appears in ψ_{12} m² and ψ_{14} (sscr. *παρά* ?), so it is not unknown to the ψ family.

304 Tzetzes, like CD, knows both *ὀργήν* and *ὀρμήν*, whereas the younger ψ manuscripts know only *ὀρμήν*.

436 γύης (Φ). D ψ and Ω b have the accusative; C is missing.

496–7 omitted, as by Ω . Tzetzes is here free from a secondary reading (above, p. 163) common to D $\psi\Phi$.

649 σεσοφίμενος (?): cf. σεσοφημένος in C.

Tzetzes has in addition a few idiosyncratic readings, none of them ancient or good:

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 153 ἐβρώεντα (his conjecture, supposed to mean <i>σῆψεως ἀνάμεστον</i>) | |
| 363 ἀλύξεται (reappears in Moschopulus and Triclinius) | 479 ἀρόσεις? |
| (from 485) | 495 ἐνθα δ' (?) |
| | 783–4 apparently after 793. |

MOSCHOPULUS AND TRICLINIUS

Manuel Moschopulus wrote his commentary on the poem between about 1290 and 1310. The lower limit is given by the earliest manuscript containing it, namely ψ_{12} ; the higher limit by the fact that it is later than Planudes' scholia, which are later than 1280 (ψ_4). This appears from 22, where Planudes does not consider Moschopulus' *ἀρόμμεναι*, whereas Moschopulus considers and rejects Planudes' *ἀρούμεναι*. Moschopulus does not show himself aware of variant readings, but seems to use a single manuscript of the poem. In many places we can gather its readings from his paraphrase or comment.

Demetrius Triclinius copied the poem with Moschopulus' commentary, completing it on 20 August 1316. He subsequently added Protospatharios, Tzetzes, and Proclus/sch. vet. The manuscript is:

Tr = Ven. Marc. gr. 464 (numero di collocazione: 762). See *C.Q.* xiv (1964), 181 f. and works there cited, adding Livadaras, pp. 201 ff. with plates 6–7. Partially collated by me.

The following fourteenth-century manuscripts are copies or descendants of Tr, or at any rate are so heavily infected with Triclinian readings as to appear to be copies when they have not been collated in detail (as most of them have not). I briefly indicate editors who have used them.

Paris. Coisl. 169. c. 1320. Robinson, Lanzi, van Lennep. Livadaras, p. 213. Mutin. Est. α U 9. 19. c. 1320. Livadaras, p. 211.

Neap. II F 9. c. 1325. Contains *WD* 1–750, with Planudes' scholia. Pertusi, *Aevum* xxv (1951), 342 ff.; Livadaras, p. 212.

Vindob. phil. gr. 200. c. 1330. Lanzi, Rzach (1884). Partially collated by me.

Matr. gr. 4617. A.D. 1333 (not 1334 as Livadaras p. 212 or 1344 as p. 232); written by Georgios Kinnamos.

Ferrar. II 116 and 155, both written by the same hand, the latter dated 1337. Livadaras, pp. 212, 234, and plates 8–9.

Vindob. phil. gr. 198. *WD* 1–791. Lanzi, Rzach (1884). Partially collated by me.

Laur. 31. 5. Lanzi, van Lennep. Partially collated by me.

Laur. conv. soppr. 8. Livadaras, p. 212.

Neap. II F 5. Livadaras, p. 212.

Ravennas gr. 183. Collated by me.

Vat. gr. 50. Lanzi.

Vat. gr. 1421. Lanzi. Livadaras, p. 213.

Vat. Regin. gr. 92. Lanzi. Livadaras, p. 212.

Ven. Marc. gr. 466. Rzach, *Wien. St.* xx (1898), 114; Livadaras, p. 213.

Matr. gr. 4607. *WD* 1–550 (the rest supplied by C. Lascaris). Livadaras, p. 214.

Laur. 32. 36. End of the century. *WD* 1–788. Lanzi, van Lennep. Partially collated by me.

Lips. Bibl. Univ. Rep. I. 4. 44b (formerly in the Stadtbibliothek). End of the century. Loesner, Gaisford. Examined in microfilm.

Vat. gr. 946 (fragments). End of the century. Livadaras, p. 215.

Triclinius copied the poem from a single exemplar which closely resembled the text used by Moschopulus. Out of some 107 Moschopulean readings, only the following diverge from Tr (Tr's reading in brackets) :

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 186 βάζοντ' (βάζοντες) | 248 κατασκευάζεσθε (καταφράζεσθε) |
| 260 ἄδικον (ἀδίκων) | 263 δίκας (μύθους) |
| (μητιόνετα) | 273 τερπικέρανον |
| 476 ἐρευγόμενον (ἐρεύμενον) | 747 κρώξη apparently |
| (κρώξη). | |

The shared readings include some which are foreign to ΩΨΦ :

| | |
|--|--|
| 22 ἀρόμμεναι (Moschopulus' conjecture) | 48 ἀγκυλόμητις (Moschopulus' doctrine) |
| 278 ἐπ' | 363 ἀλύξεται (already read by Tzetzes) |
| 370–2 in the text | 376 σώζοι (Proclus, omitting 377–8?) |
| ἀμᾶσθαι | 392 |
| 425 ἀπὸ καί. | |

