

Codex Scurialensis T.I.15 and the Transmission of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*

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THE MOST FAMOUS and most precious manuscript of Aeschylus, as everybody knows, is the old Mediceus (M= Mediceus Laurentianus 32.9),¹ which, together with Sophocles and Apollonius Rhodius, contains the text with scholia of the seven preserved Aeschylean tragedies, with the exception of most of *Agamemnon* and the beginning of *Choephoroe*, which have been missing at least from the beginning of the XV century. Even though its privileged position as a witness for the text of Aeschylus has been seriously shaken, particularly as far as the plays of the so-called Byzantine triad (*Prometheus*, *Septem* and *Persae*) are concerned,² no one can possibly deny that it is by far the most important manuscript of Aeschylus which we possess today. This will remain true even if, as I hope, I succeed in reducing its importance a little on a point where, up to now, it has generally been assumed to be unassailable.

For more than a hundred years it has been regarded as an established fact that *Choephoroe* and *Supplikes* have been transmitted solely through M,³ or in other words, that all other existing manuscripts of these plays are copies of M and that all good readings in these manuscripts which are not found in M are due to conjecture. As a natural consequence of this view, these manuscripts make only a very sporadic appearance in modern apparatuses, and when they do appear they are usually collectively treated and labelled 'apogr.' The contempt of modern editors for manuscripts which, justly or unjustly, they regard as being of no use for the *recensio* of their text, in this as in so many cases goes

¹ For a description of the Laurentianus, see Rostagno's introd. to the facsimile edition, *L'Eschilo Laurengiano*, Facsimile pubblicato sotto gli auspizi del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica (Florence 1896); Wilamowitz, introd. to his *ed. maior* (Berlin 1914) pp. x-xiv; A. Turyn, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York 1943) 17-19, with bibliography. Turyn has a description of the *apographa* on pp.20-23.

² See now, above all, R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964). Knowledge of the methods applied and the results arrived at in this splendid book is presupposed throughout the present paper.

³ See, e.g., M. Haupt's preface to Hermann's posthumous edition (Berlin 1852) pp. vi-ix.

so far that they do not think it worthwhile to ascertain whether conjectures ascribed by them and their predecessors to editors of the XVI century may not in fact be found in one or several late manuscripts. It may reasonably be doubted whether the laborious task of checking the ascription of conjectures is always worth undertaking, but as long as the names of Robortello, Victorius, Turnebus and others loom large in apparatuses, thanks to what are often rather insignificant corrections, the more or less anonymous scribes of XV and XVI century manuscripts may justly claim their part as well.

When, fairly recently, I started preparing a new edition of the *Suppliants*, such considerations as these moved me to undertake a complete (re)collation not only of M but of all the existing manuscripts of the text and scholia of this play. Their number is small: excluding M, we possess today five manuscripts of the text, of which four contain scholia,⁴ and in addition four manuscripts of scholia alone.⁵ I may add at once that my harvest of readings commonly ascribed to editors of printed editions or to other scholars but anticipated in late manuscripts was comparatively rich, and this alone would seem to have repaid my trouble. But also I found some reason, as far as *Suppliants* is concerned, for sharing the doubts expressed a few years ago by Dr R. D. Dawe⁶ as to whether the question of the relationship of the younger manuscripts to M can be regarded as finally closed with such dicta as that of Wilamowitz, "Choephoros et Supplices uni deberi Mediceo dudum constat."⁷ Four of the five text manuscripts—Laurentianus Marcianus 222, Bononiensis 2271, Guelferbytanus Gudianus Gr. 88, Parisinus Anc.f.gr. 2286—undoubtedly are direct copies of M; of the manuscripts containing only scholia, one (Parisinus Anc.f.gr. 2070) was directly copied from M, two (Vaticanus Gr. 1476 and Monacensis Gr. 91) are copies of Paris. 2070, and one (Vaticanus Palatinus Gr. 51), is a copy of Laur. Marc. 222.⁸ But the last

⁴ The fifth, Parisinus 2886, contains only two or three scholia, all of them very short.

⁵ The number of scholia in each manuscript varies considerably. Not one of them contains all the scholia which are in M; some have less than half the total number.

⁶ *Op.cit.* (*supra* n.2) 12 n.: "This question should not be regarded as finally closed until all the alleged *apographa* have been fully collated. One or two of the reported readings (e.g. *Suppl.* 788–90) give one grounds for wondering whether they may not be offspring of a *gemellus* of M: the question is however not likely to be one of great practical importance." It is not, indeed.

⁷ *Introd. to ed. maior* (*supra* n.1) p. xxii.

⁸ At least as far as the scholia to the *Suppliants* are concerned. Turyn's statement (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.1] 22) that this manuscript is a direct copy of M is at best only partially true.

text witness, the Scurialensis T.I.15, was copied neither from M nor from any of its extant descendants.

I

This manuscript, which I have collated first from a photostat copy and later from the original, is a paper manuscript dated by Turyn to the XVI century; I am not in a position to query this dating, which goes back at least to Hermann⁹ and rests on palaeographical evidence alone. In 1543¹⁰ the manuscript was in Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's collection,¹¹ which after his death in 1575 passed to the Escorial. It was probably acquired by Mendoza in Italy, where during the 1540's he collected most of his Greek manuscripts.¹² It contains Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and, by the same hand, one play by Aeschylus, the *Suppliants*, with scholia. It was recorded by Hermann as E, a symbol which I shall retain in the following discussion. A first collation quickly showed me that this manuscript could not have been copied from M. The proof is as follows.

Lines 994–95 in the *Suppliants* run like this in all modern texts:

πᾶς δ' ἐν μετοίκῳ γλῶσσαν εὐτυκον φέρει
κακῆν, τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετὲς μύσαγμα πῶς.

(*εὐτυκον* is Spanheim's correction for *εὐτυχον*, which is in all Mss; this does not affect my argument.) E has the following text:

πᾶς δ' ἐν μετοίμῳ γλῶσσαν εὐτυχον φέρει
κα ἦν, κτλ.

There is a blank space of one letter between *κα* and *ἦν*; evidently the scribe here could not read what was in the manuscript from which he copied his text, and he did not possess the minimum of intelligence necessary to choose between the alternatives *καλῆν* and *κακῆν* in this context. M here has *κακῆν*, with a clearly visible and unmistakable *κ*,

⁹ See Haupt's preface, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) p. viii.

¹⁰ See Ch. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sc.philol.hist. 46, Paris 1880) 196ff.

¹¹ Not in that of his cousin, the cardinal of Burgos (d. 1566), who also collected manuscripts, and with whom Turyn (*op.cit.* [*supra* n.1] 21) confounds him. Near the bottom of the first page of our manuscript is written the following owner's signature: "D Di(eg)o de M(endoz)a." The cardinal's Christian name was Francisco.

¹² Graux, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.10) 165ff.

written by the original hand and never exposed to corrections, blots, or any other kind of injury. A man who copied M, no matter how foolish, could not possibly miss this κ , which moreover is part of one of the most frequent words in the Greek language, and one which causes no difficulties at all in the context.

And there are three similar cases elsewhere in E. One occurs a few lines further on. Line 988 runs:

τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς.

