The Classical Quarterly 68.2 612–620 © The Classical Association (2019)
doi:10.1017/S000983881900003X

NOTES ON SUETONIUS' *GRAECA*

After the notable editions of Suetonius by Roth,[1] Preud'homme,[2] Ihm[3] and Ailloud,[4] the *De uita Caesarum* edited by R.A. Kaster[5] in the Oxford Classical Texts has made available to scholars a critical text which rests on the firm foundations of a thorough exploration of the tradition and the scholarship on the subject. The relationship of the eighteen medieval manuscripts, placed in a time-frame between the ninth century, the age of the oldest copy, Par. Lat. 6115, and the beginning of the thirteenth century, has been extensively and carefully examined and schematized in a complex *stemma codicum*, which illustrates the network of copying and contamination. Moreover, the editor has revised the dating of the manuscripts, in the light of the most recent studies, and brought order to the sigla assigned to them by previous editors.

Suetonius, as is well known, incorporated Greek words and phrases in the *Caesars*: we find them in all the *Lives*[6] save that of Titus. As a whole, their placement is uniform throughout the work, although they are more concentrated in some passages (*Aug*. 98.4–99.1, *Tib*. 21.4–6, *Claud.* 4.2, *Nero* 38.1–40.2). In many cases, they are literary quotations, mainly drawn from the *Iliad*. Among them there appear the longest sentences, such as *Il*. 10.246–7 at *Tib*. 21.6 and the epigram by Euenus from *Anth. Gr*. 9.75 at *Dom*. 14.2. Lines 524–5 of Euripides' *Phoenissae* at *Caes*. 30.5 are a clear ancient interpolation.

In the medieval transmission, Greek passages in Latin works, losing their stable form, underwent a gradual alteration. Their restoration was one of the most challenging tasks for humanist philology, when Greek began to be studied again in the West and linguistic competence could be applied to recovering the corrupt *Graeca*, a process that handed on a reliable textual basis to modern scholarship. From that point, generations of scholars were able to improve on the results previously achieved. However, even in the Middle Ages the need was felt to work out the meaning of the Greek passages; some witnesses to attempts at interpretation, severely conditioned by limited linguistic knowledge, survive in Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts. The first evidence of a determination to interpret—and restore—the Greek in Suetonius'

[1] C.L. Roth (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1858).
[2] L. Preud'homme (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De uita Caesarum libri VIII* (Groningen, 1906).
[3] M. Ihm (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De uita Caesarum libri VIII* (Leipzig, 1907).
[4] H. Ailloud (ed. and transl.), *Suétone, Vies des douze Césars*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1931–2).
[5] R.A. Kaster (ed.), *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De uita Caesarum libros VIII et De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (Oxford, 2016[a]). The edition goes with a volume of *Studies on the Text of Suetonius'* De uita Caesarum (Oxford, 2016[b]).
[6] On the Greek in the *Lives*: G.B. Townend, 'The sources of the Greek in Suetonius', *Hermes* 88 (1960), 98–120; J.F. Berthet, 'La culture homérique des Césars d'après Suétone', *REL* 56 (1978), 314–34; E.E. Best, 'Suetonius: the use of Greek among the Julio-Claudian emperors', *RSA* 15 (1985), 77–95.

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work probably dates back to this period, when an anonymous scholar set about recognizing the words in segments of Greek written in *scriptio continua* and translating them into Latin: this translation is situated between the lines of some manuscripts, the oldest of which is Vat. Lat. 1904, dating back to the first half of the eleventh century.

However, the turning point in the history of Suetonius' *Graeca* is the restoration carried out by Manuel Chrysoloras in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century. Greek passages transcribed in Chrysoloras's hand are preserved in two manuscripts, Vallic. B 26 and Laur. 20 sin. 3.[7] The text that he established allowed a good understanding of the Greek in the *De uita Caesarum*; nevertheless, the scant attention paid by scholars to the humanistic transmission of Suetonius' work, and more precisely of its *Graeca*, led to the absence of Chrysoloras's name from the apparatus criticus of any modern edition, although the authorship of the vulgate text belongs to him. Not even Kaster's edition, though well informed, has filled this gap.

