THE LOST MANUSCRIPT *TAU* OF
AESCHYLUS' *AGAMEMNON* AND *EUMENIDES*

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The *Agamemnon* is probably the most widely read of Aeschylus' plays today. There was a time when this was not so. In fact, only one manuscript of the complete play seems to have been available in the thirteenth century, and we don't even have that today. This reflects an almost total disinterest in a drama now highly praised. Fortunately, however, three copies of this manuscript remained, two of them complete—all that prevented the play from being consigned to the group of fragmentary works of the poet.

In the arithmetic of manuscripts, two copies are better than one, but the manuscript from which they were copied—the exemplar—is worth more than all of the copies put together. The student of Aeschylus would therefore rather know what text was presented in the lost exemplar than have the readings of the copies before him. Such knowledge, of course, largely can be gained on the basis of a full collation of the immediate descendants of the lost manuscript and an assessment of all divergent readings found in them. I have made such a collation of the manuscripts of the *Agamemnon*, and shall present here a reconstruction of the readings of the lost manuscript based on it. In addition, I shall attempt to summarize what we know about the lost manuscript itself and the history of its text.

Because the history of the text of the *Eumenides* is the same as that of the *Agamemnon*, and because there are additional witnesses to its text, this play provides a broader basis for an evaluation of the manuscripts in question. Thus I have studied both plays, and included all of the primary manuscripts in the collation.

Two branches of tradition can be discerned in manuscripts of the *Oresteia*: the *mu* tradition, represented by the Mediceus and the codex

Bessarionis (M: X–XI Cent., and V: XIII Cent.?); and the *tau* tradition, represented by the Florentinus, the Marcianus, the Salamanticensis, and the Neapolitanus (F, G, E, and T: all of the XIV Cent.) The stemmatic relationships between these manuscripts can be shown as follows:[1]
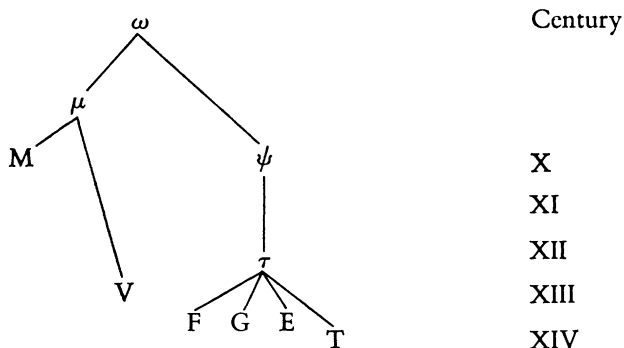
It is clear that M is the most reliable of the manuscripts, not only because of its priority in age, but also because of the quality of the text and scholia which it transmits. However, the version furnished by the other branch of the tradition, while in some ways inferior, does provide independent testimony to the text, and more than that, it alone preserves the bulk of the *Agamemnon*.

It was Turyn who first showed, and Dawe and Zuntz have concurred, that E, F, G, and T are all copies of a lost manuscript which Turyn named *tau*.[2] F is the most faithful witness to the original text of *tau* and hence editors have sometimes followed the practice of reporting readings of F alone and omitting G, (E being generally ignored) while unique readings of T are (rightly) ascribed to its scholar-scribe, Demetrius Triclinius. But F has made some errors of his own, and the numerous emendations in T make it unreliable for determining readings of the exemplar. Thus, where F and T disagree,

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[1] This stemma is based on Alexander Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York 1943) 113. See the appendix for the location and contents of these manuscripts, and Turyn for details.

[2] Turyn (above, note 1), 110–115; R. D. Dawe, "The MSS. F, G, T of Aeschylus," *Eranos* 57 (1959) 35–49; and G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 204–11.

it is not always clear when the disagreement is due to an emendation of Triclinius, and when it is due to an error in F. In any case it is more important to know the reading of *tau* than the reading of either F or T, and a reconstruction of the readings of *tau* would seem to be in order.   Hence the readings of manuscripts E and G, where they are extant, are important.

E, the Salamanca manuscript, has not previously been published in full collation, although Dawe gave assorted readings from it in his chapter on the manuscript.[3]   The significance of E, however, is not that it preserves "uniquely true" readings of its own (as Dawe thought) but rather that it is another witness to the exemplar of F and T. Unfortunately, of the three plays of the *Oresteia*, it carried only the text of the *Eumenides*. But G preserves over 600 lines of the *Agamemnon* as well as the *Eumenides*, and together EFGT give us a far better picture of *tau* than F and T alone do.

The hypothetical reconstruction of the readings of a lost manuscript, of course, presupposes that the line of descent has been straightforward and direct, and Pasquali, Dawe, and others[4] have rightly cautioned that such a situation is the exception rather than the rule. The more closely we study them, the clearer it becomes that there has been "contamination" as well as direct transcription in the history of the texts of many authors, Aeschylus included. But the text of the *Oresteia* is, I am convinced, one of the exceptions. Whatever the case may be for the Aeschylean triad,[5] the number of manuscripts of the *Oresteia* available in the early fourteenth century was so small as to make multiple access difficult and uncommon—access to a single manuscript of any of the plays of this trilogy was rare enough.   That is what guarantees that the line of descent of the texts of the *Agememnon* and the *Eumenides* was relatively pure.

This is not to say that no contamination has occurred in the manuscripts in question.   There are five occasions on which F has a reading

[3] R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964) 189–94.

[4] G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Firenze 1934); Dawe (above, note 3).

[5] The "Byzantine triad" refers to the three plays most studied in the East: *Prometheus Bound*, *Seven against Thebes*, and *Persians*.   The bulk of Dawe's work (above, note 3) concerns the triad of Aeschylus.

clearly imported from the other tradition: *Eum.* 22, 245, 299 (2), and 476. These surely represent contamination, but are so obvious that they can be altogether eliminated from consideration: they are all marginal corrections in F, clearly written in another, and probably later, hand.

A more serious instance of contamination, however, occurs between E and F. In nine places in the *Eumenides* E and F share common errors not found in G or T:

248	ἀνδροκμῆσι GTM	ἀνδροκμοῖσι F	ἀνδρακμοῖσι E	
306	ὕμνον δ᾽ M	ὕμνον G	ὕμνων T	ὕπνον EF
505	ὑπόδοσιν M	ὑπόδυσιν GT	ὑπόδησιν EF	
731	καθιππάζηι GTM	καθιππάζει EF		
742	ἐκβάλλεθ᾽ GTM	ἐκβάλεθ᾽ EF		
764	ὁρκωμοτήσας GTM	ὁρκομοτήσας EF		
768	παρβαίνουσι GTM	προβαίνουσι EF		
836	ἐπαινέσεις GTM	ἐπαινέσης EF		
878	τιμᾶν TM	τιμὰν G	τιτὰν EF	

The only other place where such a shared error occurs in the manuscripts descended from *tau* (excluding shared readings which result from dual readings in the exemplar) is at *Eum.* 290, where the ancient tradition is preserved by FTM in the reading ἀργεῖον, but EG agree in error with ἀργείων. The change from *omicron* to *omega* is a common scribal mistake, and this coincidence in error in E and G is not surprising. But when in nine places EF share an error not found in GT, particularly when GT agree with M as they do in all of the instances but one (505), this is striking, and must be accounted for. The probability that these shared readings resulted from a series of coincidental errors is extremely small.