Here E has δ' εὐφύλακτος, with a space of one letter; M has δ' εὐφύλακτος by the original hand; no corrections, no blots, no faded or vanished letter (see PLATES 6 and 7). Apart from these two cases, there are two more in the scholia: 71 *θερισθεῖσαν* M: *θε[]σθεῖσαν* E, 717-18 *ἡμῶν* M: *ἡμ[]* E. The possibility that, if not the text, at least the scholia of E were copied from M, is thus precluded.

If E is not a copy of M, there are, *a priori*, three possibilities: it represents a tradition which is not derived from M,—presumably it is then derived from a *gemellus* of M, in view of the very close general similarity between the text of E and that of M; or it is an indirect copy of M; or it combines independent material and material indirectly derived from M. The evidence for deciding between these three possibilities is, as was to be expected, extremely scarce. I can say at once that if E is an indirect copy of M, the manuscript from which it was copied no longer exists. This is as far as one can get by way of strict proof; but there are a few readings in E which to me seem to create a strong presumption against the idea that E is wholly dependent on M. Whether it is wholly or only partly independent of M is a matter of small practical consequence.

348. *τέκος* M²: *τόκος* M¹ E.

In M the *o* is only faintly visible beneath the ϵ . The correction, made either by the scribe himself or by the *διορθωτής*, is such an obvious improvement that it is not easy to see why the source of E should have chosen the false reading when it was so much more difficult to get out of M than was the correct one. It may be added that if E is derived from a *gemellus* of M, then at least one of the M² readings which seem to be corrections of individual errors made by the scribe of M can with great probability be classified as the correction of an error which was already in the source of M.

421. *ἐκβολαῖς* M: *ἐμβολαῖς* E.

This may just be the misreading of a κ ; but it should be noted that *ἐκβολαῖς* creates considerable difficulties for the commentator: the girls have not been 'cast out', they have fled away, led by their father, and are being pursued by the Egyptians. If *ἐμβολαῖς* is not due to a visual error, it may claim to be taken seriously, as a reading which implies a kind of violent action on the part of the Egyptians, which resulted, directly or indirectly, in the flight of the Danaids; cf. 742 *καὶ λέγω πρὸς εἰδότα*. Euripides has *ἐμβολή* of a bull's charge (HF 869) and of a lion's charge (fr. 689.4); it may not be irrelevant to recall the image of the heifer pursued by the wolf in *Suppl.* 350ff and to remember that images of wild animals pursuing or attacking innocent victims occur repeatedly in this play. Certainly it is imaginable that the man who here misread a letter in his source was not the scribe of E but the scribe of M. The possibility that *ἐμβολαῖς* in E is due to conjecture can of course be ruled out; no mediaeval or renaissance scribe, however learned, would find fault with *ἐκβολαῖς*. Finally, I want to draw attention to the marginal scholion on this line, *διωγμοῖς ἀθέοις*, which would seem to fit *ἐμβολαῖς* better than *ἐκβολαῖς*, the usual meaning of *διώκω* and *διωγμὸς* in classical and Byzantine Greek being closer to the idea of pursuit than to that of expulsion. This argument, however, cannot be pressed as long as we do not possess exhaustive concordances of scholiasts' language.

549. *μουσῶν* M: *μυσῶν* E.

The reading of E is commonly ascribed to Turnebus; it is evident that it is nearer to the truth—which may be either *Μυσῶν* (Paley) or *Μυσοῦ* (Newman)—than is the reading of M. A scribe might know Teuthras' city, Teuthrania, or Teuthras himself from a number of sources, e.g. Herodotus, Xenophon, Apollodorus, Strabo, Plutarch;¹³ but it may be doubted whether it would occur to him that there was anything wrong with *μουσῶν*. Why should not King Teuthras' city be of musical renown? To the best of my knowledge there are no other 'learned conjectures' either in E or in the other late manuscripts of the *Suppliants* but only attempts at correcting the language. A purely fortuitous omission of an *omicron* on the part of E cannot of course be

¹³ See the articles TEUTHRANIA 2 (W. Ruge) and TEUTHRAS 1 (G. Türk) in RE 5A (1934) col. 1159-63.

ruled out, although I have not come across other cases of *ou* becoming *v* by way of mechanical error.

576. βία M: βίαι E.

This difference between M and E at first glance seems very insignificant, but closer inspection will, I think, show that it is of some importance. The sentence as it is transmitted in M, βία δ' ἀπημάντω σθένει καὶ θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις παύεται, construes smoothly enough with βία as a nominative, and this is how it has been taken by most editors, including Wilamowitz and Murray, irrespective of the fact that the scholion on this line, λείπει ὁ καί, is then completely unintelligible. The text of E, however, βίαι δ' ἀπημάντω σθένει κ. θ. ἐ. παύεται, on a superficial view, with its three datives suffers from just that lack of a connecting particle which the scholiast points out. βίαι therefore, if it is not due to case assimilation nor an improbably shrewd conjecture, represents an older stage in the history of the text than does βία—and from this older stage there is a short and easy step to Headlam's brilliant conjecture βίαι δ' ἀπηματοσθενεῖ, which (1) does justice to the scholion, (2) avoids an awkward change of subject, (3) gives us a compound adjective with the true Aeschylean ring, and (4) receives strong support from line 1067 εὐμενῆ βίαν κτίσας (it is worthwhile comparing the entire passages 574–79 and 1062–67 in order to see the force of this argument).¹⁴ The scribe of M may have intended the dative, but those who copied M could not read his thoughts, and what they saw was βία plus παύεται. All the *apographa* have βία.

828. ὄμ αἶθι κάκκας M: ὄμου αἶθι κάκκας E.

This, as far as I can see, makes the nearest possible approach to a proof that at least some readings in E are independent of M. Both readings, that of E as well as that of M, are absolutely devoid of meaning; if E or his source had tried to supplement the ὄμ of M by conjecture they would presumably have written ὄμου or something else which was interpretable as a Greek word, and not ὄμου. The possibility that the source of E misread the αἶθ- of M as an *ou* is, I think, out of the question: the *alpha* in M is a clear and normal one, and the breathing

¹⁴ Paul Mazon here showed his superior sense of style by printing Headlam's conjecture instead of, like most editors, acquiescing in a reading whose only virtues are that it will construe and that it stands in M.

and accent could not easily be overlooked. Moreover, E everywhere in this passage has the same spaces between 'words' (or whatever we would prefer to call them) as M has. If he respects these spaces, would he use the first letters after such a space for supplementing the last letters before it? The only natural conclusion must be that the source of E read, or thought he could read, two letters more than M could in the manuscript from which both he and M copied their text.

To the cases now presented in detail I add a few others which in themselves might easily be cases of conjecture or of fortuitous change. But if the evidence adduced above be taken to prove the complete or partial independence of E, this will add something to the possibility that these readings too contain elements of independent tradition.