The peculiar circumstances in which Greek was transcribed in Latin works, by copyists who reproduced the letters by imitation or from a simple knowledge of the Greek alphabet, granted autonomy to Greek passages in the process of transmission. This autonomy, which makes them what can be called 'a text within a text', affords an invaluable resource for philological analysis. This has nothing to do with occasionally including this or that reading in the data assembled from examination of the Latin text; rather it means that we need to study the *Graeca* for their own sake. A proper evaluation will lead to philological conclusions to which results achieved on the Latin text can be compared. This is an investigation which has so far never been made in a systematic way, and Suetonius' historical work, which has been the object of sundry studies and has been published many times, is one of those that have suffered. A contribution which I am preparing will be devoted to such an investigation: I shall illustrate the methodological and philological features of a comprehensive analysis of the *Graeca* in the *De uita Caesarum* carried out on the basis of their own textual character.

I present here some proposals arising from this research and referring to the *constitutio textus* of the Greek passages: they are the outcome of the convergence of palaeographical, historical and linguistic reflections which allow us to sift through the traditional textual data and offer a different perspective.[8]

1) *Tib*. 21.4 ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις στρατηγῶν

The sentence is contained in a letter from Augustus to Tiberius; its meaning has been explained in an article by J.G.F. Powell,[9] who recalls Cic. *Brut*. 87, where the music-teacher Antigenidas addresses his pupil using a similar expression: *mihi cane et Musis*. Kaster accepts Chrysoloras's reading—which is for him just the reading of the first editions and of one of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, Oxon. Canon. Class. Lat. 180—rejecting the cruces of Preud'homme († μου ισα σαιστε)[10] and Ihm

[7] V. Fera, 'Un nuovo libro della biblioteca del Salutati', in G. Polara (ed.), *Munusculum. Studi in onore di Fabio Cupaiuolo* (Naples, 1993), 25–36; A. Rollo, 'Manuele Crisolora e il restauro del greco nel *De vita Caesarum* di Svetonio: un nuovo manoscritto', in V. Fera, G. Ferraù, S. Rizzo (edd.), *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print* (Messina, 2002), 401–5.

[8] I quote the Greek passages from Kaster's edition (see n. 5 [2016(a)] above).

[9] 'Augustus and the Muses (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 21.4)', *CQ* 40 (1990), 579–80.

[10] Strictly speaking, the ε of τε should not be included in the letters placed between cruces because it is a corrupt form of the initial *sigma* of the following word, στρατηγῶν: for the reading of the archetype must have been CTETPA-, which is transmitted by most of the manuscripts (together with CTHTPA-), while CTECTPA- is only in VLS.

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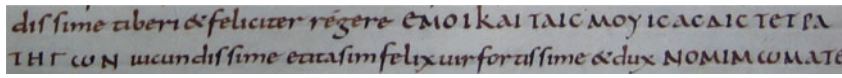


FIGURE 1: Par. Lat. 6115.

(† μουισασαιστ), and the numerous conjectures of earlier scholars (which he does not report in his apparatus criticus; they are recorded by Preud'homme and Ihm).[11] All the conjectures tried to make better use of the letters not considered in Chrysoloras's plain reconstruction. Kaster indicates in the apparatus MOΥICACAICT as the reading of the archetype; however, the sequence of letters in the archetype must have been MOΥICACΔICT, the *delta* being clearly distinguishable from *alpha* and *lambda*, as shown by the well-defined outline of this letter in Vat. Lat. 1904 and Par. Lat. 6115 (Fig. 1). A clear *delta* can also be seen in Par. Lat. 5801 (Fig. 2), while it is converted into a capital Latin D in Montepess. H 117 (Fig. 3) and in Laur. 68.7[12] (Fig. 4). None of these elements has been taken into account in the scholarly discussion.

