

STUDIES IN THE LATER MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF ARISTOPHANES' *PEACE**

Aristophanes' *Peace* is preserved in ten manuscripts, the oldest and most complete of which are the tenth-century Ravennas 429 (R) and the eleventh-century Venetus Marcianus 474 (V). A third manuscript, Venetus Marcianus 475 (G), is almost certainly a direct copy of V and can therefore be eliminated.¹ The seven remaining manuscripts of the play, along with the Aldine edition of 1498, share numerous variant readings, as well as lacunae at 948–1011 and 1076b, and can accordingly be described as a family.² As I will argue in detail below, the stemmatic relationship among the members of this family can be most economically represented as shown in Figure 1.³

The readings contained in these manuscripts have never been fully reported, and in many cases the reports which are available are inaccurate.⁴ In this paper, I will reconstruct the lost common ancestor of the family, trace its gradual physical decay, and offer a selective catalogue of its unique errors; provide a detailed description of two manuscript subfamilies descended from this ancestor and thus, in the second case, of the work of Demetrios Triklinios; and trace the sources of Marcus Musurus' Aldine edition of the play.

I. LAURENTIANUS, PLUT. 31.15 AND A LOST EARLY MANUSCRIPT OF ARISTOPHANES' *PEACE*

Laurentianus, plut. 31.15 (*I*) is a fourteenth-century manuscript, which now contains Euripides' *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, and *Andromache*, and Aristophanes'

* Thanks are due G. M. Browne, Benjamin Millis, David Sansone, and especially Stephen Heyworth for their comments on and criticisms of several earlier drafts of this paper. The readings reported in this article represent my own collations of microfilms of the manuscripts or, in the case of R and V, of the photographic reproductions produced by J. van Leeuwen (Leiden, 1904), and J. W. White and T. W. Allen (London and Boston, 1902), respectively. Thanks are due to Martha Landis of the Special Collections Office in the University of Illinois Graduate Library for her help in obtaining microfilms. Much of the research for this article was completed during the 1994–5 and 1995–6 academic years, during which I held at different points a Junior Fellowship at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and an Arnold O. Beckman Research Award.

¹ Thus already Dindorf at vol. IV.1.iv of his 1835 Oxford edition, followed by Konrad Zacher, 'Die Schreibung der Aristophanesscholien im Cod. Ven. 474', *Philologus* 41 (1881), 15–16; 'Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 16 (Leipzig, 1888), p. 545; and J. W. White, 'The manuscripts of Aristophanes. I', *CP* 1 (1906), 4.

² The Suda contains citations from *Pax* 948–1011 (e.g. 951–3 [. . . ἀκλῆτος] at χ 171; 959 [. . . ἐμβάψω] at δ 31; 981–5 at π 366; 991–2 at κ 2095; 993–8 at π 1185, σ 1154), and the text it preserves cannot therefore necessarily be identified as a member of this family, although it does occasionally share readings with it. Verses 948–1011 were first added to modern editions of *Peace* in the second Juntine of 1525, apparently from a manuscript (now lost) closely related to R; cf. J. W. White, 'The manuscripts of Aristophanes. II', *CP* 1 (1906), 256–7.

³ No assertions made in this paper about the textual history of *Peace* should necessarily be taken to imply anything about any other play.

⁴ The most complete and most frequently relied-on report of the readings of the manuscripts in this family is that in the apparatus of K. Zacher, *Aristophanis Pax* (Leipzig, 1909). (Platnauer in particular seems merely to have taken over information contained in Zacher's apparatus for his

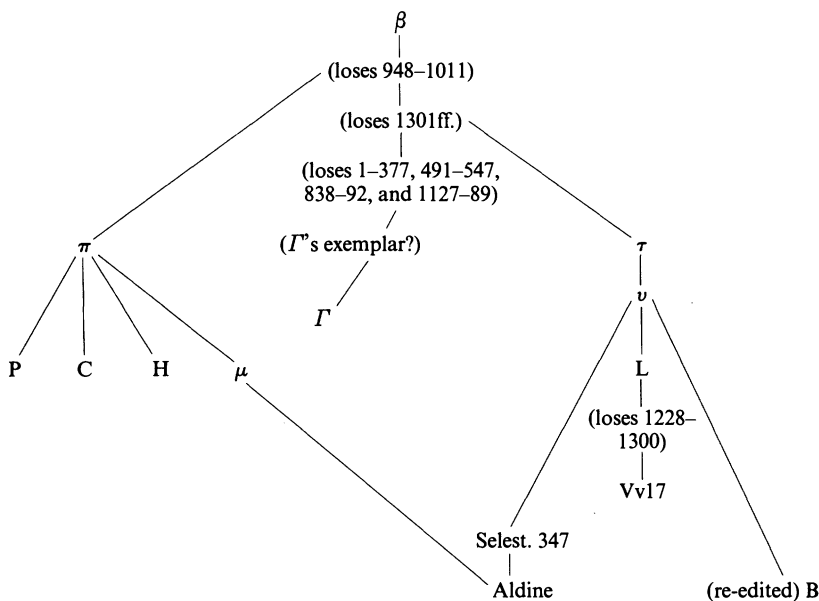


FIGURE 1

Acharnians, *Ecclesiazusae* 1–1135, *Knights*, *Birds* 1–1419, *Wasps* 421–1382, 1385–96, 1494–1537, and *Peace*, and which originally contained *Lysistrata* and the rest of *Birds* as well.⁵ The text of *Peace* preserved in *Γ* occupies twelve folios, the contents of which are as follows:

