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## TEXTUAL PROBLEMS IN AR. *THESM.*

μακρὸς ὁ δρόμος,  
γεμάτος περιπέτειες, γεμάτος γνώσεις.

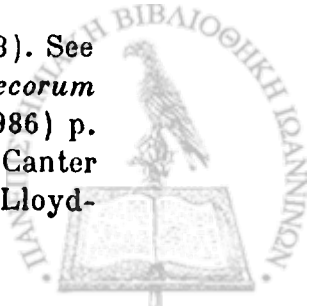
While Cavafy's Ithaka-bound traveller hopes to enter λιμένας πρωτοειδωμένους and to acquire beautiful σεντέφια καὶ κοράλλια, κεχριμπάρια καὶ ἔβενους, an editor of Aristophanes and the Comic Poets enters libraries and - *mirabile dictu* - discovers gold in the early printed editions and the unpublished notes of earlier scholars\*. For the comic fragments I can mention Guillaume Morel and Dirk Canter, whose pioneering work in the XVIth Century has been rescued from oblivion: their names and emendations now adorn the pages of *PCG*<sup>1</sup>. As regards *Thesmophoriazusae*, a

\* Cavafy urges his traveller to visit many cities, νὰ μάθῃς καὶ νὰ μάθῃς ἀπ' τοὺς σπουδασμένους. Some of the problems discussed here were read to friendly and receptive audiences at the Queen's College, Oxford (March 1987) and at the Universities of Genoa, Rome, Ioannina, Bonn and Cologne (May-June 1988). For warm and generous hospitality as well as helpful comments I am greatly indebted to Angus Bowie, Laetitia Edwards and Hugh Lloyd-Jones in Oxford, Umberto Albini, Chico Rossi, Silvia Rizzo and Albio Cassio in Italy, Mary Mantziou and her colleagues in Epirus, Rudolf Kassel and Otto Zwierlein in Germany. The following pages show how much I owe to Eric Handley and Harry Sandbach in Cambridge. Sir Kenneth Dover in St. Andrews and Alan Sommerstein in Nottingham contributed some illuminating comments. In London Soteroula Constantinidou helped me to unearth some hidden treasures in the British Library, as did Marcel Chantry in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Finally, a special word of thanks to Mary Mantziou, who, at the foot of Mt. Tomaros,

καλῶς ὁδηγοῦς, οἷα δὲ ξένη ξένον,  
ἔγνωκε φωνὴν τῆς πολυγλώσσου δρυός,

and, as a consequence, very kindly saw to it that this issue of *Dodone* would preserve a true record of my ὥραϊο ταξίδι.

1. G. Morelius, *Ex veterum comicorum fabulis...sententiae* (Par. 1553). See W. G. Arnott, *PCPhS* 196 (1970) 3 f. For the unpublished *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* of Dirk (= 'Theodorus') Canter (1546-1616) see *PCG* V (1986) p. xxi. Dirk was the younger brother of the famous Willem (= 'Gulielmus') Canter (1542-1575). See Wilamowitz, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones (Duckworth 1982) p. 55.



galaxy of stars - Biset, Ellebodius, Casaubon, Faber, Bentley, Daubuz, Kaibel, Wilamowitz and others - is illuminating our text as never before. Let us follow these λαμπρούς δυνάστας as they shine through the ages from the Renaissance to the XXth Century.

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Odoard (= Édouard) BISET (XVIth Cent.)

In the *Pithoeana, sive excerpta ex ore Francisci Pithoei, anno 1616*, we read: «BIZET, qui a fait sur l'Aristophane, étoit Controlleur des guerres et Seigneur de Charlai. Il demouroit en cette ville et se retira pour la Religion. Il a tout pris des Dictionnaires Grecs. Il étoit notre cousin»<sup>1</sup>. Biset was born at St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, the Roman *Augusta Tricastinorum*, north of Orange (in the Drôme). His father, like the Pithou brothers, was from Troyes (in the Aube). He had been «contrôleur des guerres» under Henri II († 1559) and later died in exile at Basel<sup>2</sup>. Biset himself had to leave his country «for reasons of religion»<sup>3</sup> and seek refuge abroad. His «Aristophane» is now in the Cambridge University Library (Rare Books Room: Adv. a. 2. 1) and can be dated «circa 1570»<sup>4</sup>. It is an interleaved and heavily annotated copy of the large folio edition of Gelenius (Basel 1547). Besides the *nova scholia* in Greek, which were posthumously edited at Geneva in 1607, Biset's autograph contains numerous *unpublished* emendations (especially on *Thesm.* and *Lys.*), which often anticipate the proposals of later scholars (Scaliger, Bentley, etc.).

«Iterum iterumque te monitum velim, ut probe tibi caveas a Porto» wrote Bentley<sup>5</sup>. The task of transcribing and sorting out Biset's notes

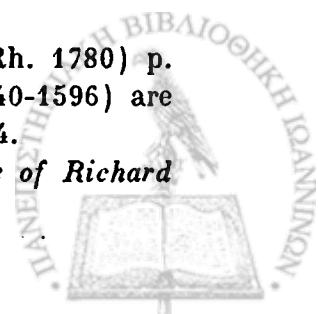
1. I quote from the collection of *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana* ... I (Amst. 1740) p. 498. On the famous Pithou brothers (Pierre and François) see Wilamowitz (above p. 61, n. 1), p. 55 (in the footnote '1691' is a misprint: François died in 1621).

2. See E. and E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, 2nd ed., II (Paris 1879) p. 579. Further details below p. 91 f. (Postscript).

3. «a fact which had grave consequences for Greek studies in France», as Wilamowitz notes (above p. 61, n. 1), p. 50; see also p. 58: «France has had to pay dearly for casting out her most distinguished sons on grounds of religion». See below for Casaubon and Daubuz.

4. See Chr. Saxius, *Onomasticon Literarium*, III (Traiect. ad Rh. 1780) p. 455, where Biset and Florent Chrestien (= 'Florens Christianus', 1540-1596) are listed together. For Chrestien's work on Aristophanes see below p. 64.

5. Letter to Kuster (24 July 1708). See *The Correspondence of Richard Bentley, D.D.*, I (Lond. 1842) p. 309 f.



was undertaken by the Cretan Scholar Aemilius Portus (1550-1614/5)<sup>1</sup>. In his haste or incompetence (or both) Portus, as it now transpires, managed to pass over in silence scores of excellent readings, which Biset had included in his text or added in the margin with the letters μ.χ. (= μέτρου χάριν)<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps Portus felt more at home composing his *Epistola Dedicatoria* to Biset (dated 1 June 1589), which now appears sandwiched in between his Preface in Greek Πρὸς Φιλέλληνας and his Preface in Latin *Ad Lectorem*. The latter contains a detailed and lively account<sup>3</sup> of how, some years before (*ante aliquot annos*), Portus had met a noble Frenchman in Lausanne, who handed over to him the copy of Aristophanes he had annotated when he was younger (*dum esset iunior*), and even authorized him to revise it and prepare it for publication, «on condition», he added, «that you do not reveal my name» (*ea tamen lege, ut nomini parcas*).

*Accepta ego conditione...* writes Portus. But he promptly broke his word and, to make matters worse, soon lost all interest in the project<sup>4</sup>. A bungled edition came out years later: *Aristophanis Comoediae Undecim ...Aureliae Allobrogum, Sumptibus Caldoriana Societatis*, MDCVII. Portus had no hand in it: «bibliopola enim ipse suo arbitrio editionem postea curavit. Aemilius Portus neque instruxit neque

1. The son of Franciscus Portus (†1581), Casaubon's teacher and predecessor as «Professor» of Greek at Geneva. The *Vita Aemilii Porti* by C. F. Weber (Marburg 1854) is marred *inter alia* by the false claim (p. 8) that Portus, not Biset, wrote the notes on *Thesm.* and *Lys.* On the contrary, Biset, like Ellebodium at roughly the same time (see below p. 64), concentrated his efforts on these two plays. In Dindorf's reprint (= vol. XI of Invernizzi's edition, Leipzig 1823) Biset's *commentarii* on *Thesm.* and *Lys.* add up to 73 and 105 pages respectively, whereas his other *scholia* barely average 10 or 12 pages per play. The additional fly-leaves he used for *Thesm.* and *Lys.* are not in Cambridge, but by a lucky chance I was able to locate them in Paris (Suppl. gr. 395), bound up (p. 85-173) in a composite manuscript which now bears the title 'Theodoretus Philotheus'. Biset's large and round handwriting is the same as in his autograph in Cambridge. Pages 1-84 of the same manuscript contain «scholia et castigationes in Aristophanis comoediis», a hasty and clumsy attempt to translate into Latin some of Biset's notes on *Eccl.*, *Thesm.* and *Lys.* The hand is quite different.

2. A handful of corrections appeared for the first time in the Geneva edition and are now ascribed to 'Portus' by modern editors. Biset's copy shows where Portus got them from. Note for example *Pac.* 1307 (ἐμβάλλετε) and see below for *Thesm.* and Appendix II for *Lys.* and *Eccl.*

3. See Appendix I for a reprint of the relevant section.

4. In 1592 he left Lausanne for Germany, where he spent the rest of his life. See C. Bursian, *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland*, I (München 1883) p. 232-234.



correxit»<sup>1</sup>.

The edition also contained Florent Chrestien's unpublished notes and translations of *Vesp.* and *Lys.*, as well as a reprint of his work on *Pac.*<sup>2</sup> which his son Claude had sent from Paris to Geneva to be included in the volume. Claude was horrified when he saw the mess the publishers had made. «Je n'ose vous parler de l'Aristophane», he wrote to Scaliger on 10 September 1608<sup>3</sup>, «car l'ouvrage en est si laid que je ne le puis avouer pour parent. Le mal est arrivé de l'avoir envoyé hors d'icy et en ville où ils ne croient aujourd'huy que leur teste. <Ils> ont mesprisé l'ordre que je leur avois envoyé, ont retranché plusieurs choses de mon pere, l'epistre mesme à Monsieur de Thou sur l'Irene, et y en ont mis de gens qui n'ont du tout rien contribué à l'oeuvre puis ont tellement meslé ce que je leur avois baillé qu'il semble que leur dessein ayt esté plustot de l'estoufer que de luy faire voir le jour.»

So ended this strange and sorry saga. Biset and Chrestien deserved better. To quote Bentley again<sup>4</sup>: «valeant Genevenses».