Neither of these manuscripts, however, was copied from the other entire, for each has unique separative errors which we would expect to have been transmitted to its copy in such a case. Furthermore, if F were an apograph of E, it would also have preserved the surprising order of lines in that manuscript, with *Eum.* 580–81 and 645–80 inserted between *Eum.* 29 and 30 (lines 582–644 already being missing in *tau*—see appendix for the order of lines in the manuscripts). Conversely, if E were copied from F, there would be no way to explain

this same peculiar order of lines, since *Eum.* 29 and 30 stand in the middle of a page in both manuscripts. The order of lines in E must have occurred because the folios of its exemplar, containing 19 lines per page, had become disordered, and the folio containing *Eum.* 580–81 and 645–80 (38 lines) was inserted incorrectly after the first folio of the *Eumenides*, which contained the argument to the play and its first 29 lines. That the exemplar of E had several loose or missing folios similarly accounts for the additional loss in E alone of *Eum.* 681–718 (again a single folio) and the replacement of lines 983–1048 (end) with 19 lines from the *Seven against Thebes* (1025–43). The fact that none of these line disorders coincides with a page-ending in E (or in F) conclusively demonstrates that we have to do with the reordering or loss of folios—not in E or in F, but already in the exemplar of E, and hence E could not have been copied entirely from F.[6]

The solution might seem to be that E and F are both copies of a manuscript which was intermediate between them and the exemplar of GT, and which was the source of these errors common to EF alone. Nevertheless, I find this a difficult position to accept, because both

[6] The assumption that *tau* contained a fixed number of lines per page does not, however, fit Dawe's theory: "The lacunae and line order in E are such that they cannot be accounted for by postulating the omission or disorder of pages in a conventional manuscript with a regular number of lines per page: again, this supports the theory of a working copy, where the amount of text on each page would be dictated by the amount of annotation desired." (above, note 3, 194). Nevertheless, I believe that the postulation of a conventional manuscript with a fixed number of lines per page *does* account for both the lacunae and line order of E. *Tau* contained 19 lines per page, distributed as follows in the *Eumenides*, as shown at the foot of the next page.

The variation in number of lines required in the extant manuscripts is due to the fact that EFG (and presumably *tau*) sometimes wrote two lyric cola per line, although T never does. After F and G had been copied (and perhaps T as well), folios 16, 17, 24, and 25 of *tau* became unbound. The last three were lost, while folio 16 came to rest between folios 1 and 2. Furthermore, at least one folio from the *Seven* also became unbound and was inserted after folio 23, at the end of what remained of the *Eumenides*.

The disposition of text on the pages of the apographs of *tau* was as follows: E and T wrote 20 lines per column (however, for the triad, T wrote 15 lines per column, apparently to leave more room for the greater amount of annotation in those plays), F wrote 22 lines per column, and G wrote 30 lines per column. All wrote a single column per page, except G, which had two columns per page. Occasionally, but rarely, the individual scribes deviated from their respective standards of lines per page by adding or subtracting a single line, normally in order to make the beginning or end of a choral section coincide with the beginning or end of a page.

manuscripts apparently give us important insights into the nature of the exemplar and its readings, as I will try to indicate a bit later.

Did the lost manuscript then have alternative readings in these places so that GT could choose one reading while EF chose the other? This possibility is distinctly unlikely. If it were true, we would then need to suppose that in all nine places, G and T made exactly the same choice while E and F were making exactly the same choice, but one which was different from that of GT (and furthermore was wrong). Then we would also need to suppose that at these same nine places, all four scribes chose to ignore one of the alternatives which was in the manuscript before them. As I say, the occurrence of such a series of coincidences is rather unlikely.

What if the readings in *tau* were ambiguous at these points, and could have been interpreted in two different ways, with E and F making one interpretation and G and T the other? In fact, in the manuscripts, some of the ligatures of *epsilon* and *iota*, when written

folio of tau	verses of Eumenides	lines required in the manuscripts				
		tau	E	F	G	T
1	arg., 1–19	29+	29+	29+	29+	29+
2	30–67	38	38	38	38	38
3	68–105	38	38	38	38	38
4	106–43	38	38	38	38	39
5	144–81	38	38	32	38	39
6	182–219	38	38	38	38	38
7	220–59 (. . . ἀμβρότου)	38	38	38	40	40
8	260–97	38	38	37	38	38
9	298–323, 326–36 (2 vv. om.)	38	38	38	38	38
10	337–73	38	38	38	37½	38
11	374–410	38	38	38	35½	38
12	411–48	38	38	38	38	38
13	449–86	38	38	38	38	38
14	487–533 (. . . ὕβρις)	38	38	33	42	44
15	534–79 (τέκος . . .)	38	38	38	40	45
16	580–81, 645–80 (63 vv. om.)	38	38	38	38	38
17	681–718	38	om.	38	38	38
18	719–56	38	38	38	38	38
19	757–77, 808–26 (30 vv. om.)	38	37	37	38	40
20	827–66	38	38	37	38	40
21	867–906	38	38	37	39	40
22	907–43 (. . . ἄγαν)	38	38	38	38	38
23	944–82 (. . . ἄτας)	38	38	38	38	38
24	983–1019	38	om.	38	38	37
25	1020–48	28	om.	28	28	28

carelessly, are difficult to distinguish from an *eta*, and vice versa, and this could account for the variations at 731 and 836. But it would be difficult to see how a *mu* could have been misread as a *pi* or as a *tau* as would then have to be supposed at 306 and 878. Furthermore, we would still be faced with the coincidence that EF uniformly made the same interpretation, while GT uniformly made the other.

Thus I see no other real solution than to accept the theory that E and F were both copies of the hyparchetype, *tau*, but that contamination has occurred at several points. It is, of course, possible that both manuscripts were copied from the exemplar in the same scriptorium. If so, and if F was still in the scriptorium, then the scribe of E may have consulted F at places where for one reason or another the reading of *tau* was unclear. That E made use of F rather than the other way around seems to be indicated by the reading at *Eum*. 248, where E has compounded the error in F. The usefulness of E for determining the reading of *tau* is therefore slight when it alone agrees with F against GT.

This problem of contamination between two manuscripts of the group EFGT does complicate the stemma a bit, but neither it nor the readings of the second hand in F is fatal to the process of determining the readings of *tau*. However, our position is complicated further by the fact that *tau* was not a static manuscript. It was used by Triclinius, who was the scribe of T, not only as his exemplar, but also as a preliminary working copy for his final edition of Aeschylus which appears in T. The use of a working copy was in accord with Triclinius' normal practice, for extant manuscripts of other authors served a similar purpose, and bear on their pages eloquent testimony to the process of editing which characterized Triclinius' work.[7] His standard procedure was first to acquire a copy of an existing edition of a given poet and then to go over the manuscript systematically, making any emendations he thought necessary for logical, grammatical, or metrical reasons, and revising existing scholia and arguments. More significantly, he also composed a fresh, running metrical commentary and thoroughly reworked choral passages (text

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[7] I refer particularly to the Euripides manuscript L (Florence, Laur. 32,2), discussed in detail by Zuntz (above, note 2), and also to the Aristophanes manuscript Ps (Paris, Suppl. Gr. 463) discussed in detail by W. J. W. Koster, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (Groningen 1957).

and colometry) to conform to his understanding of the principles of metrics and responsion. He broke important new scholarly ground in this area, although his product was marred by a limited understanding of classical metrics. But once he was relatively satisfied with the state of the text, he would then make a fresh copy of the manuscript in order to produce a neat and legible work.

