

A FRAGMENT OF A EURIPIDES MANUSCRIPT IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

(RYLANDS GASTER MS. 1689)

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AMONG the treasures of the Rylands Library¹ manuscripts of Greek classical authors—medieval manuscripts, that is, as distinct from papyri—have seemed, so far, not to be represented. This lack is remedied, to a modest degree, by the identification of MS. Gaster 1689: it contains fourteen leaves from a medieval text of Euripides' *Orestes*.²

Moses Gaster, that eminent scholar, collected an astounding number of manuscripts, most of them oriental (Samaritan and Hebrew in particular) and from the Balkans. Among them, however, is also a comparatively small number (28) of Greek manuscripts, most of them of recent date. The whole collection suffered badly, during the last war, from a bomber's attack on the London office where it had been stored. After the war it was acquired by the Rylands Library. No catalogue of it exists, but Dr. Taylor has given a useful general survey of its contents.³ There is, in addition, a photostatic copy of a manuscript hand-list which accompanied the collection; its indications, however, are very scanty and unreliable. Our manuscript is described in it as follows: "Greek MS. leaves from a cover, probably of some

¹ I wish to thank the staff of the Rylands Library and in particular Dr. Taylor, the head of its Department of Manuscripts, for unfailing help and courtesy in the preparation of this article. A preliminary announcement of the discovery was made in an address to the Third Congress of Classical Studies in Madrid on 31 March 1966; the text of this address ("De fragmento codicis Euripidei nuper reperto") will be found in *Latinitas*, 1966, 284 ff.

² I would hardly have lighted upon this manuscript but for a hint given me by cand. mag. J. Raasted of Copenhagen who, in search of material bearing on Byzantine music, examined the Greek manuscripts of the Rylands Library in November 1965.

³ BULLETIN, xxxvii (1954-5), 2 ff.

poem with glosses." This entry is obviously useless—the guess, in particular, that the leaves came "from a cover" is entirely unfounded—and so we had better provide our own description.

MS. Gaster 1689 is a slender volume, loose in the joints and measuring 19×12 cm. It was clearly made merely to contain the leaves from the Euripides manuscript¹; and that at small expense. Its boards are covered with dusty, yellowish cloth; there is no title. The Euripides leaves are separated from each other by layers of paper which have turned grey with dust; on many of them the neighbouring verses from the *Orestes* are correctly indicated, in pencil, by an unknown hand. The writer—as some words written by him show—was an Englishman. The hand—so Dr. Taylor informs me—is not M. Gaster's. He appears to have acquired the book in its present form, except that subsequently it was badly damaged, as mentioned, by enemy action.

The leaves from the Euripides manuscript consist of thick and very smooth paper with no watermarks and possibly of Oriental manufacture. They are slightly smaller than the cover, owing to the fact that they have been clipped at all edges except at the bottom, with the effect that most of the marginal scholia have been damaged; the poetical text, however, has not been affected.

One of the fourteen leaves contains part of the *argumentum* of the *Orestes*; the others, some 300 verses from the beginning of the play. They have been bound in disorder and almost at random, although three blocks of consecutive pages remain. The arrangement will be clear from the table on the opposite page.

It will thus be seen that we have, in addition to part of the argument, verses 13-156 and 206-375 of the *Orestes*. One leaf each is missing before and after the first; this has cost us the title of the play, the list of *dramatis personae*, beginning and end of the argument, and the first twelve verses. Each page contains, with perfect consistency, twelve lines of verse. The forty-nine verses in the lacuna between verses 156 and 206 must have filled another two leaves; this is a lyrical passage, which

¹ Actually, one leaf from some recent, small-size theological book, badly worm-eaten, is bound in at one end.

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<i>fol.</i>	<i>corrected order</i>	<i>recto : Or. v.</i>	<i>verso : Or. v.</i>
2 ¹	7	133-44	145-56
3 ²	14	364-75	352-63
4	2	13-24	25-36
5	3	37-48	49-60
6	4	61-72	73-84
7	5	85-96	97-108
8	6	109-20	121-32
9	9	230-41	243-54
10	12	303-14	315-27
11	13	328-39	340-(351 : damaged)
12	1	argumentum	
13	10	255-66	267-78
14	11	279-90	291-302
15	8	206-17	218-29

apparently had a division of verses slightly different from that on which our numbering is based.

The verses are separated from each other by wide spaces destined to receive glosses ; of which there is plenty.³ Moreover, there are (as already mentioned) longer, marginal scholia. Rarely (fol. 2^r and v)⁴ they fill almost the whole available space ; more often (e.g. on fol. 3^r-4^v; 6^r and v) they occur sporadically; some pages (10^r-12^r) are quite without them. Sometimes (3^r, 9^v, 14^r) the final letters of a marginal scholion are so arranged as to form an ornamental pattern.

Text, glosses and scholia were written, one after the other, by one and the same scribe using different shades of ink : the text now looks brown, the glosses very pale, the scholia—most of them—darker. He was a careful worker, writing a neat and even hand which dates him about the middle of the fourteenth century.

¹ The leaf mentioned in the preceding note is numbered " 1 " in the manuscript.

² This leaf has been bound upside-down and inside-out ; actually therefore, the terms " recto " and " verso " ought to be inverted in reference to it.

³ As in the Triclinian manuscript Vat. Urb 142 ; see A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript tradition of . . . Euripides* (1957), pl. xix.

⁴ I am quoting the corrected folio-numbers ; see the list above.

A corrector using black ink (as was customary in Triclinius' scriptorium and, perhaps, also in others) left most of the scribe's few slips uncorrected but introduced some variant readings¹ and added a few glosses² and, perhaps, scholia³; he also indicated the persons speaking and prefixed the term *γνώμη*, in the traditional manner, to sayings of a general character.⁴ Finally, some other person seems to have inserted a few alternative readings.⁵ Much thought and work was thus spent in the production of this manuscript; from the first, well-planned ruling, horizontally and vertically, of the pages for text and scholia to the end. The result must have been a fine, and even elegant copy; but what remains of it has been sadly defaced by the misfortunes previously mentioned; fire and water, sand and dust have affected the whole little book. Two pages (7^v and 13^v) are very badly damaged, and so are parts of several others. Quite generally, the writing has become pale,⁶ and small details, like accents, breathings and punctuation marks, are often uncertain. Even so, most of the writing can be made out—some pages (vv. 61-120, 218-29, 255-78) are, in fact, almost undamaged and perfectly legible—and conclusions about the quality and provenance of the manuscript are, therefore, possible. Such, obviously, have to be based, primarily, on the full collation of the poetical text, which is here subjoined.