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Nicaise Helbault (c. 1535-1577), better known as ELLEBODIUS

Ellebodius originally came from Cassel in French Flanders (not far from Calais). He died of the plague, aged 42, in Pressburg (Bratislava), before completing several major works<sup>5</sup>. His *Aristophanis Thesm. et Lysistrata Latine redditae cum scholiis* are now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Dr. Zsigmond Ritoók (Budapest) is preparing an edition, to be published under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. From a microfilm in my possession I offer some *addenda* to Fred Schreiber's excellent article «Unpublished Renaissance Emendations of Aristophanes», *TAPhA* 105 (1975) 313-332. In a letter dated 3 January 1575

1. Weber (above p. 63, n. 1) p. 10. See also the foreword *Typographus Lectori* on p. 36 of the Geneva edition.

2. Q. Septimii Florentis Christiani *In Aristophanis Irenam vel Pacem Commentaria Glossemata* (Lutet. 1589).

3. Epist. XXXVI p. 61 in *Epistres françoises des Personnages Illustres et Doctes*, a Mons<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Juste De La Scala. *Mises en lumiere* par Jacques de Reves (Harderwyck 1624). See J.A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 2nd. ed., I (Hamburg 1708) p. 718 and Brigitte Jacobsen, *Florent Chrestien* (München 1973) p. 136.

4. Letter to Kuster (21 August 1708). See *The Correspondence* (above p. 62, n. 5) p. 346.

5. See Dieter Wagner, «Zur Biographie des Nicasius Ellebodius († 1577) und zu seinen 'Notae' zu den aristotelischen Magna Moralia», *SB Heid.* 1973, 5. For his notes on the *Poetics* see R. Kassel, *RhM* 105 (1962) 111-121.

(Schreiber p. 316) Ellebodius wrote: «Io traduco adesso le Θεσμοφο-  
 ριάζουσας ad verbum, et ci trovo molta difficultà». This helps to estab-  
 lish the sequence Biset-Ellebodius-Chrestien *in rebus Aristophanicis*<sup>1</sup>.

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### Isaac CASAUBON (1559-1614)

Casaubon, a Protestant like Biset, came to England in 1610 after the murder of Henri IV<sup>2</sup>. His copy of Gelenius is now in the British Library (C. 77. g. 12). His unpublished *marginalia* are few and far between, but include some rare gems. Some of his emendations are preceded by the abbreviation ἔσ (=ἔσως).

His Notae in *Equites*, which form the substance of lectures he gave in 1601/2 to a circle of friends in his Paris house, were printed by Kuster in his 1710 Amsterdam edition (from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale)<sup>3</sup>.

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### Tanneui Le Fèvre (1615-1672), better known as Tanaquil FABER

Faber, the father of Anne Le Fèvre, the celebrated Mme Dacier (1654-1720), was born at Caen and died at Saumur<sup>4</sup>. His translation and notes on *Eccl.* were published during his lifetime<sup>5</sup>. His copy of the 1624 Leyden edition (printed by J. Maire) is now in the Bibl. Nat. (Réserve Yb. 740) and contains numerous unpublished *marginalia* and corrections to the Latin translation of Andreas Divus. A note on the front page bears the indication «iterum legi coeptus ē anno MDCXLVI mense Maio». But some plays he read more than twice: for *Thesm.* he notes «bis. ter», for *Plut.* «bis cum scholiis. tertium. quartum», for

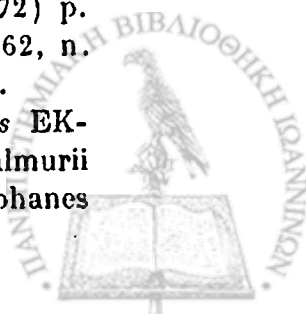
1. Schreiber (p. 326) mistakenly lists Biset «among Ellebodius' successors». As one travels back through the centuries, the πρώτος εὐρετής of many an emendation turns out to be a very elusive bird indeed.

2. See Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxf. 1976) p. 120-122.

3. See Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2nd ed. (Oxf. 1892) p. 44 and 483 f.

4. See the entry in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XXX (Paris 1872) p. 307-312 and for both father and daughter *La France Protestante* (above p. 62, n. 2), VI (Paris 1856) p. 499-505 and W. Suess (below p. 87, n. 2) p. 83-88.

5. Tanaquilli Fabri *Epistolae. Pars altera. Additae sunt Aristophanis ΕΚΚΑΗΣΙΑΖΟΥΣΑΙ cum interpretatione nova, Notis et emendationibus* (Salmurii 1665) p. 164-294. See the reprint in the 1670 Amsterdam edition of Aristophanes p. 982-1071.



*Nub.* «quintum», etc. And we know that his daughter «avait poussé la passion pour Aristophane jusqu'à lire certaines de ses pièces deux cents fois avec le même plaisir»<sup>1</sup>.

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### Richard BENTLEY (1662-1742)

«An edition of Aristophanes was the work which would have best suited the genius of Bentley: and every scholar must regret that he did not devote to this task some of the time which was passed in college squabbles, or in defending new readings of the Latin poets». So wrote Bishop Monk<sup>2</sup>. Bentley's annotated copy of Gelenius is now in the British Library (676. h. 13). From it a series of «Bentleii Emendationes Ineditae in Aristophanem» was published (anonymously) by G. Burges in seven instalments in the *Classical Journal* 11-14 (1815-1816). In the introduction to the series<sup>3</sup> Burges speaks of his own *incuria* and complains that Bentley's *manus et animus* are not always easy to follow: «ille enim notas nunc margini superiori, nunc inferiori, nunc inter lineas, nunc ad latus adscripsit, prout spatium charta pura praebebat». Autopsy has revealed that Burges' collation is often unreliable and incomplete. In *Thesm.* alone Burges misreports Bentley several times and leaves out a fair number of good suggestions, which are now attributed to later critics. For *Plut.* and *Nub.* a fuller and more accurate list was given by Bishop Monk in *Museum Criticum* II (1826) 126-138. Monk also published there (p. 418-456) the full text of two of the three splendid *Epistulae Criticae* on *Plut.* and *Nub.*, which Bentley had sent to Kuster in the summer of 1708<sup>4</sup>. Short extracts from these were printed by Kuster at the back of his edition (1710)<sup>5</sup>.

1. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XII (Paris 1866) p. 759. See the end of Mlle Le Fèvre's Preface to *Le Plutus et les Nuées d'Aristophane* (Paris 1684).

2. J. H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley, D.D.*, 2nd ed., I (Lond. 1833) p. 195. Further bibliography on Bentley in Pfeiffer (above p. 65, n. 2) p. 148<sup>8</sup>.

3. *CJ* 11 (1815) 132. G. Burges (1786?-1864) was a very rash textual critic, as can be seen from the «De Carminibus Aristophanis Commentarius» he published in 8 parts in *CJ* 13-19 (1816-1819). James Diggle, *Eur. fab. I* (OCT 1984) p. vii finds his edition of *Troades* «perversitatis plenam».

4. Reprinted as letters CXXVII (24 July 1708) and CXXIX (21 August 1708) in *The Correspondence* (above p. 62, n. 5).

5. On Bentley's *Emendationes in Menandri et Philemonis reliquias*, published anonymously in 1710, see C.O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge/New York 1986) p. 63 f.

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## Charles DAUBUZ (1673-1717)

Daubuz was born in the province of Guienne at Nérac near Agen (now in the department of Lot-et-Garonne). Like Casaubon, he was the son of an Huguenot pastor. He came to England at the age of twelve, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685). He was admitted a Sizar of Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1689, was Librarian of his College from 1693 to 1695, and obtained his M.A. in 1697. From 1699 till his death he was vicar of Brotherton in Yorkshire. His massive commentary (over 1000 pages) on the «Apocalypse» was posthumously published<sup>1</sup>. His successor at Brotherton recorded that «when he had finished his book he went to consult Dr. Bentley (the then great critic of the age); but the doctor (as is supposed), thinking Mr. Daubuz would outshine him in learning, and eclipse his glory, did not encourage him to publish it. Upon which poor Mr. Daubuz returned home unhappy in mind and weary in body, sickened of pleuritic fever, and died in a few days»<sup>2</sup>.

Daubuz' copy of Gelenius is now in the British Library (1348. i. 1). It contains the collation of the *Codex Arundelianus* of *Plut.* and *Nub.* (=Ln1 in White's list), which Kuster used in his edition of 1710<sup>3</sup>. It also contains a wealth of *unpublished* notes on all the plays. Daubuz often refers to his predecessors<sup>4</sup>. His own suggestions are signed «CD» and are often followed by the letters «mg(r)» = *metri gratia*, like Biset's μ(έτρου) χ(άριν).

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## Georg KAIBEL (1850-1901)

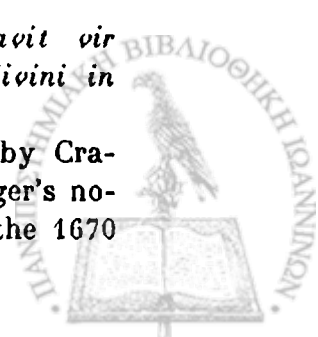
In 1963 the late Eduard Fraenkel proudly showed me what he called «my most treasured possession»: Kaibel's lecture notes on *Thesm.*, some

1. *A Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Lond. 1720).

2. See the entry in Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV (1888) p. 95 f.

3. See Kuster's Preface: *collationem...benevole mecum communicavit vir doctissimus et literarum harum amantissimus, Carolus Daubuz, verbi divini in Ecclesia Anglicana minister.*

4. For *Thesm.* he refers to *Crat* (= the 1532 Basel edition printed by Cratander), *Cald* (= the 1607 Geneva edition, see above p. 63), *Scal* (= Scaliger's notes, first printed in the 1624 Leyden edition), *EU* (= *editio ultima*, the 1670 Amsterdam edition).



80 pages of detailed commentary written in German circa 1890 in an interleaved copy of v. Velsen's 1883 Leipzig edition<sup>1</sup>. In 1965, when I had completed my D. Phil., he very kindly allowed me «to go fishing for pearls» in «this precious little book». Fraenkel died in 1970 and the little book is now kept in the Librarian's room in the Ashmolean<sup>2</sup>.

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#### Ulrich von WILAMOWITZ - MOELLENDORFF (1848-1931)

In 1964 the late Paul Maas' library came up for sale at Thornton's in Oxford and I was lucky enough to pick up for myself his interleaved copy of v. Leeuwen's 1904 Leyden edition of *Thesm*<sup>3</sup>. Not only does it contain the draft of notes Maas had once published himself<sup>4</sup>, it also preserves an interesting record of a reading class, attended also by G. Klaffenbach and J. Sykutris, and held by Wilamowitz in his Berlin house in the late 1920ies<sup>5</sup>. Many of these notes are followed by «Wil»: some repeat ideas Wilamowitz had already published on the play<sup>6</sup>, but the majority are new.

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#### THE EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS (XVI Cent.)

Many editions were printed in the XVIth Century. Four are still referred to in Coulon's Budé apparatus<sup>7</sup>:

Iuntina (1515) = the *editio princeps* by Eufrosyno Bonini (Florence 1516)<sup>8</sup>.

1. Fraenkel himself refers to «Georg Kaibel in a lecture note on Ar. *Thesm.* 489» in his commentary on Aesch. *Ag.* 1081.

2. Kaibel published 3 notes on *Thesm.* in *Hermes* 22 (1887) 497-500. For his unpublished work on the fragments of Old Comedy see *CGFP* p. ix<sup>14</sup> and *PCG* IV p. viii.