A different conjecture can be proposed on the basis of the actually transmitted shapes of the Greek letters: in order to emphasize Tiberius' double militancy, Augustus might have resorted to the joking neologism διστρατηγῶν (cf. διλογέω); alternatively, the sentence has to be read as ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις δὶς στρατηγῶν.[13] Chrysoloras used the letters ΔIC after MOΥICAC, which he probably read in Laur. 68.7 as DIC, to recover the word Μούσαις;[14] so Δ or D came to be equivalent to A, and the letters AC in MOΥICAC, in which the dative ending was hidden, were considered a dittography.

2) *Claud*. 42.1 ἄνδρ' ἐπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ

Claudius would always take any chance to show his preference for Greek and after rendering judgement against an enemy or a traitor gave, as usually, the signal to the guard (*excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti*) by quoting this Homeric verse (from *Il.* 24.369 = *Od.* 16.72 = 21.133). Most of Suetonius' codices offer the reading ΧΑΛΕΠΗΑΙΝΕΙ, which is likely to date back to the archetype. Kaster, like all editors since Roth, adopts the reading of the Homeric manuscripts, χαλεπήνῃ; the majority of earlier editors preferred the present subjunctive χαλεπαίνῃ, attested since the fifteenth century in the *De uita Caesarum* published both in Venice in 1490 *per Baptistam de Tortis*, along with the commentary by Sabellicus, and in Bologna in 1493, by Benedictus Hectoris Bononiensis, with the commentary by Beroaldus. Chrysoloras had restored the reading χαλεπαίνει, which remained stable right through the fifteenth century; Poliziano chose the form χαλεπήνῃ of the Homeric manuscripts, as we find from the notes that a pupil of his wrote down in the margins of a copy of the 1470 *editio princeps* by Giovanni Antonio Campano, now B.R. 92 in the Florence National

[11] In the margin of B.R. 91 of the National Library of Florence Poliziano noted the conjecture τοῖς ἄλλοις.

[12] The D shape in LS is noted only in Ailloud's apparatus criticus.

[13] Archilochus' verses quoted by Plut. *Phoc*. 7.6 can serve as a parallel expression, as Maria Cannatà suggests to me: although postponed, δίς—or the prefix δι in διστρατηγῶν—someway recalls the term ἀμφότερον, placed before, which points out the double competence, military and oratorical: καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἕκαστος ἐφαίνετο κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον 'ἀμφότερον, θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο θεοῖο | καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατῶν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος'. Athenaeus (*Deipn*. 627c) quotes the first verse with εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ instead of ἀμφότερον.

[14] ΔICTETPATHΓΩN should therefore be a haplographic error for ΔICCTETP-.

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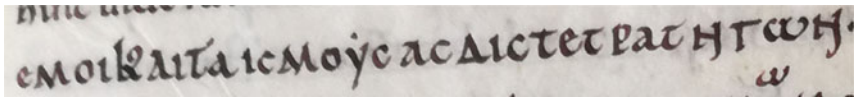


FIGURE 2: Par. Lat. 5801.

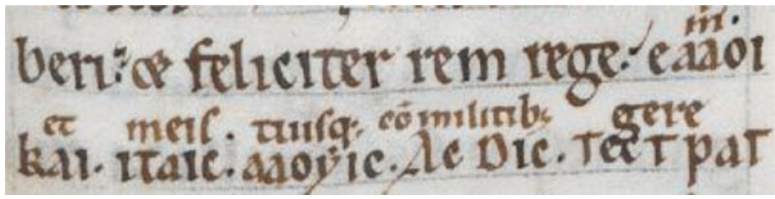


FIGURE 3: Montepess. H 117.

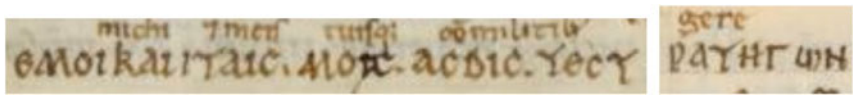


FIGURE 4: Laur. 68.7.

