

Part One

Colloquium Harleianum

I
INTRODUCTION TO THE
COLLOQUIUM HARLEIANUM

The colloquium Harleianum offers less in the way of coherent, connected text than the other colloquia and perhaps for that reason has largely been neglected. Nevertheless it is of vital importance for understanding the history and transmission of all the colloquia, and it contains some of the best material about ancient social relations.

1.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

The colloquium is named after the manuscript in which it is primarily preserved, which dates from *c.* 900, but a few fragments can also be found in a much older papyrus, and some more material is preserved in a seventeenth-century notebook written by Claudius Salmasius. Two other manuscripts have been argued to contain extracts from this colloquium, but the remains they preserve are too mangled to tell us anything about the original readings of the text.¹

1.1.1 THE HARLEY MANUSCRIPT

The primary source for the colloquium is the manuscript after which it is named (**H**): British Library Harleianus 5642, which was copied around AD 900 (probably in St Gall, Switzerland) and contains the colloquium on folios 29r–33v. This manuscript also contains other Hermeneumata material belonging to the Leidensia family, as well as extracts from the grammar of Dositheus. It is in general not a very good manuscript: much of what it contains overlaps with Leiden Voss. Gr. Q. 7 (the main manuscript of the Hermeneumata Leidensia) and/or Sangallensis 902 (the primary manuscript of Dositheus' grammar), and comparison with these sources suggests that the material in Harleianus 5642 is frequently garbled

and/or incomplete. For most texts, therefore, editors prefer other manuscripts (Krumbacher (1884: 354) commented 'im allgemein aber ist der Harleianus nur mit der grössten Vorsicht zu benutzen' and Goetz (1892a: xxxv) referred to it as 'codex pessime habitus'), but in the case of the colloquium we have no choice but to rely on this one, for the other sources cover only a very small percentage of the text.

The manuscript is undecorated but carefully written, with four columns (two in each language) on each page and reasonably generous outer margins. At the start of the manuscript the Greek is transliterated, but from the middle of folio 4r it is written in Greek uncials; the Latin is consistently in minuscule. The words are usually left undivided in both languages. Abbreviations are not uncommon; in both languages words for 'and' are often abbreviated and a horizontal line can be used to signal an omitted nasal (or, occasionally, something else), and in Latin some other abbreviations also occur. There seems to be occasional confusion over the abbreviations, for in Greek an abbreviated καί (κ,) is sometimes followed by an iota apparently left over from the unabbreviated form.²

The layout generally follows the format found in most old Hermeneumata manuscripts and bilingual papyri, with columns one to three words wide. This layout was clearly transmitted with the text, and the scribe of H was scrupulously careful to follow the line divisions of his exemplar: in a number of places he absent-mindedly wrote a whole word on a single line and then, realizing that the word had been divided between two lines in his exemplar, deleted part of it and recopied those letters on the next line. Indeed the line divisions go back much further than H's exemplar, for in most places they match those of J, which was copied approximately half a millennium earlier. Occasionally, however, a section of the text in H is laid out in much narrower columns, so that line divisions repeatedly occur in mid-word.³ This

¹ The manuscripts involved are Leiden Voss. Lat. F. 24 (ninth century, no. 2187 in Bischoff 1998–2004) and Bernensis 236 (tenth century); the connection is mentioned by Goetz (1892b: 14) and Dionisotti (1985: 330 with n. 1, 1988: 27–8). These manuscripts are, however, useful in confirming the original connection between this colloquium and the Hermeneumata Leidensia, because they combine material from this colloquium with other material from the Amploniana version, which is closely related to the Leidensia version of the Hermeneumata. See vol. 1, 1.2.5.

² E.g. βα5 κ,εινεν for καί εἶπεν, 6c1 κ,ιανοδισιν for καί ἀποδείξιν, 9d3 κ,ιτενικε for καί τῇ νίκῃ.

³ E.g. most of the second pair of columns on folio 33r.