- f. 151 Hypotheses 1, 2, and opening lines of 3 (remainder of recto and entire verso left blank)
f. 152 *Pax* 378–449

own, as also, apparently, did Sommerstein for RV Γ PCB.) Unfortunately, as Bachmann's preface to Zacher's edition makes clear, Zacher himself collated only R, V, C, B, and (presumably, although this is never said explicitly) the Aldine, and relied on von Velsen for *Γ* and the first 131 lines in P, and on Wilmanns ('cuius collatio non semper satis accurata videtur', as Bachmann delicately puts it) for P in *Pax* 132ff. As a result, the information Zacher provides frequently requires amplification or correction. Coulon also collated R and V (from the photographic facsimiles), as well as B and the Aldine, for himself, but relied on von Velsen's collations of *Γ*, and omits any mention of P and C. The readings in L (whose existence was first announced to the scholarly world by R. Barbour, 'Summary description of the Greek manuscripts from the library at Holkham Hall', *Bodleian Library Record* 6 [1957–61], 609) and Vv17 were both described for the first time in 1962, by N. G. Wilson, 'The Triclinian edition of Aristophanes', *CQ* n.s. 12 (1962), 32–47, and S. Benardette, 'Vat. Gr. 2181: An unknown Aristophanes manuscript', *HSCP* 66 (1962), 241–8, respectively. Both Wilson and Benardette relied on Zacher's reports of the readings in the other Triclinian and post-Triclinian versions of the play (i.e. in B and the Aldine) and, because of chronological coincidence, were unacquainted with one another's work. The readings in H have never been systematically reported. Useful basic descriptions of R, V, P, C, H, L, Vv17, and the Aldine are given by C. N. Eberline, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Ranae of Aristophanes* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie Heft 119) (Meisenheim am Glan, 1980), pp. 27–8, 41–2, 52–3, 37–8, 5–6, 21, 34, and 45–6, respectively.

⁵ Zacher (1888), pp. 549–54 offers a basic physical description of *Γ*, with particular attention to the text of *Peace*. See also A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Rome, 1970), pp. 335–7. *Γ* was apparently known to Victorius; cf. E. Cary, 'Victorius and Codex *Γ* of Aristophanes', *TAPA* 37 (1907), 199–216.

- f. 153 *Pax* 450–90 (one line on recto and approximately 30 lines on verso left blank)
- f. 154 (recto left blank) *Pax* 548–82
- f. 155 *Pax* 792–837, 893–915 (om. 896b)
- f. 156 *Pax* 916–47, 1012–42
- f. 157 *Pax* 1043–1107 (om. 1077b)
- f. 158 *Pax* 583–659
- f. 159 *Pax* 660–730
- f. 160 *Pax* 731–91
- f. 161 *Pax* 1108–26, 1190–1243
- f. 162 *Pax* 1244–1300 (part of verso left blank)

Γ suffered physical damage at some point, with three leaves (either 155–7, or 158–60) detached and reinserted at the wrong point (i.e. after 154 rather than 160, if 155–7 were detached, or after 157 rather than 154, if 158–60 were detached). Much more important, Γ 's exemplar was clearly defective, and the Γ -copyist was aware of at least some of its deficiencies. He therefore left a considerable portion of folio 151 blank in order to mark the lacuna between the end of his fragmentary text of the hypotheses and *Pax* 378, and again left much of folios 153 and 154 blank in order to mark the gap between *Pax* 490 and 548. The second gap is of approximately the right length, i.e. approximately 66 empty manuscript lines for 58 lines of missing text, and was therefore probably more or less precisely indicated in the exemplar. As for the first lacuna, on the other hand, either its length was unknown to the Γ -copyist or he chose to sacrifice strict accuracy on this count in order to avoid wasting so many leaves in the text he was producing. There are additional lacunae within Γ 's text of *Peace* on folios 155 (*Pax* 838–92), 156 (*Pax* 948–1011), and 161 (*Pax* 1127–89). As all of these are left unmarked, the obvious conclusion is that their presence was not noted in Γ 's exemplar, but it is also possible that the Γ -copyist grew less careful as his work proceeded, and ignored whatever additional problems he encountered in the text he was copying. What is certain is that, at the time Γ was copied, its exemplar contained the following verses: *Pax* 378–490 [113 verses \sim 57 verses \times 2], 548–837 [290 verses \sim 58 verses \times 5], 893–947 [55 verses], 1012–1126 [115 verses \sim 57 verses \times 2], 1190–1300 [111 verses \sim 56 verses \times 7]. The following verses (along with 896b and 1076b) were omitted: *Pax* 1–377 [377 verses \sim 54 verses \times 7], 491–547 [57 verses], 838–92 [55 verses], 948–1011 [64 verses], 1127–89 [63 verses], 1301ff. [approximately 60 verses]. As the figures in square brackets make clear, virtually all of both the portions of the text of *Peace* preserved in the exemplar and its lacunae can be analysed in terms of units of 54–58 verses. The apparent exceptions are *Pax* 948–1011 (64 verses), 1127–86 (63 verses), and 1301ff. (approximately 60 verses?), but none of these exceptions holds up to close inspection. At 948–1011, first of all, PCH (all of which can be traced to the same ancestor manuscript as Γ [cf. below]) mark a lacuna of 52–55 verses, and a number of short verses in the passage (i.e. 950–5, 974–1011) could easily have been combined in an earlier copy of the text to reduce the number of manuscript lines required to precisely this number. Indeed, in L and B (both descended from another copy of the same ancestor manuscript [cf. below]), *Pax* 1127–89 are organized so as to fill 57 lines, and in the Aldine edition of the play (probably dependent on another copy of the exemplar of PCH for the final portion of the text [cf. Section IV below]) *Pax* 1301ff. occupy 54 lines. It thus seems apparent that the text of *Peace* contained in Γ 's exemplar (or in the text from which that exemplar was itself copied), hereafter referred to as β , originally consisted of 24 folios, each of which contained 54–58 lines of text,

i.e. 27–9 verses per recto or verso, although by the time Γ (or Γ 's exemplar) was copied from it, its leaves 1–7, 10, 16, 18, 21, and 24 had been lost.⁶

