

The Scribal Habits of Demetrius Moschus

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IN A PREVIOUS article¹ Francis Vian and I established the existence and importance of a group of late XV- and early XVI-century MSS of Apollonius Rhodius. This group (known collectively as the *d* group) suffered much contamination from the rest of the transmission but can be considered to be principally the work of one man, namely Demetrius Moschus, who copied four of the five MSS of the group. His editorial technique has already been discussed.² This article is concerned with the alterations Moschus made in the text of the *Argonautica*.

“The unconscious habits of scribes are as important for an editor to understand as their deliberate actions,” Dawe rightly tells us.³ For this reason I find his use of the general term ‘emendation’ to cover “anything in which the mind has a part” unsatisfactory, since the mindless is surely as important an indication of the scribe’s worth *qua* scribe as the mindful. I have therefore chosen to employ the term ‘degenerative change’, coined by Mrs Easterling,⁴ in assessing the effect of Moschus’ pen on the transmission of Apollonius.

Mrs Easterling begins her discussion of the text of Sophocles’ *Ajax* offered by the ‘Roman’ family as follows:

Most of the characteristic ‘Roman’ readings are just the sort one would expect to find in a text that went on being copied so far into the Middle Ages, symptoms, in fact, of the natural process of degeneration. These ‘degenerative changes’ can be divided into two categories: mechanical errors (which abound in ρ) and deliberate alterations (in a charitable mood one might call them emendations). These deliberate emendations, though no doubt usually intended as improvements, are essentially corruptions; they are part of the process of simplification and ‘normalization’ that affects every text in its successive re-copyings.

¹ “The So-called D-Manuscripts of Apollonius,” *GRBS* 14 (1973) 301–18.

² *Ibid.* pp.315–17.

³ R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964) 47.

⁴ *CQ* N.S. 17 (1967) 58.

This seems to me the most realistic approach to adopt. Selected instances of degeneration in the Moschan manuscripts will be discussed under the following heads: (a) alteration on metrical grounds; (b) Homericism; (c) echo other than Homericism; (d) trivial substitution or substitution of a common or late word for a rare or early one; (e) easier syntax preferred; (f) change due to misunderstanding; (g) intrusion of a gloss; (h) other embellishments (which may or may not be mechanical). There will inevitably be some degree of overlap between categories. Whether or not the reader agrees with my classification of the alterations, it will become obvious that we are dealing with a scribe who was well versed in early epic and not inhibited by over-cautiousness. If on occasion he is described as foolish or rash this may be taken as either indirect criticism of his predecessor(s) or a reflection of the fact that even the best of scribes is liable to carelessness.

The manuscripts discussed are:

M Milan, *Ambros.* 426 (H.22 sup.) (Books 1 and 2), early XVI century

R Vatican, *gr.* 1358, *ca.* 1505, Demetrius Moschus

Q Vatican, *gr.* 37, *ca.* 1491–1514, Demetrius Moschus

C Rome, *Casan.* 408 (G.III.5), 1490–1510, Demetrius Moschus

D Paris, *gr.* 2729, 1490–1510, Demetrius Moschus

d Collective siglum for the group **MRQCD**

The lemmata are taken from Fränkel's Oxford Classical Text (Oxford 1961). Other editions cited are those of Brunck (Strasburg 1780), Wellauer (Leipzig 1828), Mooney (Dublin 1912; repr. Amsterdam 1964), Gillies (Book 3, Cambridge 1928), and Vian (Book 3, Paris 1961).

(a) ALTERATION ON METRICAL GROUNDS

1.19 *καμέειν*] *γε καμείν* **R.** *γε*, "the universal panacea,"⁵ comes to **R**'s rescue, but it is a distinct improvement on *καμείν*.

334 *τοῖο*] *τοῖό γ'* **D.** To avoid the hiatus. We may note another hiatus earlier in the same line, 'correction' of which is not attempted. This illustrates the sporadic and unsystematic nature of these alterations.

665 *ὑμέων δ' εἴ τις ἄρειον ἔπος*] *ὑμείων δ' εἴ κεν τις ἔπος* **D.** All our MSS

⁵ Dawe, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.3) 44.

read *ὕμειων* with **LAPE**. **D** restores the metre and retains the syntax,⁶ but at the expense of a vital adjective. Presumably the idea came from the end of 663, *εἴ κε δαείην*.

976 κλείτη] κλείτη τ' **RQ**. To avoid the hiatus.

1313 ἐπορέξατο] μεγ' ὀρέξατο **MC**. An attempt to remove the superfluous syllable in the text of *k* (μέγ' ἐπορέξατο). See Fränkel's apparatus.

2.1 ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν] ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔσαν **RQC**. ἔνθ' ἔσαν is the reading of **BPMD** which, as the copyist realizes, does not scan.

143 ἐτάμοντο] ἐλάασκον **MRQ**. A correction of ἐλαύνοντο which **D** reads here,⁷ no doubt influenced by δηιάσκον above in 142.

160 ἀγχιάλου φύλλοις τῆ περ] ἀγχιάλω τῆ γὰρ καὶ τῆ **MRQC**. Faced with ἀγχιάλω τῆ καὶ τῆ (*k*) the scribe employs γὰρ as a stopgap.

256 νόω ἔνι] ἐνὶ φρεσὶ **MRC**, μετὰ φρεσὶ **Q**. This is the only reading which Fränkel mentions anywhere as proof of **D**'s descent from **B**.⁸ But in fact *k* read ταῦτα ἐνιβάλλεο (*sic EKB*); **P** and *d* corrected independently: ταῦτ' ἐνιβάλλεο θυμῶ **P**, ταῦτα ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο *d*. All one can say then is that here *d* rests on the text of *k*.⁹ To avoid the hiatus **Q** emended ἐνὶ το μετὰ.

271 πόντοιο] πόντου **R**. Faced with πόντοιο φορέ(ρ)οντο (**MQCD**), the scribe makes the obvious correction.

329 ἐφίεμαι] ἀφίεμεν **MRQ**. An attempt to correct ἰέμεν in **D**.

397 ἔχονται] ἔασιν **MRQC**. An intelligent suggestion to replace ἔχονται, which is omitted by **BH**.¹⁰

513 θέσαν ἦρανον] θέσσαν ἐπήρανον **M**. The scribe may have miscounted the number of syllables, or found θέσσαν in his model and corrected the wrong word. Alternatively it could simply be faulty introduction of a compound form.

725 πνοιῆ δὲ] πνοιῆσι **RQ**. *k* could not tolerate the postponement of δὲ and, followed by **CD**, wrote ὑπὸ δὲ. **RQ** were driven to correct πνοιῆ to πνοιῆσι to give the line a metrical ending.

887 τὸ πάροιθε] προπάρειθε **MRQ**. **CDB** omit τὸ; **MRQ** use the prefix προ- as a stopgap.

⁶ For αἴ κε with the future indicative see *Iliad* 15.213.

⁷ See below, p.128, and H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* (Göttingen 1964) 90.

⁸ Fränkel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.7) 91 n. But see now Speake and Vian, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 307–09.

⁹ I owe this note to Francis Vian.

¹⁰ See Speake and Vian, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 307.

1103 οὐρανὸν] ὑπόθεν **D. MRQC** retain *k*'s unmetrical οὐρανόθεν: **D**'s suggestion is not without merit.