COLLOQUIUM HARLEIANUM

ΔΕΣΠΟΤΕΣ	Familias	ΕΙΣΤΟΒΑΛΛΑΜΟΝ	Inbalneum	33
ἘΛΟΓΑΡΡΙ	& maledict	ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣΟΝ	& aper	
ΘΕΡΙΟΜΑΧΟΣ	Uestianus	ΤΟΑΡΜΑΡΤΟΝ	Armation	
ΑΦΕΣΕΜΕ	Dimitteme	ΚΕΡΡΕCΙC ΕCΟ	& inueniesinco	
ΚΥΤΣΟΔΟΝ	& dentes	ΜΑΡCΘΠΤΟΝ	Sacellum	
ΤΑCΑΡΤΟΥ	Eius	ΕΝΟΕCΤΙΝ ΑΡΡΙΠΙΟ	Inquoest aef	
ΕΚΤΙΝΙΣΟ	Excuto	ΚΦΕΡΕΤΑΧΕΟC	& affercto	
ΚΑΓΟCΕ ΕΚΤΙΦΛΟ	Egore exceco	ΠΡΟCΤΟΤΡΑΝΕΖΠΟ	Admumulariū	
ΘΕΟΡΟ	Video	ΕΡΤΙΚΟC	Felicitet	
ΤΙΜΟΙΝΟΙΕC	Quidmhi faciet	ΕΡΡΑΤΑ	Scripti	
ΕΓΟΕΠΟΙΕCΟ	Egofaciam	ΠΕΡΙΟΜΗ	Defermo	
ΕΙCΦΙΛΑΚΗΝ	Incarcerem	ΛΙΑC	Ne coti	
ΑΠΕΛΘΕΙΝ	Ire	ΚΑΘΗΜΕ	Dian	
ΟΠΘΑCΙΟC	Ubidignuſet	ΡΙΝΑΙC	No	
ΓΕΡΑCΑΙ	Senescere	ΤΙΕCΤΙΝ	Quide	
ΛΕΘΟΡΕΙΜΕ	Maledicifme	ΑΔΕΛΦΕ	fr	
ΦΙΛΑΚΙΤΑ	Custodia	ΔΙΑΤΙΟΥΚΙ	Quarenon	
ΟΥΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΟCΕ	Moncuroto	ΕΛΘΕC ΠΡΟC	Vemftiad	
ΦΙΛΟΝ ΕΧΙC	Amicu habet	ΤΟΝΑΟΝ	Teplum	
ΚΜΕ ΕΙΡΕCΙC	& meinuemet	ΕΙCΤΗΝ	Ad domum	
ΕΧΟΝΤΑ	habentem	ΟΙΚΙΑΝ	Mum	
ΚΑΛΟCΛΕΠΙC	Benedicis	ΠΡΟCΤΟΝ	Adfo	
ΙΔΘCΙΝΧΟΡΟCΟΙ	Eccecedonibi	ΑΓΟΡΑ	Rum	
ΥΠΑΓΕ ΟΔΕ	uaded qd	ΠΡΟCΤΟ	Adaudi	
ΑΝΑΓΚΕΟΝΕCΤΙΝ	Necellariuē	ΑΚΘΑΤΕΡΙΟ	Torium	
ΤΟΥCΓΥΝΕΚΙΝΕ	Mulierib;	ΠΡΟCΤΟΝ	Adiu	
ΚΑΓΟ ΕΟC ΕΧΟΜΕΘΑ	Ego diuemy	ΔΙΚΑCΤΕΜ	Dicam	
ΕΠΕCΟΡCΙΝ	Coquant	ΠΡΟCΤΟΝ	Adcon	
ΚΑΙΕΝΙΜΕΛΟC	& diligenti	ΕΝΑΤΙΚΗ	Sularem	
ΕΡΤΙCΟCΙΝ	Ediant	ΕΙCΤΙΝ	Inciur	
ΚΑΙΑΡΟΝΗΜΕΙΝ	& tollenot	ΠΟΛΕΜ	Tarem	
ΑΛΛΑCΙΜΑ	Mutatoria	ΕΙCΤΟΚΟΡΙC	Aduillam	

Plate 1 H (British Library, London: codex Harleianus 5642), folio 33r.
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1.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

extra-narrow layout seems to be an innovation, but not one due to the scribe of *H* himself, for it must be an adjustment caused by lack of space, and in *H* itself the lines concerned have as much space as any other lines. The scribe responsible for the extra line divisions in these sections probably did not know Greek, as the divisions in the Latin and in the Greek do not always match.

In three places lengthy misalignments of the Latin and the Greek occur as a result of the omission of a line of Greek or the scribe's leaving a gap in one language but not in the other. One of these misalignments must have originated with the scribe of *H* himself (see commentary on 4d–5d); the other two (3c–4a and 18c) might have the same origin but could also have been inherited from a predecessor.