3. See *ClQu* 81 (1987) 226<sup>15</sup>.

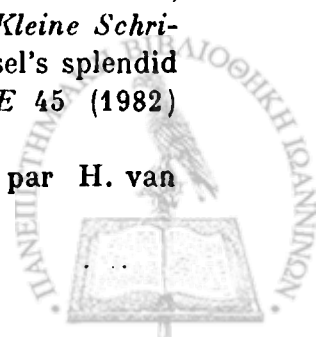
4. P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften* (München 1973) p. 54-59 and 180.

5. On this famous *Graeca*, see F. Solmsen, «Wilamowitz in his last ten years», *GRBS* 20 (1979) 89 ff.

6. See *Istolos von Epidauros* (Berlin 1886) p. 155-158, *Aristoteles und Athen* II (Berlin 1893) p. 343-355, *Euripides Herakles* (2nd ed., Berlin 1895) on line 681, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921, *passim*, see the index p. 623), *Kleine Schriften* IV (Berlin 1962, *passim*, see the index p. 707). See also R. Kassel's splendid survey, «Wilamowitz über griechische und römische Komödie», *ZPE* 45 (1982) 271-300.

7. *Aristophane* tome IV, texte établi par V. Coulon et traduit par H. van Daele (Paris 1929).

8. For the date see Schreiber (above p. 64) p. 320<sup>24</sup>.





Veneta I (1538) = the Venice edition, *in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti*.

Brubachiana (ed. Francof. 1544) = the Frankfurt edition, edited by S. Grynaeus of Heidelberg.

Frobeniana (ed. Basil. II 1547) = the second<sup>1</sup> Basel edition, edited by S. Gelenius of Prague.

Between them these four editions contain some sixty correct emendations of *Thesm.*, the best and most numerous by Zanetti and Grynaeus<sup>2</sup>. I have consulted the other early editions but found nothing of interest in them, except in one place (see below on l. 307). Mention should also be made here of the first translation of Aristophanes, that into Latin by Andreas Divus (Venice 1538). Although it was rightly described by Gilles Ménage as «pleine d'ignorances, et pour le Grec, et pour le Latin»<sup>3</sup>, it nevertheless contains, like Daléchamp's famous 1583 translation of Athenaeus<sup>4</sup>, a fair number of *ad verbum* renderings, which tacitly remove for the first time an obvious corruption in the Greek text. Should Divus not be given some credit for these «Latin» emendations?

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1 ἄρα πότε R (cf. Schol. πότε): ἄρα ποτε Biset and Faber, both anticipating Kuster (in his *Notae*, 1710), who however mistranslates *quando tandem?*, and Wellauer (*De Thesmophoriis*, Vratisl. 1820, p. 51), whose *num quando?* is correct.

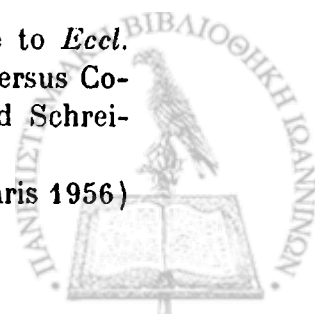
2 Reiske's ἄλλων with short υ (*Ad Eur. et Ar. Animadv.*, Lips. 1754, p. 217), advocated by Maas (*Kl. Schr.* p.54-56) and printed by Coulon, is Epic: ū always in Tragedy and Comedy. R's ἄλλων is confirmed by Schol.

1. For the first Basel edition (ed. Grynaeus) see above (p.67, n. 4) under *Crat* and below on l. 307.

2. Coulon is very careless in his attribution of conjectures: at lines 16, 50 and 86 he attributes to Kuster and Scaliger what belongs to Grynaeus. At 657 he credits Gelenius with a wrong conjecture the latter did not make, etc. J. F. Gannon, *Thesmophorizusae restitutae* (Diss. Yale 1982) p. 8-15 lists some of the shortcomings of Coulon's apparatus, but his list is far from complete.

3. *Anti-baillet*, II (la Haye 1690) p. 41, echoing Faber's preface to *Eccl.* (above p. 65, n. 5, p.164=p. 982) «bonus ille *Andreas Divus* vix alternos versus *Comici nostri* intellexit, qui nullum Hellenismi sensum haberet». See Fred Schreier, *ClPh* 70 (1975) 209 f.

4. See A. M. Desrousseaux, *Athénée. Les Deipnosophistes* (I-II: Paris 1956) p. xlv.



(=Sud. α 1330) and by Phot. α 1029=Lex. Bachm. p. 75, 26 ἄλοῶν· ἀν-  
τὶ τοῦ περιάγων, ὡς οἱ ἄλοῶντες βόες. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. See further  
on Ar. fr. 932 K.-A. The metaphor is from threshing. «Daher scheint  
ἄλοῶν von den βόες, nicht von den ἐλαύνοντες τοὺς βόας gesagt zu werden.  
Also intransitiv = περιιών» Kaibel. See also Felix Solmsen, *Unters. zur  
gr. Laut- und Verslehre* (Strassb. 1901) p. 106<sup>2</sup>.

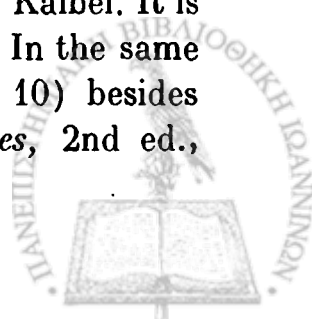
11 «Εὐρ. Bentley: om. R» notes Coulon. Bentley was anticipated  
by Casaubon.

18 ἀκοὴν δεχοάνης R: ἀκοῆς δὲ χοάνην Biset (before Scaliger). For a de-  
fence of this reading («die leichteste Änderung» Kaibel) see Kamerbeek  
in ΚΩΜΩΙΔΟΤΡΑΓΗΜΑΤΑ (Amst. 1967) p. 74. Kassel compares ἀκο-  
ῆς τρήματα in Diod. II 56,4. Wil. prefers Dobree's ἀκοῇ δὲ χοάνην. This is  
possible, but Rogers's argument that «the dative ἀκοῇ is required as a  
parallel to ᾧ μὲν βλέπειν χρή two lines above» is wrong-headed: as  
Sandbach notes «whereas ᾧ is a dative of instrument», (*quo quidem  
cernere oportet* Divus), «ἀκοῇ would be a dative of recipient» (*for the  
hearing* Dobree Adv. II p. 237).

23 ἐξεύροιμ' R: «ἐξεύροις mit Reiske» Maas ms., but, as Sandbach  
points out «Euripides already knows and does not need to discover: cf.  
22 *you could have many such lessons from me*. On the other hand the  
idea of *discovering how to learn something* is natural (cf. Soph. OT 120  
ἐν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν) and the elaborate phrase, suggesting an  
effort of search, builds up the suspense to be deflated by the ridiculous  
χωλὸς εἶναι τὸ σκέλει».

30 ἀγάθων R: the article or aspirate, here and at 95, as well as  
405 (ἀδελφὸς R) was added by Biset (before Scaliger and Bentley).  
At 409 (ἄνδρες R) it was added (before Dindorf) by Brunck in a ms.  
note in his own copy of vol. I of his 1783 Strasburg edition (Bibl. Nat.  
Rés. m. Yb 1).

34 οὐτοί γ' R: «Es wird zwischen οὐτοί und γε ein betontes Wort  
vermisst, cf. Soph. El. 773 οὐτοί μάτην γε und Ar. Eccl. 522. Wenn  
zu ändern: οὐτοί μὰ τὸν Δί', sehr oft οὐτοί vor dem Schwur» Kaibel. It is  
just possible that γε here emphasizes οὐτοί, «certainly *not*». In the same  
way we sometimes find καίτοι γε (Ach. 611, cf. Pap. Did. I 10) besides  
the commoner καίτοι...γε (see Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed.,  
Oxf. 1954, p. 564).



58 ἀγριώτας R: Bentley's ἀγροί- was anticipated by an anonymous critic in the early XVIIth Century ('Anon. Par.') in the margin of his copy of the small 1600 Leyden edition (*Ex officina Plantiniana, apud C. Raphelengium*). This copy is full of *marginalia* in red and black ink and is now in the Bibl. Nat. (Rés. Yb 739).

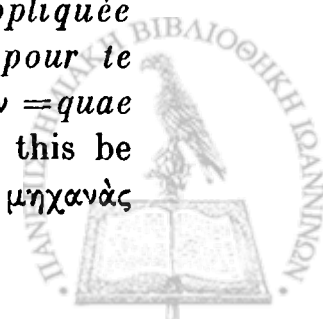
60 «κατα supra versum add. R<sup>2</sup>» notes v. Velsen. The omission of the preposition in the Munich manuscript (Mu2) and in ed. pr., both copied from R, shows that it is a modern conjecture. It was first printed by Invernizzi in 1794 («ita liber noster» he notes, vol. II p. 431). Kuster and Brunck had suggested inserting διὰ, but Faber writes «puto legendum κατὰ τοῦ θριγκοῦ (θρ. metaphorice pro podice)». v. Leeuwen prints Blaydes' ἐς τοὺς θριγκούς.

69 θύρασι R: θύραζε Zanetti, «möglich aber unnöthig: ἦν μὴ προίηι καὶ προσελθὼν θύρασι κατακάμπτη. cf. Thuc. III 71, 2 τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας. Anders *Nub.* 631 ὅμως γε μὴν / αὐτὸν καλῶ θύραζε δευρὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς, wo von einem Aufenthalt θύρασι nicht die Rede ist» Kaibel. See the grammar of Kühner-Gerth I p. 545.

74 ἐμόν R: ἐμέ Valckenaer (ap. Dobree Adv. II p. 237), followed by Wil. and Kaibel («Die Hauptsache ist das Obiect: *mir* solltest du's nicht verbergen»). But ἐμέ is hardly needed after the emphatic ἐγώ in 72 and a good case for keeping ἐμόν was made by C.O. Zuretti in *RFIC* 29 (1901) 556. For κηδεστήν referring to Euripides cf. 210 ὃ φίλτατ' ὦ κηδεστά.

83 περὶ εμοῦ R: περί μου Biset and Bentley (before Brunck).

86 δι' καὶ ἄν R: δικάιᾳ <γ'> ἄν Grynæus, «an sich sehr gut, cf. *Lys.* 403. Aber v. 87 schwierig: ἐκ ταύτης vielfach corrigiert. ἐκ τούτων Bergler unprobabel. Es muss vorher ein subst. stehen, das *Noth* oder *Strafe* bedeutet: καὶ δικάιαν ἄν πάθοις Wil. ad Eur. *Herc.* 681 (καὶ δικάιαν γ' ἄν?), d.i. πάθῃσιν» Kaibel, but this is very artificial, as is Rogers' «ἐπιβουλῆς, understood from ἐπιβεβουλεύασαι just above». Is μηχανή ἐκ a usual phrase? «crux» notes Wil. ap. Maas. Coulon prints ἐκ τούτων and points out in his *Essai sur la méthode de la critique conjecturale appliquée au texte d'Aristophane* (Paris 1933) p. 21 that it means, not *pour te tirer de là* (v. Daele), but *puisque'il en est ainsi*. For ἐκ τούτων = *quae cum ita sint* cf. *Vesp.* 346 and Aesch. *Pers.* 788. But why should this be corrupted here to ἐκ ταύτης? Comparing Hdt. III 152 πάσας μηχανὰς



ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος, Sandbach suggests εἰς τὰς τούτας, *against these women*: «if EIC were read as EK, τούτας would inevitably become τούτης».