Tau was such a working copy, as Turyn has shown,[8] and already at the time it was copied by E, F, and G, changes had been made in its original text and colometry. The changes were not extensive at the time these copies were made, however, and we can see by comparing the respective texts of F and T that a good deal of work was yet to be expended on the working copy before Triclinius was satisfied. But it is quite clear from the agreement of supralinear readings in EFG that interpolation had already occurred in *tau* at the time EFG were copied.

That it was Triclinius who had worked on this lost manuscript is indicated both by the fact that EFG (and, therefore, presumably *tau* were provided with a Triclinian metrical commentary and also by the fact that supralinear emendations, which appeared in *tau* and are reflected by similar supralinear readings in EFG, generally replace the original text in T. Notice the progression in the following list of readings from the *Eumenides*:

217 μόρσιμος T μόρσιμοι EFG (οσ) μόρσιμοι M

218 ὅρκου 'στὶ M ὅρκους τε T ὅρκους τί FG (ε) ὅρκους τὲ E

226 τίθου EM τίθου FG τίθει T (ει)

230 δίκας M δίκης E δίκης FG δίκη T (η)

232 δ' ἀρήξω M δ' ἄρ' ἤξω EFG δ' ἀρήξω T

392 μοιρόκραντον TM μυρόκραντον EFG (οι)

435[9] σέβουσαι M σέβομαί EFG (οι εν) σέβοιμέν T

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[8] Turyn (above, note 1), 112–13.

[9] Wilamowitz (in the apparatus of his edition, *Aeschyli Tragoediae* [Berlin 1914] and Eduard Fraenkel (*Aeschylus: Agamemnon* [Oxford 1950] 1.15) and others report σεβόμεναι

δο   ··
474   δόμοις TME¹ʸᵖ   δρόμοις FG   δρόμοις E

δη
481   δυσπήμαντ']   δυσπήματ' GM   δυσπήματ' EF
δὴ δυσπήματ' T

ε
482   ἐπέσκηψεν ETM   ἀπέσκηψεν FG

567   διάτορος M   διάκτορος FⁱG   διάκτορος πέλει EFⁱᵐT

ασ
674   τούσδ' EM   τούσδ' FG   τάσδ' T

Compare these readings from the *Agamemnon*:

ἐν
17   ἐντέμνων TMV   ἐκτέμνων F   ἐκτέμνων G

ο   ε
1153   μελοτυπεῖς GM   μελοτυπεῖς F   μολοτυπεῖς T

η
1252   παρεκόπης]   παρεσκόπεις FG   παρεσκόπης T

ας
1477   γέννης (FG)   γέννης FG   γέννας T

Note particluarly the readings of *Eum.* 567, which show the corrector
at work. The text in *tau*'s exemplar presumably read, εἴτ' οὖν
διάτορος τυρσηνική, an incomplete and non-metrical trimeter line.
Accordingly, the corrector inserted a *kappa* in the third word, yielding
διάκτορος and suggested πέλει to fill out the line. However, since
no room was available for this latter insertion, a mark was made at
the text between the emended reading and τυρσηνική, and the
additional word was written in the margin. The scribe of G over-
looked the marginal note,[10] but saw the mark in the line and con-

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οι &
F¹ at line 435. This is certainly in error, for EFG have σέβομαι (& = εν). Nowhere
do these manuscripts use a compendium for letters in the middle of a word, as the above
editors must have assumed here. Rather, the compendium is intended to replace the
final diphthong and we should read σέβομαί E¹F¹G¹, and σέβοιμέν EˢFˢGˢT.

[10] There is some variation in preservation of extra-linear readings in the four manu-
scripts. This inconsistency could have been caused by the different scribes selecting
among variants, or by their failure to notice those they omit. A more attractive
hypothesis, and one with which I am in sympathy, is that of Dawe, who has suggested
(above, note 2) that it is the result of the fact that *tau* was a "working manuscript", and
the four apographs represent four different stages in its evolution. Thus G was copied
first, then F (with new variants subsequently added in *tau*), then E (with still more
variants, but with others omitted), and finally T (again with some new variants, but with

sequently left a space for the supplement. F likewise left a space, but did not fail to include the supplement in the margin of his text. E and T inserted the word directly into the text, to give the complete trimeter line.

Theoretically, then, it would not be too difficult to recover the original readings of *tau* if we had to do with changes in the text of *tau* made exclusively above the line or in the margin and faithfully reflected in EFG by keeping the emendation above the line. This is the position which Fraenkel has taken in his edition of the *Agamemnon*.[11] However, the situation is not so easy as that. Not only did the readings above the line in *tau* sometimes make their way into the text of E, F, or G, but some of the emendations in *tau* were made by actual alteration of the text *in the line*.

The following readings seem to give ample proof of this alteration *in linea*:

Eum.   60   τἀντεῦθεν EF^{ac}M   τἀντεῦθε F^{1pc}GT

      286   γηράσκων M   διδάσκων F^{ac} γε διδάσκων EF^{1pcs}GT

      506   ἄκεά τ᾽οὐ βέβαια]   ἄκετ᾽ οὐ βέβαια M   ἄκεστα incepit E^{ac}
           ἄκεστ᾽ οὐ βέβαια E^{1pc}G   ἄκεστα οὐ βέβαια T   ἄκεστ᾽
           ἀβέβαια F

                                              . . . . .
      923   βίου τύχας ὀνησίμους M   βίους τύχας ὀνησίμους (sic) F
           βίου ὀνησίμους E   βίους ὀνησίμους GT

Ag.   1279   ἄτιμοί F^{pc}T   ἄτιμόν F^{ac}G

In the second last of the readings, at *Eum.* 923, the τύχας which F has indicated is to be left out, and which is in fact omitted in EGT, appears in M. Thus the excision of the word in F is not the correction of an error but rather an insidious kind of emendation which, without another tradition, would be almost impossible to distinguish from the correction of a slip of the pen. What must have happened here (as Turyn saw)[12] is that *tau* had τύχας with the dots above it indicating

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several old ones rejected). Because of the disorder of folios in *tau* at the time E was copied, it is likely that E was copied *after* T, so that variants found in T alone may never have appeared in *tau*. The evidence available is not sufficient to establish this hypothesis beyond a doubt, but it remains attractive nonetheless.

[11] Fraenkel (above, note 8) 1.11–16.

[12] Turyn (above, note 1) 114.

that it was to be deleted. F, a faithful copyist, wrote what he saw, including the word to be omitted, complete with dots. A *sigma* had been added in *tau* to βίου to supply the needed accusative and to avoid hiatus with the word formerly following τύχας; and βίους appears in F. But E, although he did leave out the excised word, neglected to include the *sigma*. No doubt the *sigma* was written above the line to avoid squeezing it between βίου and τύχας and thus could be overlooked. That this was a definite emendation is born out by the marginal note in *tau* (retained by FG) referring specifically to τύχας: τοῦτο περισσὸν πρὸς τὸ κῶλον τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς, "this is superfluous in comparison with the colon of the antistrophe."