1114 κύματα] κῦμα τε **MRC**, κῦμα δὲ **D**. *k* reads κῦμα, which **D** and **MRC** attempt to correct.

1165 καὶ οἱ. **M. RQCDB** read εἰσαῦτις. **M** sees it is wrong but cannot find the right correction.

1200 ὄσον] ῥα **R. C** omits ὄσον; **R** seizes upon a suitable replacement.

1240 ἦλθ' ἵνα δῆ] ἔνθα δ' ἵνα **M. C** omits δῆ; **M** attempts to restore the correct number of syllables. Fränkel suggests, quite plausibly, that ἔνθ' results from a gloss on ἵνα.

3.223 ἀναβλύεσκε] ἀναβλύζεσκε **RQ**. The uncompounded βλύζω is much commoner than βλύω so, *pace* Vian, normalization is more likely than assurance of a long *v*.

254 δμωαὶ δὲ ποδῶν προπάροιθε] δμωαὶ δὲ πάροιθε **C**. All mss omit ποδῶν. **C** is one degree more corrupt but offers a scannable line of five feet.

305 ξείνων ἡμετέροισιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν] ξείνων ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐν ἡμετέροισιν **Q**. **Q** inherits the reading ξείνων from *k* and successfully restores the metre, though the duplicated preposition is rather clumsy. The transposition of μεγάροισιν and ἡμετέροισιν is harder to explain unless one or other had been omitted in the exemplar and inserted above the line.

437 αὐτῷ κεν] τῷ και μοι **D**. Restoration of the metre but not of the sense. **D** still has a μοι after μέλοιτό.

445 θηεῖτο οἱ. **C**, ῥίπτασκε **R**, κρύπτεσκε **Q**. **RQ** seem to be following **C** here and make intelligent, if mutually contradictory, guesses to fill the gap.

529 περίαλλα] περὶ ἄλλων γε **C** (περὶ ἄλλων *cett.*). Unsuccessful re-appearance of the 'universal panacea', employed no doubt to improve the scansion of the second half of the line, if not of the first.

571 ἄτε πτήσσοντας] ἐπιπτύσσοντας **RQ**. πτύσσοντας in **CD** is the result of iotacism, which also afflicts **RQ**, but the addition of the prefix ἐπι- is a great improvement metrically. ἄτε of course has no ms authority and is merely Fränkel's suggestion.

673 δάκρυσιν ὄσσε] δακρύοισι **R**. The omission of ὄσσε is inherited from *k*. **R** attempts correction but is apparently unaware that the second syllable of δάκρυνον is short, in spite of its appearance in the next line. But perhaps the scribe is ascribing to Apollonius an arbitrary lengthening of the *v metri causa*.

771 ἐγὼ νῦν ἔνθα κακῶν ἢ ἔνθα] ἔγωγ κακῶν (ἢ) ἔνθ' ἢ ἔνθα **RQ**. The root of the trouble is omission of νῦν (ἐγὼν for ἐγὼ νῦν by haplography in **D**) for which **RQ** are attempting to cover up.

990 σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ τείσαιμι χάριν μετόπισθεν ἀρωγῆς] σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ μετόπισθε τίσαιμι χάριν ἐπαρωγῆς **D**. The scribe is mistaken about the quantity of the first syllable of τίσαιμι.

1136 λιποῦς' ἄπο] λιποῦςά γε **RQC^{pc}**. Also the reading of **S** and *Paris.gr.* 2844, but the obvious change may well have occurred independently to an intelligent scribe.

1200 ἦνεικε] ἐπένεικε **C**. *k*, followed by **RQD**, has removed the augment: reasonably enough, **C** makes up the lost syllable with a prepositional prefix.

1210 ὑπέπερθεν] ἐφύπερθεν **RQ**. *k*, followed by **CD**, has ὑπερθεν by haplography. The scribe's remedy is the same as at 1200, but the result is less successful with regard to sense. The corruption was no doubt influenced by καθύπερθε at 1209.

4.277 νῦν μένει] μίμνει **RD**. Omission of νῦν is inherited from *k*. **RD** make up for the lost syllable at the expense of the caesura.

435 ἢ δ' ὄτε] ἢ δ' ὄτε δῆ **C**. Perhaps an inherited conjecture to deal with the omission of a syllable. The form κήρεσσιν survives in **H**, and **B** retains a reminiscence of it with κηρύ^{κε}σσιν.

673 οὐδ' ἀνδρεσσιν] ἀνδρες **R**. Another pentameter. **QB** also omit οὐδ'.

770 θοροῦσα] ὤρτο θέουσα **RQC**, ὤρτο θόρουσα **D**. All four mss read οὐλύμπου for οὐλύμποιο and insert ὤρτο in an attempt to make the second half of the line scan. Presumably Moschus allowed synecphonesis of -ου ὤρ-.

1083 ὑπερφιάλοιο] ὑπερφιάλου **RQ**. *k*'s reading of δεινὸν for βαρὺν precludes the genitive in -οιο.

1147 ὀφθαλμοῖς γλυκερὸν πόθον] ὀφθαλμοῖσι γλυκὺς πόθος **Q**. γλυκὺς is commoner than the form γλυκερὸς (though not in Apollonius), so we are surprised not to see it in **RC**, which, with **Q**, read ὀφθαλμοῖσι.

1470 ὄπη λίπε] ὄθι λείπετο **RQ**. The scribe finds λίπετο in his model (*sic* **CD**); his alteration restores neither sense nor metre (except that the second half of the line now scans).

In assessing these metrical alterations, it is important to remember that Demetrius Moschus was himself the author of a poem in some 460 Homeric hexameters on the *Rape of Helen*, otherwise known as the

Circa Helenam et Alexandrum.¹¹ This poem is highly derivative. Echoes of Homer and Apollonius are particularly abundant, and clearly the poet was familiar with all the relevant source material. Errors in prosody occur—occasional false quantity, absence of caesura, hiatus, others obviously resulting from the contemporary pronunciation of Greek. But they are not numerous nor (on the whole) of a serious nature. We must credit Moschus with a clear understanding of the basic principles of the Homeric metre. By and large this conclusion is supported by the metrical alterations discussed above; there are occasional lapses, but more than once we have noticed the scribe giving closer attention to metre than to sense.

(b) HOMERICISM

1.39 ἰόντες] ἰέντες **MRQCD**. Perhaps influenced by the passive *κυμφορέονται*, but ἴημι is the usual Homeric word for the movement of rivers, and there is similar confusion in the mss at *Iliad* 12.33.

753 τινάσων] τιταίνων **D**. ἡνία τείνας is the Homeric phrase, cf. *Iliad* 5.262, which the scribe seems to be adapting here.

811 χῆραί τ' ἐπὶ τῆσι] χῆραί τε γυναῖκες **MR**. Thoughtless intrusion of a Homeric reminiscence: cf. *Iliad* 2.289.

971 μέλεσθαι] μέδεσθαι **MRD**. Apollonius does not use this word but cf. *Iliad* 2.384 πολέμοιο μεδέσθω. On the other hand it could be a misreading of μέλεσθαι.