Collation of Ryl. with G. Murray's text

In view of the damaged state of Ryl., its agreement with Murray's text (quoted "text") is stated explicitly, in brackets, for passages where Murray, Wecklein or Turyn quote variants

¹ Cf. the collation, below, pp. 502-4, vv. 212, 328, 335.

² See coll. v. 225. Over *ὄδε* v. 209 *corr. add. οὔτος* (!)—etc.

³ The colour of some of the marginal scholia is darker than the average. This criterion, however, is precarious in view of the state of the manuscript.

⁴ His way of indicating it, by \overline{TN} or $\overline{TN}\Omega$, is precisely as Triclinius' in cod. Angel. 14; cf. e.g. Ryl., v. 70, fol. 4^r with Turyn, loc. laud. pl. vii.

⁵ Cf. the collation, vv. 26, 330 and 332.

⁶ As it happens many passages are more easily read in photograph than in the original; but conclusions based on the former—unless obvious—ought always to be checked by the latter; and that particularly where corrections or various shades of ink are involved.

of some relevance. If, in passages of this kind, Ryl. is illegible, this, too, is stated; “vid.” means that the reading is uncertain but probable.

Moreover, since accents, breathings and iota subscriptum are, in Ryl., often invisible, variants bearing upon these details are mentioned only in a few places of specific interest. Those here cited are actually visible—and vice versa.

(a) Or. 13-156.

(13-14 legi nequeunt praeter 14 θεσθ())

(15 δ'οὖν νιν vid.)

(18 text)

20 Μενέλεως

24 ἄρσην τ'

26 (ἔκτεινεν) || παρθένον; -θενω suprascr. man. 2

(30 de φέρων: —ον non constat)

(31 ἀπειθήσας)

34 νόσω νοσεῖ

35 οὐδὲ (pro ὄδε)

(42 χλανιδίων)

45 ἀπὸ

(47 μήτε)

51 θήξαντας

53 εἰς

(54 ναυπλίειον)

56 ἄλαισι

(59 εἰς [quod non amplius notatur] πέτρων ἔλθη)

60 ἔστι δ'

61 συμφορὰς τε

(67 εἴσοδον)

(69 ὀχούμεθ')

(71 κάγαμέμν.)

74 ἔφν (pro ἔχει)

75 προσφθέγμασι γὰρ

77 κλυταιμν. (sic semper)

79 ὅπως δ'

(81 ἄγε παροῦσ')

82 ἐν συμφαῖσι (οραιοι suprascr. man. rec.) || γόνον (pro δόμον)

- (86 σύ δ'εἶ)
 (87 ἦκετον)
 88 δὲ δεμνίοις (. . . ὄδε)
 91 ἀπείρηκ' ἐν
 (93 ὡς) (94 κασιγνήτης) (96 ἐμῆς)
 97 φίλον (cum glossa φιλούμενον, cf. p. 59.26 Dindorf) στείχειν
 (100 ὀρθῶς . . . δε μοι)
 101 δὴ τεις vid.
 102 ἰλίων νεκρ.
 (109 [τεθν]ηκύϊα e corr?)
 (110 ὀρθῶς)
 111 πέμφομαι
 112 δωμάτων (pro δόμων)
 (115 ἄχνην)
 (116 καὶ σταῶσ' ἐπ')
 119 ἀργείων|| εὐμενῆ 121 ἀπώλεσε θ.
 122 de ἐμέ-ἐμήν non constat
 126 ἐν ἀνόις ὡς
 128 ἀπέθρισε τρ.
 130 θεοὶ σεσήσειαν (μῖ add. ipse s.l.)
 131 ἐλλάδ' ὦ
 (140 σίγα·σίγα·λεπτὸν)
 141 τιθεῖτε·μὴ κτυπεῖτε·μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος
 143 αποπροβατ' (de accent. non constat)|| λέχους (pro κοίτας,
 cum glossa τῆς κοίτης)
 145-56 passim oblitterata
 147 ὑπόροφον (148 βοάν)
 150 post λόγον δ' minutum add. vid.
 (154 τίνα bis)

(b) Or. 206-375.

- 206 ἔπιδ' ἄτεκνος·
 212 γε in τε mut. corr.
 (215 hab. δ')
 217 εὐφρανας (? accent.)
 (218 δέμας)
 (221 ἀναίμαι; corr. ipse)
 223 (πλευρὰ vid.) || (καὺχμώδη)

- 225 (ἄδλιον κάρα^α superscr. corr.)
 227 μ' ἀνῆ
 (228 μέλη)
 (233 γαίας)
 234 ἡδύ (pro γλυκύ)
 238 ἕως ἐῶσι σ' εὔ (vid.)
 239 φέρεις χάριν (trp.)
 242 versum om. dum paginam vertit
 (244 ὁμογενῆς καὶ, sed in fine πρὸς (?πρὲ) evanuit
 (251 σὺ νῦν)
 (254 ταχύς)
 258 ἀτρέμας ἐν σοῖς δ.
 (261 ἰέριαι a prima manu)
 264 ἐριννύων
 266 οἱ ἐγώ (vid.)
 270 ἐκφοβοῖεν μανιάσι λυσσήμασιν
 (272 ἔξαμείψει)
 (273 εἰσακούετ')
 279 γαλήν' (cum glossa γαληνά)
 (280 κλαίεις)
 (281 σε vid.)
 (282 'text')
 (286 ἐπάρας ἔργον ἀνοσ.)
 287 εὐφρανε
 289 κτεῖναι με χρή
 290 ἐκτῖναι
 (291 μήποτε)
 292 ἔμελλε (? ex ἤμ-)
 293 ἐγώ δ' . . . ἐκπλήσειν
 294 κασίγνητον
 298 ἴσχανε
 (302 'text')
 303 σῖτον . . . ἐπὶ χροῦς (χροί vid. corr.) βάλε (vix βάλεν)
 304 προλείψεις μ' : ἢ προσεδρία νοσον
 (307 καὶ θανεῖν)
 314 δοξάζεις
 315 γίνεται
 322 ἀμπάλλεσθε

(323 τινύμ- bis)

(326 γόνον ἐάσατ')

(327 μανιάδος φ. φεῦ μόχθων)

328 οἴων τάλας; ante τ. inser. ὁ corr.