The incompleteness of *H* seems to have been caused in part by the loss of material from the tradition to which it belonged before the copying of *H*, but also in part by the mutilation of *H* itself after copying and before binding in its present form; it is likely that this mutilation has affected the colloquium. Folios 28r–33v form a single quire of three sheets; the colloquium begins on the second page of this quire and ends, very abruptly, at the end of the quire. The quire must originally have contained a fourth sheet that provided its first and last pages, for one page of material is missing between folios 27v and 28r; it is probable that the colloquium continued on this lost sheet.⁴ The text we have is therefore likely to be incomplete.

For further discussion of the manuscript and its disputed relationship to other manuscripts of Dositheus and of the *Hermeneumata*, see Krumbacher (1883, 1884), Goetz (1892a: ix–x), Kaczynski (1988: 50–3, 121, 132), Flammini (1990, 2004: xx–xxii), and G.

⁴ Each side of *H* contains *c.* 65 lines of text as laid out in Goetz (1892a), and there are 132 lines of Goetz's text missing between the end of 27v (Goetz 1892a: 35.42) and the start of 28r (Goetz 1892a: 37.55), so a leaf must be missing there. That leaf could in theory have belonged to the preceding quire, which is made up of folios 24–7, but in practice it is unlikely that it did, because nothing is missing between the end of the quire containing the text that should precede 24r and the start of folio 24r (the juncture occurs at Goetz 1892a: 26.48–9). (This fact is not really affected by the admittedly peculiar circumstance that the quire containing this preceding material is now at the very end of the volume and that the point where it breaks off in its text of the *Hermeneumata capitula* occurs not at its very end (the bottom of 47v) but rather partway down folio 47r: the fact remains that there is no gap in this material that would allow for a missing page.) On the arrangement of material in *H* cf. Flammini (1990: 38–40).

Bonnet (2005: xxiii–xxx). The British Library has made high-quality photographs of all of *H* freely available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_05642_f001r; I have used both these photographs and a personal inspection of the manuscript to determine its readings.

1.1.2 THE PYPYRUS

The papyrus (*J*) is housed in the National Library in Prague and is variously known as P.Wessely Prag. Gr. III.237 (the inventory number), *P.Prag.* II.118 (the first edition), *C. Gloss. Biling.* II.8 (the second edition, i.e. Kramer 2001a: no. 8), *M–P*³ 3004.22 (Mertens–Pack database, <http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/indexsimple.asp>), and *LDAB* 6007 (Leuven Database of Ancient Books, <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>). It consists of three small fragments of a single page from a papyrus codex and contains portions of twenty-one lines of text from 6d–7a (on the recto) and 8a–9a (on the verso); a very few traces on the recto of the third fragment may represent a further three lines from 6a. The papyrus is dated on the basis of palaeographical and codicological parallels to the fourth or fifth century AD (Dickey and Ferri 2012: 128), and has the Latin on the left and the Greek on the right.

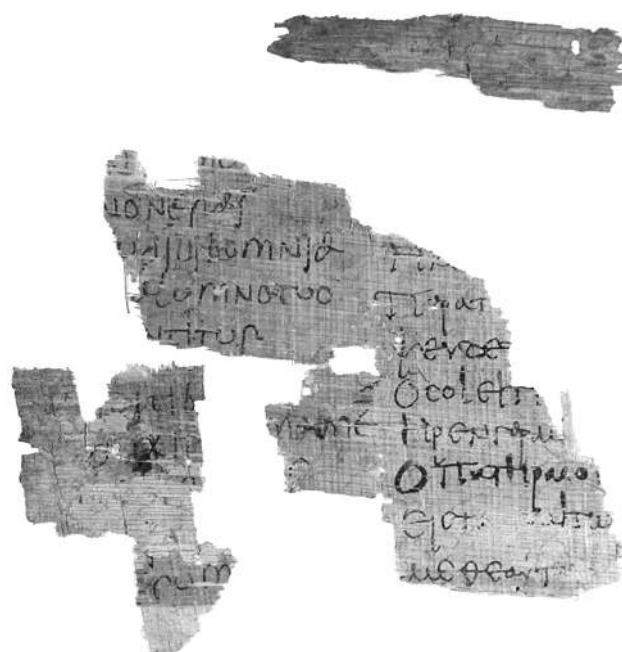


Plate 2 *J* (National Library, Prague: P.Wessely Prag. Gr. III.237), verso. Printed by kind permission of the National Library of the Czech Republic.