In general the text has a ψ character. Such readings as the following appear in ψ manuscripts and not in Ω or Φ :

| | | |
|---|------------------------|---------------|
| 273 τερπικέρανον (Mo., not Tr) | 357 καὶν μέγα | 490 πρωτηρότη |
| 495 ἰσχάνη | 568 ὀρθρογόη | 583 ἐπιχεύετ' |
| 647 φυνγεῖν | | |
| 656 μεγαλήτορες | 781 σπέρματος ἄρξασθαι | 785 κούρη |
| 793 | | |
| γεῖναισθαι . . . πεπνυκασμένοις | 820 μέσση. | |
| —476 ἐρευγόμενον (Mo.) resembles the reading of ψ ₂ , ἐρευνόμενον. | | |

Of the remaining eighty Moschopulean readings in my list, only the nine following (also in Tr) are not found in ψ manuscripts :

| | |
|---|--|
| 141 ὑποχθόνιοι (Proclus, C ¹ D) | 199 ἴτον (sch. vet., N; also m. rec. in ω ₃ ψ ₁₁ , probably from Tr) |
| 469 μεσάβω (sch. vet. v.l.? Proclus v.l., ω ₂ (p.c.), ψ ₁₀ m ²) | 594 ἀκραέος (sch. vet., Proclus, ΩDΦ) |
| πρόσωπα (ΩΦ) | |
| 709 δέ κεν (Et. Gud., N ²) | 716 νεικεστήρα (Ω) |
| 736a om. (Proclus, ω ₂) | |
| 783 οὐ σύμφορος (D, ω ₂ ?) | |

The full text of Tr supplies a few further examples of divergence from all the ψ manuscripts (I do not here consider his conjectures) :

54 *ἰαπετιονίδη* (C) 181 *γινόμενοι* (Ω) 224 *ἐξελάουσι* (cf. *ἐξελάωσι* ω_2) 319 *ἀνολβίη . . . ὀλβῶ* (Ω D) 324 *αἰδῶ δέ τ' ἀναιδείη* (Proclus, ω_2 m²; *αἰδῶ* E p.c.? N p.c., *ἀναιδείη* DEN; *deest* C) 651 *ἐς εὐβοίαν* (Ω D).

All these may have stood in Moschopulus' text.

The text used by Moschopulus and Triclinius, then, is basically a mixture of ψ and Ω —perhaps a mixture made before Moschopulus, since he displays no awareness of variants. The exemplar from which Triclinius made his copy was either a brother of Moschopulus' manuscript, or that manuscript itself, corrected in a few places from another. He records no variants, though we know he had possession at some time of ψ_{12} (more famous as L of Euripides).

Triclinius distinguishes himself from the ordinary run of copyists by his policy in some orthographical and grammatical matters. He has *τίννυμαι* not *τίννυμαι* (247, 711, 804); he tends to have *-αῖσι*, *-αῖς* where others have *-ησι*, *-ης* (62, 63, 134, 221, 230, 658, but not 82, 375, 479, 685); and to be more correct in the use of the moods (328, 408, 495, 497, 712, al.). Planudes and Moschopulus had interested themselves in such things, and may to some extent have anticipated Triclinius here. The subjunctive in 408 is also given by ψ_4 m², ψ_7 , ψ_9 a.c. or p.c., ψ_{12} ; that in 712 by ψ_4 p.c. Triclinius' personal forte was metre. Here too he had predecessors (cf. above on conjectures in ψ_4), but a number of emendations may with some probability be ascribed to him :

131 *ἀττάλλων* 149 *στιβαροῖς μελέεσαι* (he probably found *-οῖσι* *μελέεσαι* as in $\psi_3\psi_8$; he was later to make the same alteration in *Th.* 673) 173 *τρίς τοῦ ἔτους* 222 *τε καὶ ἦθεα* 382 *ἔργον δέ τ' ἐπ'* 457 *δεῖ ἔχειν* (these four readings all spring from ignorance of the effect of original digamma) 537 *μὲν μαλακὴν* (cf. his elimination of *δὲ* *μεγάλην* in *Th.* 649) 559 *ἐπ' ἀνέρι δέ* (cf. his postponement of *δέ* in *Th.* 733, *τοῖχος περικείται δ'*) 721 *κακόν κ'* 800 *ἄγεσθαι ἐς*.

It is healthy to remember, however, that we would naturally suppose *βούλῃαι δὲ χρέα τε φυγεῖν* in 647 (for *βούλῃαι δὲ χρέα τε προφυγεῖν*) to be a correction of Triclinius' if we did not know that the reading *φυγεῖν* existed before (ψ_2 *φεύγειν*), $\psi_8\psi_9$, and apparently Moschopulus). Similarly we should be cautious about holding Triclinius responsible for half a dozen other peculiar readings :

20 *ᾧμως* for *ὁμῶς* 105 *πov* (cj. for *ποι* ($\psi_4\psi_{14}$)?) 150 *τοῖς δ'* 240 *ἐπαυρεῖ* (+ ψ_{15}) 265 *οἱ αὐτῶ* 369 *δewη* (+C m. rec. (C³?))