329 ἀπόφατιν (cum glossa κακὴν μαντείαν; cf. p. 106. 1 Dindorf) ||
ἐλακ() semel, sed ἔλακεν add. man. 2 marg (cf. 332)

331 μυχοὶ γᾶς (sic, a prima manu)

332 ὦ ζεῦ, sed ιω marg. man. 2 (cf. 329)

(334 φόνιος)

335 ὦ mut. in ὁ a corr.

337 εἰς δόμον (a manu prima; cum glossa τὸν οἶκον; cf. p. 111.
1, *ib.* 15; 112. 5 sq. Dindorf)

339 post 338 et ante 340

(340-51 male habita)

de 344 et 347 non constat

346 οἶκον ἄλλον ἕτερον (lectio dubia)

349 ἄναξ· πολλῇ ἀβροσύνη (lectio satis certa)

(352 ὀρμήσας vid.)

(356 τῆ . . . τῆ vid.)

358 ἀθλίους (vid.)

(360 'text')

(364 γλαῦκος)

365 τόδ' (vid.); de κατα- (?παρα-)σταθεις non constat; extat
glossa πλησίον σταθεις; cf. p. 118.16 Dindorf

368 δὲ ἔπλ.

(372 περιβαλεῖν)

373 ἀλικτύπων 374 (pro παιδός) θυγατρός

Argumenti Thomani (p. 7.13 sqq. Dindorf) restat ἀγα]μέμνονος ἐπανῆκε (p. 8.15) . . . καταδικασ[θῆναι (p. 9.19), non sine lacunis maioribus (p. 9.4-6) minoribusque multis. Verba quae quidem legi vel divinari possunt eadem sunt quae Dindorf ex codice Gudiano repetivit; nisi quod

p. 8.29-30 om. καὶ τῶν μὲν . . . ἐναντιουμένων

p. 8.32 αὐτόχειρον

p. 9.7-8 τῆς Κλυτ. ἐπανήκουσαν τάφου

p. 9.12 διαχείρησιν

p. 9.14 παῖδα· ἐλθὼν ἤρξατο

p. 9.17 μετὰ τὴν φόνου

The first main impression from this collation is of the scribe's remarkable care and competence. Here is no evidence of that faultiness and corruption with which late Byzantine manuscripts in general are often charged. There are, indeed, some instances to bear out this charge; the Euripides manuscript P is a case in point. Far worse, and to the point of complete nonsense in many passages, is the manuscript Q (British Museum Harley 5743); but this is a product of the late fifteenth century. With the Rylands manuscript, and no doubt with many of its kind, matters are quite different. If some modern editor of the *Orestes* decided to use it instead of one of the renowned older manuscripts, his text would be no whit inferior for it; in one or two places, in fact, it would be liable to show an improved wording.

This, of course, is not to say that the Rylands scribe made no mistakes; scribes are not angels. His worst slip was in omitting a verse (v. 242)¹ when turning a page; besides, he wrote *δωμάτων* for *δόμων* in 112 and inverted the word-order at the end of verse 239.² The last two slips are such as might conceivably have been in his copy—as we are entitled to assume with regard to the faulty synonym *ἡδύ* for *γλυκύ* in verse 234 (the echo of some teacher's exposition³), because it occurs also in manuscript P.

Anyhow, this is the normal kind of surface-corruption which is bound to occur in every book and is conveniently removed by collation with other manuscripts or, failing these, by conjecture. Besides, the wording of Ryl. is indeed beset with a number of grave faults; those, namely, which all medieval manuscripts inherited from their common archetype of c. A.D. 900. We may quote some of them of which the average reader is likely to be unaware because he reads the *Orestes* in an edition in which they have been put right by various critics:

v. 141 fin: add. *μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος* (from 137; om. Dion. Hal.)

¹ A marginal note (by the first hand?) *στί(χος)* between vv. 240 and 241 can hardly refer to this oversight.

² Two further slight slips are in vv. 102 and 126; see also 82 and 130.

³ Cf. schol. *ad loc.*, pp. 88 f. Dindorf and p. 121 Schwartz.

v. 227 ὅταν μ' : μ' del. Heath

v. 304 προλείψεις μ' : μ' del. Paley

not to mention the presence of the spurious verses 82, 87, 111 and other points, on which opinions might differ.

The Rylands manuscript could not be expected to be free from these faults of the Byzantine archetype ; it could, with luck, preserve one or the other good reading which happened to be corrupted in the authoritative, older descendants of the same. This possibility does materialize in one, minor instance ; one which, in fact, was already known from certain other witnesses. In verse 61, Ryl. has the plural *συμφοράς* where all of the old manuscripts, and many recent ones, have the singular *συμφοράν*. The plural is original (as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere).¹ It occurs in a papyrus of the fifth century and in a manuscript roughly contemporary with Ryl., namely, cod. Salamanca 31 of A.D. 1326 which, according to Turyn, is a carrier of the " old " tradition ; moreover, this reading was accepted by Moschopoulos. It must have been in the early Byzantine archetype, at least as a variant ; its corruption into the singular was easily caused by the preceding singular *ἀδελφῆν*.

How could Ryl. preserve a true reading which eluded its older brothers ? To answer this question we proceed to define its place within the Euripidean tradition. This endeavour should help us to account also for a further, notable fact : our manuscript has, in a few places, true readings which—differently from the one just mentioned—were not in the archetype of the medieval tradition.

