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Sollemnia aedificii a. D. MCMXI inaugurati

Separatum



Lustrum



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Sollemnia aedificii a.D. MCMXI inaugurati

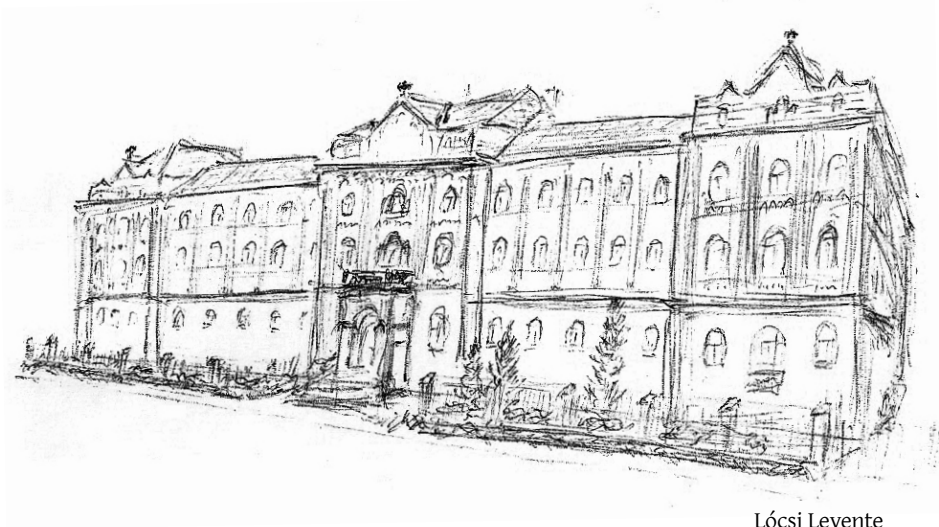
Ediderunt
László Horváth, Krisztina Laczkó, Károly Tóth,
et
András Péterffy (Appendix)

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Lócsi Levente

Mike Edwards

The Application of Criticism to Textual Criticism¹

My title pays homage to A. E. Housman, one of the greatest English scholars whose ‘The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism’ remains one of the finest and most indispensable essays on the subject.² But Housman aired his views in various publications, and in the Preface to his edition of Juvenal’s *Satires* he discusses the practices of textual criticism in his typically acerbic manner.³ In berating those who have recourse to apographs (manuscripts copied from what is accepted to be the primary manuscript of an author), he comments: ‘Either *a* is the source of *b* and *c* and *d* or it is not. If it is, then never in any case should recourse be had to *b* or *c* or *d*. If it is not, then the rule is irrational; for it involves the assumption that whenever *a*’s scribes made a mistake they produced an impossible reading. Three minutes’ thought would suffice to find this out; but thought is irksome and three minutes is a long time’. Now, far be it from me to disagree with the great man, but three minutes’ thought suggests to my mind that the imperative of his first alternative is not entirely sound. For simply to dismiss apographs implies both that their scribes always had only *a* in front of them and, moreover, that they were incapable of correctly emending evidently corrupt text. While these manuscripts of course do not have the same authority as their exemplar, if we take no account of them at all we are making a dangerous distinction, treating the scribes worse than later scholars, whose emendations will regularly be recorded in an apparatus even when they are wrong. It will hopefully be informative to consider an author where the great majority of the surviving manuscripts are indeed of this type.

¹ I was deeply honoured to be invited to address the centenary celebrations of the Eötvös Collegium. My thanks are due to the Director, Professor L. Horváth, and the chair of my session, Professor Zs. Ritoók.

² HOUSMAN, A. E.: The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism. In: DIGGLE, J. – GOODYEAR, F. R. D. (eds.): *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman*. 3 vols., Cambridge 1972, 1058–1069.

³ HOUSMAN, A. E.: *D. Iunii Iuuenalis Satirae*. London 1905.