—seeing that there are others which we might think were his if we did not know they were older :

250 *λεύσσουν* (ψ_3 , E² marg. (*ὀρώσι*, *λεύσσουν*, as if a gloss), also ω_2 (m² i.r.?), $\gamma\rho$. ψ_{14}) 363 *ἀλύξεται* (Tz., Mo.) 392 *ἀμᾶσθαι* (Mo.).

THE Φ FAMILY

The third of the major families is again represented by a lot of manuscripts, eleven before 1400. The sigla in the following list are again new except for E and N, which I have retained from Rzach.

E = Messanius (Bibl. Univ.) Fondo Vecchio (or Antico) 11. Late twelfth century (Mioni). The leaves containing vv. 744–69, 776–90, and 803–28 are lost; the verses were supplied on new leaves in the fifteenth century, but that does not concern us. See Colonna, *Boll. Com.* vi (1958), 21; Livadaras, pp. 139 f. Collated from microfilm.

N = Ambr. J 15 sup. Fourteenth century. The last eight verses are supplied by a later hand. Collated by me.

ϕ_3 = Vat. gr. 2383 (Colonna's V, Solmsen's H). Dated to 1287. Some passages towards the end, where the original text has faded, have been partly overwritten by a crude later hand following a different exemplar (696–701, 722–7, 738–40). See Colonna, *Boll. Com.* ii (1953), 31 f., and iii (1955), 55 with Tav. I; Turyn, *Codices Gr. Vat.* . . . , pp. 71–3 and pl. 40. Collated from microfilm.

ϕ_4 = Cantab. Coll. Trin. O.9.27 (Rzach's P). Late thirteenth century, the greater part being written in my opinion by the same scribe as ϕ_3 . Vv. 349–75 and 761–828 are lost. The two leaves which carried the former passage went from the end of the fifth quire, and were replaced in the fourteenth century by one leaf with the missing text copied from a Triclinian manuscript. Collated by me.

ϕ_5 = Yale (Beinecke Rare Books Library) MS. 254 = Phillipps 3875. Dated 21 October 1301. Livadaras, pp. 190 f. Collated from microfilm.

ϕ_6 = Laur. 87. 10. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Contains only a random selection of lines and short passages. Partially collated by me.

ϕ_7 = Heidelberg (Universitäts-Bibliothek) Palat. gr. 18. About the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Collated by me.

ϕ_8 = Paris. gr. 2773 (Rzach's O). Fourteenth century.

ϕ_9 = Vat. gr. 44 ff. 114^r–143^v (cf. ψ_{18} above). Mid fourteenth century. See R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius*, p. 82. Partially collated from microfilm.

ϕ_{10} = Vat. Ottob. gr. 210 (Colonna's S). Dated to 1363; copied by Roberto Braca of Soletto. See Colonna, *Boll. Com.* vi (1958), 22; Turyn, op. cit., pp. 159–61 and pl. 136. Collated from microfilm.

ϕ_{11} = Vat. gr. 1332 (Rzach's Q). Fourteenth century.

I have already (p. 164) said something of Colonna's work on Φ . He was the first to collate ϕ_3 and ϕ_{10} and to see that they belong to Rzach's class Φ . More than that: he realized that these manuscripts go back to an archetype not very much earlier than E, of definable characteristics. They are laid out in the same way, with passages of text alternating with passages of Tzetzes' commentary. After line 428 they have drawings of agricultural implements, or (in E) a blank space intended for such drawings. They have a common geographical origin: south Italy.¹ Colonna accordingly concluded that the archetype was written about 1150–80 (after Tzetzes and before E), and that from an early date it lay in south Italy, with copies being made from it from then till the fifteenth century.

The existence of such an archetype is confirmed by a series of shared corruptions which could only have been transmitted by direct copying—something that we were unable to find in the ψ family.

238 *κακῇ* om. 403 *ἔσσεται* 430 *ἐν* om. 431 *προσαρήσεται*

¹ Colonna affirms this for E, ϕ_3 , ϕ_8 , ϕ_{10} . I do not know if it is true of the rest, except that if it is true of ϕ_3 it will be true of ϕ_4 .

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|--|---------------|-----|
| ἰστοβοῖται | 455 φήσκει | 457 τ' ἐχέμεν | 488 ἐπ' ἡματι | 640 |
| θέρει τ' | 710 ἔπος τ' | 754-5 ἔστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ ἐνι ποιῶν (partly | | |
| corrected in some copies) | 770 ἔννη | 801 οἷ τ' ἐπ' | 820 μεσσήνη. | |

I shall follow Colonna in applying the designation Φ to this manuscript instead of using it in a collective sense. (This puts it on the same footing as my Ω , in contrast to lower-case ψ .) About its date he is necessarily right, except that there is no reason why a minimum of ten years must have elapsed between Tzetzes and Φ .