The foundations for this endeavour have been firmly laid by A. Turyn²; to whom, besides, I am indebted for help and advice on the present subject. The results of his vast pioneer work are likely to be specified and qualified by further research, but it provides basis, frame and directive for all work on the manuscript tradition of the plays of Euripides. His examination of the whole bulk of this tradition led him to the result that the 300, or so, later manuscripts—those written after, roughly, A.D. 1300 and containing the " Triad " *Hec. Or., Phoen.*—divide them-

¹ *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (1965), p. 155.

² See above, p. 499, n. 3.

selves into four distinct classes.¹ Three of them perpetuate the texts adopted, and annotated, by outstanding scholars of the Palaeologean age, namely, Manuel Moschopulos, Thomas Magister and Demetrius Triclinius; the fourth, independent of these, is marked by the preservation of certain ancient readings and by some peculiarities of its own.²

The characteristic readings which Turyn quotes for each class enable us to identify the type to which Ryl. belongs. With regard to the class mentioned last—Turyn's "recentiores"—the result is unambiguous. Turyn³ quotes four relevant readings; Ryl. opposes all of them. In particular, Ryl. does not have the spurious additional verse which all "recentiores" add after *Or.* 108 (the other instances are in vv. 282, 302, 360).

With regard to Moschopulos, the situation is equally clear. Turyn⁴ quotes, from the relevant passages in *Or.*, eight readings characteristic of his text⁵; Ryl. opposes every one of them (the correct conjecture ἀλιτύπων in v. 373 as well as the seven faulty ones). It is true that, besides, Ryl. exhibits two readings which Turyn quotes from Moschopulos; namely, verse 61 συμφοράς and verse 212 (*e corr.*) τε; but these cannot, against so strong an opposing evidence, evince any special relation between Ryl. and Moschopulos. Both of these readings are attested by other, older witnesses (v. 212 τε by Plutarch and Stobaeus as well as by cod. R^c)⁶ and thus can, and have to, be accounted for by reference to some older branch of the tradition.

Again, the situation is essentially the same also with regard to Thomas. Turyn⁷ quotes eight readings characteristic of his text, all of them elementary scribal slips⁸; Ryl. opposes them all. Here, again, there are two or three instances which could seem to militate against the conclusion that Ryl. is unrelated to this

¹ A few untypical varieties, such as the composite Copenhagen 417 and the late "dyad", may here be left out of account.

² V. Di Benedetto (*La tradizione manoscritta Euripidea* (1965), pp. 81 ff.) has recently presented welcome further information about this class. He shows that it is less strictly defined than a hasty reader of Turyn's book might suppose; but the identity of the class is borne out by his re-examination.

³ Pp. 321 and 331.

⁴ P. 109.

⁵ Vv. 69, 116, 228, 286, 326, 327, 345, 373.

⁶ For v. 61 see above, p. 501.

⁷ P. 172 f.

⁸ Vv. 42, 47, 97, 142, 282, 286, 289, 326.

variety of the Byzantine text, and again a different explanation suggests itself.

In verse 81 most of the older manuscripts insert a spurious *καί* after *ἄγε* (or *ἄγε*); it is not in Ryl., and it is absent from the manuscripts dependent on Moschopoulos and on Thomas's first edition (represented, according to Turyn, by his manuscript Z, i.e. Cambridge Nn. 3.14). It is, moreover, absent also from the manuscripts VLP and, according to Di Benedetto,¹ also from O (i.e. Laur. 31.10)—a carrier, according to Turyn, of the "older" tradition. And, finally, Triclinius' working-copy, cod. Angel. 14—brilliantly discovered and interpreted by Turyn—likewise omits *καί*.² The obvious conclusion seems to be that this true reading was transmitted, from of old, by some manuscripts and thus reached Thomas, Triclinius and Ryl., while most of the surviving carriers of the "old" tradition were infected with the interpolation.

In verse 35, however, Rylands has a reading which, so far as I know, is otherwise confined to Thoman manuscripts³ (or almost so); namely, *οὐδέ* in the place of the correct *ὄδε* of nearly all other witnesses. It is, in the present context, important to note that this Thoman blunder is also in that Thoman manuscript which Triclinius used as his working copy (namely, the cod. Angel.) and that he let it stand. Matters are significantly different with regard to all the specifically Moschopulean and Thoman readings opposed by Ryl.; Triclinius, who adopted many Moschopulean and Thoman variants, did not accept any one of these. This fact creates a presumption that the occurrence of this one, specifically Thoman reading in Ryl., in *Or.* 35, may be not unrelated to the fact that it occurs in Triclinius' text; a presumption which will presently be confirmed. For the moment, we may notice that the same fault was imported also into cod. L (Laur. 32.2; *in ras.*). After what is now known about the history of this famous manuscript, the occurrence in it of a further Triclinian feature would cause little surprise.⁴

¹ *Loc. cit.* 104.

² It has, besides, the strange fault *ἦγε* for *ἄγε*—in Triclinius' own hand (Turyn, p. 171, n. 184)!

³ Turyn, p. 172.

⁴ Cf. *Inquiry . . .*, p. 127, n. 1.

Therewith we come to the third and last of the great Palaeologean scholars who worked on Euripides. Triclinian features stand out markedly in Ryl. It has the following Triclinian conjectures¹ (all of them, characteristically, resulting from considerations of metre):

Or. 143: λέχους Ryl. Tricl.: κοίτας cet (τῆς κοίτης gloss. Ryl.).

Or. 258: ἀτρέμας ἐν σοῖς Ryl. Tricl.: ἀτρέμας (-μα L) σοῖς ἐν cet.

Or. 328: τάλας Ryl. Tricl.: ᾧ τάλας vel ὁ τ. cet (ὁ add. corr. Ryl.).

Or. 332: ᾧ ζεῦ Ryl. Tricl.²: ἰὼ ζεῦ cet (ἰω Ryl. marg ?rec).