1062 ὀψιγόνοιςιν ἰδέσθαι] ὀψιγόνοιςι πυθέσθαι **D**. Mooney draws our attention to *Iliad* 22.305 καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, which clearly the scribe also has in mind. **MRQD** make the same change at 2.842.

1226 σκοπιὰς ὀρέων λάχον] σκοπιὰς ἔχον **D**. Cf. *Odyssey* 8.302 σκοπιῆν ἔχεν. In his zeal to imitate the Homeric passage, the scribe omits ὀρέων. But perhaps λάχον had ἔχον as a superscript gloss, and that distracted the eye from the intervening ὀρέων.

1336 ἐπιφραδέως] ἐπιφρονέων **D**. Only once in Homer, *Odyssey* 19.385, which reads ἐπιφρονέουε' ἀγορεύεις. Perhaps we see here a variant from the exemplar.

2.116 τάχ' τ' ἄρ **D**. This shows some grasp of the use of particles, cf. *Odyssey* 24.28 ἦ τ' ἄρα καὶ σοὶ πρῶτ' παραστήσεσθαι ἔμελλε μοῖρ' ὀλοή. But it could be just another Homericism.

¹¹ The only editions known to me are Reggio (Em.) 1499; Alcalá 1519; Rome 1823, ed. I. Bekker; Vienna 1833, ed. A. G. Leukias. It is my intention in time to publish a new critical edition together with a study of the poet.

470 ἐὸν μόρον] ἐμὸν νόον **D**. Cf. *Odyssey* 4.493 οὐδὲ δαῆναι ἐμὸν νόον.
673 βαῖνον ἔραζε] πίπτον [sic] ἔραζε **D**. Substitution of the regular Homeric expression, cf. *Iliad* 12.156.

678 βιὸν ἀμφὶ δὲ νώτοις] βιὸν ἠδὲ φαρέτρην **D**. Slavish following of the Homeric formula, cf. *Iliad* 10.260.

786 πατρὶ] δουρὶ **Q** (*ita L^v*). A reminiscence of *Iliad* 5.653, in view of which the agreement with **L^v** may be fortuitous.

833 ψυχορραγέοντα] βαρέα στενάχοντα **Q**. Cf. 1.388 where **MRQCD** read βαρυ στενάχοντο. In both cases this is substitution of the regular Homeric phrase.

842 See above on 1.1062.

1062 ἀσπίσιν ἄρρετε] ἀσπίσι φράξατε **D**. Cf. *Iliad* 13.130 and 15.566: the result of an unfamiliar form and reminiscence of the Homeric passages.

1176 κομέουσαι] γανώσκει **Q**. Thoughtless imitation of *Odyssey* 7.128. 3.20 δόλον] νόον **C**. For νοέω νόον cf. *Iliad* 9.104; but this may be mechanical assimilation.

119 ὑπὸ μαζῶ] ἐπὶ μαζῶ **D**. The more regular expression, cf. *Odyssey* 11.448, but ἐπὶ for ὑπό is a common change.

301 θυμὸν ἄρρεσαν] θυμὸν ἔτερπον **D**. The Homeric formula, cf. *Odyssey* 1.107.

615 ἀμφαδὰ ἔργα πέλοιτο] ἀμφαδὰ ἔργα γένοιτο **RQ**. Cf. *Odyssey* 19.391. But it could be a gloss.

664 κινύρετο τὴν δέ τις ἄφνω] τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν **R**. Another Homeric formula, cf. *Iliad* 16.11 τῆ ἵκελος, Πάτροκλε, τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεις. Presumably τῆ ἵκέλη reminded the scribe of the passage in the *Iliad* which he felt compelled to introduce here. In the next sentence, finding himself in difficulties without τὴν δέ τις ἄφνω, he resorts to omission of a whole line (666). This is a good example of the lengths to which Moschus was prepared to go for the sake of Homericism, although it may be that he was simply tired and inattentive.

692 κῆδος ἔλοιο] κῆδος ἄροιο **RQC**. Cf. *Iliad* 4.95 and 9.303, κῆδος ἄροιο, suggesting iotacist pronunciation by Moschus.

866 ἀλύων] ἀχεύων **D**. It is unlikely that the copyist would have been bothered by the lengthening of the *v* (for which there is a Homeric precedent at *Od.* 9.398); he simply prefers the traditional Homericism, cf. *Iliad* 5.869 and 18.461.

919 ἐπὶ προτέρων] ἐπιχθονίων **C**. Apollonius is imitating *Iliad* 5.637, the scribe 9.558.

1262 γυίων] χειρῶν **D**. Another Homericism which also occurs at 2.334 and 3.507.¹²

1357 ἴκετο] ἴετο **D**. Just a mechanical error? Cf. on 1.39 above.

1373 θοοὶ] θαρκαλέοι **D**. No doubt influenced mainly by θαρκαλέως in 1370, but also perhaps by *Odyssey* 19.91 θαρκαλέη, κύον ἀδεές.

4.12 βαθείης] καθ' ὕλην **RQ**. Cf. *Iliad* 10.184, and *Ap. Rhod.* 3.1351 where **R** has ἄν ὕλην for ὀδόντας (see below, p.123).

38 δούλια ἔργα] θέσκελα ἔργα **RQ**. A Homeric phrase also occurring at 3.229.

260 θήβης] θήβης ἔδος **R**. Cf. *Iliad* 4.406.

262 γένος] μένος **C**. For the corruption cf. 1.548 and Fränkel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.7) 134–37; for the phrase cf. *Odyssey* 8.2.

425 ἀμφιάλω] ἀμφιρρύτω **Q**. Cf. *Odyssey* 11.325 Δίη ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ and *Ap. Rhod.* 1.1305 Τήνω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ. Brunck prints it without comment, “ex ingenio, ut videtur” (Wellauer), but I am sure Moschus is the source of the conjecture.

446 στοναχαί τε γόοι τε] πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε **C**. A reminiscence of *Iliad* 1.177 and 5.891.

458 νήσου] δίφρου **D**. Thoughtless substitution to fit a Homeric phrase, cf. *Iliad* 13.26.

462 τεχνήσαιτο] τεκτῆναιτο **D**. Imitation of *Iliad* 10.19.

467 τυπέντος] πεπόντος **RQD**. Imitation of *Iliad* 11.250.

497 ἐπαθρήσαντας] ἐσαθρήσαντας **R**, ἐσαθρήσαντες **QD**. ἐσαθρέω is Homeric, ἐπαθρέω is not.

591 ἡελίοιο] ὑπερίονος **D**. It does not scan here, but this word is common in Homer as an epithet of the sun; only once without the addition of ἡέλιος, at *Odyssey* 1.24.

654 αἰθαλίην] οἰχαλίην **D**. Aethalia (the modern Elba) does not appear in Homer, but Oechalia does.

701 μέγα μὲν κοτέει] μέγα μὲν κρατέει **D**. μέγα κρατέει, but not μέγα κοτέει, is a Homeric phrase.

777 αἰθαλέοι] αὐσταλέοι **D**. This is a Homeric word fitting the metre and giving some sort of sense, so Moschus employs it.

860 αἶ τε πλαγκταὶ καλέονται] ἄς τε πλαγκτὰς καλέουσι **D**. No doubt influenced by *Odyssey* 12.61 Πλαγκτὰς δὴ τοι τὰς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσι.