COLLOQUIUM HARLEIANUM

The exact relationship between the texts of J and H is difficult to determine owing to the small amount of material preserved in J. H could in theory be a direct descendant of J or of a papyrus containing the same text as J, but that need not be the case: as the colloquium was composed several centuries before J was copied, H could easily be descended from an ancestor of J rather than from J itself. Several features of J are certainly older than their variants in H: a line that appears in J but is missing from H is essential for the meaning and must have been in the original text (see commentary on 9a), one of the line divisions found in H but not J must be a late innovation (see on 8b *παρὰ τοῦ τροφέως σου/ab alumno tuo*), and the numerous spelling and copying mistakes found in H but not J are clearly products of H’s longer transmission process. J’s layout, with the Latin on the left and the Greek on the right, is also likely to be earlier than the opposite layout found in H (which is probably a medieval feature due to the use of the texts by monks learning Greek). None of the features of H can be established with certainty to be older than their variants in J, but two lines that appear in H but not in J make very good sense and could well belong to the original (see on 8b *ἐγὼ σε ἐζήτησα καὶ/ego te quaesivi et*).

J was unknown not only to Goetz but also to most other scholars who have worked on the colloquia. It was first published in 1995 by Johannes Kramer, who later republished it with additional discussion and has until recently been the only person to appreciate its importance for our understanding of the Hermeneumata tradition (Kramer 1995, 2001a: no. 8, 2004b: 58–9). Rolando Ferri and I have now re-edited it, with a new arrangement of the fragments that produces a significantly different text (Dickey and Ferri 2012). That re-edition, which is based both on photographs and on inspection of the original, is the source of the readings of J reported in the apparatus to the colloquium. For convenience the text from that re-edition is provided below, with an apparatus indicating the sources of the various supplements. Word divisions have been added, but punctuation and line division are original. The following symbols have been used:

- [] material originally present on the papyrus but now lost
- ⌈ ⌋ material deleted from the papyrus by the writer
- α uncertain reading of alpha
- . illegible material

1	[mercedem non] [attulisti petiv]i [patrem et di]xīť [ego ipse]	[τον μ]ι[σθον ου] πρὸ[σ]ῆν[εγκας] [ητησα] [τον πατερα και ειπεν] [εγω αυτος]	‘The tuition money, didn’t you bring it?’ ‘I asked my father, and he said, “I myself
5	[veniam] [ibi noviter] [volo enim] [et experimentum] [accipere]	[ελευσομαι] [εκει αμα] [θελω γαρ] [και αποδειξιν] [λαβειν]	will go there at once. For I want to have a demonstration [of your progress] too.”
10	[age ergo] [diligenter] [ut paratus sis] [paratus sum] [incendi enim]	[πραξον ουν] [επιμελως] [ινα ετοιμος] ης [ετοιμ]ος ε[ιμ]ει ηψα γαρ	‘So behave carefully, so that you may be ready.’ ‘I am ready, for I lit
15	[lucernam] [et nocte] [meditatus sum] [bene fecisti] [modo te la]υdo [dealba bu]xum [et scrib]e	τον λυχνον και νυκτωρ εμελετη[σα] καλως επ[οι]ησας αρτι σε επ[αιν]ω λευκ[ανον τ]ο πυξιδιον και [γραφο]ν]. ιε	the lamp and studied at night.’ ‘You have done well; now I praise you. Whiten the tablet and write ...’

Figure 1.1 Text of J: recto (H 6a–7a)

1.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

12 supplevit Kramer 13 suppleverunt Dickey et Ferri: [su]m paratys [εἰμι ετοίμ]ος Kramer 14 sup-
plevit Kramer 15 supplevit Kramer 16 καὶ νύκτωρ M.L. West per litteras: [et no]ctē και νυκτι Kramer
17 supplevit Kramer 18 supplevit Kramer 19 supplevit Kramer 20 suppleverunt Dickey et Ferri:
. um λεγε Kramer 21 suppleverunt Dickey et Ferri: . και Kramer

Figure 1.1 (cont.)