A reconstruction of the content of the foliation of β 's text of *Peace*. Numbers marked with an asterisk can be regarded as certain; others are approximate.

f. 1	Title; Pax 1–47	f. 13	Pax 664–721
f. 2	Pax 48–102	f. 14	Pax 722–79
f. 3	Pax 103–57	f. 15	Pax 780–837*
f. 4	Pax 158–212	f. 16	Pax 838*–92*
f. 5	Pax 213–67	f. 17	Pax 893*–947*
f. 6	Pax 268–322	f. 18	Pax 948*–1011*
f. 7	Pax 323–77*	f. 19	Pax 1012*–69
f. 8	Pax 378*–433	f. 20	Pax 1070–1126*
f. 9	Pax 434–90*	f. 21	Pax 1127*–89*
f. 10	Pax 491*–547*	f. 22	Pax 1190*–1245
f. 11	Pax 548*–605	f. 23	Pax 1246–1300*
f. 12	Pax 606–63	f. 24	Pax 1301*–end of text

β was copied on at least two other, earlier occasions, and the characteristics of the manuscript subfamilies descended from those copies allow a reconstruction of the ancestor manuscript's gradual physical deterioration.

By the time β was copied for the first time, to produce the manuscript (hereafter π) which became the exemplar of PCH and, most likely, of the final section of the Aldine (cf. Section IV below), it had lost its eighteenth folio, i.e. Pax 948–1011, and both the gap (noted in PCH and the Aldine) and its size (indicated in PCH but not the Aldine) must have been marked by the π -copyist. In addition, PCH and the Aldine lack 1365–6 (where all four mark a lacuna), and it is a likely if not necessary conclusion that this gap goes back to β . Much more important, PCH (but not the Aldine) indicate two additional lacunae, the first of 7–9 lines between 440 and 441, the second of approximately 6 lines between 1348 and 1349. Although neither lacuna is marked elsewhere in the manuscript tradition (although cf. Σ^v 1344), the precision of PCH's (i.e. π 's) knowledge of the other problems with β 's text suggests that these claims ought to be taken seriously.

By the time β was copied for a second time, to produce the manuscript (hereafter τ) from which L, B, and Vv17 are all ultimately descended (cf. Section III below), it had lost, in addition to its eighteenth folio, its twenty-fourth, i.e. Pax 1301–67, which lines are missing in both L (and hence Vv17) and B (although the former case is a complicated one [cf. Section III below]), as well as in Γ , and for which there are no Triklinian scholia in the Aldine.⁷ As a result, it is impossible to determine whether the omission of 1365–6 was a peculiarity of π or whether the verses were already missing in β , and we lack any further information about the lacuna PCH indicates was marked between 1348 and 1349 in π and so presumably in β . LB also fail to mark the lacunae that PCH know at 440–1 and PCH and the Aldine know at 948–1011, and have been heavily influenced by the editorial work of an individual generally (and doubtless correctly) taken to be Demetrios Triklinios. Since Triklinios would certainly have

⁶ For the method, pioneered by Lachmann in his commentary on Lucretius, see G. P. Goold, 'A lost manuscript of Lucretius', *Acta Classica* 1 (1958), 21–30.

⁷ The fact that Γ as well omits precisely 1301–67 argues decisively against the more complicated alternative reconstruction, which is that the Γ -copyist saw β in the same condition as the π -copyist did, and that the closing lines of the play were lost when τ was damaged.

noted the gaps in β , had he been working with that manuscript itself when he produced his own edition of *Peace* (hereafter ν), these facts combine to suggest that he had access only to a copy of β , i.e. to τ . A lost manuscript descended from ν ultimately served as the most important source for Marcus Musurus' text of *Pax* 1–1300 in the Aldine (see Section IV below).

By the time β was copied for a third time, to produce Γ (or Γ 's exemplar), it had lost (as argued above) ten additional folios, including its first seven, and had become little more than a fragment, albeit one whose importance was apparently still recognized. After this final copying, β disappears from the historical record.