Library;[15] but in B.R. 91 of the same Library—a copy owned by Angelo Poliziano of the 1475 Milan edition by Bonus Accursius of the *Vitae* and of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, in which spaces reserved for Greek were left empty[16]—he transcribed the verse with the reading χαλεπαίνοι. A reader of Mutin. γ.R.6.19—who recorded at the end of the manuscript the date *MCCCCLXXXI pridie nonas Iunias*—filled up the space left empty by the copyist with ἄνδρ' ἐπαμύνεσθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ: the reading χαλεπήνῃ very likely originates from Poliziano, for in the Mutinensis, at *Dom*. 14.2, the same hand inserted the Greek epigram by Euenus, which Poliziano himself had recovered by connecting Suetonius' passage with Ovid's *Fast*. 1.353–8.[17] In the reading ΧΑΛΕΠΗΑΙΝΕΙ the sound [ε] of ΑΙ—already stabilized in the second century A.D.—is duplicated through Η (cf. ΕΗΙΩΘΟCΙΝ at *Claud.* 4.2); alternatively, one can suppose that Η had been noted as a variant between the lines or in the margin of one of the copies previous to the archetype, and thereafter it had slipped into the word (the same might have occurred in the case of the first letter of ΕΗΙΩΘΟCΙΝ). The reading of Par. Lat. 6115 (ΧΑΛΕΠΕΑΙΝΕΙ) could be a result of confusion between Η and Ε, both vowels being transmitted to the Middle Ages with

[15] On this incunable, see V. Fera, *Una ignota expositio Suetoni del Poliziano* (Messina, 1983), 85–94.

[16] L. Cesarini Martinelli, 'Il Poliziano e Svetonio: osservazioni su un recente contributo alla storia della filologia umanistica', *Rinascimento* 16 (1976), 111–31, now in S. Gentile (ed.), *Umanesimo e filologia. Lucia Cesarini Martinelli* (Pisa, 2016), 65–85; see also Fera (n. 15), 35.

[17] *rode caper uitem, tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras | in tua quod spargi cornua possit erit*. Poliziano correctly recognized in Ovid's verses a reference to Euenus' Greek epigram (*Anth. Gr*. 9.75: κἤν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω | ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαι σοί, τράγε, θυομένῳ) and advanced the conjecture καίσαρι instead of τράγε. The restoration is discussed in chap. XXVI of the first *Miscellanea* and is also recorded in B.R. 91 of the National Library of Florence.

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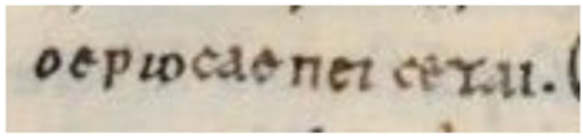


FIGURE 5: Laur. 68.7.

the same sound, which became a peculiar feature of Greek pronunciation in the West.[18] It is likely that the archetype received a dittography that might have caused the duplication of AI through H or vice versa, or that a variant intruded into the word. Given the above, it is plausible that the original reading was ΧΑΛΕΠΑΙ-, not -ΠΗ-, because the ending -EI, pronounced like [i], could not have replaced an *eta*, which was phonetically equivalent, as I said before, to *epsilon* both in Late Antiquity and in the Western Middle Ages; consequently, the authentic reading should not be the subjunctive χαλεπήνῃ but the indicative χαλεπαίνει, which Suetonius cited either by committing a *lapsus memoriae* (a trivialization owing to ὅτε being construed in prose with the indicative) or by taking it directly from his source.

3) *Claud*. 43.1 ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται

Claudius, repenting of his marriage to Agrippina and the adoption of Nero, spoke these words to his son Britannicus: 'he who has injured you will heal you'. This is the oracle's answer to Telephus, king of Mysia, who healed the wound inflicted by Achilles' spear by touching it with the same spear. The manuscripts show the last word in two corrupt forms, ΠΕΙCΑΤΑΙ and ΠΕΙCΕΤΑΙ; the archetype will have had ΟΤΡΩCΑCΠΕΙCΕΤΑΙ. Chrysoloras had drawn from it the sentence ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπείγεται, exploiting the further adulterated reading of one of the ancient copies used for restoring the Greek passages, probably Laur. 68.7, with the sequence ΟΕΡΩCΑΕΠΕΙCΕΤΑΙ (Τ of ΤΡΩ- → Θ → Ε and the final C of -CAC → Ε) (Fig. 5).