Where he goes wrong is in his assumption that the extant manuscripts are all direct copies of Φ . In fact they fall into two groups, each with errors of its own. In neither group is it possible to maintain that one of the manuscripts is the source of the other(s). It is therefore necessary to assume two lost copies of Φ as their sources. I call them Φ_a and Φ_b . Both must have been in south Italy.

Φ_a is represented only by E and N. Rzach noticed that, of his NOPQ, N was the closest to E (ed. maior, p. vii), and the two are linked by the following errors which are peculiar to them:

| | | | |
|--------------|---|---|------------------------|
| 29 ἀγορῆς τ' | 74 χρυσίου | 158 ἐποίησε | 202 βασιλεῦσαν' (sic) |
| 211 ἄλγαια | 265 τεύχη | 275 ἐπάκουσε (corr. m ² in each) | |
| 425 τετάμιο | 430 δμῶς | 509 ὑψοκόμους | 512 δὲ om. (post rest. |
| in N) | 533 δὴ om. (rest. N ²) | 607 ἡμιόνοισι ἐπιετανόν | 642 |
| ῶρέων | 667 εἰ δὴ in a two-letter erasure E: δὴ om. N | 711 τίν- | |
| νεσθαι | 742 θαλίη. | | |

That N is not descended from E is proved by:

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| 93 in the text in E, m. al. in marg. N (it is omitted or marginal in many manuscripts, and its omission in N cannot be a coincidence) | 320 |
| ἀρείω E: ἀμείνω N (with the rest of the tradition) | 482 θήσονται E: |
| θηήσονται N. | |

Φ_b is represented by the other manuscripts, but with a fidelity which decreases from the earlier ones to the later, owing to the progressive importation of ψ readings and elimination of some Φ errors. The following selection of readings may serve to illustrate the situation:

| | |
|--|--|
| 115 θαλείησι $\phi_3\phi_4$ (sscr. $\ddot{\iota}$ m ¹) | $\phi_5\phi_7\phi_8\phi_9$ (sscr. $\ddot{\iota}$) (but not $\phi_{10}\phi_{11}$) |
| 243 ἀποφθινοῦσι $\phi_3\phi_4$ (only) | 329 κρυπταδίως ϕ_3 (sscr. η ?) $\phi_5\phi_7$ (sscr. η) $\phi_{10}\phi_{11}$ (but not $\phi_4\phi_8\phi_9$) |
| 344 ἄλλο τι $\phi_3\phi_5\phi_{11}$ | 353 προσιέναι |
| $\phi_3\phi_5\phi_9\phi_{10}$ (deest ϕ_4) | 361 καὶ om. $\phi_3\phi_5$ (deest ϕ_4) |
| 506 δυσηλεχέες | |
| $\phi_4\phi_5\phi_7$ | 510 πιλνᾶ $\phi_4\phi_5$: πιλνᾶ ϕ_9 , but λ from a half-formed δ |
| 587 ἄξει $\phi_3\phi_5\phi_{10}$ | 680 πέτηλ' $\phi_3\phi_4$ (subscr. α) $\phi_5\phi_8$ |
| 732 εὐεργέος | |
| $\phi_4\phi_5$ | 752 ἴσον γὰρ καὶ $\phi_4\phi_5\phi_6\phi_9$. |

The oldest of the group, ϕ_3 , already shows a few ψ readings absent from Φ_a :

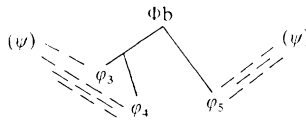
| | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|
| 208 γρ. αἰδόν (for Φ 's ἀηδόν or ἀηδόν') | 230 ἰθυδίκοισι | 303 ἀερ- |
| γός (for Φ 's -ῶς) | 324 ἀναδείην | 476 ἐρεύμενον |
| (ἀρό)ης | 570 τὴν (τὸν Φ) | 479 sscr. |
| | 803 φησιν | 806 σπιπτεύοντα. |

Only one of these readings is common to all the Φ_b copies (476; and there ϕ_{10} has *ἐρεύμενον* with *αἰρ*- m²), but they all appear, at least as variants, in some of

them, and each manuscript has at least three of them except for ϕ_5 , which has none, and ϕ_6 , which must be left out of account because of its fragmentary nature (it has one). This indicates that they were marginal variants in Φb itself, or else in an exemplar from which all except ϕ_5 depend.

In ϕ_4 we find a further sprinkling of non- Φ readings in the text, and a larger number recorded as variants. There are about forty in all, and most of them (though not all) are known from ψ . A couple (649 $\sigma\epsilon\sigma\phi\iota\llbracket\sigma\rrbracket\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, 698 $\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega$) show the influence of Tzetzes' commentary. Two later correctors have introduced Triclinian readings. Apart from these adventitious elements, ϕ_4 is so similar to ϕ_3 that it seems very probable that it was copied from the same immediate exemplar. If I am right that it was copied by the same scribe, that is nothing surprising. To explain the greatly increased number of non- Φ readings in ϕ_4 we can either suppose that they were added to the margins of the exemplar after 1287 (the year when ϕ_3 was copied from it), or that the scribe consulted another manuscript while copying ϕ_4 ; or both.