The following errors are found in all descendants of β but nowhere else, and are thus to be traced to the ancestor manuscript.⁸

18	συλλαβῶν] προσλαβῶν PCHLBald
31	μηδέποτ'] μήποτ' PCHLBald
48	ἐν Ἀἰδεω: ἀναιδέως RV] ἀναιδῶς PCHLBald
59	'κκόρει] κόρει PCHLBald
64	τουτι] δῆτα PCHLBald
192	σοι] om. PCHLBald
246	ὦ] ἰὼ PCHLBald
287	ἀπόφερε] ἀπόφυρε PCHLBald
353–4	ἀπολλύμεθα] ἀπαλλύμεθα PCHLBald
384	λακήσεται] λακήσετε ΓPCHLBald
412	ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ΓPCHLBald
475	οὐδ': εὔδ' V] εὔ ΓPCHLBald
606	μετάσχοι] μετάσχη ΓPCHLBald
644	ἐτύπτονθ'] ἔτυπτον ΓPCHLBald
743	παρέλυσεν] κατέλυσεν ΓPCHLBald
831	-αυερι-] -ανερι- ΓPCHLBald
847	ταύτας] ταῦτα PCHLBald
847	τοῦρανοῦ] τῶν οὐρανῶν PCHLBald
900	ἵνα δῆ] ἡνίκα δῆ ΓPCHLBald
929	δαι] δῆ ΓPCHLBald
1023	τοι] δῆ ΓPCHLBald
1074	τό γε πρότερον: τότε πρότερον V] τότε πρῶτον ΓPCHLBald
1074	τοῖσδ'] τοῖς ΓPCHLBald
1081	μείζον] μείζω ΓPCHLBald
1086	τρηχύν] τραχύν ΓPCHLBald
1119	ὦ] om. ΓPCHLBald
1146	'κ] om. PCHLBald
1164/5	φύσει] φύει PCHLBald
1179	ἡνίκ' ἂν δ'] ἡνίκα δ' ἂν PCHLBald
1195	τοῦς] τὰς ΓPCHLBald
1205	κάκερδάναμεν] κάκερδαίνομεν ΓPCHLBald
1221	ἀπὸ] ἐκ ΓPCHLBald
1250	ὦς] ὅς ΓPCHBald
1260	γ'] om. ΓPCHBald
1272	εἰρήνης] εἰρήνης γ' ΓPCHBald
1275	ἀσπίδος] ἀσπίδας ΓPCHBald
1301	τοκήας] τοκῶν PCHald
1309/10	οὐδέν] οὐδέ PCHald
1330	τ'] δ' PCHald
1361	γ'] γοῦν PCHald

⁸ The initial lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

In addition, a number of unique errors are found in all pre-Triklinian descendants of β although not in all Triklinian or post-Triklinian texts, where the alternative reading appears to be either a deliberate correction or an additional mistake of some sort, and these errors as well can probably be attributed to β .⁹

- 239 τοῦ βλέμματος] καὶ τοῦ βλέμματος PCHLald (καὶ βλέμματος B)
 256 ἀργός; οὐτοσί σοι] γὰρ ἀργός· οὐτοσί PCH (ἀργός· οὐτοσί γὰρ LBald)
 313 εὐλαβεῖσθ' νυν ἐκείνον τὸν κέρβερον] εὐλαβεῖσθ' νυν ἐκείνον τὸν Κέρβερον PCH
 (εὐλαβεῖσθ' ἐκείνον τὸν Κέρβερον καὶ δεδίττεσθε LBald)
 409 ὅτι νῆ Δία] ὅτι νῆ Δία ΓPCH (ὅτι νῆ τὸν Δία LBald)
 509 γέ τοι] γε PCH (τε δὴ L: γε δὴ BAld)
 545 γούνη] om. PCH (γὰρ LBald)
 547 κατέπαρδεν] καταπέπαρδεν PCH (πέπαρδεν LBald)
 601 τοῦτον] om. ΓPCH (ἤδη LBald)
 627 ἂν ἀνδρῶν] ἀνδρῶν ΓPCH (ἀνδρῶν γε LBald)
 650 ἔτ'] om. ΓPCHB (τις LAld)
 682 ποῖ] om. ΓPCH (σοι LBald)
 714 ἀπάγαγε] ἄπαγε ΓPCH (ἄπαγε σύ LBald)
 819 ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρ'] ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρα ΓPCH (ἦν ἐλθεῖν ἄρ' LBald)
 855 κἀνθάδε] κανάδε PCH (καὶ κανὰ LBald)
 900 ἵνα δὴ] ἡνίκα δὴ ΓPCH (ἡνίκα δὲ LAld: ἡνίκα γε B)
 1033 οὖν ἂν οὐκ] ἂν οὐκ ΓPCH (οὐκ ἂν LBald)
 1116 τί δαὶ 'γώ] τί δ' ἐγώ ΓPCH (τί δ' ἔγωγε LBald)
 1132/3 ἐκκέας] οὐκ ἐᾶς PCHLald (οὐκ ἐάσω B)
 1181 δ'] om. PCH (γ' LBald)
 1184 θεὶ τῷ κακῷ] θεὶ τὸ κακὸν PCH (ἔθει τὸ κακὸν LAld: ἔθει κακὸν B)
 1292 εἴης] ἧς ΓPCHald (ἦσθα B)

II. SUBFAMILY π

π was copied at least three times, to produce Palatinus Vaticanus 474 (P; fifteenth century), Copenhagen, Gamle Kongelig Samling 1980 (H; fifteenth century), and Parisinus Regius 2717 (C; sixteenth century), and probably a fourth time, to produce the text (hereafter μ) which became the basis for the Aldine's text of *Pax* 1301–67 and the source of a few other readings there (see Section IV below). The manuscripts in this subfamily lack hypotheses and scholia, and appear to mark change of speaker with a name or abbreviation thereof only in portions of the text also preserved in Γ , with which they regularly agree in this respect.¹⁰ These indications of change of speaker must therefore have been taken over either directly from Γ or its exemplar, or perhaps from β itself after it had decayed into the condition it was in when Γ (or Γ 's exemplar) was copied from it. Elsewhere, PC appear to give no indication of change of speaker except within lines, where a space, clearly intended to be filled in during a second stage in the production of the manuscript, is left blank. H leaves similar spaces, but frequently also has a dipunct at the end of lines which are followed by change of speaker, or within lines before a blank space or abbreviation of a name indicating a change of speaker; similar marks are occasionally found in Γ . PCH omit 859 and 1135, and share many unique errors, most of which should probably be traced to π , although it is possible that, in some cases where PCHLBald are the only