The text of the Attic orator Isaios is primarily based on one manuscript only, Burney 95 in the BL (A). For speech 1 and part of 2 we also have Ambrosianus D42 sup (Q), but the other manuscripts, BLMPZ, are now accepted as all deriving from A, as William Wyse discusses in full in the Critical Introduction to his great commentary, *The Speeches of Isaeus*.⁴ L and M were probably copied from B, and P and Z from M.

L (Marcianus, append. class. VIII cod. 6) was copied in Florence and was the source manuscript of the Aldine edition of the orators of 1513.⁵ Wyse remarks, with typical acerbity of his own: ‘The *editio princeps* of 1513 was not only derived from an inferior MS. [...] but teemed with typographical errors, and was disfigured by horrible examples of itacism, which show that the compositors were Greeks. *Tot mendis eluendis ne Hercules quidem literarius suffecerit* (Reiske, *Or. Gr. VII. p. 21*). The efforts of three centuries were spent on purging the text of the Aldine’. It was not, indeed, until Bekker’s edition of 1823 that A came into its own;⁶ Thalheim’s Teubner appeared eighty years later,⁷ followed in the next year by Wyse. Thalheim by and large omits readings of the apographs in his fairly brief apparatus: I count fifteen examples, fourteen of which are drawn from M and thirteen of which are printed in his text. Five of these, interestingly, are adopted by Bekker, who used Z rather than M, and are printed by Thalheim. Another MZ reading printed by Bekker at 6.59 is rejected by Thalheim; while he also records and rejects a solitary B reading at 1.16, the unnecessary addition of the article before *μάρτυρας* in a witness formula, which also found its way (doubtless via Z) into the text of Bekker. LPZ do not appear in Thalheim’s apparatus at all. One might then expect that the readings of the apographs would largely have disappeared from Wyse’s apparatus too, but in fact I count over 100 citations, the great majority of which (some 87 by my reckoning) come from M, with only eleven from B (the first of the apographs) and a handful from L and Z (no P). A large proportion of these is rejected by Wyse but recorded nevertheless, often in conjunction with references to Aldus, Bekker, and other editors. Wyse’s apparatus, in contrast to Thalheim’s, is very full, and his meticulous attention to detail no doubt explains the recording of so many rejected readings of the apographs. What is perhaps more interesting is the number of correct readings in M. The great preponderance of readings from M over the other apographs in both Thalheim and Wyse indicates that the scribe, whose name was Marcus, was

⁴ WYSE, W.: *The Speeches of Isaeus*. Cambridge. 1904.

⁵ MANUTIUS, A.: *Orationes horum rhetorum...*Venice, 1513.

⁶ BEKKER, I.: *Oratores Attici III*. Oxford 1823.

⁷ THALHEIM, Th.: *Isaeus*. Leipzig, 1903.

no fool. For example, at 4.23 we have καὶ γὰρ εἰ οἶδε τι ἔπαθον, οὐδενὶ ἄν ἄλλῳ ἢ Νικοστράτῳ τὰ τούτων ἐγένετο ('Indeed, if anything had happened to my friends, their property would have passed to none other than Nicostratus'). ἐγένετο is the correction in M, adopted by Bekker, for the grammatically incorrect ἐγένοντο of A, a solecism which was nevertheless printed by Aldus, Stephanus,⁸ and even the great Reiske.⁹ Victor Jernstedt identified Marcus as a Cretan scribe, who also wrote a Lysias at Florence.¹⁰ It may, finally, be a mere coincidence that M (Burney 96) would have been readily available to Wyse in the British Museum, for he states on p. iv of the Critical Introduction with reference to Dobson's collation of M that 'in the few passages in which I have looked at the manuscript, I have found him right'. If he records 87 M readings, one might have expected him to have looked at more than just a 'few' passages.