In this case too the anonymous medieval interpreter tried to identify the Greek words: like Chrysoloras, he resorted to a copy of branch α, with the reading ΟΘΡΩCΑCΠΕΙCΕΤΑΙ, and restored Greek in the form ΟΡΘΑC ΠΟΙΕΙΤΕ, obtaining *rectas facite*. This translation slipped into the text before the Greek letters: the interpolation is attested by Par. Lat. 5801, Laur. 66.39 and 68.7, Montepess. H 117, Vat. Reg. Lat. 833.[19]

In the margin of the incunable B.R. 91 Poliziano noted the reading of Laur. 68.7 and the Greek passage in the vulgate form, which derives from Chrysoloras's restoration (ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπείγεται); immediately below he transcribed another traditional reading,

[18] On the question of the *eta* sound in Late Antiquity and in the Western Middle Ages, see A. Rollo, 'La trasmissione medievale dei *graeca*', in *I* graeca *nei libri latini tra medioevo e umanesimo. Atti della giornata di studi in ricordo di Alessandro Daneloni, Messina, 28 ottobre 2015* = *SMU* 14 (2016), 26–39.

[19] These are the same manuscripts that contain another interpolation, with the same origin, at *Cal*. 22.1 (εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς); here too the medieval translation *de celo venit nobis rex* infiltrated the text. The two interpolations are the only relics, along with the interlinear sentence *erit semper bene* at *Dom*. 23.2 and *dubitationem* at *Aug*. 92.2, in Par. Lat. 5801 and Laur. 66.39, of the medieval translation that in the other passages Montepess. H 117, Laur. 68.7 and Vat. Lat. 833 preserve between the lines. As regards such interpolations, Vat. Lat. 1904 does not come into consideration because, despite containing the translation, it breaks off at *Cal*. 3.3 *decreta sua re<scindenti>*.

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ὀρθῶς δὲ ποιεῖτε,[20] a sort of compromise between the Greek that could be read in the codices and the medieval translation *rectas facite*.[21] Further down he copied the reading of Laur. 64.8, on the basis of which he advanced the conjecture ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται. This conjecture was very likely improved on, as Vincenzo Fera points out,[22] through the omission of καί, according to the evidence of the *reportata* from the lectures on *De uita Caesarum* contained in Neap. V D 43, dating to 1490–1.[23] Poliziano's restoration of the Greek was made known by Pier Vettori, who, covertly exploiting Poliziano's materials, proposed amending ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπείγεται to ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται;[24] none the less, Chrysoloras's reading survived in later editions. Kaster, like Ihm, prefers ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται, omitting καί and thus supposing that the letters IA were altered to ΠΕΙ. The deformation is not easy to explain and, in the end, I do not consider it inappropriate to revive ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, postulating an early confusion between the homophones AI and E, the loss of A following I, fostered by the sequence of three vowels (EIA) and the unusual transformation, however it came about, of K into Π.[25]

The passages we have discussed above were certainly in Greek from the beginning. Elsewhere the whole manuscript tradition features Greek terms in the Latin alphabet, and there is no evidence to establish whether or not it was the original form (so at *Aug*. 71.2 *geronticos*). In one case, for sure, someone transliterated into Greek a word that had been transmitted in Latin.