90 καὶ R: «so wäre eigentlich unbedingt nur seine Anwesenheit in der ἐκκλ. nöthig, seine Rede nur eventuell. Aber die Rede das einzig nothwendige. Folglich Markland [ad Eur. *Suppl.* 364, ed. 1, 1763, p. 139] richtig χᾶν=καὶ ἃ ᾶν» Kaibel. So also Coulon *Essai* (above on 86) p. 82. Cf. Thuc. I 22, 1 τὰ δέοντα...εἰπεῖν.

91 φανερόν R: «φανερῶς Cobet<sup>1</sup> falsch. Wie kann jemand nicht φανερῶς λέγειν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλ. (cf. 431)? Gemeint ist *als der, der er ist*, d.h. als Mann, also φανερόν ὄντα, wie das folgende zeigt» Kaibel. So also Wil. («φανερὸν masc.») and Zuretti (above on 74) p. 558.

95 τί δ' ἐστίν R: anticipating v. Leeuwen and Wil., Kaibel notes: «Zu schreiben τί ἐστίν; Unterschied: wenn jemand auf etwas eingeht und nach Erklärung verlangt, sagt er τί δ' ἐστί; (cf. 582) aber wer gerufen wird, fragt nach dem Grunde τί ἐστι; (cf. 193)». See on Lysipp. fr. 1,1 (PCG V p. 619).

96 ποῖο ἐστὶν οὗτος R: ποῦ <σθ'; (Εὐ.) ὅπου> 'στίν; οὗτος Meineke (ποῦ iam Dobree), approved by both Kaibel and Wil. For the *saut du même au même* see Coulon *Essai* p. 39.

97 ἡ R: ἥ Biset (before the Leyden ed. of 1624).

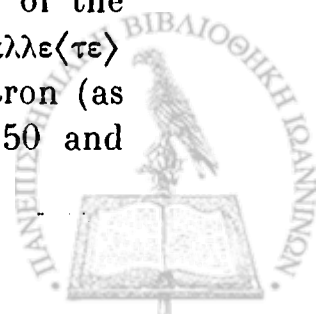
99 ᾶν R: οὖν Ellebodius (translating Divus' *utique?*). Bentley has «αὖ Gry(naeus)», which seems a slip for «αὖ Scal(iger)». Casaubon and 'Anon. Par.' (see above on 58) also suggested αὖ and Bergler (1760) compared *Av.* 226 οὗποψ μελωδεῖν αὖ παρασκευάζεται. Rogers, following Meineke (*Vind. Ar.*, Lips. 1865, p.145) objected that «there the Hoopoe had, while here Agathon has not, already sung» and he prints οὖν. Several colleagues (K. Tsantsanoglou, Luigia Achillea Stella and Peter Rau) find αὖ «permissible, though not strictly logical, after the servant's song, all the more so as the same actor performs both parts» (Rau). Bergk's γάρ was anticipated by Burges in *CIJ* 22 (1820) 281. Kaibel found it

1. Meineke (1860) attributed the conjecture to Cobet, but I have not traced it in any of Cobet's writings listed on p. vi of his Preface (vol. I). At 715 he likewise ascribes to Brunck a reading he should probably have claimed for himself.

«unwahrsch(einlich)». It is true that ΓΑΡ could easily have dropped out in front of ΠΑΡ (Coulon *Essai* p. 145, Gannon *Diss.* p. 88 f.), but where did ᾗν come from? Palaeographically simpler would be my own δῆ (PCPhS 200, 1974, 1), which was anticipated by Syk(utris) ap. Maas. See below on 400 and for δῆ used with a verb Denniston *Gr. Part.* p. 214-216. I have also thought of restoring ῥν, see *there*, used parenthetically, as at Men. *Dysc.* 910 and Theocr. 8, 26.

103 χορεύσασθαί R: -ασθε 'Anon. Par.' (see above on 58), before Daubuz, Bentley and Kuster, *tripudiate* Divus. Sandbach suggests taking ἱεράν in 101 with βοάν in 103 rather than with λαμπάδα in 102. For associated words placed *first* and *last* in the clause see his note on Men. *Dysc.* 236 τοῦτο...ποιοῦντα, to which he adds Soph. *OT* 1477 γνούς. ..πάλαί, Men. *Sicyon.* 136 f. ἤλθε...εἰς Κάρϊαν, Phryn. ecl. 393 Fischer τοῦτο...εἰπών, Hippocr. *De liquid.* 1 ὅτι τοῦτο...ποτόν, Polyb. III 6,10 οὐδεὶς...τῶν βαρβάρων, and especially Lucan V 242 ff. *paene fideles / per tot bella manus satiatae sanguine tandem / destituere ducem*, where a reciter would have to guard against his hearers associating *paene* and *fideles*. The *sacred cry* corresponds to the *sudden voice* at 127 f. and refers to the ὀλολυγμός raised by the Muses in the assembly of the gods (*Ar.* 782 f.). The κοῦραι in 102 are clearly the Muses (cf. 41). On the other hand, how easily can one dissociate χθονίαν from ἱεράν (genitive of the divinity, cf. *Plut.* 937), and consequently ἱεράν from λαμπάδα?

107 ἄγε νῦν ὀπλίζε μοῦσα R: ἄγε νῦν ὀλβίζε μούσαι Fritzsch *Ind. lect. Rost.* 1859/60 p. 6, combining the suggestions of Bentley (ὀλβίζε) and Bergk (μούσαι). For a defence of this reading see Fraenkel, *Beobachtung-en zu Aristophanes* (Roma 1962) p. 111-114. But if, as is likely, the κοῦραι of 102 are the Muses (see on 103), the dative μούσαι in an address to them seems to strike a false note. Wil.'s Μοῦσαι (*Isyll.* p. 157) looks more promising. Moreover, at 103 and 115, Agathon uses the plural in addressing his chorus. Should he not do the same here and at 128? Gannon (*Diss.* p. 92) reads ἄγε νῦν ὀλβίζετε Μοῦσαι, which perhaps solves the problem. For ἄγε νῦν followed by a plural verb cf. 947, *Ran.* 383, *Eccl.* 268. For ἄγε νῦν (here parody of tragedy) cf. φέρε νῦν at Eur. *Or.* 1281. For the «irregular» ionic metron υυυ-- at the beginning of the line cf. 105. In line with this, I suggest we read ἄνακτ' ἀγάλλε(τε) Φοῖβον in 128, with a normal ionic preceded by an iambic metron (as at l. 120: an iambic before ionics also occurs at Alem. *PMG* 50 and [Eur.] *Rhes.* 363 = 373).



111-113 Wil. notes «ἀοιδαῖς scil. ἑμαῖς, τιμαῖς scil. ἡμετέραις, γέρας scil. σόν» and translates the first line «freue dich bei unserem schönen Gesang». So there is no need to read καλλίστας ἀοιδᾶς with Dobree («ordo est γέρας ἀοιδᾶς») or καλλίστας ἀοιδάς with Cobet *Mnem.* 2 (1853) 210 (with the accusative in apposition to γέρας?). Kaibel has: «ἀοιδαῖς missverstanden; auch ist nicht ἑμαῖς zu ergänzen (wie dreist und eitel!), sondern es ist einfach der Dativ zu προφέρων i.e. διαφέρων (προ = πρὸ ἄλλων)». But the meaning is *not* that Apollo wins the prize for the best song. Rather, as the god of music, he is naturally the first to be greeted by the Muses «with their loveliest songs» and this is «the sacred privilege he *displays* (προφέρων) in their fair musical celebrations».

115 ἀείσαντ' R: ἀείσατ' Zanetti: *laudate* Divus.

120 κρούματα τ' Ἀσιάδος R: Divus translated *saltationesque Asiaticae terrae*, an interpretation revived by Bothe (*Lect. Ar.*, Berol. 1808, p. 114) and Burges *ClJ* 14 (1816) 231f. (who both read Ἀσίδος), and by Pearson on Soph. fr. 287 ἐπικρουμα χθονὸς Ἀργείας. But Ellebodus rightly saw that the meaning is *et pulsus lyrae*, as shown by l. 124. See the note in Schol. and the references given by Theodoridis on Phot. α 2956. Aristophanes borrowed the phrase Ἀσιάδος κρούματα from Euripides' *Erechtheus* (fr. 370 N. = 64 Au.).

127 ἡμετέρας R: ὑμετέρας Nietzsche (in 1866, see his *Werke* IV, München 1937, p. 32)<sup>1</sup>, who was the first to understand the passage correctly: «durch sie (dh. die Cithara) und in Folge eurer enthusiastischen Stimme kam Freude (φῶς Hesych. ἡ χαρά) den ὁμμασι τῶν δαίμόνων». So also Bachmann, *Conjecturarum Observationumque Aristophanearum Spec.* I, Göttingen 1878, p.120 f. and Taillardat *REG* 85 (1972) p. xxii f., who however keep ἡμ- (ἄμ- Meineke). Wilamowitz *Isyll.* p. 157, followed by Coulon *REG* 50 (1937) 454-458, curiously took ὁμμασιν to be the dative of agent and τῷ the dative of destination, not *vice versa*. But this is clearly impossible.

148 ἄμα γνώμη R: ἄμα γνώμη Biset (=Portus): *simul cum sententia* Divus: *simul cum mente* Ellebodus: «müsste ἀπὸ γνώμης sein» Wil. D. Sansone, *ClQu* 81 (1987) 224-227 implausibly suggests that this is what Aristophanes actually wrote. Agathon's bold phrase

1. See also his *Briefwechsel* I 2 (Berlin / New York 1975) n° 526 (Nov. 1866) p. 182.

clearly means «entsprechend den Gedanken die mich bewegen» (Kaibel). Dr. Diggle quotes André Gide's *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (ch. 7) «mes pensées sont toujours de la couleur de mon costume». Coulon *Essai* p. 32 and Gannon *Diss.* p. 95 f. adopt Meineke's ἄμα <τῇ>. This is possible (TH dropping out before ΓN), but the article is normally omitted in this type of phrase (ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἐν γνώμῃ, κατὰ γνώμην, etc.).

159 ἀλλ' ὥς τ' R: ἄλλως τ' Gelenius: *praeterea* Divus.

165 ἡμπέσχετο R: ἡμπίς- Elmsley, *Eur. Med.* (1818) p. 253, «sensus enim est καλοῖς εἰματίοις ἐχρῆτο non ἐχρήσατο»: *pulchre induebatur* Divus: *pulchre amiciebatur* Ellebodius.