Housman, of course, was in a league of his own when it came to scathing attacks on other scholars, but Wyse was not so very far behind him, especially in his criticisms of Isaios himself, and indeed he was a highly suitable editor of an orator in whose speeches character assassination played a prominent role (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted, *Isaios* 3). Housman and Wyse were briefly at University College London together, both in their early thirties and appointed in 1892 when the chair of Classics was split into a chair of Greek and one of Latin. Wyse returned to Trinity College Cambridge after two years, discontented with the quality of his students, but this was perhaps sufficient time for some of Housman's bile to drip on him. An example of a Housman-style attack on a modern scholar in Wyse is his judgment of James Scholefield, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1825-1853) and editor of Dobree's *Adversaria* in 1831. Wyse comments: 'However eminent Scholefield may have been in his time as a divine and pulpit orator – in Cambridge his name is preserved by a theological prize – he was not worthy to sit in the Chair of Greek after Porson, Monk, and Dobree, *cathedrae tantum, non ingenii et doctrinae successor*, and [note this] a Prime Minister would have rendered a real service to learning by promoting him to a Bishopric' (pp. lviii-lix). So Housman-like, in fact, that in the preface to the first volume of his *Manilius*, Housman laments the decline of English scholarship after 1825 (the year that Scholefield took up the chair, though Housman does not name him) and refers to 'the successive strokes of doom which consigned Dobree and Elmsley to the grave and Blomfield to the bishopric of Chester'.¹¹ The *Manilius*

⁸ STEPHANUS, H.: *Oratorum veterum orationes*. Paris, 1575.

⁹ REISKE, J. J.: *Oratorum Graecorum vol. VII*. Leipzig, 1773.

¹⁰ JERNSTEDT, V.: *Antiphontis orationes*. Petersburg, 1880, praef. xvii n. 11.

¹¹ HOUSMAN, A. E.: *M. Manilius, Astronomica*. 5 vols., London, 1903-1930, xlii.

was published in 1903; Wyse's preface is dated November 16, 1904 – a curious coincidence of bishoprics.

Both men, however, had scholars whom they admired. Georg Luck wrote recently, in the collection of essays on Housman edited by Butterfield and Stray, that 'here we find the names we might expect: Bentley and Markland, but also Scaliger (for Manilius) and Beroaldus (for Propertius, no doubt) and Marullus (for Lucretius, I suppose)'.¹² Housman would not be Housman, of course, if he did not have some criticisms even of (or rather especially of) Bentley: Luck recalls his remark that Bentley 'treats the MSS. much as if they were fellows of Trinity'. His critical admiration of Bentley is again to the fore in his review of Bywater's *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England*. Housman writes: 'The two pages on Bentley himself are excellent; and laymen who wonder at the fame of this tasteless and arbitrary pedant, and the reverence paid him by every competent judge, will hardly find elsewhere in so small a compass so clear a definition of his unique originality and greatness'.¹³

Housman himself did not lend his genius to the text of Isaios, but three of his 'heroes' (if Housman had such) did to some degree. Bentley himself makes one conjecture, on 5.36. In his *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* he notes in passing: 'By the way, I shall correct a fault in the orator Isaeus. Οὔτος γὰρ τῆ μὲν φυλῆ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας, τέταρτος ἐγένετο, τραγωδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυρρῖεταῖς ὕστατος. Correct it, τέταρτος ἐγένετο τραγωδοῖς, καὶ πυρρῖχισταῖς ὕστατος... This man, says he, being to furnish out chorus's at the festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly, that in the tragic chorus he came but the fourth, and in the Pyrrichists he was last of all'.¹⁴ Bentley's stature is such that this proposal, the deletion of δὲ and changing of πυρρῖεταῖς to πυρρῖχισταῖς, was adopted by Thalheim, even though, as Wyse points out, the number of competitors in the tragic chorus was three, not four. Bentley perhaps had the excuse of not knowing that. The question, however, is whether he knew that πυρρῖχισταῖς had already been proposed by Palmerius in his *Exercitationes*, whose first edition was 1668, with a 1694 edition that was published just before Bentley's *Phalaris* (first edition 1697), of which the larger edition, that 'immortal dissertation' in the words of Porson, appeared in 1699.¹⁵ Let

¹² LUCK, G.: Lessons Learned from a Master. In: BUTTERFIELD, D. – STRAY, C. (eds.): *A. E. Housman. Classical Scholar*. London, 2009, 247–254 (248).