Or. 335: δ Ryl.^{corr} Tricl. (cf. schol. p. 112.5 Dindorf): ᾧ Ryl.^{ac} cet.³

Or. 337: δόμον Ryl. Tricl. (cf. schol. ib.): δόμους cet.

Or. 349: πολλῆ ἀβροσύνη Ryl. Tricl.: aliter ac varie cet.

A further instance appears to be afforded by the end of verse 303. Ryl.—here very difficult to decipher—almost certainly wrote ἐπὶ χροὸς βάλε (or, just possibly, βάλεν). The last two letters of χροὸς have been deleted with black ink; over the preceding is an acute accent, followed by ι, likewise black. The corrector, then, aimed to introduce the standard reading χροῖ (hardly χρωτί). The genitive—a metrical correction—is Triclinius' conjecture. It is not mentioned by Turyn; but King, according to Porson, printed χροός from his "codex optimus" K.⁴ This manuscript, now British Museum Arundel 522, according to Turyn (196) "probably was transcribed directly from Ta" (i.e. cod. Vat. Urbin. Gr. 142), which, in turn, is "a direct transcript" of Triclinius' autograph, cod. Angel. 14. Χροός, then, may safely be described as a Triclinian feature in

¹ Cf. Turyn, pp. 190 f.

² Turyn does not mention this reading. I infer its Triclinian origin because (a) it is a metrical correction in the Triclinian manner, (b) it was printed by King, who on principle follows Triclinius, and (c) it has many specific parallels in Triclinius' editions (cf. below, p. 516 n. 1).

³ Turyn does not mention this reading either; hence I cannot say whether it is in cod. Angel.; but in the scholion quoted Triclinius is quite as explicit about it as about the next.

⁴ I have not been able to see King's edition.

Ryl. which, oddly enough, was removed by the first corrector (cf. 328).

Here, then, are eight specifically Triclinian readings.¹ Besides, it has already been noted that Ryl. has those (few) Thoman readings which Triclinius accepted but not those which he rejected; and we may add that, in their place, Ryl. has every time that non-Thoman reading which Triclinius adopted (particularly telling is verse 42 *χλανιδίων* Ryl., where the Thoman fault *χλανίδων* was also, originally, in Angel. 14—but Triclinius changed it to *-ίων*). One thus feels driven to conclude that Ryl. is the remainder of a copy of Triclinius' edition of the Euripidean "Triad". Seeing that the very autograph of this edition as well as several excellent copies of it² survive, this result would not be particularly exciting. Actually, this result is not final; our manuscript conveys some more specific interest.

There is, first, the puzzling fact that some Triclinian readings of the very same kind as those just quoted fail to appear in Ryl. They are

Or. 153 : *τίνα* (*bis*) Ryl. *cet* : *ποιάν* (*bis*) Tricl. (cf. schol. p. 11. 3-7 Dindorf).

Or. 261 : *ιέρειαι* Ryl. *cet* : *ιερίαι* Tricl.³ (cf. schol. p. 95.8 Dindorf).

Or. 331 : *γᾶς hab.* Ryl. *cet* : *γᾶς om.* Tricl. (cf. schol. p. 109.20);

add that the Triclinian *δ* in 335 was, in Ryl., made out of the non-Triclinian *ϕ*.⁴

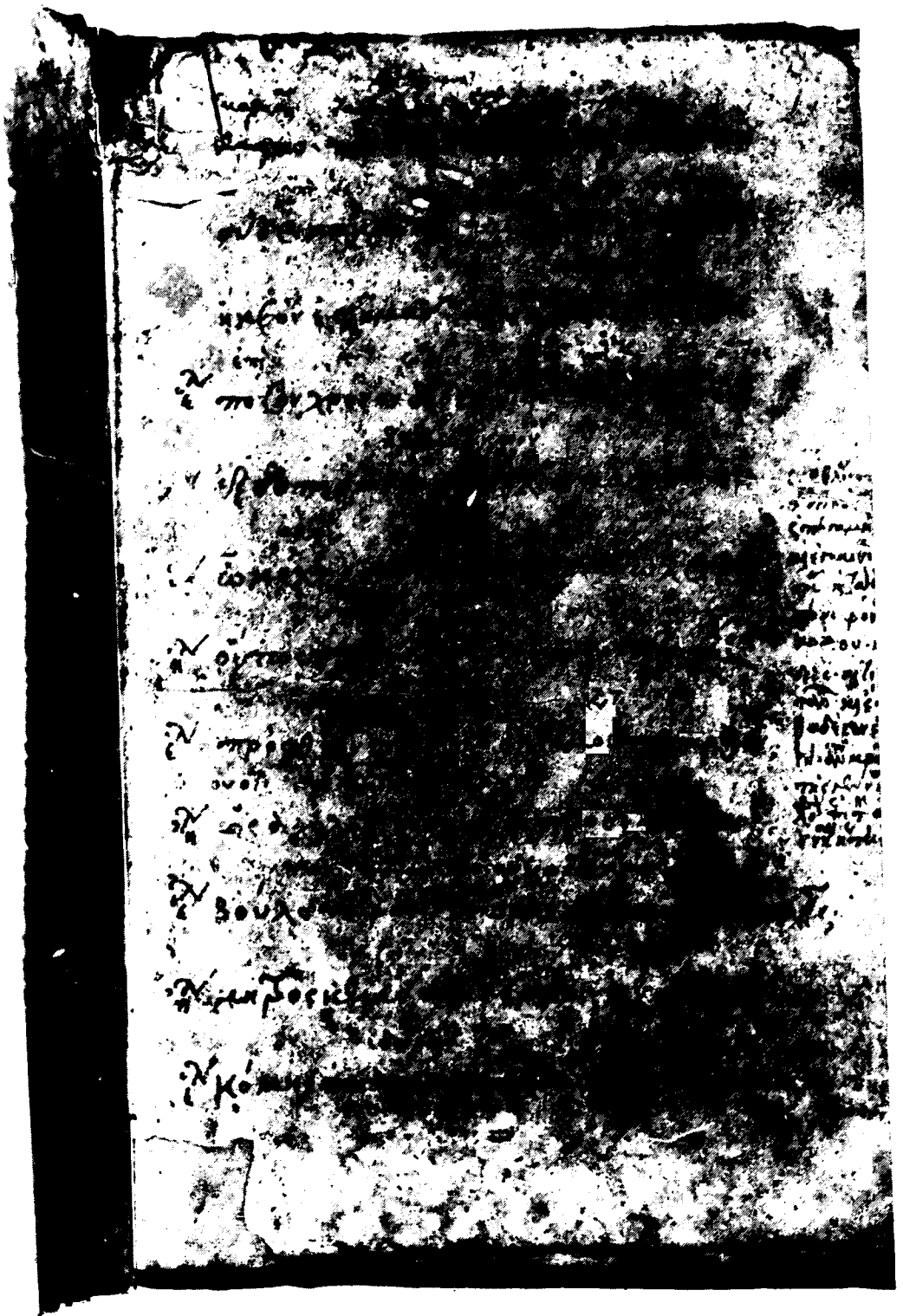
How is this state of affairs to be interpreted? Ought Ryl. to be described as an average text which happened to be furnished with a proportion—a comparatively large proportion!—of