1067 εἰλεῖτο] ἦλοισι **RQ**. Thoughtless imitation of *Iliad* 1.246.

¹² Cf. similar confusion in the MSS at Aesch. *Pers.* 913.

1198 ἄειδον ἐλισσόμεναι] ἄειδον ἀμειβόμεναι **D**. Imported from *Iliad* 1.604.

1244 παῦρον ἔλειπτο] παῦρ' ἐλέλειπτο **RQCD**. As Brunck pointed out, ἐλέλειπτο is the Homeric form (*Il.* 2.700); the scribe had no Homeric lexicon,¹³ but he knew that ἔλειπτο did not occur in early epic.

1397 ῥύετο μῆλα] μῆλ' ἐφύλασσε **R**, μῆλα φύλασση **Q**, μῆλα φύλασσε **C**. Reminiscence of *Odyssey* 12.136 or a gloss.

1674 μῶνον] λυγρὸς **RQCD**. Even if the copyist does understand the sense of μῶνον he prefers to substitute a traditional Homeric epithet.

Simple cases of alteration to suit standard Homeric diction are commonplace in mss of Apollonius and would cause us no surprise in *d*. Furthermore, the scholiast often quotes passages from Homer to explain and illuminate the text of the *Argonautica*; so a scribe's eye could easily be caught by an attractive phrase in the marginal commentary of his exemplar. But of the readings discussed above, very few can be ignored as normalization to early epic, or for that matter as subtle allusion: most are instances of direct quotation from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, often regardless of metre and syntax, and in no single case is the quotation to be found in the scholia.

Here is something truly remarkable in a Renaissance scribe: thorough familiarity with the Homeric poems and a persistent desire to introduce Homeric formulas and phraseology into the text of Apollonius. We know that Moschus made at least two copies of the *Odyssey*.¹⁴ The evidence accumulated above shows that his knowledge

¹³ Perhaps a rash assumption. We must examine the possibility of Moschus having access to a Homeric lexicon. That by Apollonius Sophistes exists in only one ms (*Coislin.* 345, X century) and the chances of its being in the right place at the right time are remote. There are other possibilities: the *scholia minora* to Homer would provide a kind of lexicographical aid, though of course it is not alphabetical; and R. Reitzenstein (*Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* [Leipzig 1897] 335f) tells us "Ein drittes Werk des Oros, welches schon Fabricius nach einer Pariser Hs. erwähnt, trug den Titel *περὶ πολυσημάντων λέξεων*. Ritschl suchte es vergeblich; die Späteren haben es offenbar vergessen. Das Werk, welches in byzantinischer Zeit viel benutzt wurde, ist uns in Wahrheit nicht fremd." This work is found in at least three *Parisini*—2720 (end of the XV century), 2830 (XVI century) and 2558 (end of the XIV century)—and contains many quotations from the *Psalms* and Homer. It is possible that Moschus had some such work of reference, but even so it is unlikely to have provided him with the comprehensive knowledge of Homeric poetry which he obviously possessed and which can only be obtained from thorough familiarity with the original texts.

¹⁴ Oxford, *Canon.gr.* 79, and Paris, gr. 2688: see Speake and Vian, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 316–17.

of Homer was at least as great as of Apollonius, his fondness for the earlier poet perhaps greater,¹⁵ and lends support to the theory that he may have employed the same technique in copying Homer as we have suggested for Apollonius.¹⁶

(c) ECHO OTHER THAN HOMERICISM

1.125 λυρκήιον] πολυλήιον **MRQ**. No doubt lifted from 51, but it is a forgivable attempt to correct a still not understood epithet.¹⁷

129 ἀπερείκατο] ἀποκάθρετο **MRQ**. Not without merit: the double compound adds extra flavour and the word occurs again at 3.817 and 1287.

202 πάις] νόθος **MRQ**. An intelligent if unobtrusive suggestion which could be the result of a gloss. It is tempting to consider this a metrical emendation, but dangerous to presume upon the metrical skills of Renaissance scribes, even those who were themselves poets. Most likely it is a reminiscence of Orph. *Argonaut.* 211: ἐν δὲ Παλαιμόνιος Λέρνου νόθος ἦλυθεν υἱός.

331 μετέειπεν] προσείπεν **C**. Lifted from 294.

457 ἀλλήλοισιν] ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος **M**. Cf. Theoc. 1.34 ἀμοιβαδὶς ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος νεικείους' ἐπέεσσι (and Ap. Rhod. 1.843). **M** contains Theocritus as well as Apollonius, so this is very likely an echo rather than a preference for a dactylic ending.

576 μυρία] ἄσπετα **RQ**. Lifted from 2.143 and 839.

770 ἐγγυάλιξε] ὤπασεν εἶναι **C**. Imported from 2.31f.

1115 ποταμοῦ] ἱεροῦ **C**. ἱερός is a regular epithet for rivers in Homer and Apollonius. The scribe finds it more attractive than a defining substantive.

1325 ἔλειφθεν] ἔβησαν **MRQ**. Lifted from 1285.

2.32 δίπτυχα] δύετο **C** (not ἐδύετο as Fränkel states, *op.cit.* [*supra* n.7])

¹⁵ It may be relevant that both mss of the *Odyssey* copied by Moschus are prefixed by the following epigram:

υἱὲ μέλητος ὀμηρεῖ· σὺ γὰρ κλέος ἑλλάδι πάσι
καὶ κολοφῶνι πάτρι θῆκας ἐς αἰδίου.
καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέω ψυχὴ γενήσασθαι κούρας,
δικαστὰς ἡμιθέων γραψάμενος σελίδας.
ὑμνεῖ δ' ἢ μὲν νόστον ὀδυσσεύος πολυπλάγκτου,
ἢ δὲ τὸν ἰλιακὸν δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.

Authorship has not been established, but it is a reasonable conjecture that the poem may be attributed to the scribe himself.

¹⁶ Speake and Vian, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1) 315–17.

¹⁷ Cf. D. N. Levin, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 9.

90). The result of failure to look ahead to 34, perhaps influenced by 1.1326, where **RQCDBP** read ἐδύσατο.

107 τοῦ δ' ἄσσαν ἰόντος] τοῦδ' αἰσσαντος **D**. A clever anagram possibly affected by αἰξαντος in 92.

115 ἐλάσασ] αἰξασ **MRQ**. Also affected by 92, but the scribe has either forgotten that the α is long or permitted internal correption.¹⁸

301 γέροντος] λέοντος. A reminiscence of 1.1195 (and *Iliad* 10.23).

339 μόρον] οἶτον **MR**. Imported from 172.

519 ἐφετμῆ] ἐνιπῆ **C**. Presumably the scribe meant to write ἐνιπῆ, a reminiscence of 3.677 ἐδάης ἐκ πατρὸς ἐνιπῆν, and 4.615 λιπῶν ἐκ πατρὸς ἐνιπῆς.

749 ἀέλλη] ἀνάγκη **MRQC**. As a result of 3.430, κακή and ἀνάγκη are inseparable in the mind of the scribe.

811 πανήμεροι ἐψιῶντο] πανημέριοι πονέοντο **MRQ**. Lifted from 667.

903 εὐδιῶντες] εἰρεσίησι **M**. Drawn from 1031.