	[i]n d[o]mum non eras	[εις την οικιαν] [ουκ ης]	‘... you weren’t at home.
25	[a]udivi homnia [ab] alumno· tuo [me]ntitur qui tib[i dixit] duxit [eni]m [n] mē	ηκουσα παντα παρα τ[ου τροφεως σου] ψεудετ[αι] ο σοι ειπ[ων] ηρεν γαρ με	I heard everything from your nurse.’ ‘He who said that to you is lying.
30	[pa]t[er] [meu]s [in] p[raetorium] [s]ecum	ο πατηρ μου εις το[π]ρ αιτωρ[ιον] μεθ εαυτο[υ]	For my father took me with him to the praetorium.’

23 supplevit Kramer 24 supplevit Kramer 25 [a]udivi omnia ηκ[ουσα παντα] Kramer 26 supplevit
Kramer 27 supplevit Kramer 28 suppleverunt Dickey et Ferri: [quid tibi dixit] ο σοι ειπ[εν] Kramer
29 sic Dickey et Ferri: [nam tu]lit me ηρεν γαρ με Kramer 30 supplevit Kramer 31 supplevit Kramer
32 supplevit Kramer

Figure 1.2 Text of J: verso (H 8a–9a)

1.1.3 SALMASIUS’ NOTEBOOK

The manuscript Parisinus Latinus 7683 (F), housed in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, is a notebook containing extracts copied in the seventeenth century by Claudius Salmasius (Claude Saumaise) from lost manuscripts of the Hermeneumata. These extracts include some unimportant material from the ME colloquia (see vol. 1 p. 83) and some highly important material from the colloquium Harleianum. There are twenty-nine quotations from the colloquium Harleianum on folios 40, 41, and 43, and these are combined with extracts that seem to come from the Hermeneumata glossaries (in the Amploniana version; cf. vol. 1 p. 19) and from a version of Hyginus related to that found in the Hermeneumata Leidensia (which is very different from the independently transmitted works of Hyginus; see vol. 1 p. 27). The extracts from the colloquium range in length from a few words to several sentences. Salmasius’ purpose in collecting them was to record interesting lexical material; when he found such material he tended to copy out the particular words he wanted and then the context in which

he found them, usually in both languages. Although Salmasius had a good knowledge of both Latin and Greek and would have been capable of correcting the text as he copied it, he evidently took care not to do so, for obvious errors like *valineum* for *balneum* are preserved in F (cf. Dionisotti 1985: 327–8). Fidelity to the exemplar is likely to have been especially high in the particular words that interested Salmasius. Later Salmasius published discussions based on the notes in F (Salmasius 1689: e.g. II.644), and in those he sometimes introduced corrections to the readings reported in F (see below on 3c).
There are some uncertainties about the placement of the extracts in F relative to the colloquium preserved in H. Most of the time the text of the two versions is similar enough for an extract to be placed without difficulty, and generally Salmasius’ order matches that in H. But neither of these tendencies is absolute: the order of the extracts in F sometimes varies considerably from the order of the related text in H (perhaps because Salmasius’ exemplar had the scenes in a different order, but more probably because Salmasius was hunting around for interesting phrases

COLLOQUIUM HARLEIANUM

rather than excerpting the text in a fixed order), and sometimes the text itself is completely different. These issues cause particular difficulty with the three lines of material on folio 43v, which are physically separated from the rest of the colloquium extracts and cannot be placed with confidence in the text we know from H. They may well have a different source altogether and as a result have not been used in this edition, though for the convenience of future editors I reproduce them below in figure 1.3.

Goetz was aware of the existence of F and its relevance to the text of the colloquium (1892a: xi–xii; cf. Goetz and Gundermann 1888: xiv–xv), but he did not use the manuscript at all. Occasionally, however, he made use of the material Salmasius published from it (Salmasius 1689); therefore although F’s readings are not systematically reported in any apparatus Goetz constructed, they are sometimes behind his readings (Goetz 1892b: 14–15). Ferri (2010: 242) has found that some of Salmasius’ readings not mentioned by Goetz are also useful for reconstructing the original text. Dionisotti (1985: 327–30) has discussed the probable source of the Salmasius extracts in more detail and demonstrated (from the different errors in H and in the manuscript Salmasius copied) that they cannot have been copied directly from H; Goetz had reached the same conclusion (1892a: xii), and it is clearly right. Because of the tiny number of lines where all three sources overlap, there is no really conclusive evidence that H and F are more closely related to each other than either is to J (in 8b3 and 8b4 H and F agree on readings that J does not share, but these readings may not be errors), but given the virtual certainty that Salmasius’ source was a Western medieval manuscript, it is inherently likely that it was more closely related to H than to J. Certainly H and F share errors that are unlikely to have been part of the original text (*vaca* for *vacat* in 12c, *παρετεράτο* for *παρητήσατο* in 21g).