¹ A minor pointer in the same direction is 323 *τινόμεναι* spelt with one *ν* : cf. schol. p. 13.22 Dindorf.

² See Turyn, pp. 194 ff.

³ Also, so it seems to me, in L; see *Inquiry . . .*, p. 127 note.

⁴ A minor difference is in v. 147 *ὑπόροφον* Ryl, where Triclinius, following Thomas, has the correct spelling *ὑπόρ-* (Turyn, 172). The photograph indeed seems to suggest that in Ryl, an original *ω* has been changed into *ο*, but this impression has proved deceptive on examining the very faint traces in the original. Another difference, marked but not exclusive, is 374 *θυγατρός* Ryl. with V and M^v.¹ against *παιδός* Thom. Tricl. (as Turyn informs me) with the majority.



Rylands Gaster MS. 1689, fol. 7^r.

Triclinian readings? This diagnosis is *a priori* improbable. A fourteenth-century manuscript with an impressively good text, unrelated to any one of the editions current at the time, yet exhibiting, by an odd chance, this high proportion of Tricliniana: such a product would, to the best of my knowledge, be unique and it would be very hard to imagine how it could have come into being. A more realistic account of it may be possible on examining the additional features of our manuscript, and primarily the large amount of explanatory matter on its crowded pages.

The *argumentum*, or hypothesis, preceding the text of the play is not that *mixtum compositum*, including a section from Aristophanes of Byzantium, and the relevant summary from the "Tales", which the carriers of the "old" tradition variously derive from their archetype. Ryl. has instead its replacement, composed by Thomas Magister. Therewith it is already clear that Ryl. is not independent of the editorial work of Palaeologean scholars; but beyond this the meagre remainders permit few conclusions. Of the variants quoted in the collation above, the first two may be dismissed as scribal errors of Ryl., and the fourth as an error in Dindorf's manuscript. Professor Turyn, who has been good enough on my behalf to compare his photographs of Triclinius' autograph¹ and of the representative Thoman manuscript Z (Cambridge University Library Nn. 3.14), tells me that they both share the readings of Ryl. in p. 9.7-8 and 14: here again, then, Dindorf's manuscript was not representative. The only possibly significant variant is the one quoted last: the Thoman manuscript agrees with Dindorf in giving the two articles τὴν τοῦ; Triclinius, like Ryl., omits the second. This fact may be regarded as a pointer, though certainly not a very definite one.

The scholia and glossae, likewise, are not those which the older manuscripts exhibit but, again, products of Palaeologean scholarship. Nearly all of them recur, almost *ad verbum*, among those which Dindorf (after Matthiae) edited from the codex Gudianus and from the compilation published by Arsenius in

¹ The Thoman argument in cod. Angelicus was penned by Triclinius himself in his "round-breathing style" (Turyn, p. 30).

1534. I have copied and identified all of the marginal scholia and most of the interlinear glossae and scholia (the latter distinction is necessarily somewhat arbitrary), as far as they can be made out. Some of the marginalia and many glossae have become illegible,¹ but enough remains to admit of reliable conclusions. I shall present them summarily, for the subject is not of a kind to justify going into great detail.

Of the marginal scholia, the vast majority—sixteen out of twenty-three legible ones—are marked, in Dindorf's edition, with the sigla Gr,² that is, they are Moschopulean; and it is worth noting that verses 255-314, for which Dindorf gives no Gr scholia, have no marginal scholia at all in Ryl. On the other hand, most—though not all³—of the Gr scholia are in our manuscript. As to the remainder, a long scholion on the first page of the text, on verses 12-16, recurs in Dindorf—broken up into three sections—with the sigla Gu (the last two, in addition, also in the Triclinian cod. Bar. 74—which may be significant)⁴; there is one further Gu scholion on verse 89 (p. 57.10-15) and another one, broken up into two, on verse 321 (p. 107.9-13). Dindorf ascribed the Gu-scholia to Thomas Magister, but Turyn has shown⁵ that, although this diagnosis is correct in most cases, some are Moschopulean and some others stem from Planudes. I have no means of deciding whether the three Gu-marginalia in Ryl. are Moschopulean or Thoman or Planudean⁶; but the point will presently be clarified by further material.

Finally, one scholion (v. 96) agrees with "Flor. 21"⁷; that is, it, too, is probably Moschopulean,⁸ and three (vv. 56, 63, 117)

¹ Lost marginalia: a long scholion has been cut off at vv. 102-8; illegible are some at, or about, vv. 155, 317, and two on the page containing vv. 352-63.

² Most of them are, moreover, marked I, that is, they recur in Arsenius; the remainder (except on v. 128, p. 67. 4-6) are stated to recur in Flor(entine) codices.

³ E.g. the Gr scholion on v. 14 is lacking (its content is covered by a long Gu-scholion, on which presently); similarly on v. 75 (instead there is a Gu-gloss), 93, 101.

⁴ This scholion agrees with pp. 37.17-21, 23-25 and 40.55-7 Dindorf.