TEXT

256. περραίβων M: παρραιβῶν E
 747. θάλπτει βραχεῖον M: θάλπει βραχίον' E
 790. τῶδ' ἐχρημφθῆν χροῖν M: τῶιδ' ἐγγριφθῆναι χροῖ E¹⁵
 883. ὄρον M: ὄσον E
 1041. θεα|κτορι M: θέα|κτορι corr. in θεά|κτορι E

SCHOLIA

98. ὁ ἔστι M: ἦγουν E
 135. ράπτιας M: συρράπιας (sic) E¹⁶
 863. πεπειραμένοι M: πεπειρασμένη E

In order to check the results arrived at by the study of E, it will not be out of place to list here the 'good readings' found in the other young manuscripts. I shall confine myself to text variants; by 'good readings' I understand readings which are either clearly superior to those of M or at least worth thinking over as possible alternatives to difficult or faulty readings in M. My obvious purpose will be to make it probable that all these readings are easy to explain as due either to conjecture or to chance. If they are not, the whole of my previous

¹⁵ The point of interest is the last word. It needs no extraordinary critical acumen to supply an infinitive ending in the preceding word.

¹⁶ The word *ράπτρια*, 'a woman who stitches', which lies behind the reading of M, occurs in Eustathius (see *LSJ* s.v.). I have not found *συρράπτρια* elsewhere. The prefix was probably interpolated from *συρράπτοντες* earlier in the same scholion; but the important thing is that, in this rare word, E has the *ρ* which M has not.

argument has been proved false. Besides being useful for our purpose, the list will also, I hope, be of some interest in itself.¹⁷

Laurentianus Marcianus 222

74. *φυγᾶς* M: *φυγᾶς*
 83. *πολέμον* M: *πολέμου*
 89. *ξυντύχα* M: *ξυντύχαι*
 136. *συμποιαῖς* M: *συμ πνοιαῖς*
 322. *τοῦ δαναοίγε* M: *τοῦδ' αναοίγε*
 339. *δυστυχόντων* M: *δυστυχούντων*
 342. *αἴρασθαι* M: *ἄρασθαι* (also in E)
 597. *οὔστινος* M²: *οὔτινος* (also in E)
 744. *ἐπεὶ τάχει* M: *ἐπὶ τάχει*
 751. *φρεσσίν* M: *φρεσὶν* (*φρεσί* E)

Obviously there is nothing here which falls outside the categories of easy corrections and changes due to mere chance.

Bononiensis 2271

346. *τὰς δέδρα* M: *τάσδέδρας*
 527. *πέιθου* M: *πειθοῦ*
 751. *φρεσσίν* M: *φρεσὶν* (*φρεσί* E)

The same remark applies here. This scribe was a remarkably dull fellow.

Guelferbytanus Gudianus Graecus 88

48. *δὲ* M²: *τε*
 110. *ἄται* M: *ἄταν*
 254. *αἴδνης* M: *αἴαν* *suprascr.*
 295. *μιχθῆνα* M: *μιχθῆναι* (also in E)
 342. *αἴρασθαι* M: *αἴρεσθαι*
 346. *λεύσων* M: *λεύσων*
 566. *χλωρωδειμακτιθυμὸν* M: *χλωρῶι δειμακτι θυμὸν* (*cf.* E)
 629. *ἀμέμπτων* M: *ἀμέμπτως*
 744. *ἐπεὶ τάχει* M: *ἐπὶ τύχει*
 753. *ταυτω* M: *ταῦτ' ὦ* (also in E)
 790. *τῶδ' ἐχρημφθῆν χροῖν* M: *τῶιδ' ἐχρημφθῆναι χεροῖν* (*cf.* E)

¹⁷ For the principles followed in the collations, *cf.* p. 371.

796. *πέτραβαθν* M: *πέτρα βαθν* (also in E)
 907. *χερεῖ ταναρχίαν* M: *χερεῖτ' ἀναρχίαν*
 931. *ἀπαγγέλειν* M: *ἀπαγγέλλειν*
 999. *τιμῆν* M: *τί μην*
 1032. *ἔλθει* M: *ἔλθη*

αἴαν 254 is a good conjecture; it is possibly by a younger hand. *τε* at line 48 was conjectured by Heath and may be correct; *τε* and *δὲ* being often confused in manuscripts, nothing can be built on this variant reading. *ἀμέμπτως* 629 may be due either to chance or to attentive and intelligent reading of the scholion; whether it is the correct reading is far from certain. *ἐπὶ τύχει* 744 is the only really remarkable reading; it is practically identical with Turnebus' *ἐπιτυχεῖ*. In itself it might be due either to chance, conjecture or transmission. The other readings do not call for comment.

Parisinus Graecus 2286

74. *δειμαίνουσα φίλους* M²: *δειμαίνουσ' ἀφίλους*
 95. *κατειδεῖν* M: *κατιδεῖν* (also in E)
 109. *μενόλιν* M: *μαινόλιν*
 217. *κικλίσκω* M: *κικλήσκω*
 247. *ἐτήν* M: *ἔτην*
 272. *λέγοι πρόσως* M: *λέγοι πρόσω*
 295. *μιχθῆνα* M: *μιχθῆναι* (also in E)
 306. *ἔτευξε δ' ἄλλο* M: *ἔτευξεν ἄλλο*
 311. *καὶ ἔπι* M: *κάπι* (also in E)
 314. *τὶ οὖν* M: *τὶ οὖν* *corr.* in *τὶς οὖν*
 321. *πεντηκοστόπαις* M: *πεντηκοντόπαις*
 339. *δυστυχόντων* M: *δυστυχούντων*
 342. *αἴρασθαι* M: *ἄρασθαι* (also in E)
 346. *λεύσων* M: *λεύσων*
 519. *τοῖα* M: *ἴοῖα*
 530. *μελανόζυγαταν* M: *μελανόζυγ' ἄταν* (also in E)
 566. *χλωρωδειμακτιθυμὸν* M: *χλωρῶ δειμακτι θυμὸν* (also in E)
 603. *κεκύρτωται* M: *κεκύρωται*
 617. *εἰσόπιν* M: *εἰς ὄπιν* (*cf.* E)
 622. *ἔκλαναν εὐκλήτορος* M: *ἔκρανεν εὐκλήτορος*
 635. *βοᾶν* M: *βοᾶν* (also in E)
 706. *δαφνοφόροις* M: *δαφνηφόροις*

764. ταχέαι . . . στολήι M: ταχέα . . . στολή
 788. σαργάναις M: ἀρτάναις
 791. δάιδας M: δ' ἀϊδας
 793. γείνεται M: γίνεται
 801. δέϊπναν M: δεῖπνον
 808. ἴνζευ M: ἴνζε
 884. οὔτοι M: οὔτι
 915. φρενεί M: φρενί
 985. ἐμούς M¹: ἐμοῦδ' M²: ἐμοί δ'
 1018. ἴτεμαν M: ἴτε μάν (also in E)
 1032. ἔλθει M: ἔλθοι (also in E)
 1038. δ' αἶ M: δε.

This manuscript was written by an able man, Arsenius of Monembasia (1465–1535),¹⁸ who made a great number of corrections in the fields of orthography (95, 109, 217, etc.), accentuation (247, 635), word division (74, 530, 617, etc.), elementary syntax (306, 314, 519, etc.), and still more of the same order. Some of the corrections in the last group specified above really command respect, but there is no reason to believe that they are anything but corrections. He also successfully tried his hand at a number of nonsensical words or forms of words in M, some (272, 295, 339, 342, etc.) very easy to correct, others (603, 622, and in particular 788) considerably less so. But there is nothing to indicate the existence of an otherwise unknown text witness accessible to Arsenius. Everything is understandable as due to either conjecture or chance.