973 ἀνδιχα] εἰς ἄλλα **M**. Taken from 744.

1134 ἐρέεινε] προσέειπεν **R**. Copied from 1.1336.

3.306 ἄτη] αἰσα **C**. Imported from 328, though it could be a gloss.

415 αὐθι δαῖζων] αἰψα δαίξασ **D**. Both adverb and tense are drawn from 412 αἰψα ταμών.

782 οἶον] ἄσσαν **Q**. Vian is right to keep ἰδοῦσα (cf. 908), but we might have expected **Q** to make the change to ἰοῦσα once he had introduced ἄσσαν, cf. 2.107 and Homer, *passim*; but maybe he has 3.253 in mind.

1092 οὔνομ' ἀκοῦσαι] οὔνομα κόλχων **C**. Imported from 680.

1351 ὀδόντας] ἄν ὕλην **R**. The scribe is reminded of the simile at 4.1338.

1358 ἀστράπτουσα] αἰσσαν **RQ**. Taken from 1265 or 1379.

4.402 ἄλγος] ἄλλο **RQCD**. The result of confusion with 3.429f (the only other occurrence of ῥίγιον in the poem).

462 τεχνήσαιτο] τεκμήραιτο **C**. Imported from 217.

477 τάμνε θανόντος] θῆκε θυηλῆς **C**. Lifted from 1.1140.

570 ὕλη] αἶγλη **RQD**. Taken from 1710.

826 φέρησιν] βάλησιν **RQC**, θύελλα **D**. **RQC** inherit an error arrived at by confusion with the first word of the line; **D** attempts correction by importing θύελλα from 787 or 834.

912 ἑταίρων] ἀπ' ἄλλων **RQ**. Drawn from 1.60.

¹⁸ On correption in Apollonius see M. Campbell, *RevPhil* 47 (1973) 83–90.

1008 πολέμοιο] ἀνέμοιο **R**, κελεύθοιο **Q**. **Q**'s error is by confusion with κελεύθω in 1007; **R**'s comes from 1.953.

1124 ἐγρήσσοντας] αἰσσοντας **D**. Influenced by 1.241.

1209 ἐνιπάς] ἐφετμάς **R**. Cf. 1.279, 2.615.

1333 ἐρημονόμοι] ἐλειονόμοι **RQCD**. An unfortunate choice for the desert, but these marsh nymphs have already made their appearance twice in the poem and so are more acceptable to the scribe.

1393 κυκὶν] κύκιν **CD**. It may be just a slip, but probably the scribe is thinking of the simile at 3.1351.

1540 φορέοντο] πονέοντο **R**. Borrowed from 2.667.

The fact that so many of the changes discussed in this section took place at the end of the line suggests a basic flaw in Moschus' method of transcription. The most likely explanation is that the scribe attempted to take in a whole line at a time when looking at his exemplar and to write it in full without looking back. Inevitably his memory was less efficient towards the end of the line and the penultimate word may well have reminded him of another line perhaps recently copied with the same penultimate word at the same *sedes* or of a favourite passage elsewhere containing some verbal similarity. In this way many of the above superficially erudite importations may be dismissed as errors of psychological association. This at least provides an explanation for those changes that make nonsense of the line.

(d) TRIVIAL SUBSTITUTION OR SUBSTITUTION OF A COMMON OR LATE WORD FOR A RARE OR EARLY ONE

1.187 ἰμβρασίης] ἀμβροσίης **D**.

357 ἐρύσαιμεν] ἐλάσωμεν **C**.

376 πρώτησι] προτέρησι **C**.

576 μῆλ' ἐφέπονται] μῆλα ἔπονται **D**.

617 ἔρραισαν] ὤλεσ(ς)αν **MRQD**.

629 ῥήϊτερον] ῥήϊδιον **MR**.

834 φόνου] φίλου **C**.

885 ὀπάσσαι] ἐλέσθαι **C**.

967 ἐμέλοντο] ἐμνώνοντο **C**.

972 ὑποσταχύνεσκον] ἐπιχνοάεσκον **D**.

1212 ἀπούρας] αἰείρας **MRQ**.

1289 χόλος] ἄχος **MRQ**.

1339 μῆνιν] θυμὸν **MRQ**.

2.2 ἀγήνορος] ἀμύμονος **CD**.

24 ἀντιάσθαι] δηριάσθαι **MR**.

- 96 *ιάχησαν*] *ομάδησαν* **C** (not **D** as stated in Fränkel's apparatus).
 159 *μέτωπα*] *κάρηνα* **MRQ**.
 286 *άλτο*] *ώρτο* **MR**.
 298 *ἔδυσαν*] *ἔβησαν* **M**.
 467 *ἐρέτησιν*] *ἐτάροισιν* **D**.
 576 *κατένεικεν*] *κατέρυκε* **MRQD**.
 577 *αἰνότατον δέος*] *αἰνότατος χλόος* **MRQ**.
 610 *ἤρχετο μύθων*] *ἔκφατο μῦθον* **MD**.
 812 *ἐγκονέοντες*] *εὐμενέοντες* **MRQ**.
 949 *ἐέλδετο*] *ἰμείρετο* **Q**.
 1032 *ἔλλιπεν*] *ἤλυθεν* **R**.
 1123 *ἐποψίου*] *ἰκεσίου* **M**.
 1215 *ὔδασι*] *ἔνδοθι* **MRQ**.
 1248 *στιφελοῖσι*] *στιβαροῖσι* **C**.
 1274 *ἀρωγούς*] *ἐταίρους* **Q**.
 3.66 *μέγα*] *πολύ* **R**, *πάνυ* **Q**.
 232 *στιβαροῦ*] *στιγεροῦ* **CD**.
 339 *κῶας*] *γαῖαν* **D**.
 383 *ἐέλδετο*] *ἰαίνετο* **Q**.
 553 *ἀμύνειν*] *ἀρήγειν* **D**.
 572 *προῖαλλε*] *προέηκε* **C**.
 712 *ἀράς τε στιγεράς*] *ἀρήν τε στιγερήν* **R**.
 762 *διὰ*] *κατὰ* **RQ**.
 797 *αἴχος*] *ἄλγος* **RQCD**.
 884 *καίνουσιν*] *θέουσιν* **D**.
 886 *κούρησ*] *νύμφης* **C**.
 900 *δέ κε*] *δ' ἂν* **RQ**, *δέ γε* **C**.
 916 *σφισιν*] *τοῖς* **D**.
 1025 *κούρη*] *νύμφη* **C**.
 1098 *κείνην*] *νύμφην* **C**.¹⁹
 1113 *πόντοιο φέροιεν*] *ποντου φορέοιεν* **C**.
 1147 *ἦτοι*] *αὐτὰρ* **D**.
 1168 *πάντεσσι μετένεπε*] *πάντεσσι ἐφώνεε* **RQ**.
 1170 *ἦστ' ἀπάνευθε*] *ἵστατ' ἄνευθε* **D**.
 1372 *κόλοιο*] *λίθιο* **RQD**.
 4.19 *βρυχήσατ' ἀνίη*] *βρυχήσατο φωνῆ* **C**.
 57 *ἀλύκω*] *ἰκάνω* **C**.
 148 *ἐφορμήν*] *ἐφετμήν* **D**.
 302 *ρόον*] *πόρον* **RQ**.
 392 *κεάσσαι*] *κεδάσσαι* **RQ**.