Dionisotti (1985: 328) has suggested that the pages of F have been bound in the wrong order, a point important for understanding the placement of the colloquium and other texts in Salmasius’ exemplar. She is correct on this point; in fact there are numerous displacements throughout this manuscript, most easily visible in the earlier sections where alphabetic glossaries are copied. Salmasius evidently took his notes on loose sheets, each the size of two folios in the finished manuscript, and intended them to be bound in quires of two sheets (four folios): thus for example to get folios 1–4 to appear in the right order,

he first copied on half of one sheet (folio 1), then on all of another sheet (folios 2 and 3), and then on the second half of the first sheet (folio 4). Sometimes, however, the sheets were not bound in the order he had intended when copying them; for example the sheet containing folios 9 and 12 has been reversed, so that the material on folio 12 (letters G, H, and the start of I from an alphabetical glossary), which should have come before folios 10 and 11 (the continuation of I), in fact comes after them, while folio 9 (a later section of I) comes before 10 and 11.

The four sheets with the extracts from the manuscript that contained the colloquium Harleianum should have become two quires of four folios each, like most of the rest of the sheets in F, but instead they have been bound as four separate lots of two folios each, and the second lot has been placed before the first. This means that folios 40–7 were actually intended to be read in the order 44, 46, 47, 45 (these should have made up the first quire), 42, 40, 41, 43 (these should have made up the second quire). The intended order can be established with confidence by examining how text continues from one page to the next and by comparison with Goetz’s publication of closely related texts (cf. Dionisotti 1985: 328). Dionisotti argues persuasively that some parts of 43 were used for initial notes before that sheet was redeployed as part of the systematic excerpting process, a fact that may partly account for the later confusion about the order of the sheets; thus most of the recto of 43 contains glossary entries that were copied before the longer glossary excerpts on folios 44–7, but the very top of 43r must be a continuation of the colloquium material from 42. The source of the material on the verso of 43, which Dionisotti attributes to the colloquium, is altogether uncertain: it could come from anywhere in the manuscript or from a different manuscript.

The Salmasius excerpts have never been published; as the context in which Salmasius placed an extract is sometimes useful for its interpretation but cannot easily be represented in an *apparatus criticus*, a diplomatic transcript of the extracts pertaining to the colloquium is provided below, based on personal inspection of the manuscript and of photographs. In this transcript all word and line divisions, diacritics, and punctuation are original; the non-standard accentuation is surprising, since Salmasius certainly knew the normal rules of accentuation and it is unlikely that his exemplar had accents, but as it is clearly present in the manuscript I have not ventured

1.1 SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

to change it. I have added the numbers on the left, which indicate the sections of H represented. Words that I interpret as Salmasius' own remarks, rather than part of the text he copied from his exemplar, are italicized. The following symbols have been used:	¶] material deleted by Salmasius ' ' material added above the line by Salmasius () abbreviated material expanded by editor α uncertain reading of alpha · illegible material
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Folio 40v, bottom	
H 1c	Manicare ορθριζειν· [m] in <i>sermone quotidiano</i> . Manica ergo ante· omnia. ὀρθριζε οὖν προπάντων
H 3a–c	praeductal παράγραφος. in <i>sermone quotidiano</i> . surge puer quid sedes tolle libros omnes latinos membranas et pugillares et locellum et praeductalem. in <i>graec(is)</i> τὰς διφθέρας. τὰς πινακίδας· τὸν γλωσσοκομον καὶ τὸν παράγραφον·
H 4b	Ab hodie· ἀπὸ σημερον.
Folio 41r	
H 5a	Αναλόγιον manuale. in <i>iisdem colloquiis</i> . ἐπίδος μοι παῖ τὸ ἀναλόγιον. porge mi puer manulem.
H 5d	ἄμιλλα dictatum. πόησον τόπον ἵνα γράψῃς ἄμιλλαν fac locum ut scribas dictatum.
H 8b	Ad alumnū tuum <i>pro ab alumno tuo</i> . καὶ ἤκουσα πάντα παρὰ τοῦ τροφῆος σου. et audiui omnia ad alumnū tuum. quae fecisti.
H 7d	scalpellum. σμίλιον. <i>ibid</i> .
H 10g	καλὰς ὥρας. bonas horas. <i>ita dicebant abeuntes</i> . καλὰς ὥρας. καλῶς γένοιτο σοι. in <i>latinis</i> . bonas horas bene tibi sit.
H 9b–e	διακρίσεις κοηδῖctiones. ἐπιστολὰς ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν κυρίων τῶν ἐμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ εὐθέως προῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἔθυσεν τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων· καὶ κατῆλθεν· σημερινὸνδε διακρίσεων ἀκούει. in <i>latino</i> condictionum audit.
H 12b	omnia bene quomodo dii volunt. ἄνθρωπε γλυκυτατε πῶς τὰ πράγματα σου· πάντα καλῶς. ὥς οἱ θεοὶ θέλουσι.
H 12c–d	iungere εγχειρίσαι. νῦν δε σχολάζου μοι θέλω σοι εγχειρίσαι τὴν διοικησιν τῆς 'σῆς' πράξεως· Nunc vaca mihi volo tibi enim iungere administrationem tuae actionis - <i>sed iungere</i> ibi legitur. sic <i>infra</i> . ὕπαγε ζήτηι τίνι ἐδάνισας· ducte quaere cui fenerasti·*