This situation both causes alarm and at the same time lays to rest some of our fears. It causes alarm because, as we have said, the passage indicates that emendations of *tau* occurred not only above the line, but also in the line of the text itself, in which case the original text is less apt to have been preserved in the apographs. But it also moderates this alarm in that it seems to indicate that F was generally quite scrupulous in copying just what he saw, particularly if there was any doubt in his mind as to what the correct reading was. Notice the following examples as well:

In *Eum.* 286 (cited above) the reading of F suggests that *tau* had the same thing in his text: the erroneous διδάσκων with the rough metrical emendation γε written by the interpolator just before it and slightly above the line to indicate that it was to be inserted at that point. EGT did insert the particle where it was intended, but F left it above the line as it was in *tau*.

In *Eum.* 481 there is a similar situation where a δή written in above the line in *tau* is preserved in that position not only by F, but also by E. T inserts it in the line, while G ignores the addition altogether.

In *Eum.* 60 I cannot agree with Dawe's reading of F. Dawe sees τάντεῦθε as F^ac, and τάντεῦθεν as F^pc.[13] But it seems to me that the reverse is true; that is, F decided against the *nu* after it was written, and corrected it. My argument would be that if a person corrects from -ε to -εν he need only add the *nu*, not rewrite the *epsilon*. If there is no room, he adds it above the line (see πέμπειν in F at line 481). But if he corrects from -εν to -ε he must somehow dispose of the *nu*,

[13] Dawe (above, note 3) 193.

either by crossing it out or by writing over it. F chose the latter course and rewrote the *epsilon*, but made it large enough to occupy the space of both the former *epsilon* and the *nu*. I find no other explanation for the oversized *epsilon*.[14] Additional evidence is provided by an examination of the context. The word in question is followed in EFGT by μὲν οὖν, a metrical impossibility. The original reading had been τἀντεῦθεν ἤδη, as in M, and the initial vowel of the second word made the *nu*-movable necessary. But when ἤδη was displaced by μὲν οὖν in an ancestor of *tau*,[15] there was no longer the same necessity; in fact, the meter is even less correct with the *nu* present. Thus the rejection of the final *nu* must have been a crude metrical emendation by the interpolator of *tau*, interpreted correctly and accepted by GT, misread by E (and Dawe), and copied as it was by F (who perhaps was not sure which reading was correct). Here again F remained faithful to what he found in *tau*.

Eum. 506, however, cautions us against the tempting conclusion that F always preserves the appearance of *tau*. My explanation of this constellation of readings is this: Originally *tau* had ἄκεστ᾽ οὐ βέβαια (cf. the M tradition: ἄκετ᾽ οὐ βέβαια). The interpolator of *tau* favored a change in the colometry so that οὐ βέβαια would begin a new line, and the full form ἄκεστα would complete the previous colon; so he added an *alpha* above the line after ἄκεστ᾽, close to the οὐ. T understood what was intended and has the full form of the first word at the end of a line, with the remaining two words at the beginning of the next line. G ignored the emendation (or antedated it). E copied it, but neglected to redivide the cola; then he noted the hiatus and corrected to *tau*[ac] again. F misunderstood what was to happen altogether, maintained the colometry, and taking the *alpha* as an intended correction of οὐ he consequently wrote ἄκεστ᾽ ἀβέβαια. It is significant that T alone knew what was intended.

We now see that on the basis of supralinear readings in EFGT we

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[14] See also the correction from -αν to -α at *Eum.* 12 in E (where Dawe himself sees the *nu* as part of the reading before correction; above, note 3, 191).

[15] It is difficult to explain this displacement unless ἤδη had dropped out of the text or was illegible, and the new reading was an attempt to fill out the meter to the twelve syllables required by the Byzantine accentual metrics, without regard to the quantity of the syllables. In any case, μὲν οὖν is not an emendation of Triclinius, who knew more about the ancient iambic meter than the person responsible for this addition.

can postulate a number of supralinear emendations or traditional variants in the exemplar, *tau*.   Further, we have seen several places in which emendations made in the line in *tau* have been rendered transparent either by the scrupulosity or by an error of F.   Hence, *tau* was already an interpolated manuscript at the time that it was used as the exemplar for the scribes of EFG, and while we can be fairly sure what the text of *tau* was at the time the apographs were written, we cannot be certain what *originally* stood in the lines of the lost manuscript.

A partial assessment of the extent of corruption which had taken place in the manuscript prior to its use by EFG may be made on the basis of the metrical scholia of *tau*, as reflected in EFG.   These scholia are not the same as those found in T, but rather are preliminary and cursory statements by Triclinius about the major metrical units used in each play.   They generally state that the adjacent passage is written in a particular meter or combination of meters, normally without any attempt to give details on the exact meter of the individual lines.   The major difference between these two sets of scholia consists, not only "in the addition of remarks on metrical signs by T", as Turyn observed,[16] but particularly in the analysis in T of choral portions of the dramas into strophe and antistrophe.   This analysis was crucial to Triclinius' primary contribution to the history of classical scholarship— the rediscovery of the principle of metrical responsion between strophe and antistrophe in the dramatic odes, and the use of this principle for the identification and emendation of corruptions in the text of the odes.

There, we are surprised to discover four emendations in *tau*, appearing in EFG, which attempt to repair metrical responsion in choral sections:

Ag. 1095 μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ]   μαρτυρίοις γὰρ M   μαρτυρίοις μὲν
            γὰρ FGT

        1096 τάδε M   τὰ FGT (this line responds to 1091, which in FGT
              was short by one syllable)

Eum. 923 βίου τύχας ὀνησίμους M   βίους τύχας ὀνησίμους F^ac
            βίους ὀνησίμους F^pcGT (βίου ὀνησίμους E)

        980 πολιτᾶν M   πολιητᾶν EFGT

16 Turyn (above, note 1), 111.

Emendations of this sort abound in T and comprise Triclinius' most radical and extensive changes. But they presuppose strophic analysis of the ode of just the sort which characterizes the scholia in T and not those in *tau*. Nevertheless, closer inspection of the metrical scholia in EFG reveals how such emendations were possible in *tau*. In spite of the fact that the majority of odes had not been divided into strophes and antistrophes at the time EFG were copied, a few had been analyzed in this way, viz. 196 lines.[17] It is within just these lines that the metrical conjectures just listed appear.

This means that we do not need to be overly pessimistic about the quality of the text of *tau*, for, although metrical emendations do occur in the odes, their range of occurrence is restricted to the lines just mentioned. Furthermore, for most of these lines (specifically, for *Ag.* 1073–1159 and for all of the *Eumenides*) we have the *mu* tradition of M as a check. There are only 42 lines remaining where such emendations were possible in *tau* which cannot be checked by comparison with M. Elsewhere in the two plays (and this includes the bulk of the *Agamemnon*, which is preserved by the Triclinian manuscripts alone) we can rest more easily about the text of *tau*, for we can be assured that any conjectures made by Triclinius in *tau* were relatively minor.