⁵ Turyn, p. 63.

⁶ Schol. 89 is similar in type to those traced to Planudes by Turyn, pp. 64 ff; the same applies to the Gr scholion on v. 28.

⁷ P. 59.21 Dindorf.

⁸ If Laur. 31.21 is meant: Turyn, 126.

are extracts from the paraphrase "I"¹ which Turyn traces to Planudes. The same ultimate origin is demonstrable for other, and perhaps many, scholia²; it does not, in any case, imply that Ryl. could be considered to be a copy of an edition by Planudes, such as, according to Turyn,³ never existed; quite probably, Moschopulos combined Planudean comment with his own.⁴ Anyhow, while certainty about every detail is not, with the available material, attainable, it is safe to say that the marginal scholia in Ryl. are, in the main, Moschopulean.

We turn to the mass of interlinear glossae. A proportion of these have no counterpart in Dindorf's edition. This is only natural, for he excluded, quite rightly, many of the most trite, and we forego without regret the search for the source of explanations like *αὐτόν* for *νιν* (v. 36 and 119) and *σφ'* (v. 29) or *ἐλθοῦσα* for *βᾶσα* (v. 301). Again, one may observe that, not too rarely, only one, salient word remains in Ryl. of a longer explanation printed by Dindorf; e.g. *ἱματίων*, in verse 42, of the longer Gr comment on *χλανιδίων*, p. 47.10 f. On the whole, however, it is remarkable how fixed the tradition of these "aids for the reader" is. Down to the most elementary, the overwhelming majority recur in Dindorf, usually *verbatim*. And the result of a detailed comparison is unambiguous: they are identifiable, almost all of them, as either Moschopulean or Thoman; often the explanations given by either of these are found combined. Most of the glossae are either Gr or Gu, and the latter are, among the glossae, so frequent as to render their attribution to Thomas in principle indubitable; on the other hand, parallels in "Flor. 59" (now Conv. Suppr. 98) and other Florentine manuscripts often confirm Moschopulean origin.⁵ The paraphrastic ones can

¹ Pp. 48.7-8 (breaking off, after *ιδών*, with *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς*); *ibid.* pp. 11-14; 62.23 ff. Dindorf.

² E.g. schol. 128 Gr, p. 76.4-6, is identical with (part of) the paraphrase p. 65.7-8 (adding an instruction about the "hypokrisis", i.e. the correct intonation, of the verse); likewise schol. 122 Gr I, p. 64.20-22, comes from p. 62.28-29, and schol. 341 Gr I, p. 114.13-16, from p. 113.2-5. The same interdependence prevails with many of the glossae and interlinear scholia; on which presently.

³ Turyn, pp. 79 and 128.

⁴ Cf. Turyn's account (pp. 128 and 135) of Moschopulean manuscripts with added Planudean comment.

⁵ Cf. Turyn, pp. 56 and 128.

often be traced, beyond Moschopulos, to Planudes ; sometimes only this indirect source is identifiable.¹ A few selected examples may illustrate these statements.

- v. 25 : ἀπείρω : κυκλοτερεῖ Gr (cf. p. 39.19) ; περιβαλοῦσα : περικαλύψασα Gu
- v. 26 : οὐ γὰρ . . . μεμνήσθαι Gu (cf. p. 42.8).
- v. 27 : ἄσαφες : ἄδηλον Gr (cf. p. 39.21).
- v. 30 : εὐκλείαν : τιμήν, δόξαν (Gu), καλήν φήμην (Gr).
- v. 32 : ἐκοινώνησα . . . γυνή (Flor. 6 . . . 59 ; cf. p. 42.15).
- v. 46 : ἔδοξε : ἐκυρώθη Gr
 Ἄργει : ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς Ἀργείοις
 στέγαις : οἴκοις (Flor. 59).
- v. 47 : πυρί : ἐν θυσίαις
 v. 46-47 : all comes ultimately from the paraphrasis (Planudes)
 p. 47.25 f.
- v. 47 : προσφωνεῖν : χαιρετίζειν (Gr), προσλαλεῖν (Gu, Flor. 59).
- v. 91 : ἀπείρηκ' ἐν κακοῖς : ἀπηγόρευσα (Gu) ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις (Gr).

Taken as a whole, then, the ample explanatory matter in Ryl. represents a combination of Thoman and Moschopulean comment (the latter drawing on Planudes). This combination did not arise through the private whim of some scribe fusing the comment in one type of manuscript with extracts from another. When it is remembered that the poetical text of Ryl. is characterized by a high proportion of Triclinius' conjectures but has not one reading specifically Thoman or Moschopulean, the only possible inference—so it seems to me—is that Ryl. is indeed, as previously suspected, a Triclinian specimen. For Triclinius' edition of the Euripidean Triad contained, in its final form, the commentaries of the same two predecessors, and this is true also of his Pindar ; Thomas's comment is included also in his other editions of Greek dramatists, and Moschopulos' in his Theocritus.

This assumption can explain the combination of characteristics in Ryl., and several minor features have previously been seen to point in the same direction. Even so, there remains the puzzling fact that this supposedly Triclinian product does not contain one single specifically Triclinian feature—apart from

¹ E.g. on v. 115 μελίκρατ', cf. p. 62.20 Dindorf.

eight of his conjectures. We cannot, of course, decide whether the complete manuscript was prefaced by those prolegomena which are a hall-mark of Triclinius' editions,¹ but we may reasonably expect to find some of his scholia in the margins of the extant pages; scholia explaining, in particular, the reasons for his alterations of the transmitted text or the metrical structure of lyrics. There is no trace of them; nor are there those indications of the beginning and end of stanzas, or of the quantity of vowels, with which we are familiar from his final editions of the dramatists and Pindar.²

Ryl., then, is not a copy of that final edition, by Triclinius, of the Triad, the growth of which we can follow in cod. Angelicus 14 and which is reproduced in a number of excellent copies.³ But it may reproduce an earlier stage of Triclinius' work on the same three plays. This assumption, so it seems to me, can conveniently account for the seemingly contradictory features which have so far emerged; nor does it lack the support of strict analogies. Cod. P perpetuates an early stage of Triclinius' work

¹ Turyn, pp. 37 f.; my *Inquiry* . . . , p. 29.