4) *Dom*. 13.2 *ianos arcusque* […] *tantos ac tot instruxit ut cuidam graece inscriptum sit* APKI

An anonymous 'graffiti artist', to use Kaster's term, inscribed on one of the many triumphal arches built by Domitian a word meant to poke fun at this passion of the emperor's: it has been handed down as 'arci' (that is, ἀρκεῖ = *satis est*).[26]

APKI is the reading adopted by Kaster, who accepts a conjecture of Gustav Becker,[27] but the medieval manuscripts transmit *arci*, *arti*, *arcui*. In Oxon. Lat. class. d. 39 (C) and British Library, Royal 15 C IV (H) this word is in Greek characters, APΘI; since both codices are positioned on a branch of the *stemma* in which the reading *arti* appears, it is evident that a scholar—most probably to be identified with the author of many other textual interventions, William of Malmesbury (about 1085–143)[28]—was induced by

[20] This reading emerges in the tradition of Suetonius instead of the form restored by Chrysoloras and is known both to Sabellicus and to Beroaldus. It appears, for example, in Par. Lat. 5809 and in Bonon. 2810, but without δέ; in Vat. Lat. 6800 a reader wrote it in the margin, together with the words *rectas facite*, drawn from a *c*[*odex*] *a*[*ntiquus*].

[21] This is noted in the right margin with the Greek letters from Laur. 68.7. In B.R. 92 we read ὁ ἔρως δ' ἐπείγεται along with the variant reading ὀρθῶς δ' ἐπείγεται.

[22] Fera (n. 15), 167–8 n. 3.

[23] The reading ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται was written by a late hand in the margin of Par. Lat. 5801, while both forms, with and without καί, are recorded in Vat. Pal. Lat. 898.

[24] Petri Victorii *Variarum lectionum libri XXV* (Florence, 1553), 381–2 (ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, referring to 'Victorius l. 24 c. 14 Vari<arum>', has also been transcribed in the margin of Beroaldus's commentary, next to the passage at issue, in a copy of the 1493 edition preserved at the Naples National Library with the shelfmark S.Q. XI I 16).

[25] Unless, as Michele Bandini suggests to me, ΠΕΙCΕΤΑΙ, future of πάσχω, is a conjecture by an ancient reader who aimed at healing a text that was somehow corrupt.

[26] Kaster (n. 5[2016(b)]), 258.

[27] 'Zur Litteratur des Suetonius', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 87 (1863), 205–6.

[28] See R.A. Kaster, 'Making sense of Suetonius in the twelfth century', in A. Grafton and G.W. Most (edd.), *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices. A Global Comparative Approach* (Cambridge, 2016), 110–35.

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the text itself (*graece inscriptum sit*) to make the transliteration, in the common ancestor of CH; so he reconstructed the Greek word on the basis of the form 'arti' by employing such a typical Greek letter as *theta*. As for APKI, the line of reasoning that led Becker to conjecture this form is the following: 'ein Witz wäre es nur, wenn mit griechischen Buchstaben APKI geschrieben wäre, was sowohl nach der damaligen Aussprache ἀρκεῖ sein könnte, als auch lateinisch geschrieben *arci*, ein allerdings ungewöhnlicher Nominativus plur. von *arcus*.' However, I do not think that an orthographically incorrect form such as APKI is needed for creating a double entendre: the *boutade* lies in the phonetic correspondence, while, from a merely graphic point of view, APKI would not refer clearly to either ἀρκεῖ or 'arci'. Suetonius points out that the word had been written *graece*, but this might also imply that he is referring to the transposition of a term that was not a Grecism and could be therefore defined as Greek even if converted into Latin letters; its transposition into Latin would offer the advantage of recalling more directly 'arcus', though with an unusual ending. 'arci' would immediately have conveyed ἀρκεῖ, just as the numeral 'bini' could equivocally have been understood as βινεῖ, according to Cicero (*Fam*. 9.22.3). Anyway, it seems unlikely to me that an incorrect form such as APKI could have been used to make a clearer allusion to the Latin term 'arcus': should it have been written in Greek letters, APKEI could indeed have referred to the Latin word in its sound, without any orthographical aberration. Therefore, if we acknowledge that the transposition into the Latin *arci* (from which *arcui* by conjecture and *arti* by mistake) is not original, it must have replaced the Greek form at an early date, when Greek was still studied and spoken in the West and living pronunciation could cause ει to turn into 'i'.