The decisive difference between the good readings of these four manuscripts (and most of the good readings in E as well) on one side and a few readings in E on the other is simply this: that the really remarkable readings of the former category occur at places where the text of M is so patently corrupt as to present a strong invitation to every sensible scribe to make use of his critical ability (254, 306, 519, 622, 764, 788, 790, 985); whereas the readings of the second category either occur where M would not at first glance seem to be at fault (421 ἐκβολαῖς, 549 μουνῶν, 576 βία)¹⁹ or are in themselves as meaningless as those of M (828 ὄμ–ὄμου).

The comparison with the other young manuscripts thus seems to

¹⁸ See Turyn, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 21, with bibliography.

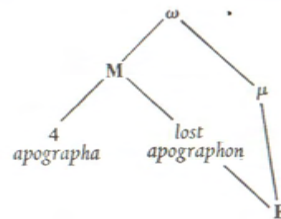
¹⁹ Cf. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*² (Firenze 1962) 27, end of first paragraph.

bear out the conclusion that the Scurialensis T.I.15, although very close to M, is of some value as an independent text witness. The most economical way of accounting for the fact that a manuscript which is so close to M as to have deceived all modern editors²⁰ into regarding it as an apograph still contains a few readings which can hardly be conjectural or fortuitous, would be to regard it as derived from a *gemellus* of M. This hypothesis would not be disproved by the treatment in E of certain readings which in M are presented as the conjectures of the *διορθωτής*. For instance, at lines 308 and 428 M has marginal readings prefixed by the word *οἶμαι*; E has these marginal readings or something very close to them in the text, and no trace of the readings which are in the text of M. If we discount the theoretical possibility that the *διορθωτής* presented readings which he had found elsewhere as his own conjectures,²¹ there are two ways of explaining this and similar occurrences in E: either (1) these readings are derived from M itself through one or several lost intermediate sources which combined M readings with readings from a lost manuscript which was independent of M—and this is perfectly possible²²—or (2) they too come from the lost *gemellus*, which had been corrected by the same *διορθωτής* as has M, and therefore contained the same, or nearly the same, variants and conjectures as does M. E or his source in many cases—not invariably²³

²⁰ This is a very polite way of putting it. There is no reason to believe that any editor after Hermann ever saw this manuscript; and Hermann himself relied on the collation of Fr. Dietz (Haupt's preface, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.3] p. viii).

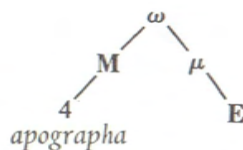
²¹ Such things certainly did happen in the XV and XVI centuries. The Bononiensis copies out an *οἶμαι* at lines 308 and 428, and so does E itself at line 248.

²² There are four or five faulty readings in E which to a reader who has M at his elbow look very much like misinterpretations of letters in M which are correct but can easily be misread. The most remarkable cases are: 310 *συγκάλλως* M², *συγκάλλως* E; 843 *πολύρροτον* M, *πολύρροτον* E, 1043 *ψέδρα* M¹, *ψέδρα* E. I do not find this evidence conclusive (*cf.* in general Pasquali, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.19] 35); but naturally it must be taken into account. If E combines M readings with readings derived from a lost independent manuscript, the stemma would be this:



²³ At lines 8, 248, 271, 324, for instance, E has the same variant readings as has M.

—followed the normal practice of late copyists in choosing between such alternatives instead of reproducing both of them. For my part, without believing that it is the only possible solution, I shall prefer the simpler alternative, *viz.* that the minuscule²⁴ exemplar of M was copied at least twice at the same place and at the same time (about or soon after A.D. 1000), and that the copies were controlled and corrected by the same man, our famous *διορθωτής*. The transmission of the text of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* could then be visualized by means of the following stemma:



Whether it is possible to detect traces of the lost μ in existing manuscripts of the Byzantine triad, *Agamemnon*, and *Eumenides*, I do not know; as for *Choephoroe*, unfortunately, there is no hope. The three existing late manuscripts of this tragedy—Laur. Marc. 222, Bon. 2271, Guelf. 88—copy the text of M for *Choephoroe* as they do for *Supplices*; this is proved already by the fact that they all lack the beginning of the prologos. About the vicissitudes of μ , where it was kept, when and where it was copied, whether at that time it contained more than *Supplices*, and when and how it was lost, nothing can be known at present.

II

The practical consequences of this new evaluation of E for the constitution of the text will be infinitesimally small. Only *ἐμβολαῖς* 421, *βίαι* 576, and perhaps *ὄμου* 828, have a claim for consideration as new readings preferable to the vulgate readings. But future apparatuses to the *Suppliants* will have to be supplemented in several places. Since we can no longer be sure that what looks like a conjecture in E is really one, we shall have to communicate in the apparatus all deviations of E from M except quite trivial ones. Consequently, although I am playing the cards out of my own hand, I shall end this article by subjoining collations as complete as humanly possible of the text and scholia of

²⁴ A good example of minuscule error in M is *κάκκας* at line 828.

E, for the use of editors who feel convinced by my argument. In order not to leave any questions unanswered, I have included so to speak everything, even the most insignificant differences in accentuation, word division and orthography. The outcome is a rather dull and lengthy list, full of silly mistakes, and where the pearls are few and far between; but I know myself the feeling of frustration evoked by the use of incomplete collations made by others. There will be enough mistakes and omissions in my own, even so.²⁵ The collations are made against the text of M. I have checked the readings of M as meticulously as I have those of E, so that, allowing for human frailty, I do not think it will be far off the truth to say that where my readings differ from those adduced in the apparatuses of current editions, I am usually right and the editions are wrong. The symbols used in the collations will not need explanation; I only want to make it clear that the symbols M¹ (E¹) and M² (E²) signify primary and secondary readings and do not imply any attempt at ascribing readings to different scribal hands. In most cases, that is, M² will mean the reading of the *διορθωτής*, but it need not do so. Finally, I add the precaution that whereas all cases of M² against M¹E have been recorded, cases of M¹ against M²E have been omitted except where I found special reason to mention them. The line numbering is that of the Oxford text, second edition (Oxford 1955); in the collation of the scholia, the numbers in brackets are the line reference numbers in Dindorf's edition (Oxford 1851). Where there is no such number, the scholion is not included in Dindorf's edition.²⁶