¹³ HOUSMAN, A. E.: Review of BYWATER, I.: *Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England*. Oxford, 1919. *Classical Review* 34 (1920) 110–111.

¹⁴ BENTLEY, R.: *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*. In: DYCE, Rev. A.: *The Works of Richard Bentley*, D. D. Volume 1, London, 1836, 400–401.

¹⁵ PALMERIUS (J. le Paulmier): *Exercitationes in optimos fere auctores Graecos*. Leyden, 1668, ed. 1694, 669.

us hope not, and Palmerius is rightly given the credit by Thalheim and (without comment) Wyse.

Another of the greats, however, is not afforded such indulgence by a more recent scholar. Of Jeremiah Markland Housman writes in the above-mentioned review: 'It is probable that Englishmen are right in counting Porson the second of English scholars, but many judges on the Continent would give that rank to Markland. He is the only one except Bentley who has been highly and equally eminent in Greek and Latin; and I believe that Bentley did him the honour, extravagant I admit, to be jealous of him'. High praise indeed from Housman, who himself 'found that I could not attain to excellence in both' Greek and Latin.¹⁶ Markland, Bentley's friend in old age, is rightly famous for his edition of Staius' *Sylvae* (1728), and in my opinion is undeserving of the outrageous calumny heaped on him in 1953 by Alan Ker: 'At six of these places Phillimore does mention Heinsius's emendation, but ascribes it to some other scholar, mostly to Markland (who stole heaps of them, as Valpy observes again and again)'.¹⁷ Anyone who has read any of Markland's work would instantly recognise the modesty and probity of a pre-eminent scholar, who had not the slightest need to steal heaps of others' conjectures. As Sandys records, he twice turned down the Regius Chair of Greek at Cambridge,¹⁸ and Elmsley ('the most famous scholar that Oxford ever produced', as the failed Oxford scholar himself opines) judges that 'for modesty, candour, literary honesty and courteousness to scholars, he is justly considered as the model which ought to be proposed for the imitation of every critic'.¹⁹ Elmsley, who nevertheless does not shy away from severe criticism of Markland in his review of the latter's work on Euripides, nevertheless defends him against the jealous censures of Bishop Hurd, which ran 'after all, I believe the author is a good man, and a learned; but a miserable instance of a man of slender parts and sense, besotted by a fondness for his own peculiar study, and stupefied by an intense application to the *minutiae* of it' – qualities which might indeed rouse admiration in many. Markland's focus among the orators was Lysias, with his conjectures included in Taylor's edition of 1739, but he made two interventions in the text of Isaios, at 5.6 and 10.17. The first, the easy addition of the *titulus* ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ after one of the regular formulae that introduce witness statements (ὁμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι), is rightly adopted by Thalheim and Wyse – a welcome instance of the slender man's application to *minutiae*. The second, the change of οἴκοθεν to οἶκον was

¹⁶ See GOW, A. S. F.: *A. E. Housman. A Sketch*. Cambridge, 1936, 15.

¹⁷ KER, A.: Notes on Staius. *Classical Quarterly* 3 (1953) 1–10.

¹⁸ SANDYS, J. E.: *A History of Classical Scholarship*. Cambridge, 1903, vol. 2, 413.

¹⁹ ELMSELEY, P.: review of Markland's Euripides. *Quarterly Review* 7 (1812) 441–464.

rejected by both Thalheim and Wyse, but is printed by Forster in the Loeb²⁰ and attributed to Scheibe, who in his edition of 1874 picks up the proposal he had made in his *Commentatio critica* of 1859, with the comment ‘ego de meo scripsi’.²¹ No mention of Markland – and no imputation anywhere of stealing.