204 As Kaibel and Wil. note, R's vulgar νυκτερείσια (from ἐρείδω *sens. obsc.*, cf. 488) has no place in Agathon's euphemistic verse. Read νυκτερήσια (with Dobree), an adj. formed like ἡμερήσιος (Aesch. *Ag.* 22), and cf. Hom. λ 246 φιλοτήσια ἔργα. Dover and Sommerstein do not rule out an obscenity embedded in a parody for comic effect, as though the actor were instructed to mispronounce the word: «say νυκτερήσια but make it sound obscene» (Sommerstein).

217 ἦ R: ἦ Faber, anticipating Fritzsche (1838) and H. Richards, *Aristophanes and Others* (Lond. 1909) p. 43. Faber translates *certe nunquam me prorsus tradere debueram*. Richards compares *Eccl.* 145 ἦ μοι μὴ γενεῖᾶν κρεῖττον ἦν. Hamaker's ὥς (*Mnem.* 5, 1856, 293), advocated by both Coulon, *REG* 66 (1953) 50 and Gannon *Diss.* p. 99, is unlikely: *Ran.* 955 («So you ought...») is different. But R's ἦ = *otherwise* seems in order. As Sandbach points out, the meaning is: «If I refuse consent, I ought not to have put myself in a position where it is going back on my word to do so». For the text of the rest of the line see Fraenkel *Beob.* p. 115 f.

219 «τι verdächtig» Kaibel, who notes «möglich wäre ἡμῖν ξυρόν νον χρῆσον», a suggestion already made by Hermann (*Opusc.* VIII p. 296). But τι can be kept if we take it to be a diffident and polite way of asking. Cf. Men *Epitr.* 381 ἔχεις κοιτίδα τινά;

223 ἀττατα· ατταται· R: ἀτταταῖ ἰατταταῖ Biset (before the Leyden ed. of 1624).



230 ἔχ' ἀτρέμα σαυτόν R: cf. Hdt. IX 54 εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτούς. As Aristophanes elsewhere omits the pronoun (*Nub.* 743, *Av.* 1200, 1244, 1572, *Ran.* 339, cf. *Nub.* 261), there is something to be said for Dobree's ἔχ' ἀτρέμας αὐτοῦ: «hier ist αὐτοῦ nöthig, *lauf nicht fort sondern bleib ruhig hier*» Kaibel. The corruption would be easy: cf. *Av.* 360 πρὸ σαυτοῦ Bentley: πρὸς αὐτόν codd.

232 αὖ R: εἰ Herwerden (*Anal. Crit.*, Traiect. ad Rh. 1868, p. 52), followed by Wil. Sommerstein notes: «Citizens who served in the army normally served not as φίλοι but as hoplites or cavalry. Can R's text mean *It's back to the army again for me - but this time as a φίλος* (which for an ex-hoplite would be a demotion)?».

234 σεαυτόν R: σαυτόν Biset and Bentley, before Bergler (1760).

235 κλεισθένην R: Dindorf's Κλεισθένη was anticipated by Brunck in a ms. note in the Bibl. Nat. (Suppl. gr. 354) where he writes: «edendum erat Κλεισθένη ut *Lys.* 1092 et infra 763».

242 πρωκτόν R: Bentley's πρωκτόν <αὐτόν> was anticipated by Biset, but the true reading is πρωκτόν ἕτερον, as restored by Silvio M. Medaglia from the Florence Papyrus. See *ZPE* 57 (1984) 58.

261 τοῦτι λάμβαν' R: τουτι λάβ' Daubuz (= Bentley and Kuster in notes). For the variation in tense (λάμβανε in 262) cf. *Ach.* 1103 f. ἐνεγκε...φέρε and see Denniston on Eur. *El.* 888. In his text Coulon printed Reisig's φέρ' ἔγκυκλόν τι, but he later changed his mind (*Essai* p. 83): «on écrira donc avec Bergk φέρ', ἔγκυκλον ποῦ; *Voyons, où y-at-il un mantelet?*, d' autant plus sûrement qu' Agathon répond où il faut le prendre: λάμβαν' ἀπὸ τῆς κλινίδος». This is attractive, but it is perhaps making too much of «l'accent de ce τοῦ incompréhensible».

287 f. πολλάκις μέ σοι θύειν: Daubuz was the first to compare Eur. *El.* 805. See Fraenkel *Beob.* p. 118 f.

307 τὸν δῆμον τῶν ἀθηναίων R: the reading τ. δ. τὸν Ἀθ. is attributed to Dindorf by modern editors, but I find it printed in Grynaeus' 1532 Basel edition (p. 439) and in the editions of Zanetti (Venice 1538), Wechel (Paris 1540), Farreus (Venice 1542), Gryphius (Venice 1548) and Rapheleng (Leyden 1600), but *not* (surprising-



ly) in Grynaeus' second edition (Frankfurt 1544) nor in Gelenius (Basel 1547). And the later editions before Dindorf all have R's text.

325 ἐναλίου R: εἰν- Bentley (before Brunck).

337 Μήδοις R: Biset (before Scaliger) supplied the τ' which is now confirmed by the quotation in Satyrus' Life of Euripides (Pap. Ox. 1176, fr. 39 col. xii 14).

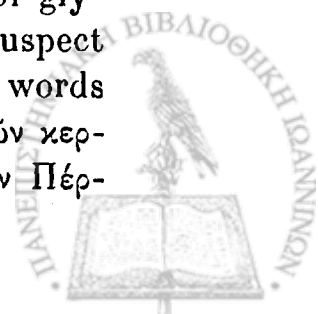
344 ἀ ἀν R (with *scriptio plena*): ἀν Faber, and this was first printed in the Amst. ed. of 1670 (long before Brunck).

347 χοῶς R and Suda χ 394. Coulon attributes the correction χοῶς to Hall-Geldart, but see Elmsley ad *Ach.* 1000. I now find it written by Brunck himself in the margin of his own edition (see above on 30) p. 93. For the spelling see Kühner-Blass I p. 498 and *PCG* IV p. 224 (on Cratin. fr. 199, 3 K.-A.).

352 ξυνευχόμεθα R: -μεσθα Daubuz, before Bothe (1808), but R's text may be right: see A.M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (2nd. ed., Cambr. 1968) p. 80.

357 εξαπατῶσι R: -σιν Bentley, before Bothe (1808).

365 f. In a recent note (*Rev. Phil.* 60, 1986, 183-186) A. Blanc and J. Taillardat follow Willems (*Aristophane*, II, Paris / Brux. 1919, p. 551 ff.) in keeping the text of R, but it goes without saying that we cannot have side by side the two phrases τῆς χώρας οὔνεκα «pour l'amour de notre pays» and ἐπὶ βλάβῃ «au détriment commun», even if we try to find in τῆς χώρας «un jeu de mots dont personne ne s'est encore avisé». In the context the word can only mean «notre pays» and nothing else. That ἐπὶ βλάβῃ is sound is shown by l. 337, which is echoed here. This reflects official language (cf. e. g. ἔπλα...ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πημονῇ in the treaty at Thuc. V 18,4). It follows that ἐπὶ βλάβῃ at 360 can hardly be right. Indeed, l. 360 ought perhaps to be ejected. What is the *hiatus* doing at the end of the line in this string of glyconics, which include *synapheia* at the end of 363 and 364? I suspect that 360 originally followed 365, but got displaced when the words τῆς χώρας (arising from a gloss τῇ χώρῃ?) took the place of τῶν κερδῶν. The verb ἐπάγουσι is used here as at Hdt. IX 1 ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρ-



σην. For τῶν κερδῶν with the article cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1047 τοῦ κέρδους χάριν, OT 388 ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. Deletion of 360 also restores a neat series of 2-line clauses (358/9 = 361/2 = 363/4 = 365/6). On the other hand, the *hiatus* at the end of 366 is deliberate, as the chorus pauses for breath at the climax, but (exactly like the chorus-leader at 349)<sup>1</sup> cannot bring itself to *curse* a fellow-woman (cf. ὀπόσαι in 356). So the actual curse is replaced by a lame statement of fact (cf. 670 f., 685). The slow and solemn build-up is thus effectively and ironically deflated.

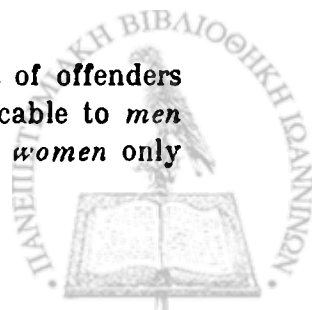
392 μυχοτρόπους R: μοιχο- Suda οἱ 128: «fort. legendum μοιχο-τρόφους (cf. πορνόβουσκοι)» Daubuz, anticipating A. Palmer, *The Quarterly Review* 158 (1884) 368, who compared *Eccl.* 225.

394 ἀνδράσι R: -σιν Bentley and Daubuz (= Kuster).

400 ἐάν τις πλέκηι R: a syllable is missing. Kuster's ἐάν <γε> was anticipated by Biset, Rogers' τις <νῦν> by Faber and by Joshua Barnes (in a marginal note in his copy of Gelenius, now in the Wren library). For other suggestions see the editions of Blaydes (1880), Rogers and v. Leeuwen: add <ξυμ>πλέκηι Willems (above on 365 f., p. 553). Coulon prints Dobree's τίς <τινα> and notes in his *Essai* (p. 34): «Le substantif στέφανον a besoin du pronom indéfini comme σχεῦος dans le vers 402». But this is hardly compelling. Sommerstein favours Dobree's other suggestion τις <καί> «if a woman so much as makes a garland - a perfectly common and innocent activity, yet it arouses suspicion». I suggest ἐάν <δή>, cf. Mach. 429 G. μέγαν <δή>. At 1150 below «δη ist nichts als mechanische Dittographie des folgenden αν» (Wil. *Gr. Versk.* p. 592). For the common uncial confusion of AN and ΔH see Porson's *Tracts* (Lond. 1815) p. 182, Pearson on Soph. fr. 106, Russell on Longin. 30,1 and for the sequence ἐάν δὴ τις cf. *carm. pop.* PMG 848, 17 ἀν δὴ τι.

443 ἔνεκ' αὐτῇ R: Bothe's ἔνεκεν αὐτῇ (ed. 1, 1830) was anticipated by Biset and Faber, but this is not as good as Rogers' <μὲν> ἔνεκ' αὐ-

1. I quote Rogers' note: «women have figured largely in the list of offenders (δούλη, γραῦς, ἑταῖρα, καπηλὶς), yet the imprecation, in terms, is applicable to *men* only (ἀπολέσθαι τοῦτον), whilst the blessing, in terms, is applicable to *women* only (ταῖς ἑλλαισιν)».



τῇ or Porson's palmary ἐνεκα καὐτῇ in his review of Brunck (*Maty's New Review* 4, 1783, 65 = *Tracts* p. 30).

449 Casaubon's comment on ἡμικάκως is: «Ital. *cosi cosi*». For his colloquial renderings of Aeschylus see Fraenkel's *Agamemnon* I p. 74.

467 ἀκουούσας R: -ας Zanetti: *audientes* Divus.