* These words (*sic ... fenerasti*) seem to have been added later, and a vertical line connects the *sic* with *te* on the following line.

Figure 1.3 Transcript of F

COLLOQUIUM HARLEIANUM

H 15a	Duc te ὑπάγε. ὑπάγε οὖν τι στήκεις. duc te ergo quid stas.
H 13a	Diestertium. salutabam te diestertium susu in templo et non adtendebas. ησπαζομην σε τριτήμερα ἄνω ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ οὐ προσέσχες.
H 16a	<i>sic infra.</i> [†] ὑπάγε οὖν τί ἔστηκας. τι σοι ἀνήκει. ducte igitur quid stas? quid tibi pertinet? <i>et alib.</i>
H 16b	ducte recedere. ὑπάγε ἀναχώρει.
Folio 41v	
H 16c	malissimus κάκιστος. λοιδορεῖς με κακίστε. maledicis me malissime.
H 16d	expuderatus. ἀν[δ]αιδεστάτος. ταῦτα ποιεῖ ἀναιδέστατε· iste fac expuderate lege expudorate.
H 17c–d	— desperatus perditus. ἀφελπισμένε ἐκεῖ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχε. desperate ibi manus habe.
H 18c	nequus ἀχρεῖος. ὅτι ἐγὼ εὐγενὴς ἄνθρωπος εἰμὶ συ δὲ ἀχρεῖος δοῦλος. tu autem nequus servus.
H 21e	εὐφραίνεσθαι. epulari. — ubi ergo epulamus. ubi vultis. ποῦ οὖν εὐφραίνομεθα. ὅπου θέλετε.
H 21f	ἀναψύχει· iuvat delectat. ἀλλὰ θελύμεν ἀπλουστάτους μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνθρώπους, ἀναψύχει μετὰ τοιούτων [σπα] σπαταλήσαι. sed volumus simplices nobiscum homines. delectat cum talibus conversare.
H 21g	ἀηδιά· rixa. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς μου παρετερατὸ. ἐχθὲς γὰρ ἐς βαλανεῖον ἀηδιάν ἐποίησεν. frater autem meus excusabit. heri enim in [] balineum rexam fecit.
H 23i	<i>infra</i> μάχην <i>uocat</i> . ἀρτι καλῶς. μάχην καὶ ἀμφισβήτησ[] ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐστὶν καλὸν. bene modo. rexam et controversia [] facere non est bonum.
H 22a	circum <i>pro circenses</i> . tertium diem circum est et postea ludi gladiatorum· <i>in graecis</i> τρίτη ημέρα [κρικός] ‘ἵππικός’ ἐστὶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θέατρα τῶν μονομάχων. ἵππικὸς circum.
H 23f	explicatum est. <i>pro solutum est</i> . ducte quaere cui fenerasti ego enim nihil tuum habeo. explicatum est.
H 24d	φυλακίτης· λοιδορεῖς με φυλακίτα. maledicis me custodita
Folio 43r, top	
H 24d	<i>Ambo pares sumus</i> · τὸ ἴσον ἐστὶν ἐγὼ καὶ συ. οὐ φροντίζω σου aequum est ego et tu. non curo te.