As has become apparent in this discussion, I believe that the text of F most closely parallels that of *tau*. Hence, it is unnecessary to present a fully restored text of the lost manuscript in order to assess its readings. What I propose to do here is to list those readings of *tau* which differ in any way from the readings of F. The reader who wishes to draw his own conclusions from the evidence may consult the full collation given in my dissertation.[18]

The hard decisions with regard to the readings of *tau* occur, of course, in cases where only two descendants of the lost manuscript are extant (i.e., FT in over half of the *Agamemnon*), and where these two disagree. It would be difficult to satisfy everyone as to the

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[17] Specifically, these lines are *Ag.* 1073–1177; 1407–1411 ≅ 1426–1430; 1530–1536 ≅ 1560–1566; and *Eum.* 837–847 = 870–880 (actually identical rather than responding odes); 916–925 ≅ 938–947; and 956–968 ≅ 976–987.

[18] James J. Helm, "Demetrius Triclinius and the Textual Tradition of the *Oresteia*," (The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1968).

choices made for the reading of *tau* in such instances, but I have relied on two observations in making them.   First, although the scribe of F makes mistakes in copying, his rate of uncorrected error is less than that of E or G, and somewhat higher than that of T, who, if we exclude his intentional emendations, made only a handful of copying errors.   F did make numerous slips of the pen which he corrected right away, and these should not be confused with emendations in the text.   Such errors (cited in the full collation) do not appear in this list, and it may be assumed that, except where otherwise noted, the reading of *tau* was that of F^{pc}.   Second, F evidences no inclination whatever to insert supralinear variants of his own.   Where all four Triclinian manuscripts are extant, variants found in F are also to be found in at least one other manuscript (excluding the variants added by the second hand in F).   Where three of the manuscripts are extant, a unique supralinear reading appears in F only at *Ag.* 12. Hence I have concluded that *all* supralinear readings in F appeared in *tau* as well, and if other extant Triclinian manuscripts did not record a particular variant, it was because it was overlooked (in the case of E), rejected (in the case of T), or possibly antedated (in the case of G). Thus, unless there is a compelling reason to the contrary, I have considered the readings of F to reflect *tau* accurately.

The format of the list is as follows: first is given the number of the line in which the readings occur.   After the line number comes the reading accepted by Wilamowitz in his edition.[19]   If this lemma is the reading of one or more manuscripts, the symbols for these manuscripts follow.   If the lemma is an emendation, it is followed by a single square bracket (]), and then the manuscript readings are cited.

I should warn the user that I have not been altogether consistent in my indication of the presence or position of the *iota*-subscript.   For the lemmata, I have used the adscript position, since this was the practice of Wilamowitz (and of M, for that matter), ignoring any differences of position or absence of the *iota* in the manuscripts.

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[19] Wilamowitz (above, note 8).   Normally I have followed the line numbers as given by Wilamowitz, but when errors or inconsistencies occurred in his edition, I followed the logical numeration suggested by the manuscripts, particularly M.   The result has been that occasionally my line number differs from that of Wilamowitz, but never by more than one line.

Thereafter, I included the *iota* as an adscript or subscript, depending on the practice of the manuscripts. But where several manuscripts had the same reading, but one the adscript and one the subscript or no *iota* at all, I ignored the difference on the ground that it was not significant enough to merit separate listing. The practice of the individual scribes varies. EFGMV usually do not write the *iota* either as adscript or as subscript, although when they do, M uses the adscript, EFG the subscript. T alone consistently used the *iota*, and always as a subscript. The corrector of M ("m") usually adds the *iota*, and then as adscript.

The symbols and abbreviations used here are based on the notation of Turyn:[20]

T	The reading of manuscript T.
[T]	The presumed reading of T where the manuscript is not legible.
T^i	The reading of T in the line (*in linea*).
T^s	The reading of T above the line (*supra lineam*).
T^m	A reading of T in the margin (*in margine*).
T^{ac}	The reading of T before correction (*ante correctionem*).
T^{pc}	The reading of T after correction (*post correctionem*).
T^c	A corrected reading of T (*e correctione*), the reading before correction being illegible.
T^1	The reading of the first hand in T.
T^2	The reading of another hand in T. Note: Where T^i or T^{ac} are cited, the reading is to be interpreted as that of the first hand; where T^c or T^{pc} are cited, no conclusion about the hand is to be made unless a number is added: T^{1pc} or T^{2c}, etc.
T^{348}	The reading of T at line 348, when that same line is repeated elsewhere, but the readings of a manuscript are inconsistent (used, for example, in the case of identical epodes).
m	The reading of the corrector of M, equivalent to M^{2pc}.
$T^{\gamma\rho}$	A marginal variant in T (normally prefixed in the manuscripts by γρ[αφεται]).
T^{gl}	A supralinear gloss in T.
Σ^T	A reading found in a scholium of T at the line in question.
Σ^{T15}	A reading found in a scholium of T on line 15, and not on the line where the reading in question occurs.
/	The end or beginning of a line or colon.
om.	omitted (*omisit*).

[20] See, for example, Turyn's edition of Aeschylus (above, note 1) 9.

Readings of the lost manuscript, tau

Agamemnon

12 δὲ *tau*ⁱFⁱGTMV   γε *tau*ˢFˢ $\overset{\gamma\epsilon}{(\delta\grave{\epsilon}\ tauF)}$

17 ἐντέμνων *tau*ˢFˢTMV   ἐκτέμνων *tau*ⁱFⁱ $\overset{\epsilon\nu}{(\grave{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\omega\nu\ tauF)}$

20 πόνων *tau*FⁱᴾᶜGTMV   πόνου Fᵃᶜ(?)

30 ἀγγέλλων *tau*GT   ἀγγέλων FMV

38 λέξειε *tau*GTMV   λέξει F

45 χιλιοναύτην Tᵍⁱmˢ   χιλιοναύταν *tau*FGTⁱMV   ἴλιον αὐτάν
     Fⁱᵞᵖmᵞᵖ

64 ἐρειδομένου *tau*ˢFˢ   ἐριδομένου M   ἐρειπομένου *tau*ⁱFⁱT
     $\overset{\delta o}{(\grave{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\pi o\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu o\upsilon\ tauF)}$

65 ἐν *tau*ⁱFⁱTMV   ἐκ *tau*ˢFˢ $\overset{\kappa}{(\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ tauF)}$ προτελείοις *tau*TMV
     πρωτελείοις F

66 κάμακος *tau*FᴾᶜTMV   κύμακος vel κώμακος Fᵃᶜ

75 ἰσόπαιδα *tau*TMV   ἰσόπεδα F

87 πειθοῖ *tau*TMV   πυθοῖ F
     θυοσκεῖς]   θυοσκινεῖς *tau*ⁱFⁱTM   θεοσκινεῖς *tau*ˢFˢ
     $\overset{\epsilon}{(\theta\upsilon o\sigma\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\varsigma\ tauF)}$ θύος κινεῖς V   θυοσκοεῖς Σᵀ¹

119 γένναν *tau*TMVΣᴹ   γέναν F

177 μάθος *tau*ⁱFⁱTMV   μάθη *tau*ˢFˢ $\overset{\eta}{(\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta o\varsigma\ tauF)}$

196 παλιμμήκη tauˢFˢTM   πολυμήκη *tau*ⁱFⁱV $\overset{\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\mu\mu}{(\ \pi o\lambda\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta\ tauF)}$

267 ἡιρήκασιν *tau*TMV   ἠρήκασιν F

286 ὑπερτελής MV   ὑπὲρ ἕλης *tau*ᵃᶜ   ὑπεὶρ ἕλης *tau*ᴾᶜFTΣᵀ⁽ᵐᵉᵗʳ·⁾
     Note: the scholion on this line in T reads (in part):
     τὸ δὲ ὑπέρ προσέλαβε τὸ ι διὰ τοῦ μέτρου ("the ὑπέρ takes on
     the additional *iota* because of the meter").   This I take to be a clear
     metrical emendation made by Triclinius in *tau* in order to produce
     an iambic trimeter line.