² One may expect some significant indications from the division of cola, which Triclinius in his editions so frequently altered; but this line of investigation yields little of value because, according to information kindly supplied by Professor Turyn, he appears to have introduced very few innovations in the passages in question. I have compared them in Spranger's facsimiles (happily available in the Rylands Library) of B, M and P. As was to be expected, the division of cola is in these three manuscripts largely identical. Ryl. generally agrees with them; where they vary, Ryl. almost always agrees with B. The following details may be mentioned. In vv. 140-56 there is, after v. 147 *βοάν*, no variation at all. Before this, v. 142 has one line in BMP, while Ryl. divides after *ἐκεῖσ'*: so, apparently, did cod. Angel. originally; an erasion by Tricl. seems merely to indicate that he introduced the division *ἐκεῖ||σ'* in the place of *ἐκεῖσ' ||*. Since B has a colon-mark after *ἐκεῖσε*: (*sic*), this division in Ryl. may well be old-inherited. In v. 147, Ryl. agrees with P and Angel. against BM in putting *ἴδ'* . . . *βοάν* on one line. In 316-347 Ryl. and Angel. agree with each other and the three "old" manuscripts (apart from a few insignificant variants among the latter) throughout, except at the very beginning where, in Angel. only, the word *αἰαῖ* has a line to itself, so as to correspond with *ὦ Ζεῦ* 332, which has a line to itself in all manuscripts. This, however, may be an after-thought of Triclinius (the relevant page being a replacement in his own hand-writing) posterior to the copying of (the ancestor of) Ryl. All that can be concluded from these observations is that one or two of Triclinius' last innovations of this kind are not shared by Ryl.

³ Listed and described by Turyn, pp. 194 ff.

on the so-called "alphabetic" Euripidean plays; like Ryl., it contains not one of the additional features which Triclinius was to introduce—afterwards—in its model-manuscript L, but it does reproduce a proportion of his alterations of the wording; those, namely, which he had entered in L by the time L came into P's hands for copying.¹ The other analogy is in Aeschylus, where three manuscripts preserve earlier stages of a Triclinian edition, the final form of which is preserved in the autograph Napol. ii. F. 31.²

If this diagnosis is considered, it does not follow that Ryl. reproduces an early state of Triclinius' extant autograph, the cod. Angel.; this inference is excluded already by the fact that the Moschopulean scholia—so striking an element of Ryl.—are among the latest additions on its pages. Moreover, cod. Angel. was, in its primitive form, a Thoman manuscript; but Ryl., as we saw, has no specific Thoman readings. One would then have to assume that at some early stage Triclinius did his critical work on the "Triad" in some other manuscript—a possibility which Turyn did not exclude³—and that at that stage he had already decided to furnish his edition with a commentary drawn from Thomas and Moschopulos and had devised many, but not all, of the textual alterations which subsequently he entered in the cod. Angelicus. Of that other, earlier manuscript, then, our Ryl. would be a—direct or indirect—descendant.⁴

¹ Among these, oddly enough, is one which recurs identically in Ryl. (*Or.* 332); namely, the replacement, for metrical correspondence, of a transmitted *ἰώ* by *ῶ* (*I.T.*, 845: this is one of Triclinius' favourite devices; cf. *Inquiry . . .*, pp. 23 and 195).

² *Inquiry . . .*, pp. 204 ff; R. D. Dawe, *The collation . . . of Aeschylus* (1964), pp. 194.

³ Turyn, p. 33.—I cannot, though, persuade myself that (as Turyn, p. 180, cf. pl. VI, suggests) the Thoman manuscript Copenhagen, Gamle Kong. Saml. 3549 was penned by Triclinius and thus shows him "when he was a beginner in the field" of Euripidean studies; cf. the doubts expressed by J. Irigoin, *Rev. Philol.*, 1958, p. 323.

⁴ The inferences (above pp. 509–10) about the Triclinian origin of certain readings have proved correct: they are in Triclinius' autograph. Professor Turyn has been good enough to write to me: "These readings are indeed in the *Angelicus*, on pages written by Triclinius himself: *Or.* 303 *χροός*, 332 *τινύμεναι* (*bis*), 330 *ἐλακε* (*semel*), 332 *ῶ*, 335 *ὄ* (also schol. 112. 5–11 Dind. is written by Triclinius and has for its lemma *ὄ δάκρωα*)."

Even on this assumption there remain certain puzzles. It is odd that the same corrector¹ who introduced some Triclinian conjectures in Ryl. (v. 335), eliminated others (vv. 212, 303, 328) and that, moreover, non-Triclinian readings were entered by another, possibly later, hand (vv. 330 and 332).² May one interpret these features as reflections of scholarly discussion and critical argument carried on in Triclinius' circle?³

Our discussion thus ends with a question-mark ; and that not unreasonably, for this modest find, the Rylands Euripides, raises questions which cannot fully be answered on the basis of the material available to the present writer. They require an intimate familiarity with the vast manuscript tradition of the "Triad". Students with first-hand knowledge in this difficult field will no doubt be able to pursue, specify and correct the conclusions suggested in this essay ; enough, if it can be of some slight use to them.

¹ To preclude some attractive speculation : the corrector of Ryl. was not Triclinius himself !

² In v. 330 the metrically correct single *ἐλακεν* (no doubt Triclinius' reading ?) was doubled, in the margin, by the same hand which wrote the traditional *ἰὼ* beside Triclinius' *ὦ* in v. 332. Besides, Ryl. remained in scholarly use. A hand which I would ascribe to a sixteenth-century Italian corrected *συμφ<ορ>αῖς* in v. 82 and added short glosses to vv. 101 and 202.

³ This assumption would particularly commend itself, if it were deemed permissible to ascribe to Ryl. a date sufficiently early for it to have been written in Triclinius' own scriptorium. On this point I do not venture offering an opinion.