¹⁹ As usual, it is the last word of this line that has gone astray, not the first as stated in M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973) 19.

- 437 κνέφας] νέφος **C**.
 559 κίρκης] κούρης **C**.
 567 κούρη] νύμφην **D**.
 578 ἀέλλας] ἀυτάς **R**, ἀήτας **Q**.
 743 ἔπλευ] ἔστιν **QC**.
 871 χρίεσκε] δεύεσκε **R**.
 1071 λεχέεσσι] λέκτροισι **RQCD**.
 1103 νεῖκος] νόστον **D**.
 1315 ἔνεικεν] ἔρεισε **RQCD**.
 1436 ὕβριν] ἄλλων **RQC**.
 1527 ἀμφαγέροντο] ἀμφεπέροντο **RQC**.
 1580 χέρσον] νήσον **Q**.

(e) EASIER SYNTAX PREFERRED

1.711 ἐξερέοντας] ἐξερέουσα **D**. An attractive emendation to the myopic; but where is the interrogative in Iphinoë's speech?

969 δῆ] καὶ **D**. The scribe took fright at δῆ as the first word.

2.60 ἐρίδηνεν] ἐρέεινε **D**. οὐ τι bears every resemblance to a direct object. In ἐρέεινε the scribe finds a transitive verb fitting the metre, giving some sort of sense, and palaeographically close to the puzzling ἐρίδηνεν.

218 ῥύσαθε] λύσατε **MRQD**. **SC** read λύσαθε, which was no doubt a gloss, but regardless of metre **MRQD** prefer the active form.

695 ἐξερέοντες] εἰσορόωντες **MRQC**. Common in this *sedes* and an easy change which still makes sense; no doubt influenced by ἐκίδοιεν in 696.

884 ἀπορρίψαντες] ἀπορρίψαθε δ' **MRQ**. No logical reason for this change, but presumably the scribe prefers two imperatives.

3.68 πειρωμένη] πειρώμενος **D**. We may assume that the exemplar lacked the *iota* subscript: attraction to the case and gender of the subject of ἀντεβόλησεν is no surprise.

225 προρέεσκε] προέηκε **QD**, προθέεσκε **C**. "Librarios turbavit minus obvius usus verbi ῥέω active significantis" (Brunck). **RQC** have οἴνω for ὕδωρ from 224. Meanwhile **QD** have changed to a more regular transitive verb. **R** keeps *k*'s προέεσκε; **C**, taking advantage of the chaos, offers yet another variant of little merit.

276 οἶόν] οἶος **D**. An intelligent suggestion, probably the result of failure to recognize οἶον as an adverb.

404 ἦν κ'] αἶ κ' **RQD**. Another intelligent alteration by a scribe

who was not endowed with Vian's facility for adducing parallels for "une curiosité attestée chez Homère."²⁰

510 ἐντύναιο] ἀνύταιο **D**. Gillies has correctly explained ἐντύναιο for us, but **D**, in search of a verb to govern ὑποσχεσίην, finds ἀνύω and would have done better to add the prefix ἐξ-.

801 τελέσαι] τελείσθαι **D**. Unable to find a subject for τελέσαι in the πρίν clause, the scribe resorts to the passive.

1139 ἄψ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι] εἰς οἶκον ναίεσθαι **D**. All our mss inherit εἰς from *k*, which makes the suffix of οἰκόνδε otiose. **D** realizes this and allows himself (perhaps unconsciously) phonetic corruption from νέεσθαι to ναίεσθαι, thereby retaining the metre.

1240 ἴσθμιον] ἴσθμιος **D**. An interesting transference of epithet, presumably the result of proximity to οἶος and Ποσειδάων.

4.1399 ἐφίμερον] ἐφύμμιον **RQC**. The scribe prefers a noun to an adjective and finds it from 2.713.

(f) CHANGE DUE TO MISUNDERSTANDING

1.816 ἀεικέα παῖδες ἄμυνον] ἀεὶ παῖδες προσάμυνον **RQ**, ἀεικέα πρόσθεν ἄμυνον **D**. **D**'s πρόσθεν is most likely a mechanical change influenced by πάροιθεν. **RQ**'s προσάμυνον may be affected by **D**'s πρόσθεν, but more probably ἀεικέα was not understood and so shortened to the more familiar adverb and the prepositional prefix added to the verb *metri causa*.

2.738 περιτέτροφε πάχνην] περιτέτροφεν ἄχνην **D**. The scribe is not familiar with the word πάχνη; his treatment is similar at 4.1531.²¹

934f τινάσσει ριπήν] φυλάσσει ριπτήν **D**. The scribe does not understand the text he is copying and is not averse to writing nonsense.

3.267 ἴκοιθε] ἔβητε **RQC**. ἴκοιθε, as Vian remarks, is "potentiel du passé: 'comment avez-vous pu aller . . . ?'." The uncomprehending scribe has imported ἔβητε (from 316?).

662 χῆρον] φίλον **RC**. If the scribe did not understand χῆρον he might at least have found a substitute that scanned. But it could be a corruption *via ψιλόν*.

755 ἔθυιεν] ἄλυεν **RQ**. The copyist does not understand ἔθυ(ι)εν and looks for a word to mean 'bounded with joy': he finds it at 866.

1111 ὄσσα] αἰσα **RC**. Either the scribe did not understand ὄσσα and.

²⁰ Cf. Gillies, appendix p.139, and A. Platt, *JP* 33 (1914) 31.

²¹ See below, p.133.

as at 306, resorted to a more familiar phrase; or it is another attempt to enforce Homeric-type formulas in Apollonius.

(g) INTRUSION OF A GLOSS

- 1.40 ἴκανεν] ἔβαινεν **MRQ**.
 350 γηθόσυνος] γηθόμενος **D**.
 512 αὐδῆ] ὀμφῆ **MQ**.
 601 ἀνέτειλε] ἀνέδραμε **MRQ**.
 625 θόαντι] γέροντι **MRQ**. The truth?
 803 ἔμβαλεν ἄτην] ἔμβαλε νεῖκος **C**.
 837 χατέουσιν ὀπάξεις] χατέουσι παρίσχεις **D**.
 1031 λέκτρον] δόμον **D**.
 1219 ἀλέγοντες] αἰόντες **D**.
 1228 καλλιναόιο] καλλιρόιο **D**.
 1305 πέφνευ] κτεῖνε **D**.
- 2.12 θέσμιόν] θέμις **MRQ**.
 143 ἐτάμοντο] ἐλαύνοντο **D**.
 183 ἴαλλεν] ἔθηκαν **MR**.
 205 κέκλιτ'] κείτο **D**.
 363 κύρει] κεῖται **MRQ**.
 419 γεραιὸς] γέρων **D**.
 465 ὅτις ἔξοχος] ὅστις ἄριστος **M**.
 616 ὄπασσε] ἔδωκε **M**.
 670 λεπτόν] μικρόν **MRQ**.
 681 ἔλε] ἔλαβε **D**.
 1152 ἀλέγοντες] αἰόντες **M**.
- 3.366 γεγάασιν] ἐβλάστησαν **D**.
 862 ἐνέροιςιν] νερτέροιςιν **R**.
 1000 εὔνασε μίνως] εὔνασεν ἦρω **RQD**.
- 4.156 θαλλῶ] θαμόν **C** (voluit θάμνω).
 422 πόρον] πέμπον **D**.
 1019 μαργοσύνης] μαχλοσύνης **RQCD**.
 1665 θέλγε] τέρπε **Q**.