474 ἡ δὺ R: εἰ δὺ Grynaeus (1544): *si duo* Divus.

488 ερεῖδόμεν R: ἡρ- Bentley (= Kuster).

495 ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους R: the article was first deleted by Biset (before Bentley).

500 ὑπ' αὐγάς οἶον ἐστὶν R: In *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brux. 1975) p. 186 f. I accepted Bachmann's conjecture (above on 127, p. 27) οἶον <γ'> ὑπ' αὐγάς ἐστὶν. Kaibel in *Herm.* 22 (1887) 498 called it «non certa». Later, in his lecture notes, he wrote: «Umstellung (Bachm.) falsch». Coulon prints Hermann's <ἰδεῖν> ὑπ' αὐγάς οἶον {ἐστὶν} (*Opusc.* VIII p. 300, in his review of Enger). But earlier, in his review of Fritzsche (*Z. Alt.* 5, 1838, 683), Hermann had suggested reading ὑπαυγάσ' οἶον ἐστὶν. This is attractive, provided we give the verb ὑπαυγάσαι the meaning not of *glänzen* but of *looking at from under*. The simple αὐγάζων is used at Soph. *Phil.* 217 in the active sense of *seing* (ὀρῶν Schol.), and various compound forms of the verb are attested both in the active (ἐσ-, ἐν-, προσ-) and in the middle (ἀπ-, ἐπ-, κατ-) with the idea of *beholding, looking at, examining*, uppermost. So I take ὑπαυγάσαι to mean ἰδεῖν ὑπ' αὐγάς. The scribe of R regularly splits up compound verbs and writes the preposition separately: note 186 ὑπερ ἀποκρίνηι, 504 περὶ ἡρχετ', 601 σὺν ἐξεῦρ', 803 παρὰ βάλλουσαι, 1175 ἐπ' ἀναφύσα, 1221 κατὰ λάβοις. Hence the corruption here to ὑπ' αὐγάς. For the free use of the infinitive see Wil. on *Lys.* 1220.

501 μυχὸν R: μοιχὸν Grynaeus (1544): *adulterum* Divus. See above on 392 and Blaydes' critical note ad loc. for other examples of the οἰ/υ confusion.



512 ἡ ἔφερε R post corr.: ἡ ᾿φερεν Bentley (before Brunck).

533 ᾿Αγραυλον R: «filiam Cecropis Suid. [a 268] vocat ᾿Αγλαυρον» Daubuz, anticipating Brunck. For the spelling see L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I (Berlin / New York 1980) p. 478.

537 γε R: Reiske's τε has found much favour, but not with Wil. («γε cod. recte», cf. *Kl. Schr.* IV p. 28). See also Enger's comment on τε: «hoc non est emendare, sed depravare scripturam. non enim dicit *nos quum ipsae, tum etiam servulae sed nos ipsae cum servulis*».

545 ὥς R: δς Grynaeus (1544): *qui* Divus.

555 Bentley's τήν <γε>, advocated by Coulon (*Essai* p. 109), was anticipated by Faber.

580 -εῖτε his R: -ῖτε his Biset (= Portus).

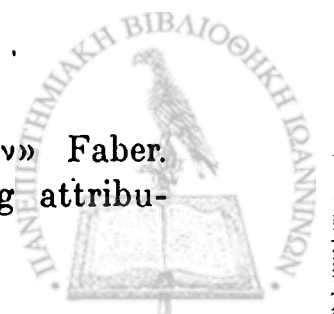
594 οἶομ ἔγωγ' R: οἶομαι ᾿γωγ' ᾿Anon. Par.' (see above on 58), before Bentley.

596 πεπύσμην R: ᾿πεπ- Faber, before Bentley.

632 τί δὲ τρίτον R: τί δ' αὖ τρίτον Bentley (his τί δαὶ refers to the previous line, as Rogers rightly points out. Burges's transcript is misleading): τί δαὶ Elmsley (ad *Ach.* 105). Coulon printed this in his edition, but changed his mind in his *Essai* (p. 110): «Il faut garder le δὲ après celui du v. 631», and he there follows Enger in filling up the line by adding σύ at the end of the first sentence (cf. 615 πολὺν γε χρόνον οὐρεῖς σύ, *Pac.* 847 πόθεν δ' ἔλαβες ταύτας σύ;). A simpler solution would be to transpose the three words, τρίτον δὲ τί; For the word order cf. *Nub.* 201 τουτὶ δὲ τί; 1186 νοεῖ δὲ τί; *Ran.* 630 λέγεις δὲ τί;

653 οἴχεται R: οἰχήσεται Faber (before Bentley).

657 εἰσελήλυθεν R: «legendum ἐσελήλυθε vel εἰσῆλθεν» Faber. ἐσελ- anticipates Bentley and Kuster (for Coulon's wrong attribu-



tion see p. 69, note 2), εἰσῆλθεν was also suggested by Biset and Daubuz (before Elmsley ad *Ach.* 42). ἐς is not used before a vowel in comedy (see my note in *ClR* 87, 1973, 133) and εἰς too is the wrong preposition here. «Es kann nicht verstanden werden ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. Denn erstlich sind sie nicht drinnen, zweitens aber wollen sie ihn auch draussen suchen» Kaibel, who finds Fritzsche's ἀνελήλυθε «sehr wahrscheinlich». Rogers called it «a very infelicitous alteration, since the question is not who has *ascended* the hill on which the Temple stood, which anybody might do», but this is not a valid objection, cf. e. g. 585. Another solution, which is palaeographically simpler, is Handley's ἐπελήλυθε used in a hostile sense, *has come against us*. In certain uncial scripts Π and IC are very easily confused.

658 ἀπορῆσαι R: ἀναπορῆσαι Bentley, διαπορῆσαι Daubuz (=Kuster). Daubuz compares *Equ.* 543 and Ael. *var. hist.* III 28.

662 χρῆ R: Bentley's χρῆν is out of line with χρῆ at 655, 659 and 660. Porson's χρῆ <σ'> is better, but somewhat peremptory. I prefer χρῆ <μ'> with the chorus - leader taking the initiative in the search. And τῇν πρώτην does not have to be taken adverbially, like πρώτιστα at 659. It can agree with <μ'>: cf. 603 τίς ἡ πρώτη σύ; *Lys.* 207 πρώτην μ'.

666 Kaibel's supplement καὶ τὰ τῆιδε <καὶ τὰ κεῖσε> καὶ τὰ δεῦρο neatly restores not only the triple sequence we find at *Av.* 425 καὶ τὸ τῆιδε καὶ τὸ κεῖσε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο, but also the proper metrical responsion in this little trochaic system. We now have two short stanzas consisting of two dimeters, one monometer and one catalectic dimeter each.

682 ἐστὶν R: ἔσται Bothe (1808): *erit* Divus.

706 ἔτι R: «ὅτι ὁb versum» Faber, anticipating Bentley. See *PCG* V p. 322 (note on Eup. fr. 50 K.-A.).

741 δέχα R: <καὶ> δέχα Biset (=Portus).

768 «οὐ φαίνεται, οὐπω so interpungirt, gut. Damit das Ausspähen geschildert» Kaibel (οὐ φαίνεται πῶ Dobree).



771-2 Coulon, following Wil. *Kl. Schr.* IV p. 556, brackets the words ἄλλ' οὐ πάρεσιν αἱ πλάται and the second πόθεν and conflates the two lines into one:

ρίψω γράφων, πόθεν οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν μοι πλάται;

with the note «verba cancellis saepta om. S» (= Suda π 45). But, as Gannon points out (*Diss.* p. 121), the quotation there is interrupted by a longish comment and it is not clear that any omission was intended. Kaibel's paraphrase shows that the bracketed words are genuine: «αἱ πλάται, die in der Tragödie vorkommenden. Daher auch πάρεσιν, sie existiren zwar, sind aber nicht hier. Wenn nun keine πλάται da sind, so fragt er natürlich *wo kriege ich welche her?* Denn der Gedanke dass es πλάται nicht nothwendig zu sein brauchen, kommt ihm noch nicht, erst mit τί δ' ἂν κτλ.» The correction γένοιτ' ἂν (Grynaeus 1544, cf. *fierent* Divus) gets some support from Suda's corrupt γ' ἔκειντό (γένοιτ' ἂν R). In 772 fin. Biset has πόθεν; <σκόπει>. In his *scholia* he had suggested πόθεν <πλάται>. Sandbach's <πλάται> πόθεν; is a neat improvement on this and would account for the omission. Scaliger's πόθεν; <πόθεν> is not very convincing, as we hardly need a *triple* repetition. Alternatively read πόθεν; <φέρε>. cf. 768. For φέρε followed by a question see also *Nub.* 769 φέρε, τί δῆτ' ἂν, εἰ..., *Plut.* 131 f. φέρε, / τίς οὖν...; *Eur. Hel.* 1043 φέρε, τί δ', εἰ...

773 εἴτα δια R: ταδὶ Sud. π 45: εἰ ταδὶ Biset and Ellebodius (before Scaliger).

776-7 «Der Hiatus ὦ χεῖρες ἐμαί, ἐγχειρεῖν ist echt, ein Kniff des Euripides, um den Anruf der χεῖρες wirksamer abzuheben. cf. 1065 (= *Eur. Androm.* fr. 114 N.) ὦ νύξ ἱερά, ὡς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις, wo unnütz emendirt wird» Kaibel. We then have another deliberate hiatus in the next line after χρή (see above on 662 and cf. 784) and again after πορίμωι. These three «hiatus falso ab editoribus deleti» (G. Lange, *Quaest. in Ar. Thesm.*, Diss. Gott. 1891, p. 20) produce a nice *reductio ad absurdum* as Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides' metrical trick. Dover and Rau object to the second hiatus. «Possis transponere ἔργωι χρή» noted Blaydes, approved by Dover: «corruption caused by bringing noun and adjective together is common».

783 καθόδους R: καθ' ὁδούς Biset (= Portus).



784 ταῦτα R: ταύται Grynaeus (1544): *hac* Divus.

789 εἰ καὶ κακὸν R: εἰ κακόν Zanetti: *si malum* Divus.

797 ζητεῖ τὸ κακὸν τεθεᾶσθαι R, def. Wil. ap. Maas with reference to *Gr. Versk.* p. 349<sup>2</sup> for the use of the perfect infinitive. Cf. also δέδορκα, τεθαύμακα, Kühner-Gerth I p. 148f. And the singular ζητεῖ is perfectly in place in between ζητεῖ in 796 and πᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖ in 798. Sandbach suggests ζητεῖ τὸ κακὸν γε θεᾶσθαι with the γε added, like τοῦτο in 796, «to introduce variety in the string of 5 repetitions of τὸ κακόν, *this κακόν of yours, your κακόν*». But this is perhaps less likely. Bishop Kaye's τὸ κακὸν ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι, which was formerly «universally accepted» (Rogers), leaves it unclear whether Aristophanes himself would have intended ζητεῖτε θεᾶσθαι or ζητεῖ τεθεᾶσθαι: written in uncials ZHTEITEΘEACΘAI is ambiguous.