[†] A curved line connects these words to *duc te* five lines earlier.

Figure 1.3 (cont.)

1.2 THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT

H 25c	[[all]] ἀλλάξιμα mutatoria. καὶ ἄρον ἡμῖν ἀλλάξιμα εἰς τὸν βαλανεῖον. . et tolle nobis mutatoria in valineum. Folio 43v, top [‡] κύρις. <i>pro</i> κύριος <i>in illis homiliis</i> . κυρι διδάσκαλε domine praeceptor. κύρι πάτερ. domine pater. impingere <i>pro</i> βάλλειν. impinge illum. βάλε αὐτόν
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[‡] Dionisotti (1985: 328) describes this as ‘2 [quotations] from *Coll. Harl.* (109.24–5, and 1 new)’. It is unclear whether this is the right classification; the material divides most easily into three quotations rather than two, and while the first does resemble H 4a2–3, the phrase concerned is short enough that it might come from another source. The other two quotations have no parallels in H.

Figure 1.3 (cont.)

1.1.4 MODERN EDITIONS

The colloquium Harleianum was first published by Georg Goetz, who in 1892 produced three different versions of it; these are the only texts of the colloquium that have ever been published. In his main work on the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Goetz produced both a transcript of H (1892a: 108–16) and a corrected version without *apparatus criticus* (1892a: 638–44), in line with his practice for the other colloquia. But whereas the other colloquia had all previously received scholarly editions that could form the basis of Goetz’s corrected versions, there was no previous edition of the colloquium Harleianum. So Goetz also produced a separate edition of this colloquium, with *apparatus criticus* and a few notes, in an obscure publication (1892b) that has received little attention since. The text of Goetz’s corrected version in his main work is virtually identical with that in the scholarly edition, but owing to the lack of apparatus and notes it is difficult for a reader of the corrected version to tell which readings come from H, which from F, and which are Goetz’s own emendations.

Because for the majority of the text Goetz was forced to rely on a single manuscript of poor quality, he emended very freely. Many of his changes are excellent, and some have been substantiated by the discovery of J. Nevertheless there are also a number that in the light of 120 years of subsequent scholarship seem unfortunate, and in some other places problems that Goetz could not solve can now be cleared up by evidence that was not available to him. As a result my text of the colloquium Harleianum is different from Goetz’s corrected version in more than fifty places.

1.2 THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT

1.2.1 THE SPELLING ERRORS

The Greek of H is full of misspellings that could potentially provide clues to the date of the text (cf. vol. 1 p. 192), but great care must be exercised in using them because the vast majority of the misspellings in the Greek were clearly made by Latin speakers rather than by Greek speakers and are therefore not datable by Greek-based chronologies. The text evidently passed through the hands of copyists unfamiliar with the Greek alphabet, for many mistakes must be due to alphabet problems: pi (which in uncial script looks like a Latin minuscule N) is frequently replaced by nu,⁵ and (lunate) sigma is sometimes confused with kappa (the equivalent of Latin C, which looks like a lunate sigma).⁶ Other mistakes concern distinctions made in Greek but not in Latin, such as confusion of kappa and chi or of tau and theta (pi and phi, of course, have distinct Latin equivalents and therefore were not confused at any relevant period).⁷ The most frequent errors, both of which are omnipresent,

⁵ E.g. 11b7 νολλα for πολλά, 13a5 νρος εκυνοιν for προσεκύνουν, 15b5 τινοτε for τίποτε, 16f3 ανθρωνε for ανθρωπε, 18e5 ενιθετα for επιθετα. The reverse phenomenon also occurs, but very rarely: 21h1 απαγκασθις for αναγκασθείς.

⁶ 1b2 σερδος for κέρδος, 12a3 κοθιες for σωθείς, 12b4 οκ for ώς, 17c2 ετδισο for εκδικώ, 23c7 τουκουτο for τοσούτω.

⁷ Kappa and chi: e.g. 1c3 σκολε for σχολή, 2c1 καριτας for χάριτας, 4d2 προσκες for πρό(σ)σχης, 15b6 εχδεξεμαι for εκδέξομαι, 26a3 ουκι for ούχι. Tau and theta: e.g. 9d5 καθελτεν for κατήλθεν, 10f3 αρισθεσō for άρίστησον, 19a5 λνταυτα for ένταυθα, 23a3 θο for τό, 27c5 μαθον for μά τόν.