ϕ_5 has six of ϕ_4 's $\gamma\rho$ -variants in the text, two more still as variants; four of the non- Φ readings which ϕ_4 had in the text; and another forty new departures from Φ . Again most of them are known from ψ , though a couple of agreements with Ωb manuscripts may be noted: 45 $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ om. ($\omega_2\omega_3$), 259 $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}$ om. (ω_2). It is striking that a copyist so interested in recording variants does not present any of the non- Φ readings found in ϕ_3 , and only twelve out of the forty found in ϕ_4 . It looks as though he was not using their exemplar. In accord with this is the fact that they share certain copying errors from which ϕ_5 (like the rest of the Φ manuscripts) is free: 95 $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$, 164 $\nu\eta\epsilon\sigma\omega$, 243 $\alpha\pi\omicron\phi\theta\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, 256 $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ om., 452 $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. The stemma of these three manuscripts, then, is



The other six, ϕ_6 - ϕ_{11} , cannot be fitted into the stemma. Each of them shows some new departures from Φ . Each has some of the same non- Φ readings as ϕ_3 , and this might seem to put them all on the other side from ϕ_5 . On the other hand several of them ($\phi_6\phi_7\phi_9$) have in general a text closer to ϕ_5 than to $\phi_3\phi_4$. Thus ϕ_6 has one of the non- Φ readings which first appear in ϕ_4 , but four of those which first appear in ϕ_5 . The corresponding figures for ϕ_7 are 8:21, and for ϕ_9 8:26. In the other copies the balance is noticeably different: ϕ_8 11:7, ϕ_{10} 8:6, ϕ_{11} 9:13. None of the six shows agreements with Φa such as to suggest that it preserves readings of Φ which are not preserved in ϕ_3 , ϕ_4 , or ϕ_5 , except in two or three doubtful cases:

467 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$ E N (m^1) $\phi_7\phi_8\phi_{11}$: $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$ ϕ_5 , $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$ the rest. The corruption may have occurred independently on the two sides, since it is one that occurs in other places (616 N $\phi_{10}\psi_7\psi_{11}\psi_{14}$ Mosch. Tr).

751 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\epsilon\ldots$ N m^1 ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ m^2 i.r.), $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ ϕ_6 , $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ $\phi_8\phi_{10}$: $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ fere ceteri (deest E).

793 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ E (I think; it is very faded. Rzach read it as $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), N, ϕ_9 sscr., ϕ_{10} : $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ϕ_3 : $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\phi_5\phi_6\phi_7\phi_9$, $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ϕ_8 : deest ϕ_4 . Φb probably had $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, and it is likely, but not certain, that this is the source of the reading in ϕ_{10} and the suprascript correction in ϕ_9 .

To reconstruct the reading of Φ , therefore, $\text{EN}\phi_3\phi_4\phi_5$ are normally sufficient, though it is worth keeping an eye on the others. There is seldom any difficulty in deciding what Φ had. Sometimes it is clear that it contained variants, for example:

16 $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$ EN, but E with a circumflex through the acute and N with sscr. αν, while $\phi_3\phi_4$ have $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ with sscr. ην or 'η.

523 οἴκου (v i.r.) N: οἴκων $\phi_3\phi_{10}$: οἴκῳ $\phi_4\phi_5$.

743 αἴθωνι N $\phi_5\phi_7\phi_{10}\phi_{11}$ (αἴθωνι ϕ_7 a.c.?): αἴθωπι E ϕ_9 : αἴθωνι $\phi_3\phi_8$: αἴθοπι ϕ_6 : αἴθοπι γρ. αἴθωνι ϕ_4 .

Now for its affinities. Like the ψ manuscripts, it not only contained Tzetzes' commentary, but was influenced by it. It presents his conjectures at 319 (δ'λβόν in N may preserve a trace of a variant in Φ) and 696, and in other places too it shows the effect of his teaching:

22 He reads ἀρόμεναι, but says εἰ δὲ θελητόν τισι, καὶ τοῦτο (the ο) μέγα γραφέτωσαν Ἀττικῶς. Φ had ἀρώμεναι with ο as a correction above it: ἀρώμεναι E a.c. N ϕ_5 (sscr. ο), ἀρόμεναι E p.c. ϕ_3 (sscr. ω m¹) ϕ_4 (sscr. ω m¹).

80 ὀνόμηνε, ο μικρόν Ἰωνικῶς, says Tzetzes. Φ seems to have had ὦν- with ο above. So E $\phi_9\phi_{11}$; ὦν- corrected to ὀν- ϕ_5 ; ὀν- N $\phi_3\phi_4$.

574 τὸν κοῖτον ἤγουν τὴν κοίτην Tz. The gloss intruded in Φ : κοίτην N² i.r. $\phi_3\phi_5$.