⁹ The lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

¹⁰ For a complete catalogue and discussion of this aspect of the manuscript tradition of the play, cf. S. Douglas Olson, 'Manuscript indications of change of speaker in Aristophanes' *Peace*', *JCS* 21 (1996), 5–34.

remaining descendants of β and LBald agree with RV, LBald's reading is a successful Triklinian correction and the error assigned here to π ought actually to be assigned to β . Errors found in PCH but nowhere else include:¹¹

- 3 αὐτῆς] om.
- 9 πρὸς θεῶν] πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
- 18 ἄρ'] γὰρ
- 20 δέ γ' εἶ] λέγ' εἶ
- 41 ὅπως] ὅπου
- 57 λοιδορεῖται] λοιδορεῖται
- 76 ὦ] ἰὼ
- 80 ὁ δεσπότης γάρ μου] ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης
- 81 ἱππηδὸν] ἱππιδὸν
- 84 ῥώμῃ] ῥώμην
- 92 ποῦ] πῇ
- 100 καινοῖς] καιναῖς
- 109 Διόνυσον] Διώνυσον
- 114 ὦ πάτερ?] om.
- 118 πάτερ] om.
- 118 με] ἐμέ
- 136 τοῖς] om.
- 138 αὐτὸς] om.
- 148 τραγωδία] τραγωδίαν
- 163 πάντων] ἀπάντων
- 189 οἱ] ἄ
- 199 τὸν] om.
- 203 δ' οἱ] δέ
- 206 βούλεται] βούληται
- 218 νῇ Δί'] νῇ τὸν Δί'
- 254 τᾶπτικοῦ] δ' Ἀπτικοῦ
- 258 ἐνέβαλες] ἀνέβαλες
- 258 εἰς] om.
- 269 et 282 ἀλετρίβανος] ὀλετρίβανος
- 278 μεμνημένος] μεμνημένος
- 311 τοιούτου] τοῦ τοιούτου
- 360 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν
- 361 ἀφέλξομεν] ἀφέλξομαι
- 373 ἴσθ'] οἴσθ'
- 382 λίσσομαι] λήσομαι
- 428 δράσομεν] δράσωμεν
- 529 ὅξει] ὅξει
- 541 ταῦτα] ταύτη
- 552 εἰς] om.
- 566 ἄρ'] om.
- 646 Ἐλλάς] ἄλλας
- 654 κύκηθρον] λύκηθρον
- 715 σὺ] σοὶ

C contains a large number of careless errors (e.g. 8 πυκνάς] πυκράς; 62 λεῶν] λέγων; 63 ἐκκοκκίσας] ἐκκοκκόσας; 67 πρὸς] om.; 75 καταφῶν] καταφῶν; 126 and 141 πτηνὸς] πτηνός; 134 κἀντιμωρούμενος] κἀντιμωνούμενος) and was accordingly eliminated by Platnauer as a bad copy of P, with which it not infrequently agrees in

¹¹ The lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

error against the other manuscripts. That this was a misjudgement on Platnauer's part can be seen most obviously from the fact that P has verses 1280–1 after 1289, while C (like H and all other manuscripts except V, which omits the verses) has them in their proper place in the text. In addition, P contains numerous minor errors which C does not repeat. Examples include:¹²

- 20 τις] τι
64 αὔθ'] καῖθ'
128 ἐλαύνειν] ἐλάνειν
201 θεῶν] θῶν
270 ἐκύκα] ἐκκύκα
289 Δάτιδος] Δάκτιδος
304 μισολάμαχος] μισολόμαχος
418 Παναθήναι'] Παραθήναι'
419 τὰς²] om.
448 ἴν'] ἐν'
451 παρεσκευασμένος] παρασκευασμένος
522 ὅτω] ὅτα
605 Φειδίας] Φειαίας
816 θεά] θεός
883 Ἀριφράδης] Ἀριφάδης
1012 Μηδείας] Μηδείσας
1021 δεῦρ'] δῶρ'
1047 Ὁρεοῦ] Ὁριοῦ

In some of these cases, C's reading might represent a spontaneous correction by the copyist. This seems particularly unlikely in the case of proper names (289, 304, 605, 883, 1012, 1047), however, and the generally low level of competence displayed by the C-scribe makes it much more probable that C is not in fact a copy of P. CH never agree in error against P, but PC agree in error a number of times against H and all other manuscripts. Examples of errors shared by PC but found in no other manuscripts include:¹³

- 16 γε] τε
62 δρασεῖεις] δράσεις
106 ἀπαξάπαντων] ἀπαξπάντων
120 αἰτίσητ'] αἰτήζητ'
550 τοὺς] τοὺς τοὺς
583 πόθω] πάθω
601 τὸν] τὸ
720 οἴκαδ²] οἴκαδεῖ
916 ἐκπίης] ἐπίης
1078 ἐπιγομένη] ἐπιγομένη
1246 μόλυβδον] μόλιβον
1258 τοιαντασί] τοιαντατασί
1274 συν ῥ' ἔβαλον] συρρέβαλον

It is thus possible that PC are copies not of π itself but of a copy of π , to which their common errors are to be traced. The fact that PH agree in error against C at 863 (οἴμαι] οἶμα) and 1075 (πω] om. PH: $\pi\rho\omega$ C), however, makes it more likely that all three manuscripts are in fact independent copies of π and that H contains a few simple corrections.