E = Scurialensis T.I.15, collated against M = Mediceus Laur. xxxii 9

TEXT

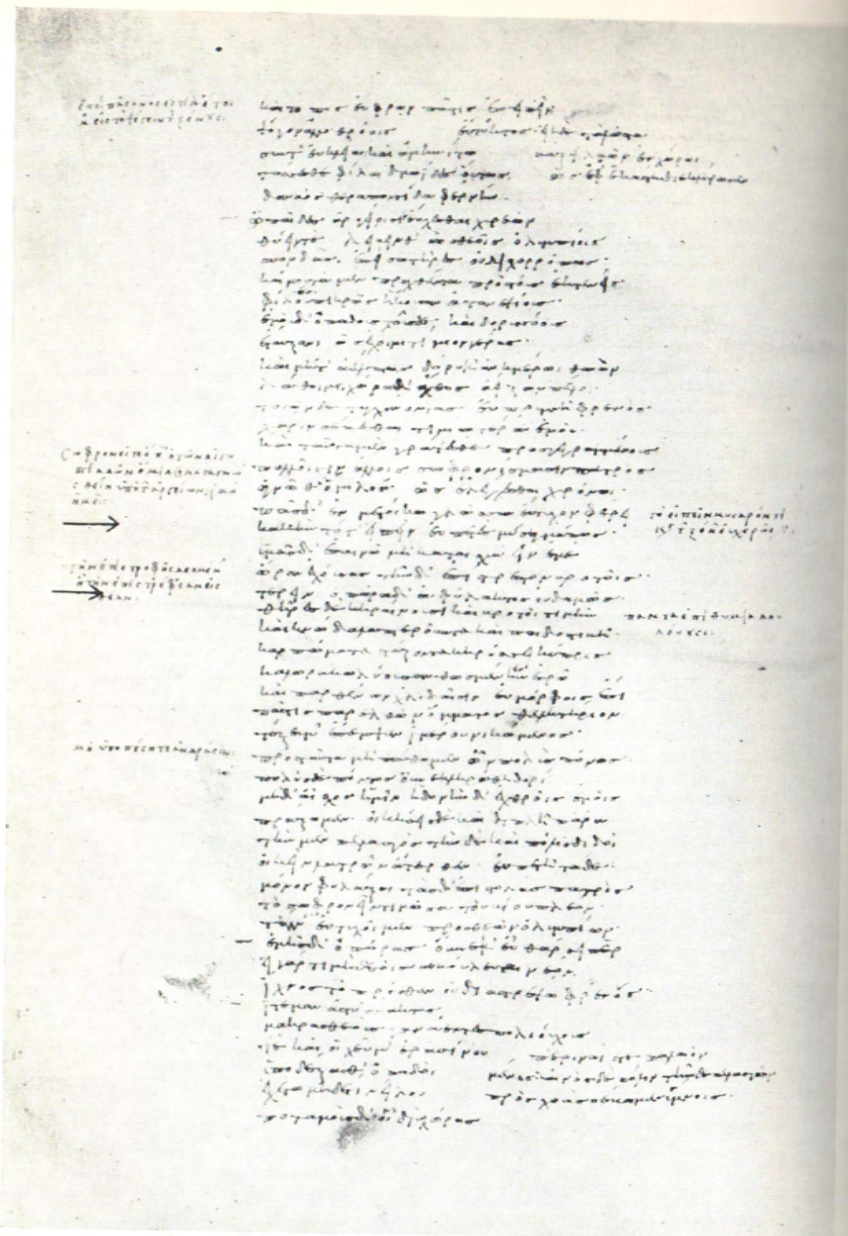
2. *ἡμέτερον* M: *ἡμετέρον* E (sic saepius)
- 2-3. *νάιον . . . προστομίων* om. E, sed add. in marg. dextro post *λεπτομαθῶν*
8. *αὐτογένητον* M: *αὐτογέννητον* E

²⁵ There would, however, have been many more if I had not been able to draw on the valuable assistance of Mrs Bodil Due, M.A., for whose cooperation in making collations I hereby express my warmest gratitude.

²⁶ Bad as Dindorf's edition is, he cannot be blamed for all these "omissions." For practical reasons I have included variant readings and conjectures in M, which Dindorf omitted in principle, among the scholia.

12. στασιάρχος M: στασιάραρχος E
 13. ἐπέκρανε M: ἐπέκραγε E
 14. διακυμ.αλέον M¹: διακυμβαλέον M²: ακυμβαλέον E¹, spatia ii v. iii
 litterarum relicto: δ'ε in spatia sed paulo superius add. E²
 22. κλάδοισι M: κλάδοισιν E
 26. Ζεὺς M: Ζεὺ E
 36. ὄλουτο M: ὄλλουτο E
 47. εὐλόγως om. E
 48. δ' ἐγέννασε οντ' M¹: δὲ γέννας ἐόντ' M²: δ' ἐγένασ' ἐόντ' E
 59. ἔγγαιος M: ἔγγεος E
 63. ἀτοπο χώρων M: ἀτοποχώρων E
 70. ἀπαλάν M: ἀπελάν E
 75. φυγὰς M: φυγᾶς E
 79. ἦβαι M: καὶ E
 83. ἔστι M: ἔτι E
 κάκ M: κακο E
 89. πάνται M: πάντα E
 90. μερόπεσι M: μερόπεσι E
 95. κατειδεῖν M: κατιδεῖν E
 107. θάλος M²: θάλ.ς M¹: θάλλος E
 108. δυσπαραβούλοιον φρεσίν M: δυσπαραβούλοισι φρεσί E
 109. μινόλιν M: μαινόλη E
 110. ἄται M: ἄται E
 117, 128. paragr. habet M, om. E
 120. λίνουισιν M: λίνουισιν ἦ E
 120, 130. ἐμπίντω M: ἐμπιντῶ E
 124. ἐπιδρόμο πόθι M²: ἐπιδρόμω πόθι M¹E
 126. δυσάγκριτοι M: δυσέγκριτοι E
 127. ποῖ M: πῆ E
 132. αἴνοισιν ἦ M: αἴνοισιν ἦ E
 136. ἔπεμπε M: ἔπεμπεν E
 συμποιαῖς M: ἀμπνοῖς E
 137. τελευτᾶς M: τελευτᾶς E
 142, 152. ἐέ M: ἐέ E
 155. ἠδιόκτυπον M: ἠδιόκτυπο E
 162. ἀζηνιουσιν M: ἀζηνι οὐσίω E
 172. ἔκτισεν M: ἔκτισε E
 178. προμηθίαν M²: προμήθειαν M¹E
 183. ὀχήμασιν M: ὀχήμασι E
 190. κρείσσον M²: κρείσσων M¹E
 198. μετώπω M: μετάπω E
 208. θέλομ' ἄν M: θέλοι μάν E

212. κικλίσκεται M¹: κικλήσκεται M²: κικλήσκεται E
 215. εὐγνώη M: εὐ γνώη E
 216. σύνγνοιτο M: σύγγνοιτο E
 217. κικλίσκω M: κικλήσκω E
 224. ἕξεσθαι M: ἕξεσθε M^m: ἕξεσθε E
 235. πυκνώμασι M: πυκνώμασιν E
 240. ἀκρέστως M: ἀκράτως E
 248. ἠτηρόν ἠέρου M: ἠ τηρόν ἠέρου E
 254. αἰδνης M: αἰδνης E
 255. πρὸς δύνοντος M: προσδύνοντος E
 256. περραῖβων M: παρραιβῶν E
 275. σπέρματ' M: σπέρμα τ' E
 277. ἄπειστα M: ἀπέιστα E
 282. χαρακτήρ τ' M: χαρακτήρε τε E
 285. ἀστραβιζούσας M²: ἀστραβιζούσας M¹E
 287. κρεοβρότους M: κρεωβρότους E
 290. τόσον M: τόσον E
 293. ἦν M: ἦν E
 295. μιχθῆνα M: μιχθῆναι E
 299. ἔθηκεν M: ἔθεικεν E
 303. ἐπέστησεν M: ἐπέστησε E
 305. κατέκτανεν M: κατέκτανε E
 308. πέδας M: οἶμαι παῖδες M^m: παῖδες E
 309. ἦλασεν M: ἦλασε E
 310. συγκόλλως ME^m: συγκάλλως E
 311. καὶ 'πι M: καπὶ E
 322. ἀφθόνωι M: ἀφώνωι E
 327. κατέσκηψεν M: κατέσκηψε E
 332. μεταπτοιοῦσαν M: μετὰ πτοίουσαν E
 333. paragr. om. M, habet E colore rubro additam
 φῆσ' M: φῆς E
 334. λευκοστεφεῖς M: νεοστεφεῖς E
 335, 337. paragr. om. M, habet E colore rubro additas
 342. αἶρασθαι M: ἄρασθαι E
 345. ἐστεμμένη M: ἐτεμμένη E
 346. λεύσων M: λέσσων E
 348. τέκος M²: τόκος M¹E
 351. πέτρας M²: π.ραις M¹: πέστραις E
 353. βοτῆρι M: βατῆρι E
 354. ὄρῶ M: ὄρῶσα E
 361. γεραφρόνων M: γεραφόνων E
 378. αὐτόδ' M: αὐτό δ' E