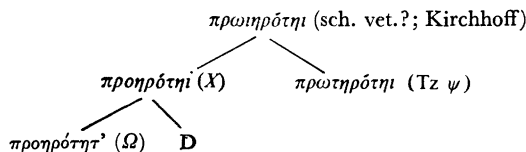
575 κάρφη: Ἀττικῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡταγράφεται. Ἰωνες δὲ οὐχ ὑποτάσσουσιν αὐτά ('do not put them in the subjunctive'). Again Φ recorded the alternatives: κάρφη E, κάρφει^η N ϕ_4 , κάρφει ϕ_5 , one altered to the other (I cannot tell which) in ϕ_3 .

Pertusi, *Aevum* xxvi (1952), 198, suggested that Φ represented Tzetzes' personal recension. This was easily refuted by Colonna, *Boll. Com.* iii (1955), 49 ff., who pointed out a number of conflicts between Tzetzes' text and that of E. I have shown above that Tzetzes' text is closest to ψ . Many of the readings which he shares with ψ (and many other ψ readings) are also in Φ , but only in 436 (γύης) does his exemplar resemble Φ more than ψ . Some of the readings which link Φ with ψ may be found from the list of good Ω readings on pp. 167–8. I was there treating D ψ as a block: many more places could be specified where Φ agrees in false readings with ψ but not D, or with some among the ψ manuscripts. Does this amount to saying that it was itself a ψ manuscript? No. It only amounts to saying that it contained a lot of the readings most widely current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Since these readings were commonly diffused horizontally (not being easily recognized as erroneous), their presence does not rule out a more fundamental affinity with Ω (as in the case of D), or with some other valuable strand of tradition that has otherwise disappeared.

In fact Φ often agrees with Ω against all or most of the ψ manuscripts; some instances may be found from the list of good ψ readings on pp. 171–3. Three cases of semi-agreement are particularly significant:

477. The ψ manuscripts (with D) have ἰξεαι, ἰξηαι, ἰζεαι, ἰκεαι, or ἰκηαι; Ω had ἰξειε (by phonetic substitution, ειε = ηαι). Φ 's ἡξεεις, if not a gloss, seems to be derived from the latter, ειο for ειε being a visual error. (ϕ_7 has ἡξειε.)

490. There was an early division in the tradition:



In some manuscripts -ηρότη became -αρότη under the influence of the preceding word *ὀψαρότης*. Φ had *προαρηρότη* (modified into -ότι in $\phi_3\phi_5\phi_{10}$), which evidently goes back to *προαῤῥότη* or *προηῤῥότη*.

820. ψ preserves the truth, or something near it, μέσση· παῦροι δ' αὔτε (μέσσην ψ₈ a.c.). In D, δ' αὔτε is reduced to δέ τε. In ΩΦ it is reduced to δέ, while μέσση develops into a *vox nihili*: μεσσήην Ω, μεσσήη Φ. The first evidently derives from μέσση^π, the second adapts this to agree with τετραδί in 819.

In all three cases, the reading of Φ is a development from a corruption seen in Ω, or (in 490) just behind Ω, in X. It looks as if Φ, like D, is a lineal descendant from X, disguised by extensive borrowings from ψ. This does not by any means imply that it cannot offer good ancient readings unknown to Ω and ψ, for 'ψ' here means the ψ manuscripts that survive, and as it is an open tradition, any new representative of it (especially a twelfth-century manuscript) may add to the number of ancient readings preserved. D has a few good readings of its own, and there are the same chances for Φ. In fact it offers:

422 ὦρια ἔργα, preferred to the singular by nearly all modern editors.

436 γύης, clearly better than the accusative. Also read by Tzetzes, but he does not say so directly, and there is no likelihood that Φ took it over from him.

523 μυχίη N ϕ_4 (sscr. ν) ϕ_8 , so apparently a v.l. in Φ. Read by Proclus.

705 καὶ ὠμῶ γήραι θῆκεν. This partly preserves the ancient variant καὶ ἐν ὠμῶ γήραι θῆκεν (Plut., Stob., perhaps II₈). (Rzach was wrong in saying that Et. Gen. A agrees with Φ; it has δῶκεν.)

733 ἐνδοθι, superior to ἐνδοθεν of Cψ (ἐνδῶ ambiguously D, Et. Gen. A). Similarly at 601, only there ἐνδοθι also occurs as a suprascript in ψ₁₄.

Φ is also notable for preserving a number of ancient accentuations. We saw that this was a characteristic of Ω, and in all probability Φ owes it to X. The instances are 37 ἀλλά τε, 554 and 673 οἶκον δέ, 606 ὀφρά τοι, 649 οὐτέ τι bis (N ϕ_4 ; not οὐτέ as Cω₂), 656 and 659 ἐνθά με, 665 οὐτέ κε (N only), 757 ἀλα δέ.