804 δηλαδῆ τ' ἄργα R: δῆλα δὲ τ' ἄργα Biset (= Portus): *manifesta quidem sunt facta* Divus.

805 χειρόν R: χείρων Zanetti: *pejor* Divus.

815 ποθοῦντας R: ποοῦντας Zanetti: *facientes* Divus.

825 ἀπόλωλε R: -λεν Bentley and Daubuz (before Brunck).

839 ὦ πόλεις R: ὦ πόλις Gelenius: *o civitas* Divus.

842 ἦν χρῆν R: ἦι χρῆν Scaliger: *cui oportebat* Divus.

852 ἦ τί R and Sud. x 2534: «dele istud ἦ» Faber (before Bentley).

860 σοί R: σοί Zanetti: *tibi* Divus.

889 τί δε R: τί δ' αὖ Biset (before Scaliger): τί δὴ Leyden ed. (1624): τί δαί Faber (before Bentley).

943 ἔδοξεν R: -ε Biset (before Scaliger).

945 ἱαππαπαιάξ R: ἱατταταιάξ Biset (before Bentley). Ellebodius notes «σχετλίασμός: attamen initio Equitum scriptum est ἱατταταιάξ».



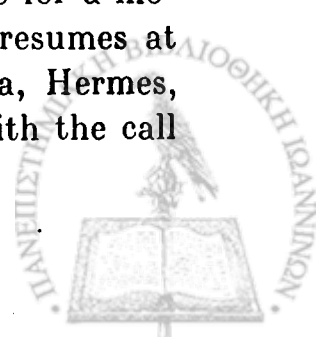
947 ταῖς R: ταῖσι Daubuz (= Bentley).

952 μέλλειν R: μέλειν Zanetti: *curae esse* Divus. Casaubon curiously suggests μολεῖν, «ut crebra sibi redeant celebrata ipsa orgia», and so also 'Anon. Par.' (see above on 58).

966 ἀλλὰ χρεῖ (σ') Maas ms., but Wil. rightly keeps R's χρεῖ (cf. 958, and see above on 622 and 777). The hiatus marks the sudden break. The order is addressed to the whole chorus. As Laetitia Edwards suggests, following Enger, the little stanza 966-968 does not actually correspond with 959-962 = 963-965, but is best taken on its own. Enger interpreted the whole chorus as follows: 953-958 proode, 959-962 = 963-965 strophic pair; 966-968 mesode, 969-976 = 977-984 strophic pair; 985-989 mesode, 990-994 = 995-1000 strophic pair. «ut tria sunt in hoc carmine saltationis genera, ita tres strophae, quarum unamquamque praecedit proodus, qua ad novum se convertere saltationis genus chorus iubetur» Enger (1844 p. 159).

967 ὥσπερ ἔργον αὖ τι καινόν R: read ὥς πρὸς ἔργον αὖ τι καινόν (ὥς ἐπ' Enger, but πρὸς is preferable, cf. *Pac.* 555, *An.* 1450, *Thesm.* 586, *Ran.* 884). The ἔργον καινόν is the celebration of the gods (cf. 961 f.), as rightly explained by Schol. ἐπειδὴ μέλλουσιν ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὠδήν. Ole Thomsen, *Class. et Med.*, *Diss.* ix (1973) p. 30 fails to see that αὖ here does not mean *again* but simply «marks transition to a fresh item» (MacDowell on *Vesp.* 28): cf. ἕτερον αὖ at 459, ἄλλος αὖ at 664.

968 Thomsen (see on 967) rightly takes πρῶτον to mean «before we start extolling the Olympians», but wrongly thinks (p. 31) that στῆσαι βάσιν means the same as ἱστάναι χορόν. So also Burton, *Pindar's Pyth. Odes* (Oxf. 1962) p. 94 «we should first have begun...». But, as Rogers and v. Leeuwen saw, the phrase here must mean *sistere gradum*, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 647 στῆσον πόδα, Soph. *Trach.* 339 ἐφίστασαι βάσιν (Schol. ἱστᾶς καὶ κωλύεις). The «graceful step of the beautiful round dance», which started at 953, is halted here for a moment, «since we are proceeding now to a new task», and resumes at 969 with the celebration of the gods Apollo, Artemis, Hera, Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs, and later changes direction at 985 with the call to Bacchus to lead the way.





995 ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ R: ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ Zanetti: *circa te* Divus. See Thomsen p. 39 f.

1001 οἰμῶξε R: Bentley has οἰμῶξε (not - ξι as reported by Burges. οἰμῶξι was first suggested by Brunck).

1005 At the end of the line R has τατταταῖ: ἰατταταῖ Faber (before Bentley). Cf. 223.

1011 ὑπεδῆλωσεν R: -σε Biset (before Scaliger, cf. 943).

1013 δῆλον οὖν ἔσθ' ὅτι R: a syllable is missing. Biset's new <νῶν> ἔσθ' is probably as good as Dobree's <τοῦτ'> ἔσθ' which is adopted by all modern editors. For the sequence οὖν νῶν cf. Av. 1076.

1017 λάβοιμι R: λάθοιμι Ellebodius and Casaubon (before Bentley).

1034 f. ξυμπαῖων R: ξὺν π- Zanetti: *cum carmine* Divus.

1041 φεύγουσαν R: χέουσαν *fundentem fletus* Casaubon, anticipating Kaibel (who compared Aesch. *Cho.* 449), Rogers (who compared Eur. *Suppl.* 773) and Peter Rau (*Paratragodia*, München 1967, p. 75<sup>139</sup>, who suggests χέουσα and refers to both passages).

1047 ἀνετιχτε R: ἄτεγχε Biset and Ellebodius, ἄν ἔτιχτε Casaubon, hitting the nail on the head before Wil. *Kl. Schr.* IV p. 485<sup>1</sup>.

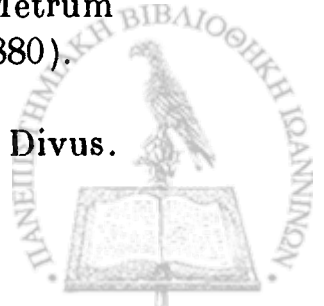
1052 λεύσειν R: λεύσσειν Biset (= Portus).

1061 καὶ αὐτῇ R: καὐτῇ Biset (= Portus). *Scriptio plena* (cf. 344, also 747).

1070 περὶ ἄλλα R: περίαλλα Biset and Ellebodius (who paraphrases ἐξόχως, ὑπερβολικῶς and refers to Soph. *OT* 1218 and Theocr. 12,28).

1086 πῶτε το πωνῇ R post corr.: «πῶτε, das ω nur dem Metrum zu Liebe» Kaibel. πότε (= πόθεν) τῇ πωνῇ Wil. (= Blaydes 1880).

1101 ναυτολῶν R: ναυστολῶν Biset and Ellebodius: *navigans* Divus.



1114 μῆτι R: μή τι Biset: *nunquid* Divus.

1115 δεῦρο· δεῦρο R: δεῦρο Biset and Faber (before Bentley).  
Ellebodius too called the second δεῦρο «supervacaneum».

1119 τῷ πρωκτῷ R: τὸ πρωκτὸ Biset (= Portus).

1124 ἐξοπισθο R: ἐξοπιστο Daubuz (before Brunck).

1129 ἀν δέξαίτο R: ἀν ἀποδ- Biset, not as good as Kuster's ἀν ἐνδ-

1132 τοῦτο πρέπουσαν R: τούτωι πρ- Zanetti: *huic conveniens*  
Divus.

1133 ἐπιτηκίζει R: -ζι 'Anon. Par.' (see above on 58) and Bentley (before Blaydes).

1181 ἄνωθεν (R) has often been suspected: see Blaydes and Maas *Kl. Schr.* p. 180. Willems (above on 365 f.) p. 579 kept it and understood «*par en haut, c'est-à-dire en le passant par-dessus la tête*», and so also Kaibel («man muss sich vorstellen, dass sie sich das Uebergewand über den Kopf abzieht ... so geht's rascher») and Wil. («er nimmt ihr das Gewand von oben herunter»).

1198 κομίζεις R: κομιεῖς Biset (before the Leyden ed. of 1624).  
Wil. follows Bothe (1830) in reading (Eὐ.) ἔπειτα κομιεῖς αὐθις (αὐ-  
θις iam Faber, αὐτις 'Anon. Par.' before Dobree).

1231 ἀνταδοῖτον R: ἀνταπο- Grynaeus (1544), followed by Bentley (error in Burges): ἀνταποδοίτην Daubuz, who also notes «ἀνταπο-  
δοῖτον ut apud Eur. *Med.* 1073 εὐδαιμονοῖτον» (see Page ad loc.).



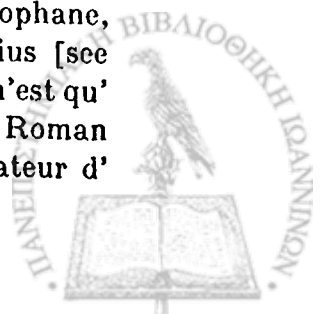
## APPENDIX I : Biset's Aristophanes.

(Extract from the Latin Preface of Portus: see above p. 63).

*Ante aliquot annos accidit, ut nobilis quidam Gallus qui se (ea fuit viventis modestia) non fuisset passus nominari, Lausanna iter faciens, ut longius progredere<sup>1</sup>, ibi dies nonnullos sibi obiter terendos putarit, ut quorundam veterum amicorum precibus ac votis indulgeret. Eius enim conspectus et praesentia, cum ob morum suavitatem ac insignem vitae probitatem, tum quia nec ἄμουςος nec ἀπαίδευτος inter doctos habebatur, omnibus longe gratissima erat. Quoniam autem ipsum in primis linguae Graecae et amantissimum et studiosissimum ab omnibus amicis praedicari intellexeram, ego, qui sum φιλέλλην, φιλόμουςος καὶ φιλομαθής, summo desiderio amicitiae atque familiaritatis cum tanto viro contrahendae flagrare coepi. Quod non admodum difficile fuit, siquidem ambo συμπαθείαι quaedam affecti bonas literas amore pari prosequeremur. Non multo post, cum in amici communis aedibus una pranderemus, inter familiaria variis de rebus colloquia, ut est moris, sermo factus est de Poetis Graecis. Tunc ille summis laudibus Aristophanem evehere, tum ob ingenii acumen et festivitatem, tum quod in eo praecipue linguae proprietates et Atticus lepos ubique eluceret. Addebat illius lectione (qua vel maximum illud Theologorum lumen Iohannem Chrysostomum olim delectatum ferunt<sup>2</sup>) se quoque mirifice delectari, et illius frequenti repetitione multa, quae in vulgatis exemplaribus depravata leguntur, emendasse. Multa in antiquis scholiis aut omissa aut negligentius tractata explicasse ac illustrasse. Quin etiam in duas pos-*

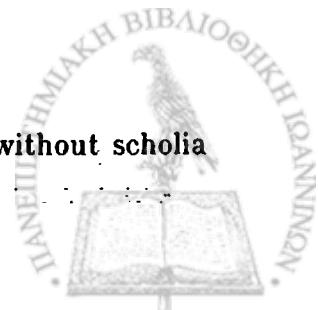
1. On his way to Basel, where his father had taken refuge (see above p. 62)?