CODEX MEDICEUS LAURENTIANUS 32.9 [M] OF AESCHYLUS, fol. 187v
 (Supplices 972-1025)
 The arrows mark lines 995 and 998

- 589. κυρήσαις M: κηρύσαις E
- 590. ἐνδικωτέροιαι M: ἐνδικωτέροιαι E
- 595. ἀρχὰς M: ἀρχὰς E
- 596. κρείσσον M: κρείσσον E
- 597. ὄστινος M¹, ut videtur: ὄστινος M²: οὔστινος E
 ἡμένου M: ἡμεν οὐ E
- 602. ἀγγέλλων M²: ἀγγέλων M¹: ἀγέλλων E
- 606. ἡβήσαιμι M: ἡγήσαιμι E
- 610. καρυσιάστους M: κάρυσιάστους E
 τ' om. E
- 611. ἐπηλύδων M: ἐπιλύδων E
- 617. εἰσόπιν M: ἐς ὄπιν E
- 618. ἀστικόν M: ἀστυκόν E
- 621. ἀργεῖος M: ἀργεῖος E
- 624. ἐπέκραναν M: ἐπέκρανε E
- 632. γένει M¹: γένη M²: χενεῖ E
- 634. βοᾶν M: βοᾶν E
- 639. ᾠκτεῖσαν M¹: ᾠκτισαν M²: ᾠκτισαν E
- 654. τοιγὰρ τί M: τοιγὰρ τοι E
- 656. ὑπὸ σκιῶν M²: ὑποσκίων M¹E
- 664. μηδ' M: μῆ E
- 671. Ζῆν ἀμέγα M: Ζῆνα μέγα E
- 682. δακρυογόνον M: δακρυογόνου E
- 687. νεολαία M¹: νεολαία M²: νεολαία E
- 700. προμαθεὺς M²: προμηθεὺς M¹E
- 706. δαφνοφόροιαι M¹: δαφνοφόροιαι M²E
- 713. ἀπὸ σκοπῆς M: ἀποσκοπῆς E
- 715. παραρρύσεις M: παρρύσεις E
- 716. ὄμμασιν M: ὄμμασι E
- 718. τῶς M: τῶς E
- 719. μελαγχίμοις M: μελαγχίμοις E
- 720. γύιοι M: γυίοι E
- 727. πρεσβῆμολοι M: πρεσβῆμολοι E
- 735. ἤκουσιν M: ἤκουσι E
- 740. ἐγών M: ἐγὼ E
- 741. ἐξώλεσας τίμαργον M: ἐξώλεσας τίμαργον E
- 744. νῆας M: νεῖας E
 ᾧδ' ἐπεὶ M: ᾧδέος πεί E
- 745. μελαχείμω M: μελαχείμω E
- 746. μεσημβρία M: μεσημέρια E
- 747. θάλπτει βραχείον M: θάλπτει βραχίον' E
- 748. πρόλιπε M: πρόλειπε E

749. μονωθεῖσ' M: μονωθεῖ ἄ E
 751. φρεσίν M: φρεσὶ E
 753. ταυτω M: ταῦτ' ᾧ E
 757. paragr. habet M, om. E
 763. ὀργάς M: ὀργμὰς E
 772. θρασυνθήναι M: θρανσυνθήναι E
 774. πράξας M: πράξασ' E
 775. εὐγλώσσωσ' M: εὐγλώσσω E
 777. πεισόμεσθα M: πεισόμεθα E
 778. ἐστί M: ἐτί E
 783. ἄτερθεν M: ἄτερθε E
 786. πατροσκοπαι δὲ M: πατρος κο παιδε E
 790. τῶδ' ἐχρημφθῆν χροῖν M: τῶιδ' ἐγχιφθῆναι χροῖ E
 791. δάιδας ἀνάσσει M: δαῖδας ἀνάσει E
 794. ηλισσας M: ἡλίσσας E
 796. γυπιὰς M: γυπίας E
 πέτραβαθν M: πέτρα βαθν E
 798. βία M: βίαι E
 801. ὄρμισν M: ὄρμισι E
 806. αντᾶς M: αὐτᾶς E, ut videtur
 808. οὐράνια M: οὐρανία E
 810. πως M: πῶς E
 819. διώμενοι M: διῶμενοι E
 827. πρόμαρπτι M: πρόμαρτι E
 ὄμ M: ὄμον E
 829. βοᾶν M: βοᾶν E
 833. βλοσυρόφρονα M: βλοσσυρόφρονα E
 834-35. δυσφοραναῖ κᾶν γᾶι γᾶι ἄναξ M: δυσφοραῖ κᾶν γεῶι ἄναξ E
 841. ἀποκοπα M: ἀποκοπὰ E
 842. ὀλύμεναι M: ὀλλόμεναι E
 843. πολύρρυτον M: πολύρροτον E
 846. διώλου M: διόλου E
 847. ἐπάμιδα M: ἐπ' ἀμίδα E
 848. ησνδουπια M: ησνδουπία E
 865. ὀλόμεναι M: ὀλλόμεναι E
 866. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ M: αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ E
 868. ἀλλίρυτον M: ἀλίρρυτον E
 870. πολυψάμμαθον M: πολυψάμμαθον E
 ἀλαθεῖς M: ἀλαθεῖς E
 871. εὐρείαις εἰν αὔραις M: om. E
 877. λυμασις M: λύμασις E
 882. εἰς M: ἐς E