^{12, 13} The lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

III. SUBFAMILY τ

τ appears to have contained only *Pax* 1–947 and 1012–1300 (see Section I above), and did not mark the lacunae between 440 and 441 and at 947–1011, with the result that neither was marked in *v*. Versions of Triklinios' text of the play survive in three manuscripts: Holkham Greek 88 (L; 1400–30 C.E.),¹⁴ Vaticanus graecus 2181 (Vv17; fifteenth century), and Parisinus Regius 2715 (B; sixteenth century), as well as in the Aldine (see Section IV below).¹⁵ The text of *Peace* contained in Vv17 appears to be a copy of L after the latter had lost its final pages but before it had been corrected (see below), and can therefore be eliminated.¹⁶ L and B share numerous unique readings, many of them patently conjectures designed to address difficulties in the text found either in all other manuscripts or in Γ PCH (i.e. in the other descendants of β) alone. Many of these readings are found in both L and B, and often in the Aldine as well, and can thus be traced to *v*, although it is possible that some are not Triklinios' own emendations but were taken over by him from earlier editors, and Wilson argues that the close affinities between the text of the other plays in L and Vaticanus graecus 1294 (Vv5) show that L represents the final stage of Triklinios' editorial activity.¹⁷ Examples of readings found in L, B, and the Aldine but in no other manuscripts include:¹⁸

- 265 ἤξει] ἤξει γε
 269 ἀλετρίβανος] ἀλετρίβανος, ὁρᾶς
 282 Λακεδαιμονίοισιν] Λακεδαιμονίοισι κακὸς
 292 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν
 313 εὐλαβεῖσθ' ἐνν' ἐκείνον τὸν Κέρβερρον: εὐλαβεῖσθ' ἐνν' ἐκείνον
 Κέρβερρον PCH] εὐλαβεῖσθ' ἐκείνον τὸν Κέρβερρον καὶ δεδίττεσθε
 318 βοῆς] βολῆς
 334 τοῖ] τι
 337 μὴ τι καὶ] μηκέτ' οὖν
 340 γὰρ] δ' (thus also Apostol. XV.83a)
 345 ἐκγένειτ': γένειτ' PCH] μοι γένειτ'
 345 με] om.
 350 ἂν μ': μ' ἂν R^{ac}VPCH] γ' ἂν μ'
 356 ἀσπίδι] ἀσπίδι τε
 373 'στ'] γ'
 380 τοῦ] om.
 390a παλίγκτος] παλίγκτος τις
 390b ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν γε
 399 ἡμεῖς] om.
 407 ἐπιβουλεύοντε: ἐπιβουλεύονται V Γ PCH] ἐπιβουλεύουσι
 409 ὅτι νῆ Δία: ὅτι νῆ Δία Γ PCH] νῆ τὸν Δία

¹⁴ The L-scribe was apparently the same man who produced Marc. gr. 622 (Hesychius' lexicon); see O. L. Smith, 'On Holkham Gr. 88 and Marc. Gr. 622', *Maia* 27 (1975), 205. Some of the early history of L has been traced by M. Amanda Giannini, 'Holkham Hall 88: Cuarrino's Aristophanes', *CRBS* 12 (1971), 287–9.

¹⁵ For Triklinios' edition of *Peace*, see K. von Holzinger, *Vorstudien zur Beurteilung der Erklärertätigkeit des Demetrios Triklinios zu den Komödien des Aristophanes* (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 217.4) (Wien und Leipzig, 1939), pp. 96–115.

¹⁶ Thus also M. Sicherl, 'Die Editio Princeps des Aristophanes', in R. Fuhlrott and B. Hailer (edd.), *Das Buch und sein Haus I* (Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 201, n. 64.

¹⁷ Wilson (n. 4), p. 34.