5) We have reserved the last place to discuss 'the most troubled passage of Greek in the *Caesars*'.[29] At *Aug*. 99.1 (ἐπεὶ δὲ †ΤΙΑΧΟΙ† καλῶς τὸ παίγνιον, | δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε) Chrysoloras was not able to find a solution to the problem presented by the sequence of Greek letters he read in manuscripts.

Suetonius reports the emperor's departure from life and says that he recited on his deathbed the *clausula* with which mime-actors addressed the audience at the end of the performance asking them to applaud. Since Roth this text has been recognized as two iambic trimeters, while previously, from Erasmus on, it had been reconstructed as trochaic tetrameters: this is the path Kaster has followed. The medieval forerunner of Chrysoloras was able to interpret the second part in his own way; for in MSS Vat. Lat. 1904 (V), Montpellier, Bibl. Univ. de Médecine, H 117 (S, with its apograph British Library, Egerton 3055), Laur. 68.7 (L), Vat. Reg. Lat. 833 (N), we can read the following interlinear translation: *postulet autem date plausum et omnes* (om. V) *uos cum gaudio aliquid facite*. The Greek text in the archetype must have been: ETICIΔETIAXOIKAΩCTOTI [alternatively: OΠ] AICNIOΔOTEKPOTONKAΠΠANTECHMACMETAXAPACTIΠOΠAIΨATE; an idea of how it actually appeared can be given by the shape of the letters in this passage in Par. Lat. 6115, in which, however, we find the peculiar reading ETCI (Fig. 6).

[29] Kaster (n. 5[2016(b)]), 129.

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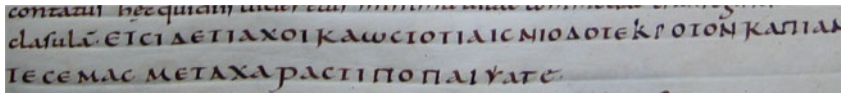


FIGURE 6: Par. Lat. 6115.

It seems that the medieval scholar—a Westerner who might have been helped by a Byzantine—identified the verb αἰτήσῃ[30] in the first group of letters, clearly by resorting to itacistic pronunciation, and, recklessly, the form ποιεῖτε (or ποιήσατε) in the last one; he could not recognize, after ΔΟΤΕΚΡΟΤΟΝ, the words hidden in the intermediate letters ΤΙΑΧΟΙΚΑΩCΤΟΤΙΑΙCΝΙΟ. In the course of the fifteenth century, someone devised the phrase δότε (or more rarely δίδοτε) κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς τί ποιεῖτε (so, for example, in Berol. Lat. fol. 28 or in Bonon. 2810) by means of a back version of the medieval translation, dropping the meaningless phrase *postulet autem*.[31] This is the text—with the reading ἅπαντες—transcribed into the corresponding blank in the incunable B.R. 91 of the National Library of Florence by a hand which added in the margin the corresponding translation *date plausum et omnes uos cum gaudio aliquid facite*. Above it, Poliziano made a note of the correct reference to a passage of Dio Cassius (56.30.4) clearly connected to the Greek sentence quoted by Suetonius: *in excerptis ex Dione hoc*: ὅτι Αὔγουστος θνήσκων, κρότον δή τινα παρὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁμοίως τοῖς γελωτοποιοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μίμου τελευτῇ τινος αἰτήσας, καὶ πάνυ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον διέσκωψεν. In the lower margin trimming has left traces of the reading of an old manuscript, identifiable with Laur. 64.8, from which Poliziano accurately drew the Greek majuscule letters in their corrupt form. The phrase δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς τί ποιεῖτε was inherited, with occasional erroneous forms[32], by all the editions up to the 1518 Basel edition, in which Erasmus turned τι ποιεῖτε into κτυπήσατε; Turnebus would later propose ποππύσατε, and Bentley eventually προπέμψατε.