883. ὄρον M: ὄσον E
 μηδέ τι M: μὴδ' ἔτι E
 885. βροτιοσα M: βρότιοσα E
 889, 899. ο το το το τοί M: ὄτοτοτοτοῖ E
 893-902. om., add. in marg. dext. E
 893. paragr. habet M, om. E
 895. μαι μαι M: μαιμαι E
 898. δακοσάχ M: δακοσεχ E
 907. χερεῖ M: χαρεῖ E
 910. ἔξυ τῶν M: ἔξυ τῶν, eraso σ inter υ et τ, E
 920. ἐρμηῖ M: ἐρμηῖ E
 923. κάτω ME: κλύω E^m
 931. ἀπαγγέλειν M: ἀπαγγέλλειν E
 932. φῶ M: σφῶ E
 935. οὐκεναργύρου M: οὐκ ἐν ἀργύρου E
 936. γίνεται M: γίνγεται E
 938. τοῦνομ' ἐν M: τοῦνομεν E
 939. εἰσθιγαυτος χοῦ M: ἴσως γ' αὐτὸς χοῖ M^m: ἴσθι γ' αὐτὸς χοῖ E
 941. λόγος M: λόγοις E
 946. πίναξίν M: πίναξ E
 947. βίβλων M: βύβλων E
 948. ἐξελευθεροστόμου M: ἐξ ἐλευθεροστόμου E
 954. ὀπάοσιν M: ὀπάοσιν E
 958. σμικραῖ M: σμικαῖ E
 984. φίλων M²: φίλου M¹E
 985. ἐμούς M¹: ἐμὸν δ' M²: ἐμούς δ' E
 ὀπαδοῦς M: ὀπαδοῦς E
 987. δορυκ' ἀνημέρωι M: δόρυ κᾶνημέρωι E
 990. τιμωτέραν M: τιμωτέρα E
 991. πρὸς γεγραμμένους M: προσγεγραμμένα E
 992. σωφρονίσμασιν M: σωφρονίσμασι E
 994. μετοίκω M: μετοίμω E
 995. κακὴν M: κα ἦν, spatio unius litterae relicto, E
 998. εὐφύλακτος M: ἐ φύλακτος, spatio unius litterae relicto, E
 1002. θωσμένην M¹: θωσμένειν M²: θωσαμένην E
 1010. πελασγὸς M: πελασιγὸς E
 1018. ἴτεμαν M: ἴτε μᾶν E
 1019. μάκρας ME: μάκαρας E^m
 1021. ὀπαδοῖ M: ὀπαδοί E
 1027. πῶμα M: πόμα E
 χέουσιν M: χέουσι E
 1028. γαίας M: γαίης E

1029. οὔδας M: ου οὔδας E
 1032. ἔλθει M: ἔλθοι E
 1038. ματρὶ M: μητρὶ E
 1041. θεά|κτορι M: θέα|κτορι E¹: θεά|κτορι E²
 1042. ψεδυρα M¹: ψεθυρα M²: ψέδρα E
 1047. ἐστιν M: ἐστι E
 1048. ἐστὶν M: ἐστὶ E
 1052. ἀπαλέξαι ME²: ἀπαλλάξαι E¹
 1055. θέλγεις M: θέλεις E
 1057. φρεναδίαν M: φρένα δίαν E
 1064. δαίνοσπεριω M: δάιον ὄσπερ ἰώ E
 1065. ἔλυσαι M: ἐλύσαι E
 1066. παιώνια M: παιώνια E
 1068. γυναιξίν M: γυναιξί E
 1073. μηχαναῖς M: μηχανός E

SCHOLIA

- 2 (3). αἰγύπτου M: καὶ γύπτου E
 τῆς πρό M: τῆς προ προθέσεως E
 6 (7). ψήφωι πόλεως M: πόλεως ψήφω E
 8¹ (9). φυλαξάνορα M: φυγαξάνορα E
 8². γράφεται φυξάνορα M: γράφεται φυγαξάνορα E
 12² (13²). ὑπτούτων M: ὑπὸ τούτων E
 26 (27). εἶπε M: εἶπεν E
 31¹⁻² (32¹⁻²) continua in E
 πηλώδει M: πηλέδει E
 ψαμμώδει M: om. E
 ψάμμον M: ψάμμενον E
 ὡς ὁ . . . ἄσιν om. E
 33-36 (34). πόντον δέ M: πόντονδε E
 βροντῆ M: βροντῆς E
 ἄλοιτο M: ἄλλοιτο E
 38 (39). τῶν ἐκ τοῦ M: τοῦ E
 45 (45). ἐπέπνευσε M: ἐπέπνευσεν E
 49 (48). ἐπικαλουμένη M: ἐπικεκλιμένη E
 52 (52). ἐγὼ διηγουμένη M: διηγουμένη E
 58 (57). οἰωνῶν M: ἰωνῶν E
 γινωσκόντων M: γιγνωσκόντων E
 60 (59) om. E
 69 (69). ἐλληνικῆ M: ἐλληνική E

- 71 (71). θερισθεῖσαν M: θε σθεισαν, spatio duarum litterarum relicto, E
 73 (73). ἀποτρέπομαι M: ἀποδρέπομαι E
 75 (75). σκοτεινῆς M: σκοτινῆς E
 ὡς ὑπόγειος M: ὑπόγειος E
 77 (77). ἀλλ' M: ἐλ' E
 79. τῆνδε M: om. E
 83 (82). διὰ τὸ M: δικτὸ E
 85. λείπει ἢ διὰ M: om. E
 87 (86). νόον M: νόων E
 91¹ (90). τοὺς παλαιστὰς M: πελεστὰς E
 98 (96). ἀξίους M: ἀξίως E
 ὃ ἐστι M: ἤγουν E
 101² (100). (ἐπὶ τῶν) ἀγνῶν, (ἀπὸ τῶν) ἀγνῶν M: ἀνῶν utrobique E
 108-10 (108). ἑαυτοῦ M: αὐτοῦ E
 μαινόλιν M: μαινόλη E
 119 (118). γῆ M: γῆν E
 127 (126²) om. E
 135¹ (134¹). τρυπῶντες τὰς ναῦς M: τὰς ναῦς τρυπῶντες E
 ὀμήρωι M: ὄμηρον E
 ἀκειαμενον M: ἀκειάμενοι E
 ράπτιας M: συρράπιας E
 φησί M: φασί E
 135² (134²). εἴργων M: εἴγων E
 138-40 (138) om. E
 143 (143) om. E
 145-46 (146) om. E
 156 (157) om. E
 168 (168). τότε M: τότε E
 179 (179). ἀπογραφομένης M: ἀπογραφομένης E
 187 (187). ὄρμῆς M: ὄργῆς E
 191 (191). ἐστεμμένης M: ἐστεμμένης E
 200-01²⁻¹ (200¹⁻²) continua in E
 209 (209). μετὰ τὸ M: μετὰ E
 οἰκτειρήσης ἡμᾶς M: ἡμᾶς οἰκτειρήσης E
 212 (212). ὁ ἀλεκτρῶν M: ἀλεκτρῶν E
 220 (220). αὐτῶν M: αὐτὸν E
 224. ἕξεσθε κέρκω M: om. E
 225 (225¹). ὑμῖν M: ἡμῖν E
 247 (247) bis scriptum in E, supra ἔτην 247 et supra πόλεως ἀγὼν
 248, sed hic linea per litteras ducta rursus deletum
 248². οἴμαι ἢ ἔρμου ραβδόν M: οἴμαι ἢ ἔρμου E