2. cf. Gilles Ménage (above p. 69, n. 3) p. 48: «l'Auteur le plus ancien qui ait fait mention de cet Amour de St. Jean Chrysostome pour les Comédies d'Aristophane, c'est Alde Manuce dans sa Dédicace des Oeuvres de ce Comique à Daniel Clarius [see W. Suess, *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt*, Leipzig 1911, p. 22 and 50]: si ce n'est qu'on voulût interpréter de St. Jean Chrysostome, ce qui est dit dans le Roman d'Achilles Tatius qu'un certain Prêtre, qui étoit fort éloquent, étoit imitateur d'Aristophane» (=Ar. test. 73 K.-A.).



tremas Comoedias<sup>1</sup>, quae ad hoc usque tempus nudaе in lucem prodierant, iustos et accuratos commentarios ad reliquarum normam iam pridem construxisse. Horum ut fidem faceret Aristophanem a famulo in medium afferri iussit, in cuius margine multa manu annotata, multa diversis foliis seorsum, et passim, ut tumultuarie inter legendum sese obtulerant, descripta extabant. Cum autem haec oculis raptim pro temporis exiguitate percurrissem, statim animadverti iuventutem linguae Graecae studiosam, non parvam utilitatem, doctiores vero non levem voluptatem inde percepturos. Illum igitur oravi ut haec mihi per otium accuratius legenda ac perpendenda permitteret. At is recusare et negare dignam esse rem quae in hominum conspectum veniret, quod haec, dum esset iunior, animi gratia utque Aristophanem sibi familiariorē ac notiorē redderet, sibi soli ceu quoddam Atticae linguae penum parasset. Scopas esse dissolutas, aliquando fortasse melius colligandas, ac proinde intra bibliothecae claustra continendas. Multa alia huiusmodi afferebat. Tandem tamen meae et amicorum qui tum aderant sententiae precibusque cedens, «Imo», inquit, «mi Porte, fac ut lubet: quicquid id est, hoc tuo arbitrio et censurae committo. Si ex his levioribus magis aliquid in commune literatorum commodum putas accessurum, tibi que tantum superest otii, ut tua lima expolire et exornare, atque adeo inchoatum opus absolvere et velis et possis, esto, per me licet, in lucem etiam haec, qualiacunque tandem futura sunt, emittas, ea tamen lege, ut nomini parcas».....Quid multis opus? Accepta ego conditione domum reversus operi manum admoveere coepi, diligentius singula perpendens et in ordinem redigens. Hoc certe ingenue fatebor me in his Aristophanicis observationibus sexcentos locos, qui ante aut depravati aut minus perspicui erant, summo cum iudicio et incredibili dexteritate ac felicitate correctos invenisse.

1. i. e. *Thesm.* and *Lys.*, which were always printed last and without scholia in the early editions. See Fred Schreiber, *TAPhA* 105 (1975) 318.



## APPENDIX II: *Lys.* and *Eccl.*

*Lysistrata*. I offer here a very provisional list of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda* to Jeffrey Henderson's *Coni. in Ar. Lys. Repertorium* (*HSClPh* 82, 1978, 87-119) and Apparatus to his recent edition of the play (Oxf. 1987).

BISET anticipates the proposals of the following scholars (in chronological order):

Ellebodius: 113 (ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἔν).

Florent Chrestien: 83 (χρημα τιθίων), 94 (τὸ), 466 (ἐάν γε).

Portus: 157 (ἀφιῶσ'), 1214 (προαγορεύω), 1244, 1249 and 1253 (the Doric endings in -ως).

Scaliger: 141 (τὸ προῖγμα σωσαίμεσθ' ἔτι, = Mu2), 245 (ἄλλαισι), 1216 (παρὰχωρεῖν οὐ θέλεις;).

Ed. Amst. (1670): 928 (ῆ).

Bentley: 237 (συνεπόμενυθ'), 377 (λουτρόν γ' ἐγώ: this also Daubuz), 429 (ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐγώ), 565 (δύνασθ' ὑμεῖς: this also Daubuz), 888 (δὴ 'σθ' ἄ: this also Casaubon).

Kuster: 240 (τοῦτ'...οὐγώ, «hoc est τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο δ' ἐγὼ ἔλεγον»).

Bergler: 118 (ὄπα).

Brunck: 116 (παραταμοῦσα), 244 (κατάλιφ').

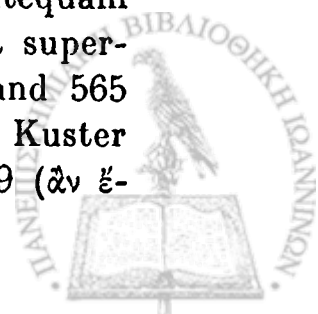
Reisig: 740 (τοῦδε σύ).

Dindorf: 357 (τύπτοντ' ἐχρήν: this also Casaubon).

Bergk: 1081 (παντᾷ, cf. 1096).

CASAUBON and FABER anticipate Tyrwhitt at 144 (μάν'), FABER anticipates Bentley at 281 (ὠμῶς) and 565 (ὑμῖν δυνατόν).

DAUBUZ has the same suggestions as Bentley at 64 (θοῦκάτειον ἤρετο: «id est uxor Theagenis consuluit Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα antequam veniret. salse inridet uxorem ipsam pro marito qui valde fuit superstitiosus ut testatur Suidas [θ 80]»), 94 (μύσιδδέ τοι), 377 and 565 (see above under Biset), 1246 (ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν). He anticipates Kuster at 851 («del. τήν»), Maittaire at 986 (ἐγωγα), Porson at 519 (ἄν ἔ-



φασκ', εἰ), 551 (δ <τε><sup>1</sup>) and 705 (λαβών τις ὑμᾶς), and Bothe at 1190 (ἐστὶ μοι). At 230 f. he has a long note: «Interpretes non videntur veram mentem horum versuum cepisse. allusum enim est ad duas Veneris figuras, quibus mulieres cum viris coeunt. Illae enim resupinae et adversae, hae pronae et aversae petuntur. κύβδα, τετραποδῆδόν, ἀπὸ γονατίου dixit Lucian. Asin. [10]. Hinc quoque explicandus Martialis lib. X ep. 81, 4 *ille pedem sustulit, hic tunicam*, Publ. Syrus apud Petron. [55, 6, 11] *tollat pedes indomita in strato extraneo*, Cicero *Ad Att.* lib. II ep. 1, 5 [=21 S. B.] *'at ego' inquit 'novus patronus instituam. sed soror, quae tantum habeat consularis loci, unum mihi solum pedem dat.' 'noli' inquam 'de uno pede sororis queri; licet etiam alterum tollas'. 'non consulare' inquires 'dictum.' fateor; sed ego illam odi male consularem*». And for good measure the learned vicar adds at the foot of the page: «E Martialis Epigr. 28 lib. II sex fuisse turpium rerum modos intelligas. 1 Paedicari vel cinaedum esse (περαίνεσθαι), 2 Paedicare (περαίνειν), 3 Futuere (βινεῖν), 4 Irrumare (λεσβιάζειν), 5 Fellare (φοινικίζειν), 6 Masturbari (δέφεσθαι)»<sup>2</sup>.

### *Ecclesiazusae.*

BISET anticipates Portus at 490 (ὥρμώμεθ') and 887 (δρᾶις ἀντάισομαι), Faber at 836 (ὑμῖν), Bentley at 34 (θρυγανῶσα) and 794 (μὴ 'χοιμ').

Ussher's recent edition (Oxf. 1973) is not very reliable. At 23 he attributes to Coulon what belongs to A. Palmer (κῶλά θ' ἰζομένας, see *The Quarterly Review* 158, 1884, 371), at 64 to Bergk what had already been proposed by Boissonade (*Ar. t.* IV, Par. 1829, p. 254: see Coulon *Essai* p. 106), etc.<sup>3</sup>

1. Henderson says Bothe (1808), but Porson's *notae*, though first published in 1820, were jotted down in his copy of Gelenius (now in the Wren library: Adv. a. 3. 1) «anno circiter 1782» (Dobree p. ii of Porson's *Aristophanica*).

2. He doesn't get it quite right about 4 and 5: see Housman as quoted by H. D. Jocelyn in *PCPhS* 206 (1980) 37.

3. See also N. G. Wilson in *ClR* 90 (1976) 14 who notes that «as far as the app. crit. is concerned this edition takes a significant step backwards ... everything important is submerged under a huge mass of trivialities».

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## POSTSCRIPT (October 1988)

Further evidence about the Biset family has now emerged from a Basel document dated 8 November 1585 (Burgerbuch D4 fo. 63 b.). I am extremely grateful to Professor Leonard Forster who kindly located it for me in the Staatsarchiv and provided me with a transcript. It states *inter alia* that «des le vingt cinquiesme jour du mois d'octobre dernier passé Genereulx Edoard Biset Gentilhomme Champinois seroit comparu par deuant nous declarant que pour obéir au commandement du Roy de France son souuerain seigneur porte par son Edict dudict mois d'octobre Il soit party du village de Charley ou Il faisoyt sa residence distant de la ville de Troye d' enuiron une Lieue & seroit venu avec sa femme & famille en ce pays, Nous suppliant tresinstamment luy vouloir permettre d'habiter et resider aupres de nous en ceste ville Ce que luy auons accorde Le receuant pour nostre habitant....». Professor Forster further confirms 1594 as the date of Biset's death. He writes: «It was a plague year in Basel. The chief medical officer of the city, Professor Felix Platter, a famous man in his day, wrote a report on it. In this he notes that 'der Bisetus' died in August, but that his servant girl ('des herr Biseti magt') recovered. (Felix Platter, *Beschreibung der Stadt Basel und Pestbericht*, ed. Valentin Lötscher, Basel 1987, =Basler Chroniken Bd. 11). After his death Biset's widow felt the need to become a citizen of Basel in her own right. She was granted citizenship on 3 May 1596: 'frouw Maria Bartholme von Paris, herrn Biset von Troy seligen wittib'».

The question now arises: which Biset was granted citizenship in the Basel attestation? The father, according to E. and E. Haag (above p. 62, n. 2), who drew a distinction between 'Odoard de Troyes' and his son 'Odoard sr du Charloys'. But since Charley (variously spelt Charlai, Charlais, Charlay) is described as «environ une lieue» from Troyes, I am not so sure. The dates given here fit in very well with Portus' account of the younger Biset (see above p. 63) and in his Latin Preface the *nobilis Gallus* is no longer alive at the time of writing (*ea fuit viventis modestia*). Only one Odoard Biset





is listed in the new IBN (*Index Bio-Bibliographicus Notorum Hominum*, Pars C. 1. vol. 18, Osnabrück 1980, p. 8296): the references given there have telescoped the two.

C.A.