In all the editions the text originating from the anonymous back version—that is, ultimately, from the medieval translation—kept its status; however, the consultation of codices allowed scholars to speculate on the first part of the passage, where Erasmus gave up (page 55 of the Basel edition: *praecesserunt hunc versum aliquot verba graeca sed non quivimus e vestigiis quicquam certi divinare*). Kaster lists in the apparatus criticus ad loc. and in his discussion of this passage in his *Studies* (129–31) the numerous attempts to restore the opening words from the Basel edition on. In particular, Turnebus conjectured εἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει, Jakob Gronov ἐπειδή τι ἔχει, Bentley ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχει *vel* δὲ σχοῖ, Roth εἰ δέ τι | ἔχοι (with the word inversion κρότον δότε), Bücheler ἐπεὶ δὲ πάνυ, Crusius ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαίχθη μοι. None of these conjectures sufficiently takes into account the *ductus litterarum* of the manuscripts;

[30] On the equivalence of αἰτέω to *postulo* and *peto* in medieval lexica: *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 2.154: 'postulo αξιω αιτω' (Par. Lat. 7651, f. 157r); 2.221: 'αιτω posco postolo peto' (Harl. 5792, f. 7r).

[31] However, it is remarkable that in Neap. IV C 25 there emerges an attempt to reformulate the sentence by means of a new back-version that also takes into account the opening word of the medieval translation: ἐξαίτει καὶ δότε κροταλισμὸν καὶ πάντες ὑμᾶς μετὰ γαυρότιτος τι ποιήσατε.

[32] We find one of these in the 1480 Venice edition, in which κρότον became κρᾶτον. But this error prompted consistent reactions, for a reader wrote in the margin of a copy of this edition preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, with the shelfmark Ink S-612: *date vinum et vos cum laetitia aliquid bibite*. He also expunged the o of ποιεῖτε.

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for this reason, Kaster has cautiously accepted Kassel and Austin's decision[33] to put cruces round ΤΙΑΧΟΙ.

One can doubt whether the words before and after the cruces have been restored correctly, whether no serious gap occurred within the letters between the cruces, and even whether the first part, as a quotation from a mime,[34] needs to be in verse; an acceptable restoration therefore is a very hard task. ΤΙΑΧΟΙ—but probably all the first part of the passage—seems to be a *locus* likely to remain *desperatus*. I would be tempted to read ΤΙΑΧΟΙ as πάγχυ: in the corruption process Π might have broken up into ΤΙ, Γ might have disappeared, and Υ might have been mixed up with the homophone ΟΙ (ΠΑΓΧΥ → ΠΑΓΧΟΙ / ΤΙΑΓΧΟΙ → ΤΙΑΧΟΙ), evidently earlier than the archetype, when Greek was still studied in the West with the sounds of living pronunciation.[35] But this word is of limited use in classical Greek and furthermore, while well explaining the corruption process from a graphic point of view, does not seem to fit the context, at least as it has been reconstructed.

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[33] In *PCG* 8.275 the immediately preceding letters ΔΕ have also been included between cruces.

[34] Suetonius points it out quite clearly (*percontatus ecquid iis uideretur mimum uitae commode transegisse*), and even more so Cassius Dio (ἐπὶ μίμου τελευτῇ τινος).

[35] See Rollo (n. 18), 35. As is well known, the false diphthong οι and the vowel υ retained the same sound until about the tenth century A.D. A similar change occurred in the tradition of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, where at 2.2.13, in the quotation from *Il.* 24.527–8, the manuscripts show ΔΥΟΥϹ or ΔΥΟϹ, with some exceptions, such as Par. Lat. 7181 and Vat. Lat. 3363, which have ΔΥΟ (while the reading ΔΥΟ of Einsidlensis 302 is a correction of ΔΥΟΥϹ, the two final letters of which have been erased; in Laur. 14.15 they have been struck out). Peiper restored—either aware of the origin of this error or just to adhere to the Homeric text—the reading δοιούς, whereas Bieler adopted δύο (like Planudes), probably considering ΔΥΟΥϹ a corrupt form. In fact, the traditional reading ΔΥΟΥϹ is readily explicable through the phonetic convergence of Υ and ΟΙ in Antiquity.

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