(h) OTHER EMBELLISHMENTS (WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE MECHANICAL)

1.221 νώτοις] γαίης **RQ**. I can see no motive for this absurdity, and yet I am reluctant to discount it as merely a copyist's error. γαίης occurs at 243 and 255, and might have caught the scribe's eye.²²

253 αἴσων αὖ μέγα δὴ τι δυσάμμορος· ἦ τέ οἱ ἦεν] αἴσωνα δ' αὖ μέγα

²² Dr Dawe suggests that it is a relic of a note explaining that νῶτα can sometimes refer to land as well as to people.

μοῖρα δυσάμμορος ἔσχετο (ἤχθεο **M**) πάντων **MRQ**. **CDB¹P** omit δῆ τι: **MRQ** conjecture μοῖρα to fill the gap and find that considerable alterations to the whole line are needed. There seems no reason to suppose, with Wellauer, that this represents the reading of the *proecdosis* or first edition.²³

361 εἴ κε] ὄφρα **MRQ**. An unsuccessful attempt to correct a faulty exemplar (cf. αἴ κε **D**). **M^{yp}** preserves the truth.

523 ἀρτύναςθαι] ἀρτυνέεσθαι **CD**. A curious emendation of tense, which Brunck unwisely accepts. The scribe may have doubted the length of the *v* and have been influenced by the Homeric future ἀρτυνέω.

538 ὄμαρτη] ἐνισπη **MRQ**. “Mira sane discrepantia,” comments Wellauer, and I can see no motive for it. Again **M^{yp}** preserves the truth.

822 ἴν' ἢ φρονέοιεν] ὄφρ' ἢ νόέοιεν **D**. It is to be assumed that an ancestor of **D** omitted ἴν'. The solution is clever: by rearrangement of the letters the scribe needs only to add one *omicron* to restore both metre and sense.

1176 ἠρήκατο] ἐναρήκατο **D**. The scholiast admits that this is an unusual sense for the uncompounded verb, so we should not be too harsh on this reading if it is a conjecture. It may on the other hand result from miscopying of an awkward pair of words.

1213 ἔπεφνεν] ἔειπεν **C**. A fine example of exceptional stupidity but clearly not an unconscious one, as it makes a neat doublet with ἀκούσας, the absurdity of the previous line.

2.66 ἐπ' αἴεη] ἀνάγκη **C**. A bad guess by a meddling scribe.

139 οἶαι] οἶναι **MRQCD**. Perhaps a mechanical slip, but οἶνη is an old name for the vine, cf. Hes. *Op.* 572.

267 ἀδευκέες] ἀκηδέες **D**. The scholia are divided on the meaning of ἀδευκέες here, so we might expect a conjecture from the scribe: his choice disappoints us and is so close to anagrammatism that it almost certainly has a mechanical origin.

323 ἀκτῆ] ἄλμη **D**. Perhaps a slip: it does not make much sense as a conjecture.

396 ὦν ὑπερ ἠδη] οἴειν ὑπερθε **D**. Either ἠδη was missing at some stage, or the scribe found it superfluous. In order to fill out the line he uses the lengthened form ὑπερθε, inspired by ἐφύπερθεν in 393, and the unparalleled dative, perhaps influenced by ἐπὶ τοῖσιν.

²³ On the *proecdosis* see Fränkel, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.7) 7–11.

590 δ' ὑποείκαθε] δὲ παρείκαθε **D**. The copyist seems to have understood the objections to ἄν²⁴ and produced a fairly successful solution.

631 νύκτα] νῆα **C**. At first glance ἐπ' ἡματι νύκτα is an apparent paradox, and the scribe considers Jason more likely a φύλαξ of the ship than of the night. It is curious to observe that at 1.934 the same MS has νυκτὸς for νηὸς, but there the change is probably unconscious, as νυκτί occurs in the same line.

843 φάλαγξ] φοῖνιξ **RQ**, πτόρθος **M**. The reading of **RQ** is presumably the result of a miscopied φάλαγξ; that of **M** is an attempt to restore the sense (but not the metre).

962 μετέπειτα θοῆ πεφορημένοι αὔρη] μετέειπε θοῆ πεφορημένον ἄλμη **D**. Although there is no direct speech within 50 lines, the scribe cannot resist τοῖσι δ' ὁμοῦ μετέειπε.²⁵ He is then involved in difficulties with the plural πεφορημένοι, which is made to agree with ποταμόν; but a river can hardly be borne along by the breeze, and so ἄλμη is conjectured, which strictly means 'sea-water'.

991 φιλοπτολέμους] φιλοπλοκάμους **R**. This word is known to us only from the fragments of Euphorion. At first glance it is perhaps a more suitable epithet for κούρας than φιλοπτολέμους, but no doubt the origin of the corruption is mechanical.

1260 δαημοσύνησιν] ἐφημοσύνησιν **MRQ**. An attempt to improve on the absurd ἀλημοσύνησιν of all MSS except **E**^{21m}.

3.22 ὄμματ'] οὔατ' **R**. Is this meant to be some sort of a joke? *Reductio ad absurdum* of Apollonius' Homeric *variatio*.

86 θέλξαι] φλέξαι **R**; 143 θέλξον] φλέξον **R**. Perhaps mechanical in origin, but clearly no accident when the same alteration is made twice within 60 lines; nor is it an improvement.

254–56 προπάροιθε βαλοῦσαι . . . ἔδραμον] προπάροιθεν ἰοῦσαι . . . ἔκβαλον **D**. This sort of rewriting allows us a glimpse of the scribe aiming to display his own poetic talents but succeeding in no more than an exhibition of his own ignorance.

300 ἐφαιδρύναντο] ἐποτρύναντο **D**. I cannot see any motive for this alteration, which may well be accidental in origin.

418 τάδε τοῖα] τάδε πάντα **C**. "τάδε τοῖα ni fallor Graecum non est," writes Fränkel. If this is the scribe's motive for alteration, his solution is quite successful, cf. 2.876, 1020; 3.697; 4.234. Indeed it may be the truth, but if so I am at a loss to explain the corruption. More likely

²⁴ Cf. Platt, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.20) 20.

²⁵ Though the usual Homeric phrase is τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε.

τάδε is a gloss on τοῖα and has displaced something like μοι (Fränkel's suggestion).

604 φράσσωνται] πράσσωνται **RQ**. Not as clever as it looks at first glance: the epic form is πρήσσω, and the phrase is rather prosy. Probably it is no more than a phonetic slip.

990 ἀρωγῆς] ἀμοιβῆς **Q**. τίνειν ἀμοιβήν is common enough, cf. 1.619 and *Odyssey* 12.382, but τίνειν χάριν ἀμοιβῆς is absurd.

1025 δὲ δὴ] δέ μιν **RQ**. Whether the exemplar contained δὴ or not (it is omitted in **P**), this is an intelligent suggestion.