- 251 (251) om. E
 254 (254). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 αἴας M: αἴης E
 255¹. το M: om. E
 255³ (255). μέρους M: μέρου E
 στρυμόνος M: στρυμώνος E
 270 (270). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 276 (276). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 284 (284). εὐκυΐαις M: εὐκυΐαι E
 285 (285). νωτοφόρος M: στοφόρος E
 287–89 (287) om. E
 298 (297). τὰ νείκη M: τὴν νίκη E
 εἰς M: ἐς E
 308. οἶμαι παῖδες M: om. E
 318–19 (317). ὁ εὐριπίδης M: ὁ δριπί⁸ E
 παῖδας εἶναι M: εἶναι παῖδας E
 333 (332¹). διὰ τί M: διαδή E
 ἐλληλυθῆναι M: ἐλληλυθῆναι E
 336 (332²). ἀθέμιτος M: ἀθήμιτος E
 344 (341). συνέπρασσον M: συνέπρακτον E
 346 (345). πεπληρωμέναις M: πεπληρωμένους E
 359 (359). τὴν μὴ M: ἧ E
 361 (361). νεωτέρας M: νεητέρας E
 γέρων M: γεραιὸς E
 365–66¹ (366). τὴν ἐστίαν M: ἐτίαν E
 365–66² (366). ποιείσθε M: ποιείσθαι E
 376 (377) om. E
 381–84 (383). ἀτυχούντων M: ἀτεχούντων E
 385–86 (385). πασχόντων M: πασχούντων E
 386 (386) om. E
 393–95 (394). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 405–06 (406). συμμαχῆσαι M: συμμαχεῖν E
 428. οἶμαι μητι τλαίης τὰν ἱκετίν M: om. E
 433 (434¹) om. E
 435–36 (436). τὰ κ' M: τὰδ' E
 438, 439 (438, 439) continua in E
 444 (444). ἐμπιπλώντος M: ἐμπιπλώντος E
 454 (453) om. E
 463 (463). καινοῖς M: καινώς E
 465 (465). ἐξήρηται M: ἐξήδηται E
 466². μακιστήρα ἰόν M: om. E
 492 (492). φράσσοντας M: φράσσαντας E

- 501 (501). τὰς ἔδρας M: ἔδρας E
 502 (502). συντυγχάνουσι M: ξυντυγχάασιν E
 505 (505). τοῦ ποῦ M: τοῦ E
 509 (509). ἱερόν M: ἰδρόν E
 528² (528²). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 530 (530). ἐν ἧι M: ἧι E
 532 (532). πολυβόητον M: πολυβόντον E
 535 (535). ἐφάπτωρ M: ἐφάπτω E
 540 (540). ἐχιλοῦτο M: ἀχιλοῦτο E
 541 (541). ἐλαυνομένη M: ἐλαυνομένα E
 547 (547). λείπει M: λίπει E
 554–55 (555). φησὶ M: φήσιν E
 559 (559). χιόνος M: χιῶνος E
 561 (561). ἀήρ M: ἀνῆρ E
 567, 568 (567, 568) continua in E
 574 (574). κραίνων M: γρ(άφεται) κραίνων E
 576 (576). λείπει M: λίπει E
 588–89 (588). κυρήσεις M: κυρήσει E
 607–08 (608). χείρας M: χέρας E
 612 (612). τὸ τίς M: τίς E
 616–18 (617). αὐξήσει M: αὐξήση E
 619 (619). ἐλεοῦμεν M: ἐλεοῦμενον E
 621–22 (621). ἐπέκραναν M: ἐπέκαμναν E
 ταῦτα M: τοῦτα E
 630 (630). ἀντί M: ἀντί τοῦ E
 636² (635²). κατωφερῆ M: κατοφερῆ E
 646–47 (647). Διὸς σκοπὸν τὸν Διὸς M: τοῦ Διὸς E
 651 (651). ἐρίπει M: ἐρείπει E
 652 (652). συναπτέον M: συναπτέων E
 655 (655). ἀρέσκια M: ἀρέσκειαν E
 ἄγουσιν M: ἄγουσι E
 667–69 (668²). τοῖς γέρουσιν αἰ θυμέλαι M: αἰθυμέλαι τοῖς γέρουσιν E
 671–72 (671). σεβόντων τὸν Δία M: τὸν Δία σεβόντων E
 674 (674). om. E
 684–85 (684). ἄποθεν M: ἄπωθεν E
 693 (693) om. E
 695 (695) om. E
 698² (698²) om. E
 700 (700). ὑπὸ M: ὑ ἀπὸ E
 715²⁻¹ (715²⁻¹) continua in E
 717–18 (718). ἡμῶν M: ἡμῶν, spatio duarum litterarum relicto, E
 731 (731). καταφυγῆς M: κατὰ φυγῆς E

- 735 (735). *τούτων* M: *σού των* E
 736-38 (736). *ἐνθάδε* M: *ἐνταῦθα* E
 757¹ (757¹). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 764 (764). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 765 (765²). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 πίσματα M: *πείσματα* E
 785 (785). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 786 (786). *ἐτάραξεν* M: *ἐ|πάρραξεν* E
 802 (802). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 808-09 (808). *ἐαυταῖς* M: *ἡαυταῖς* E
 810 (810²). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 820 (820). *ζητήσεω* M: *ζητήσεσι* E
 826² (826²). *πρώην* M: *πρὶν* E
 νῦν δὲ M: *νῦν* E
 827¹ (827¹). *μάρπτι* M: *μάρπι* E
 828 (827²). *μίσσημα* ME¹: *μίμημα* E²
 ἐποίησε M: *ἐποίησεν* E
 τὴν ὑστέραν M: *τοῖς ὑστέροις* E
 829-30 (830). *παρὰ* M: *περὶ* E
 832 (832). *ἐπηρμένην* M: *ἐπηρμένων* E
 παρὰ τὸ M: *περὶ τὸ ἐπὶ* E
 835 (835). *πρὸ* M: *πρὸς* E
 837 (837). *ἔχετε τάχος* M: *ἄχετε τάχους* E
 838 (838). *ἀντί* M: *ἀντί τοῦ* E
 852 (852). *κατάλειπε* M: *κατάλιπε* E
 τοὺς M: *τέρ* E
 855 (855¹). *ἐντιμον* M: *τὸ ἐντιμον* E
 859, 859-60 (858¹⁻²) continua in E
 863. *πεπειραμένα* M: *πεπειρασμένην* E
 875 (875). *ἴζε* M: *ῥζε* E
 885-86 (885). *ἐπεὶ θαρσοῦσαι αὐταῖς* M: *θαρσοῦσαιμαὶ τοῖς* E
 888 (888). *μηδὲν* M: *οὐδὲν* E
 890 (890) om. E
 900. *ὦ μήτηρ γῆ* M: om. E
 915 (915). *ὀρθὴν* M: *ὀρδὴν* E
 934-36 (934). *οὐ δεήσει* M: *οὐδὲν σοι* E
 κρίνει τὸ νεῖκος M: *δικάζει τὸν εἶκος* E
 939. *ἴσως γ' αὐτὸς χοῖ συνεῖ* M: om. E
 946-49 (946) om. E
 969 (969). *ποιούμενον* M: *πιούμενον* E
 991-93 (992). *καταγνωσθεῖη* M: *καταγνωσθῆ* E
 1006-09 (1006) om. E

- 1034 (1034). *ὑμετέρου* M: *ἡμετέρου* E
 1070 (1071). *ἔστι* M: *ἔστιν* E
 ἀπαλλαγῆι M: *ἀπαλλα* in fine lineae E
 ἐν M: *ὄν* E.

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