322 ταὐτῶι F   ταυτῷ *tau*TV (a lucky error in F?)

329 ἀποιμώζουσι *tau*FᵃᶜTᶜV   ἀποιμώξουσι Fᴾᶜ?(cf. also vv. 443,681,
     785,1599)

341 ἐμπίπτοι *tau*ˢFˢT   ἐμπίπτη *tau*ⁱFⁱ $\overset{o\iota}{(\grave{\epsilon}\mu\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\eta\ \ tauF)}$
     ἐμπίπτει V

σ

344　κάμψαι *tau*ⁱFⁱTV　κάμψας *tau*ˢFˢ　(κάμψαι *tau*F)

367　ἔχουσιν T　ἔχουσαν *tau*ᵃᶜFᵃᶜ　ἔχουσ᾽ *tau*ᵖᶜFᵖᶜ

424　χερῶν *tau*FᵃᶜT　χειρῶν Fᵖᶜ?

433　γὰρ *tau*FᵖᶜˢT　om. Fᵃᶜ

443　γεμίζων *tau*FᵃᶜT　γεμίξων Fᵖᶜ? (cf. 329 above)

472　πτολιπόρθης *tau*T　πτολιπόρθις F

478　ἤ τι]　ἤτοι T　ἤ τοι *tau*ⁱFⁱ　εἴ τοι *tau*ˢFˢ

εἰ

(ἤ,τοι *tau*F)

481　ἔπειτ᾽ *tau*T　ἔπει / ἔπειτ᾽ F (error in F resulting from a change
of colometry in *tau*)

489　εἰσόμεσθα *tau*TΣᵀ　εἰσόμεθα F (error in F as at *Ag.* 1367)

ἐς

511　ἦσθ᾽]　ἦλθ᾽ *tau*ⁱFⁱ　ἦλθες *tau*ˢFˢT　(ἦλθ᾽ *tau*F)

υ

520　πάλαι *tau*FⁱT　πύλαι Fˢ　(πάλαι F)

539　οὐκέτ᾽ *tau*TΣᵀ⁵⁵⁰　οὐκ F

577　Τροίαν *tau*T　τροίην F

590　ἐνίπτων *tau*T　ἐνίππων F

636　ἦμαρ *tau*T　ἦμαρ F (see also line 1301 below, but contrast 668)

ειν

680　κλυών]　κλύων *tau*ⁱFⁱ　κλύειν *tau*ˢFˢTⁱΣᵀ⁴⁸⁹ (κλύων *tau*F)

681　ὠνόμαζεν *tau*TⁱΣᵀ　ὠνόμαξεν F (cf. v. 329 above)

″ως

718　οὕτως *tau*ˢFˢT　οὗτος *tau*ⁱFⁱ　(οὗτος *tau*F)

ὰς

745　πικρὰς *tau*ˢFˢT　πικροῦ *tau*ⁱFⁱ　(πικροῦ *tau*F)

785　σεβίζω *tau*FᵃᶜT　σεβίξω Fᵖᶜ (cf. 329 above)

791　δῆγμα *tau*TStob.　δεῖγμα F

θ　τ

888　κατεσβήκασιν *tau*ⁱFⁱT　καθεστήκασιν *tau*ˢFˢ (κατεσβήκασιν *tau*F)

889　βλάβας *tau*T　κλάβας F

898　στῦλον]　στύλον *tau*T　στόλον F

ρ

919　βαρβάρου *tau*ˢFˢT　βαρβάθου *tau*ⁱFⁱ　(βαρβάθου *tau*F)

η

920　βόαμα *tau*ⁱFⁱ　βόημα *tau*ˢFˢT　(βόαμα *tau*F)

933　ἔρξειν]　ἔρδειν *tau*T　ἔρδειν F

η

936　δοκεῖ *tau*ᵃᶜFᵃᶜFⁱ　δοκῆ *tau*ᵖᶜFᵖᶜTˢ　(δοκεῖ T)

937　αἰδεσθῆις *tau*T　αἰδεσθεὶς　F

957 δόμων *tau*ˢFˢT   δόμους *tau*ⁱFⁱ   (δόμους *tau*F)
                                                ω̄ν

974 μέλοι *tau*ˢFˢTⁱΣᶠᵀ⁸¹⁰   μέλη *tau*ⁱFⁱ   (μέλη *tau*F)
                                                οι

  τοί σοι]   τοι σοι *tau*ᵖᶜTⁱΣᵀ⁸¹⁰   σοι *tau*ᵃᶜFⁱ   σοι τοι Σᶠ⁸¹⁰
  (Here the τοι was added in the margin in *tau* to form a complete
  trimeter line. F missed the marginal note in the main body of the
  text, but noted it in the scholion, inserting it after the σοι rather than
  before it, as intended.)

976 δεῖμα *tau*(?)T   δεῖγμα F

1015 Διός T   λιός *tau*F

1024 ἀβλαβείαι]   ἀβλαβεία *tau*   ἀβλαβείᾳ γε T   αὐλαβεία F
                                       β′   α′

1064 κλύει φρενῶν *tau*FˢT   φρενῶν κλύει F (see also *Eum.* 575 and 748)

1095 γὰρ *tau*ᵃᶜM   μὲν γὰρ *tau*ᵖᶜFGT

1096 τάδε *tau*ᵃᶜM   τὰ *tau*ᵖᶜFGT

1152 ἐπίφοβα *tau*ⁱFⁱTⁱMᵃᶜ   ἐπὶ φόβωι *tau*ˢFˢGˢTˢm   ἐπὶ φόβα Gⁱ
                  ω   ω
  (ἐπίφόβα *tau*FT,   ἐπὶφόβα G)

1153 μελοτυπεῖς *tau*ⁱFⁱGTˢM   μολοτυπεῖς *tau*ˢFˢTⁱ   (μελοτυπεῖς
                         ε
  *tau*F,   μολοτυπεῖς T)

1154 ἔχεις MTᵖᶜ   ἔχει FᵃᶜTᵃᶜ   ἔχῃ *tau*FᵖᶜG

1179 νύμφης *tau*GT   νύμφας F

1187 ξύμφθογγος T   ξύμφογγος *tau*G   σύμφογγος F

1232 δυσφιλὲς *tau*GT   δυσφιλεὺς F

1241 ἄγαν (*tau*ᵃᶜ)   ἄγαν γ' *tau*ᵖᶜFGT (The addition of the particle is the
  standard (but unnecessary) Byzantine stopgap to lengthen the
  second syllable in ἄγᾱν; cf. 1254 below, *Eum.* 121, and T at *Eum.*
  340).