Finally, Scaliger. Colin Leach records in his essay in Butterfield and Stray Housman’s ‘haughty’ response to Hugh Stewart’s review of the fifth volume of his *Manilius*.²² To Stewart’s criticism of his printing in line 114 of *uincunt* for *uictum*, Housman retorts that he would listen to Scaliger or Bentley telling him that *uincunt* was no improvement, but ‘when one of you gentlemen says it ... he ought to be more modest’. Stewart had got off to a good start in the review: ‘In welcoming this volume, of at least the same quality as its predecessors, the *Classical Review* would first congratulate its author on the completion of his long, painstaking and fruitful task, the most considerable achievement in classical scholarship in the first decades of the twentieth century’. But he clearly blots his copybook by suggesting that ‘not all [Housman’s] emendations will meet with acceptance’, and in this instance that ‘*uincunt*, no improvement on *uictum*, leaves 114, which Bentley in this case perhaps rightly expelled, still fatuous’. He perhaps inadvertently digs himself deeper into the hole by concluding that ‘the majority of his proposals, however, are attractive, and several appear convincing’; and of course he was asking for trouble by criticising, albeit ‘with great reluctance’, Housman’s obnoxious self-praise: ‘The present writer (very conscious of his unfitness to undertake this review) honours Mr. Housman on this side idolatry [*sic*] as much as any, but he believes that remarks like those on pp. xxxv-vi and elsewhere do not forward the study of Manilius, and would infinitely better for Mr. Housman’s fame among later generations have been suppressed’. Wyse, naturally, also admired Scaliger: ‘The two scholars of the 16th century who did most for Isaeus were H. Stephanus (1528–1598) and J. J. Scaliger (1540–1609) ... The right reading was restored by Scaliger in 53 places, by Stephanus in 72 places’ (pp. liii-liv). I count the name of Scaliger only 21 times in Wyse’s apparatus, and what is interesting here is that eleven of Scaliger’s proposals are accepted by Wyse and ten are not. The ones that find favour are palaeographical corrections of the type ἐπίλαβε for ἐπίβαλλε (3.12), whereas Scaliger’s more purely conjectural emendations are not printed by Wyse. I wonder if he was conscious of this.

²⁰ FORSTER, E. S.: *Isaeus*. Cambridge, Mass and London, 1927.

²¹ SCHEIBE, K. F.: *Isaei orationes*. Lipsiae 1874. Cf. *Commentatio critica de Isaei orationibus*. Dresden, 1859.

²² LEACH, J. H. C.: Classical Scholarship in Housman’s Correspondence. In: BUTTERFIELD–STRAY (n. 11) 229–243 (235–236). Cf. STEWART, H.: Review of the fifth volume of Housman’s *Manilius*. *Classical Review* 45 (1931) 183–189.

Housman himself, as has been recognised, did not always adhere to his own rules. Stewart notes: 'Among the excellent readings taken from the inferior MSS. are the following'. The legacy of scholarship on the text of *Isaios*, of both scribes and later scholars, is a daunting one for a modern editor. But this does not mean that all the work has been done; as we have seen, even the greatest of scholars were not infallible. It is my belief that we can still seek further improvements, with the application of criticism firmly based, as Bentley put it, on *ratio et res ipsa*.

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Kedves Olvasó!

Önre gondoltunk, amikor a könyv előkészítésén munkálkodtunk. Kapcsolatunkat szorosabbra fűzhetjük, ha belép a *TypoKlubba*, ahonnan értesülhet új kiadványainkról, akcióinkról, programjainkról, és amelyet a www.tygotex.hu címen érhet el. Honlapunkon megismerkedhet kínálatunkkal is, egyes könyveinknél pedig új fejezeteket, bibliográfiát, hivatkozásokat találhat, illetve az esetlegesen előforduló hibák jegyzékét is letöltheti.

Kiadványaink egy része e-könyvként (is) kapható:

www.interkonyv.hu

Észrevételeiket a velemeney@tygotex.hu e-mail címen várjuk.

Kiadja az Eötvös Collegium és a Typotex Kiadó, az 1795-ben alapított Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülésének tagja.

Felelős kiadó: dr. Horváth László – Votisky Zsuzsa

Tördelte: Vidumánszki László

A borítót tervezte: Tóth Norbert

Terjedelem: 85,6 (A/5) ív

Nyomta és kötötte: Séd Nyomda, Szekszárd

Felelős vezető: Katona Szilvia