1263 ἔχνος] ἔγχος **D**. The scribe is suspicious of ἔχνος and finds ἔγχος a more suitable subject for ἔπαλλεν. Spears are in the air both literally (τινάσσων) and metaphorically (μελίην in 1264 and ἔγχος in 1231 and 1286).

1266 μεταπαιφάσσεσθαι] μεταπαιφάσσουσαν **R**. “Var. lect. apud Schol. utrumque, quae in quibusdam libris ex errore scribarum nata videtur, quorum oculi ad versus praecedentis exitum aberrabant” (Wellauer). This might suggest that **R**'s exemplar carried scholia, but alternatively it could be a mechanical change, as Wellauer suggests.

1272 ἐπήβολος ἄρματι] ἐπήροθος αἵματι **D**. Nonsense again, and probably mechanical in origin.

4.24 κόλπῳ] κόλποισ **RQ**. This may be the truth (cf. Platt's κόλπῳ),²⁶ but perhaps more likely it is the result of confusion of compendia.

186 χερσὶν] φρεσσὶν **RQ**. Another absurdity, probably a real word made out of nonsense.²⁷

293 ὑμετέρης γαίης] γαίης ἡμετέρης **RQD**. The order of the words is inherited from *k*. As for the change of person, “loquitur Argus in Colchide natus. . . Mendose quidem **D**, sed tolerabili menda, in utroque versu primam personam praefert.” Brunck is too tolerant of ignorance.

399 πατρί] πατήρ **D**. This destroys not only the metre but also the worth of the reading ἄγοιτο (400) in **D**. Perhaps it is simply the result of a *nomen sacrum* compendium.

405f ἀντιόωσι . . . φέροιεν] εἰσαίοντες **D** . . . φέροντες **RQCD**. “Das Letztere [ἀντιόωντες] ist in **D** durch eine weitere Konjektur in εἰσαίοντες verwandelt worden (worauf dann φέροιεν hätte folgen sollen), ‘wenn sie gewahr werden—dass Apsyrtos nicht mehr am Leben ist

²⁶ *op.cit.* (supra n.20) 37.

²⁷ For examples of the reverse corruption see R. D. Dawe, *Studies in the Text of Sophocles I* (Leiden 1973) 126.

(vgl. 497 und 507)', etwa in Anlehnung an den Vers II.1085 (der mit ἐνναέται beginnt), oder an die 7 anderen Versschlüsse mit εἰκαί-ο(ντες)."²⁸

604 ἀείμεναι] ἐλιγμέναι **D**. Giangrande may be right to support ἀείμεναι here (*Zu Sprachgebrauch, Technik und Text des Apollonios Rhodios* [Amsterdam 1973] 35), and **R** predictably 'normalizes' to the Homeric ἀημέναι. But **D**'s ἐλιγμέναι (which surely means 'whirling,' cf. Hes. Th. 791) looks to me more like the preservation of an ancient variant (or uncial corruption AEI>EAI>EAI) than a XV-century 'Verbesserungsversuch.'

606 βλεφάρων] λεχέων **D**. "In cod. **D** qui optimum ἐλιγμέναι modo suppeditavit absurda hic observatur lectio," comments Brunck with good reason. Mechanical in origin?

827 στυγερόν] ιερόν **RQC**, δλοόν **D**. Mechanical?

938 ἴθυνε] ἦγυσε **Q**. A poor suggestion which does not even scan. It could perhaps be mechanical: ιθυνε>ινυθε>ηγυθε . . .

998 κεχάροντο] ἐρρώοντο **RQ**, ἐγάνυντο **CD**. Alternative suggestions to 'correct' a faulty exemplar.

1055 εὐήκεας] χαλκήρεας **RQ**. Perhaps a variant in the exemplar.

1111 ὦρτο] ἔστη **RQ**, ἔγνω **CD**. The reading of **CD** is imported from 698; that of **RQ** was perhaps intended to 'correct' it.

1144 ποικίλα] πυθμένα **RQCD**. I am unable to account for this word, which elsewhere in the poem occurs only as a variant at 946.

1162 μεγάροις] μεγάρω **RQCD**. Obviously intended to correct μέγαρου, which is read by *k*.

1195 πέδον] νέον **R**. Another mystery.

1197 αἶτε] ἄλλαι **R**, ἄλλα **Q**. Both are tasteless suggestions when followed by οἰόθεν οἶαι (οἶον **RQCD**). The scribe allows himself to be carried away by the double jingle.

1320 ἐφ' ὑγρήν] ἐπὶ γήν **RQCD**. Silly and irresponsible, but no doubt mechanical in origin.

1348 στέρφεειν] στέρνοιειν **RQCD**. Anatomical extravaganza induced by the proximity of ἀχένος, νῶτα, ἰξύας, κεφαλῆς.

1355 εὐτροχόν] εὐτροφος **R**. Correction of εὐτροχος read by **QCD**: it is at least a more respectful epithet for Amphitrite than 'well-wheeled'. Moschus has a remarkable facility for Homeric reminiscence, but he is unable to think back 30 lines to find the truth.

²⁸ H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (Munich 1968) 485f.

1358 ἡδὲ θύγατρεις] ἡδ' ἐπίουροι **D**. On the face of it, a more likely doublet perhaps, but *cf.* 1323.

1361 ἀλλά τις] ἀλλά πη **RQCD**. *Cf.* 1.822 ἡέ πη ἄλλη but probably a mechanical error.²⁹

1500 γαίη] αὐτοῦ **R**. Perhaps the exemplar omitted γαίη. **QC** read νέκυν from 1499; **R**'s suggestion is very feeble.

1523 ἄλογος οἴη. **R**, ἔλκος *rell.* **R** recognized the corruption but rather than attempt correction resorts to omission.

1531 ἔρρει λάχνη] ἔρρειν ἄχνη **RQCD**. Fränkel's parallel³⁰ from Nicander, *Ther.* 328–31, is sufficient to secure λάχνη in the text. ἄχνη may be no more than a mechanical slip.

1595 ἐκρίνατο] ἀπεκρίνατο **RQ**, ἐπεκρίνατο **CD**. 1594, 1596 and 1597 all have ἐπί or ἐπ- at this point in the line. **CD** fall into the trap without realizing that the reading is excluded on metrical grounds. **RQ** alter to a compound which occurs (though only once, *Iliad* 5.12) in Homer.

1620 κήματα] δώματα **RQCD**. In spite of 554, the slight zeugma does not escape the attention of a literal-minded scribe.

1682 πεύκη] πέτρη **D**. A particularly stupid alteration: Moschus, if not his predecessors, must have been familiar with the sources of this simile at *Iliad* 4.482 and 16.482.

1767 ἀμεμφέα] ἀτειρέα **RQ**, ἀπειρέα **C**. Since **C** was probably copied before **RQ**, ἀτειρέα was most likely a conjecture in the exemplar which was miscopied by **C**. It is perhaps an echo of a passage I have been unable to identify.³¹

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
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²⁹ A plausible motive for the corruption is suggested by Campbell, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.18) 89.

³⁰ *op.cit.* (*supra* n.28) 607.

³¹ I am grateful to Dr R. D. Dawe and the late Professor Douglas Young for criticism of this paper in typescript.