¹⁸ The initial lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

- 415 παρέτρωγον] παρέτρωγόν γ'
 424 σπένδειν] σπένδων
 439 διάγειν] διάγειν με
 445 πότνι] πότνιά γ'
 455 τοίνυν] τοίνυν γ'
 465 οὐ] οὐχί
 465 ὀγκύλλεσθ'] ὀγκύλεσθ'
 intra 489 et 490 ὦ εἴα ὦ εἴα add.
 496 κακόντοι τινές: κακὸν οἴτινες PCH] κακόν, εἴ τινες
 542 κυάθους] κυάθοις
 545 γοῦν τόν: τὸν PCH] γὰρ τὸν
 587 μέγιστον] τὸ μέγιστον
 599 προσγελάσεται] προσγελάσσονται σε
 601 τοῦτον: om. ΓPCH] ἤδη
 606 τύχης] δίκης
 612 ἀκουσ'] ἤκουσ'
 627 ἂν ἀνδρῶν: ἀνδρῶν ΓPCH] ἀνδρῶν γε
 630 δῆτ'] δῆτά γ'
 630 λίθον] τὸν λίθον
 645 ἐβύνουν] ἐβύουν
 648 ὁ] om.
 663 εἶέν] εἶέν γ'
 676 ὅπερ] ὥσπερ
 680 πυκνί] πυκνί
 682 ποῖ: om. ΓCH] σου
 699 ῥιπὸς] τῆς ῥιπὸς
 714 ἀπάγαγε: ἀπαγε ΓPCH] ἀπαγε σὺ
 729 ἡμεῖς] ὑμεῖς
 732 φυλάττετε: φύλαττε RΓPCH] φύλαττε σὺ
 752 ἐπιχειρεῖ] ἐπιχειρεῖ
 761 μοι] om.
 819 ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρ': ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρα ΓPCH] ἦν ἐλθεῖν ἄρ'
 819 θεῶν] νεῶν
 822 ἀπὸ τοῦρανοῦ] ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ
 832 ἄρ'] ἄρ' οὐδ'
 855 κανθάδε: κανάδε PCH] καὶ κανᾶ
 865 'πιβάς: ἐπιβάς PCH] βὰς
 906 θέασ'] ἴθ'
 910–11 ὅστις] ὅστις γ'
 919 Τρυγαῖος] om.
 931 ῥήμα] ῥήμά γ'
 1028/9–9 χρεῶν ἐστι τὸν] ἐστὶ χρεῶν τόν γε
 1030 πορίμω τε τόλμῃ] καὶ πορίμω τόλμῃ
 1084 ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ 'ν: ἔτι τοῦ λοιπ' ἐν R] τοῦ λοιποῦ γ' ἐν
 1111 προσδώσει: προδώσει RΓPCH] δώσει
 1112 προσδιδόναι: προδιδόναι RΓPCH] πρὶν διδόναι
 1116 τί δαι' γώ: τί δὴ ἐγώ RV: τί δ' ἐγώ ΓPCH] τί δ' ἔγωγε
 1127 γ'] om.
 1159 ἡνίκα δ' ἂν] ἡνίκ' ἂν
 1181 δ': om. PCH] γ'

Both L and B also share a number of unique readings with the Aldine but not with one another, and most of these readings as well can probably be identified as Triklinian conjectures designed to address difficulties in the text as preserved in β or τ.

Examples of readings shared by L and the Aldine but not found in other manuscripts include:¹⁹

- 121 ἦ] ἦν
 143 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον: τὸ πλοῖον δὲ PCH] τὸ πλοῖον δ'
 331 τουτογι] τουτοδι
 387a-b ἐμοῦ] ἐμοῦ γε
 391 τήνδε: τῶν δὲ PCH] τόδε
 557 ἄσμενος] ἄσμενός γ'
 649 οὐπερ ἔστ' εἶναι] οὐ πάρεστ' εἶναι
 650 ἔτ': om. ΓPCHB] τις
 733 ὅσα τε νοῦς ἔχει] χάσσα τε νοῦς αὐτὸς ἔχει
 836 ὥς δ' ἦλθ'] ὥστε γ'
 900 ἵνα δῇ: ἡνίκα δῇ ΓPCH] ἡνίκα δὲ
 939 θεὸς θέλη] θέλη γε
 1184 θεὶ τῷ κακῷ: θεὶ τὸ κακὸν PCH] ἔθει τὸ κακὸν

Unique readings shared by B and the Aldine but found in no other manuscripts include:²⁰

- 261 Ἀθηναίων: Ἀθηναίους L] Ἀθηναίους
 509 γέ τοι: γε PCH: τε δῇ L] γε δῇ

B also contains a substantial number of additional conjectures, some of them very good and the majority probably to be assigned to the work of an enterprising anonymous post-Triklinian editor.

L contains extensive scholia and has changes of speaker marked throughout. L was damaged relatively early on and therefore preserves the text of *Peace* only as far as line 1227; it was at this point that Vv17 was copied from it. At some time after that, *Pax* 1228–68 was added to L by a second hand (= L²), which also marks corrections throughout. These additions and corrections are all from the Aldine, and L²'s readings can therefore be eliminated. B has no scholia and does not appear to mark changes of speaker, although space for the latter has been left throughout the text. Like L, B has been checked and occasionally corrected by a second hand, which generally does nothing more than underline the offending letters or words.

IV. THE ALDINE

Marcus Musurus' text of *Peace* in the Aldine edition of 1498 contains many of the unique readings found in LB, including a number known from one manuscript (most often L) but not the other (cf. Section III above), and has scholia up to 1300. In addition, the Aldine offers *Pax* 1301ff. (missing in LB) in a form closely related to the text in PCH, as well as occasional readings elsewhere in the text known from PCH but not from LB. In 1979, Martin Sicherl identified a fragment (*Wealth* only) of what appears to have been Musurus' printer's copy of Aristophanes. This manuscript, Selest. 347, was produced by Zacharias Kallierges in the late fifteenth century and,

¹⁹ The initial lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line.

²⁰ The initial lemma represents what I take to be the correct reading in the line. That B is not simply dependent on the Aldine (which is to say, that the readings B shares with the Aldine but not with the L are not simply to be attributed to Musurus rather than to another post-Triklinian editor) is apparent from the fact that B lacks *Pax* 1301ff., which the Aldine has.