Some of Φ's readings betray the desire to emend or embellish:

36 δίκησιν (with ψ₁₀ψ₁₃), 134 ἀφραδίησιν (with D), for -ης or -αις 77
 στήθεσφι (not usual after ἐν), for -εσσι 141 μέντοι χθόνιοι, for μὲν
 ὑπο- or ἐπι-χθόνιοι 177 καμάτοιο for -ου, perhaps to suit the scansion
 καὶ οἷζυος 208 ἀηδόν' for ἀοιδόν 358 τέρπεθ' ἐόν for τέρεται δν
 391 ναίωσ' for -ωσι, an attempt to restore metre before the corrupt γυμνόν
 δέ σπείρειν 403 ἔσσεται for ἔσται 520 ἐντοσθεν μίμνει παρὰ μητέρι
 κεννῇ, for ἐντοσθε φίλη παρὰ μητέρι μίμνει 710 ἔπος τ' εἰπών: τ' in-
 serted to improve the metre (ἔπος γ' ω₃) 754 f. ἔστ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ ἐνι
 ποινῇ, for ἔστ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ ποινῇ 801 οἶ τ' for οἶ: intrusion of the idio-
 matic epic generalizing τε 820 μεσσήη: attempt to make sense of X's
 μεσσήην.

SYNTHESIS

There is no good reason to suppose that the whole of the medieval tradition descended from a single minuscule archetype. No error common to all the manuscripts is either of minuscule origin or too plainly senseless to have been current in an ancient text. Many of the variants are proved by papyri or citations to have been ancient variants, as a glance through Solmsen's apparatus will show. It is theoretically possible for all of these to have been recorded in the margins of a single archetype, but even if they were, the fact remains that more than one ancient copy has contributed to the medieval tradition; and on general grounds it is likely that several copies of an author like Hesiod would have been available in ninth- or tenth-century Byzantium.

It is sometimes held that the transcription of uncial manuscripts into minuscule, accompanied as it was by the introduction of accents and breathings throughout, was a difficult business, seldom undertaken more than once for the same text. The difficulties have been exaggerated. Anyone who could read Greek in the ninth century could read uncial script, which continued to be used for the scriptures for some time. As for accentuation, there was no difficulty so far as familiar words were concerned. However, an epic text called for some learning and research into the teachings of ancient grammarians. We have seen that Ω and Φ —that is to say, X —try to follow the ancient accentual system. We can thus identify one influential edition of the late ninth or early tenth century, behind which lies a considerable scholarly effort.¹ Now, was this effort made once and for all, or not? I think not, seeing that in at least one place the tradition is divided over the accentuation of a rare word. At 196, $C\Phi$, with $\psi_5\psi_6\psi_9\psi_{13}$, have $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (or $-\acute{\eta}\varsigma$), while D and most of the ψ manuscripts have $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\eta\varsigma$ or the phonetically equivalent $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\iota\varsigma$. The scholarly edition represented by X evidently adopted the oxytone accent; another transcription made somewhere else opted for the paroxytone.

The existence of at least one early medieval fountain-head that was not only independent of X , but not particularly closely related to it, is confirmed by the dissimilar readings of the early manuscript e used by the expander of the Etymologicum Genuinum, and those of the ψ tradition. Several of the readings which differentiate e from C/Ω reappear in ψ and/or Φ :

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 216 <i>παρελθεῖν</i> | 293 and 296 <i>αὐτὸς</i> | 331 <i>τοκῆα</i> | 434 <i>δ' ἐπὶ</i> |
| 491 <i>λήθη</i> | 525 <i>καὶ ἐν</i> | 559 <i>πλεῖον</i> (not preceded by τὸ) | 716 |
| <i>νεικητήρα.</i> | | | |

Parallel to this is the fact that e had the Scholia Vetera in a form related to that found in some later manuscripts (including ψ_9) and fuller and better than that given by Ω . It is possible that X goes back to one ancient manuscript and $e\psi$ to another; but the truth may not be as simple as that.

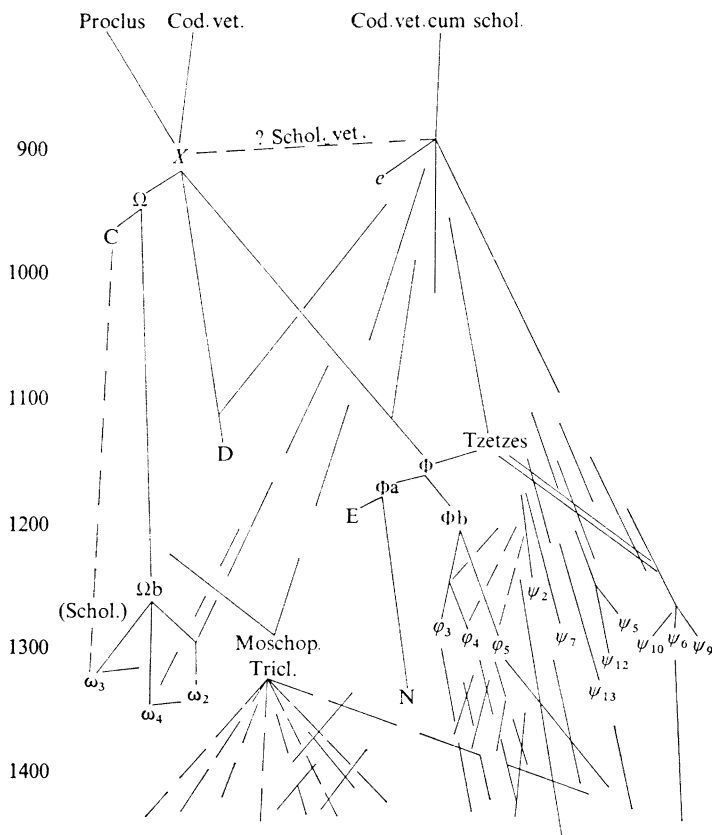
The stemma opposite exhibits my results.