1252 παρεκόπης]   παρεσκόπεις *tau*ⁱFⁱGⁱ   παρεσκόπης *tau*ˢFˢGˢT
                  η
  (παρεσκόπεις *tau*FG)

1254 ἄγαν γ' *tau*ᵖᶜFGT   ἄγαν *tau*ᵃᶜ

1267 ἀμείβομαι Fᵃᶜ⁽ᵖᶜ?⁾   ἀμείψομαι *tau*(?)Fᵖᶜ⁽ᵃᶜ?⁾GT
  (ἀμείβομαι F, with the *psi* written over the *beta*, or *vice versa*)

1279 ἄτιμοί *tau*ᵖᶜFᵖᶜT   ἄτιμόν *tau*ᵃᶜFᵃᶜG

1284 ἄξει *tau*GT   ἄξειν F

1288 ἐν *tau*GT   ἐκ F

1301 ἦμαρ *tau*GT   ἦμαρ F (cf. 636 above)

1357 καθεύδουσιν *tau*GT   καθεύδουσι F

1367 μαντευσόμεσθα *tau*GT   μαντευσόμεθα F

1379 ἔπαισ᾽ *tau*GT   ἔπεσ᾽ F

1383 περιστιχίζω T   περιστιχίζων *tau*G   περιστοιχίζων F

1411 ἀπέταμες *tau*ⁱFⁱGTˢ   ἀπέτεμες *tau*ˢFˢTⁱ   (ἀπέταμες *tau*F,
        ᵃ
    ἀπέτεμες T)

1424 δὲ *tau*FˢGT   om. Fⁱ

1446 φιλήτωρ *tau*GT   φιλήτως F

1451 ὕπνον *tau*FᵖᶜGT   ὕμνον Fᵃᶜ

1464 ἐκτρέψῃς *tau*GT   ἐκτρέχῃς F

1477 γέννης *tau*ⁱFⁱGⁱ   γέννας *tau*ˢFˢGTˢ   (γέννῃς *tau*FG)

1517 ἀσεβεῖ *tau*GT   εὐσεβεῖ F (but ἀσεβεῖ *tau*FGT at line 1493)

1535 δίκην]   δίκη *tau*ˢFGˢTᵍˡ   δίκᾳ *tau*ⁱGⁱTⁱ   (δίκᾳ *tau*GT)

1542 ἔρξαι *tau*GT   ἔρξαι F

1571 δύστλητά *tau*GT   δύσπλητά F

1594 χερῶν *tau*GT   χρεῶν F

1599 ὤιμωξεν *tau*FᵖᶜGT   ὤμωζεν Fᵃᶜ (cf. line 329 above)

1617 νερτέραι *tau*GT   νετέρᾳ F

1652 πρόκωπος G⁽ᵖᶜ?⁾   πρόκοπος *tau*F(Gᵃᶜ?)   πρόκοπτος T

1658 ἔρξαντας]   ἔρξαντα *tau*GT   ἔρξαντες F

1665 προσσαίνειν *tau*GT   προσαίνειν F

Eumenides

36 στάσιν *tau*ⁱEⁱFGTMⁱ   τάσιν *tau*ˢEˢ   βάσιν Mˢʸᵖ   (στάσιν
   *tau*E)

60 τἀντεῦθεν *tau*ᵃᶜEFᵃᶜM   τἀντεῦθε *tau*ᵖᶜFᵖᶜGT   κἀντεῦθεν Σᵀ

104 ὄμμασιν *tau*GT   ὄμμασι EFM

121 ἄγαν *tau*ᵃᶜM   ἄγαν γ᾽ *tau*ᵖᶜEFGT (cf. *Ag.* 1241)

149 ἐπίκλοπος *tau*ⁱFⁱGTM   ἐπίπλοκος *tau*ˢFˢ   ἐπίπλοσκος E
     π κ
  (ἐπίκλοπος *tau*F)

156 ἔτυψεν M   ἔτυψε *tau*ΣᴱᵀEGT   ἔτυψα F

186 οὐ καρανιστῆρες]   οὐ καρανηστῆρες M   οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἀνηστῆρες
                                    υ
   *tau*ⁱEⁱFⁱGⁱTⁱ   οὐκ ἄρ᾽ ἀνυστῆρες *tau*ˢEˢFˢGˢTˢ   (ἀνηστῆρες
   *tau*EFGT)

199 αὐτὸς σὺ *tau*EFᵖᶜGTM   αὐτὸς γὰρ σὺ Fᵃᶜ   (αὐτὸς γὰρ σὺ F)

212 αὐθέντης tau^{i}E^{i}F^{i}G^{i}TMΣ^{MT} αὐθέντις tau^{s}F^{s}G^s (αὐθέντης

    tauFG   αὐθέντής E)

217 μόρσιμος tau^{s}E^{s}F^{s}G^{s}T   μόρσιμοι tau^{i}E^{i}F^{i}G^{i}M   (μόρσιμοι
    tauEFG)

218 ὅρκου 'στὶ M   ὅρκους τί tau^{i}E$^{s(?)}$F^{i}G^i ὅρκους τε tau^{s}E^{i}F^{s}G^{s}T

    (ὅρκους τί tauFG,   ὅρκους τε or τέ E)

222 οἶδα F^{2γρ}M   οὗτοι tauEF^{i}GT

226 τίθου tau^{i}EF^{i}G^{i}M   τίθει tau^{s}F^{s}G^{s}T   (τίθου tauFG)

230 δίκας M   δίκης tau^{i}EF^{i}G^i δίκη tau^{s}F^{s}G^{s}T   (δίκης tauFG)

245 μηνυτῆρος F^{2γρ}M   μηνυτῆσιν T   μηνυτῆ—tauEFG

248 ἀνδροκμῆσι tauGM   ἀνδροκμῆσι T   ἀνδροκμοῖσι F
    ἀνδρακμοῖσι E

286 γηράσκων M   διδάσκων tau^{ac}F^{ac} γε διδάσκων tau^{pc}EF^{pc}GT

299 οὗτοι σ' M^{pc} οὗτις σ' tauF^{i}GTM^{ac} οὗτι σ' E   οὗτοι σὲ
    F^{2γρ}
    Ἀθηναίας F^{2s}M   ἀθηναίοις tauEF^{i}G   ἀθηναίης T

306 ὕμνον δ' M   ὕμνον tauGΣ^{EFG276} ὕμνων TΣ^{T276}
    ὕπνον EF (cf. F at *Ag.* 1451)

329 = 341 τῶι τεθυμένωι tau^{341}F^{341}M   τῶ τότε θυμουμένω tau^{329}-
    EF^{329}GT^{329} τῷ τε θυμουμένῳ T^{341}
    μέλος tau^{341}E^{341}F^{341c}G^{341}T^{341}M   μένος tau^{329}E^{329}F^{329}G^{329}T^{329}

337 ξυμπέσωσιν]   ξύμπας ὦσιν tauEGT   ξύμπας ὦσι F
    ξύμπασ ωσιν M

369 τακόμεναι tau^{i}F^{i}G^{i}T^{i}M   τηκόμεναι tau^{s}F^{s}G^{sac}T^s τ' ἀκόμεναι
    E   (τακόμεναι tauFT, τακόμεναι G^c)

392 μοιρόκραντον tau^{s}E^{s}F^{s}G^{s}TM   μυρόκραντον tau^{i}E^{i}F^{i}G^i
    (μυρόκραντον tauEFG)