Sicherl argues, is a direct copy of L.²¹ As Zacher pointed out long ago, the presence of a subscription at the end of *Birds* in the Aldine makes it clear that Musurus' Aristophanes was originally intended to contain only seven plays and that *Peace* (along with *Ecclesiazusae*) was a last-minute addition.²² Sicherl accordingly argues that Musurus had *Pax* 1–947, 1012–1227 at hand in Selest. 347, but had decided not to print the play, since he did not have its end.²³ At the last moment, however, he came upon another manuscript that contained the final portion of the play and which Sicherl (mistaking both the actual relationship of PCH and Γ and Bachmann's position on the matter) suggests must have been very closely related to Γ .²⁴ In fact, as Bachmann recognized and I have argued in detail above, Musurus' new manuscript (hereafter μ) must have belonged to subfamily π , which alone of the descendants of β preserves *Pax* 1301ff. and notes the lacuna at 948–1011. That Selest. 347 was a copy of L after it was damaged, as Sicherl argues, rather than of ν (i.e. of L's exemplar), moreover, cannot be taken for granted, and the opposite hypothesis is in fact suggested by: (i) a number of readings scattered throughout the text which are shared by B and the Aldine but are not found in L or any other descendant of β ,²⁵ and which are most easily explained on the thesis that they are to be traced back to ν and were for some reason omitted in L; (ii) in particular, $\sigma\upsilon\nu \rho'$ $\xi\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$ (Bald; thus also V) in 1274 (i.e. in the portion of *Pax* missing in L after it was damaged and thus, on Sicherl's hypothesis, also missing from Selest. 374), which is most easily explained on the hypothesis that Musurus knew a Triklinian version of *Pax* 1228–1300; (iii) the presence of scholia (present in L and Selest. 347, but missing in PCH and thus presumably in μ) in the Aldine up to verse 1300.²⁶ It thus seems likely that the text of *Pax* preserved in Selest. 347 was not a copy of L but of some other manuscript and quite possibly of L's exemplar, i.e. of ν .

Musurus' version of *Peace* contains numerous simple errors (e.g. 64 οὐγὰρ] ὀγὰρ; 107 σοι] om.; 114 ἀρ' ἔτυμός γε] ἔτυμός γε ἀρ'; 123 κόνδυλον] κόνδιλον; 166 μ' ἀπολείς] om.; 174 τὸν] τὸ; 227 ἡμᾶς] ἡᾶμς) as well as some easy corrections and minor emendations of the text (e.g. 51 ἀνδράσιν LB] ἀνδράσι (thus also RVPCH); 58 βουλευή LB] βουλεύει (thus also RVPCH); 74 ἡνάγκασεν RVPCHL: ἡνάγκαζε B] ἡνάγκασε; 95 πέτη PCHLB] πέτει (thus also RV); 103 διανοή C¹HLB] διανοεῖ (thus also RVPC); 112 ἐς] εἰς), none of which implies knowledge of any additional manuscripts. In addition, the Aldine contains a few more complex corrections or rejections of Triklinian emendations, all of which are explicable on the hypothesis that

²¹ Sicherl (n. 16), pp. 189–231, esp. 206–8.

²² Zacher (1888), p. 558; followed by J. W. White, *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston and London, 1914), p. xxxv; von Holzinger (n. 15), pp. 29–30; Wilson (n. 4), p. 35.

²³ At this point, Musurus would have been unaware of the lacuna at 948–1011, which is not marked in LB.

²⁴ Sicherl (n. 16), pp. 220–2. In fact, Bachmann, in his preface to Zacher (1909), p. xxv, argues expressly 'Ex eodem illo codice a [i.e. μ] cum P ut videtur cognato Musurus supplevit extremam fabulae partem . . . , quae deest in B pariter atque in Γ '.

²⁵ Cf. the final catalogue in Section III above, as well as: 89 μέινον RVBAld vs. μέινων PCHL; 134 ῥ' RVBAld vs. ῥ' γ' PCHL; 276 πεισόμεσθα RVBAld vs. πεισόμεθα PCHL; 382 λίσσομαι VBAlld vs. λίσσομαι R¹L: λήσομαι PCH; 500 Μεγαρήs RBAlld vs. Μεγαρεῖs vel Μεγαρεῖs VPCHL; 643 ἦσθιεν RBAlld vs. ἦσθιον V¹CHL: ἔσθιον P; 802 χορὸν RVBAld vs. χορῶν Γ PCHL; 1176 Κυζικηνικόν V²BAlld vs. Κυζικηνικόν L: Κυζικηρόν RPCH; 1270 ἀρχόμεθα RVBAld vs. ἀρχόμεθα Γ PCH.

²⁶ For the last point, cf. Bachmann in his preface to Zacher (1909), p. xxiv, and note in particular that the Aldine scholia include versions of Σ *Pax* 1261, 1286b, 1297a–d, 1300c, all of which are missing from the version of the scholia preserved in V but present in the version preserved in Γ , i.e. in the branch of the tradition accessible to Triklinios.

μ belonged to the same subfamily as PCH. Examples of such corrections include:²⁷

- 312 ἔχοντας (thus also RVPCH) vs. ἔχοντά γ' LB
 408 τοῖς (thus also RVΓPCH) vs. τοῖς γὰρ LB
 415 κύκλου (thus also RVPCH) vs. om. ΓLB
 415 παρέτρωγον (thus also RVΓPCH) vs. παρέτρωγόν γ' LB
 600 ἄσμενα (thus also RVΓPCH) vs. ἄμενα LB
 769 πᾶς (thus also RVΓPCH) vs. πῶς LB
 785 ὑπακούσης (thus also RVΓPCH) vs. ὑπάσης LB
 1084 ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ γ' ἐν (ἔτι τοῦ λοιποῦ 'ν VΓPCH) vs. τοῦ λοιποῦ γ' ἐν LB
 1142 τηνικάδε (thus also RVPCH) vs. δ' ἂν τηνικάδε LB
 1213 τουτονὶ (thus also P^{ac}C) vs. τουτουὶ RVΓP^{ac}HLB
 1301–67 habet vs. om. ΓLB

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

S. DOUGLAS OLSON

²⁷ The initial lemma is the text in the Aldine.