THE LATER PROSPECT

I will conclude by reporting on what I have seen of the later manuscripts (after 1400).

¹ We cannot tell whether the conjunction of the Scholia Vetera with Proclus in Ω , or the array of critical symbols in C , goes back

to X or represents further enterprise in the same philological spirit.



Ω produces no further scions, except for Marc. App. gr. IX 6 (numero di collocazione: 1006) (Rzach's G), now dated to the end of the fifteenth century. It is almost certainly an apograph of ω_3 .¹

Five manuscripts can be assigned to the ψ class. One of them is a direct copy from ψ_6 : this is Paris. gr. 1310 (fifteenth century), used by van Lennep and inspected by me. The other four are:

ψ_{19} = Flor. Bibl. Riccard. 71 (Rzach's M). Dated to 1428. It shares some readings with ψ_2 . Its second-hand corrections are mainly Triclinian.

ψ_{20} = Vindob. phil. gr. 241. Dated to 1445. Closest to ψ_6 . Inspected by me.

ψ_{21} = Vindob. phil. gr. 242. Dated to 1452. Closest to ψ_{13} . Used by Lanzi and Rzach (1884); inspected by me.

ψ_{22} = Vat. gr. 1384. Dated to 1466. Used by Lanzi.

Five more manuscripts belong to the Φ family:

ϕ_{12} = Zürich (Stadtbibliothek) C 136. Used by Koechly-Kinkel. Some Triclinian readings.

ϕ_{13} = Vindob. phil. gr. 191. Partially collated by me.²

¹ Pertusi, *Aevum* xxiv (1950), 13-17. On the dating cf. L. di Gregorio, *Aevum* xlv (1971), 393 f.

² This manuscript does not omit 358-82, as H. Hunger states in his catalogue: he has turned over two pages together.

ϕ_{14} = Vindob. phil. gr. 256. *WD* 1-804. Used by Lanzi and Rzach (1884), partially collated by me. Some Triclinian readings, not always in the same places as ϕ_{12} .

ϕ_{15} = a Neapolitanus used by van Lennep, also containing the *Theogony* (apparently copied from the Aldine edition), and not now identifiable. At 132 it agreed with ϕ_3 in the corruption $\eta\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\omicron$ (anticipation of $\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$).

ϕ_{16} = 'Vossianus 1' in Graevius, Gaisford: perhaps Leidensis Voss. gr. Q 32.

The greatest number of the later manuscripts are Triclinian, that is, either lineally descended from Tr or showing such a preponderance of Triclinius' readings that other affinities are largely obscured. Examples of these 'Triclinian by marriage' copies are five Parisini which I examined recently, nos. 2553, 2758, 2772, 2776, and 2834. In 2772, for instance, one may look for the distinctive readings of Tr, and they are nearly all there; and yet a true descendant of Tr could not have $\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in 173, $\iota\theta\nu\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ in 230, $\alpha\pi\eta\eta\upsilon\rho\alpha$ in 240, $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\nu$ in 273, $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (sscr. α) in 594. It is really a ψ -text into which most of Tr's specious readings have been introduced. The case is similar with the other four. Paris. gr. 2763 and 2833, by contrast, seem pure Triclinians; and so do Ambr. B 75 sup., Marc. gr. 480, and Vindob. med. gr. 16 (*WD* 1-372).

The following are also Triclinian in one sense or the other: Ambr. H 22 sup. (seen by me); three Athoi, Lavra K 51 (*WD* 17-828) and M 125 and Dionysiou 334 (Livadaras, pp. 214 f.); Cantab. Univ. Nn III 16 (Paley); Laur. 31. 23 and 31. 24 (van Lennep); Lond. Arundel 522 and Burney 109 (inspected by me); Olomuc. I. VI. 9 (Rzach, *Wien. St.* xx [1898], 114); Oxon. Bodl. Auct. F 3. 25, Laud gr. 10 and 54 (Livadaras, pp. 213, 214; inspected by me), and Dorvill. 71 and 72 (*WD* 1-780) (Paley); Paris. gr. 2678 (*WD* 160-206, seen by me), 2708 (Rzach; Livadaras, p. 214), 2775 (van Lennep), 2786 (Livadaras, p. 214), and Suppl. gr. 498 (seen by me); Perusinus Bibl. Municip. 667 (Livadaras, p. 215); Rom. Bibl. Casan. 306 (Livadaras, pp. 213 f.); Vat. gr. 49 and 53 (Lanzi) and 1363 (Livadaras, p. 213); Ven. Marc. App. gr. IX 4 (numero di collocazione: 1209) (seen by me); Vindob. phil. gr. 289 and 292 (Lanzi); Vratislav. Rehdiger. 35 (Marckscheffel, *Hesiodi . . . Fragmenta*, pp. xxi ff.).

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