433 ἐξέλεγχε tauEGTM   ἐξέλεχε F

435 σέβουσαί M   σέβομαί tau^{i}E^{i}F^{i}G^i σέβοιμεν tau^{s}E^{s}F^{s}G^{s}T
    (σέβομαί tauEFG)
    ἐπαξίως]   ἐπ' ἀξίων tauEGT   ἐπαξίων FM

462 πρὸ τοῦ tauEGM   προτοῦ FT

474 δόμοις *tau*ˢEᵞᵖFˢGˢTM   δρόμοις *tau*ⁱEⁱFⁱGⁱ   (δρόμοις *tau*FG,

    δρόμοις E)

475 αἰδοῦμαι]   αἱροῦμαι *tau*GTM   αἱροῦμαι EF

476 οὐκ εὐπέμπελον F²ᵞᵖM   οὔκουν εὔπεπλον *tau*EFⁱGT

481 πέμπειν *tau*EFᵖᶜGTMΣᴹ   πέμπει Fᵃᶜ

    τε δυσπήμαντ']   δὲ δυσπήμᾱτ' *tau*ⁱEⁱFⁱGM   δὲ δὴ δυσπήμᾱτ'

                 δη
    *tau*ˢEˢFˢT   (δὲ δυσπήμᾱτ' *tau* EF)

482 ἐπέσκηψεν *tau*ˢEFˢGˢTM   ἀπέσκηψεν *tau*ⁱFⁱGⁱ   (ἀπέσκηψεν

    *tau*FG)

505 ὑπόδοσίν M⁽ᵖᶜ?⁾   ὑπόδυσίν *tau*GT(Mᵃᶜ?)   ὑπόδησίν EF

506 ἄκεά τ' οὐ βέβαια]   ἄκεστ' οὐ βέβαια *tau*ᵃᶜEᵖᶜG   ἄκεστα / οὐ

    βέβαια *tau*ᵖᶜT   (ἄκεστα began Eᵃᶜ)   ἄκεστ' ἀβέβαια F

               α
    ἄκετ' οὐ βέβαια M   (ἄκεστ' οὐ βέβαια *tau*)

567 διάτορος *tau*ᵃᶜM   διάκτορος *tau*ᵖᶜFⁱG (followed by a space of

    about five letters in F, about nine letters in G)   διάκτορος

    πέλει *tau*ᵐEFⁱᵐT

                    β'   α'
575 μετέστι πράγματος *tau*EF²ˢGTM   πράγματος μετέστι F (cf. *Ag.*

    1064)

                           ασ
674 τούσδ' *tau*ⁱEFⁱGⁱM   τάσδ' *tau*ˢFˢGˢT   (τούσδ' *tau*FG)

718 πρωτοκτόνοισι *tau*GTM   πρωτοκτόνοις F   (E is lacking)

731 καθιππάζηι *tau*GTM   καθιππάζει EF

733 ἀμφίβουλος F   ἀμφίβολος *tau*EGTMΣᴹ

742 ἐκβάλλεθ' *tau*GTM   ἐκβάλεθ' EF

743 ὅσοις *tau*EGTM   ἴσοις F

                    β'   α'
748 ψήφων ξένοι *tau*EF²ˢTM   ξένοι ψήφων F (cf. *Ag.* 1064 and

    Eum. 575)   ξίφων ξένοι G

764 ὀρκωμοτήσας *tau*GTM   ὀρκομοτήσας EF

768 παρβαίνουσι *tau*GTMᵖᶜ   προβαίνουσι EF   παραβαίνουσι Mᵃᶜ

771 μεταμέληι *tau*ⁱEˢFⁱGⁱTM   μεταμέλοι *tau*ˢEⁱFˢ   μεταμέλει Gˢ

          οι   η   ει
    (μεταμέλη *tau*F,   μεταμέλοι E,   μεταμέλη G)

835 θύη *tau*EGTM   θύῃ F

836 ἐπαινέσεις *tau*GTM   ἐπαινέσῃς EF

845 = 878   τιμᾶν *tau*⁸⁴⁵E⁸⁴⁵G⁸⁴⁵m⁸⁴⁵ˢM⁸⁷⁸   τιμᾷν T⁸⁴⁵ ᵃⁿᵈ ⁸⁷⁸

τιμᾶν tau^{878}G^{878} τιμᾳ̈ν (both accents) F^{845}

· a ·

τιμῶν M^{845} (τιμων M^{845})   τιτὰν E^{878}F^{878}

847 = 880 δόλοι M^{s}Σ^{M847} δόλῳ tau^{847}E^{847}F^{847}G^{847}TM^i (δόλῳ M$^{847 \text{ and } 880}$)   δόλον tau^{880}E^{880}F^{880}G^{880}

851 ἐλθοῦσαι tauEGTM ἐλθοῦσα F

908 εὐθενοῦντα M εὐστενοῦντα tau^{i}FGT^i εὐσθενοῦντα tau^{s}ET^{is}

919 νέμει M νόμον tau^{i}E^{i}FGT νόμων tau^{s}E^s (νόμον tauE)

921 ᾱ̈ι τ' M αῖ τ' tauEG αἴ τ' F αῖς T

923 βίου τύχας ὀν. tau^{ac}M βίους ὀν. tau^{pc}F^{pc}GT βίου ὀν. E ....

βίους τύχας ὀν. F^{ac} (βίου^{s}τύχας ὀν. tau, βίους τύχας ὀν. F)

1000 παρθένου] παρθένοις tauGT παρθένους FM (E is lacking)

1028 ἐσθήμασιν / tauGT ἐσθήμασι FM

1033 ὑπ' εὔφρονι] ὑπ' εὐθύφρονι tauTM ὑπευθύφρονι G ὑπ' εὐθύφρι F

1039 εὐφαμεῖτε tauGTM εὐφημεῖτε F^{21}

APPENDIX

Primary Manuscripts of the Oresteia

Symbol (Turyn's) and Name		Location	Century	Contents (in order)
E	Salamanticensis	Salamanca Bibl. Univ. cod. 233	XIV or XV	*Prometheus* 1–1042 *Eumenides* 1–29, 580– 81, 645–80, 30–579, 719–982* *Seven* 1025–43
F	Florentinus	Florence Bibl. Laurenziana cod. 31,8	early XIV	*Prometheus* *Seven* *Persians* *Agamemnon* *Eumenides**
G	Marcianus	Venice Bibl. Nazionale	early XIV	*Prometheus* *Seven*

		Marciana cod. gr. 663		Persians Agamemnon 1–4,5 1905 –1673 (end) Eumenides*
T	Neapolitanus	Naples Bibl. Nazionale cod. II. F. 31	early XIV	Metrical matter Prometheus Seven Persians Agamemnon Eumenides*
M	Mediceus	Florence Bibl. Laurenziana cod. 32,9	X or early XI	Sophocles Aeschylus 　Persians 　Agamemnon 1–311, 　　1067–1159 　Choephori c.10–1076 　　(end) 　Prometheus 　Eumenides 　Seven 　Suppliants Apollonius Rhodius
V	Bessarionis	Venice Bibl. Nazionale Marciana cod. gr. 653	XIII	Prometheus Seven Persians Agamemnon 1–348

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* Manuscripts EFGT have the following omissions in the Eumenides: lines 324–325, 582–644, and 778–807 (plus lines 681–718 and 983–1048 (end) omitted by E alone.)