

# Unpublished Conjectures on Sophocles by Jeremiah Markland

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A COPY of a reprint of Thomas Johnson's edition of Sophocles in the National Art Library in London's Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>1</sup> contains undated autograph notes by Jeremiah Markland, that acute but reclusive eighteenth-century English critic.<sup>2</sup> Markland had previously sent notes on Sophocles to the printer responsible for this very edition.<sup>3</sup> He may have transferred the contents of his copy of these notes into the margins of the book when it appeared, in which case some of the notes would date to before 1758; but others might have been entered subsequently, up to his death in 1779.

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I dedicate this paper to the memory of Colin Austin, who so helped and encouraged me in my work on classical scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> T. Johnson (ed.), *Sophoclis tragoediae septem scholiis veteribus illustratae* I–II (London 1758). The shelfmark is Dyce 9298.

<sup>2</sup> For Markland's life and scholarship see C. Collard, "Jeremiah Markland (1693–1776)," *PCPS* n.s. 22 (1976) 1–13 = *Tragedy, Euripides and Euripideans* (Exeter 2007) 213–228 (with additions). He is best known today for his work on Euripides and Latin poetry. Collard's list of Markland's marginalia in the British Library (12 n.34 = 225–226 n.34, supplemented at 288 nn.34, 36) does not include anything on Sophocles.

<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Markland assisted Mr. Bowyer in an edition of Seven Plays of Sophocles, 1758, by the notes which he communicated to him" (J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century; comprizing biographical memoirs of William Bowyer, Printer, F.S.A. and many of his learned friends* IV [London 1812] 286). The edition does not attribute any conjectures to Markland; perhaps Bowyer for whatever reason was unable to incorporate Markland's contribution in the reprint. See also Collard (n.2) 3 = 215.

The discovery of these marginalia enables us to reattribute many conjectures to Markland which modern editions assign to later scholars; he also now shares the credit for several put forward by his contemporaries in their marginalia. In the list that follows, asterisks and plus signs signify emendations printed respectively in the text or the apparatus of the OCT.<sup>4</sup> I add in brackets the name of the earliest scholar known to me to have published each conjecture, together with the date of publication, if available. I write *II* or MS(s) if the conjecture has subsequently appeared in an ancient or a mediaeval manuscript unknown in Markland's day. I do not record emendations found in the books which Markland published and which are hence already known to be his.

*Aj.*

- \*54 removes comma after *λείας* (Schaefer 1810)
- \*77 introduces aposiopesis (Brunck 1786)
- \*79 *οὔκουν* (Brunck 1786)
- +85 *δεδορκότος* (anon. *ap.* Dindorf 1869)
- 194 *ποδὶ* (*πόδα* Morstadt 1864)
- \*649 *χαί* (Musgrave pre-1780, published 1800)
- \*756 *ἔθ'* (MS, Bothe 1826) and *έν* (Lobeck 1809)
- \*778 *ἔθ'* (Lobeck 1809)
- 782 *ἀφυστερήμεθα* (Wakefield 1792)
- 842 *ἐκγόνων τ'* (MSS, Musgrave pre-1780, published 1800)
- 1009 *τε σῶν* (M. Schmidt *testibus* Lloyd-Jones/Wilson 1990)
- \*1096 *λόγοις· ἐπεί* (Mekler 1885)
- \*1098 *τόνδ'* (MS)
- \*1274 *έντός* (MSS)

*El.*

- 199 *μομφάν* (Wakefield 1792)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson (eds.), *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford 1990, revised 1992).

<sup>5</sup> This reading is partially obscured by the binder's shears; but the last stroke of the mu, as well as the accent on the alpha, suggests that this was the original word.

- \*337 ἄλλα (Dindorf 1830)  
 363 μῆ' κλιπεῖν (Lobeck *teste* Jebb)  
 +480 κλυούσα (MSS)  
 950 μόνω (Cobet 1858)  
 \*1127 σ' (MS, Brunck 1786)  
 \*1139 σ' (MSS, Schaefer 1808)  
 \*1226 ἔχους (Valckenaer pre-1775)  
 +1341 ἔοικέ μ' (Fröhlich 1815)  
 \*1420 παλίρρυτον (Bothe 1806)

## OT

- +8 del. (Wunder 1840)  
 68 δὲ σκοπῶν (Nauck 1867)  
 90 σῶ λόγῳ (Nauck 1876)  
 +114 ἔφασκον (Kousis)<sup>6</sup>  
 \*458 αὐτὸς (MS, Burges and Bothe *teste* Erfurdt 1809)  
 \*581 οὐκουν ...; (Brunck 1779)  
 601 οὐτε δράστης (Hartung 1851)  
 628 εἰκτέον (Henneberger 1849)  
 +634 τήνδ' (Doederlein 1847)  
 725 χρήζη γ', ἔρευναν (Eggert 1868)  
 849 μεταβαλεῖν (gloss, Blaydes 1859)  
 977 οὐ (Blaydes 1859)  
 \*1025 τυχών (Bothe 1826)  
 \*1180 αὐτὸς (Heimsoeth)  
 \*1208b αὐτὸς (Brunck 1779)  
 1256 θ' (Blaydes 1859)  
 \*1281 del. (Dindorf 1825)  
 +1368 ἦσθ' <ἄν> (Porson pre-1808, Purgold 1802)

## Ant.

- 2 οἰσθά τι (Meineke *teste* Jebb)  
 25 θεοῖς (Brunck 1786)  
 \*48 <μ'> (Brunck 1786)  
 \*215 νυν (Blaydes 1859)

<sup>6</sup> Markland crosses this conjecture out, suggesting that he later rejected it. So also with *Ant.* 599 and *Trach.* 440, below.

- 263 ἔφυγε τὸ μὴ ἴδέναι (Porson 1801)  
 296 νόσημ' (Pallis *teste* Jebb)  
 \*384 ἦ (MS, Brunck 1779)  
 \*406 ἡρέθη (MS, Schaefer 1811)  
 +599 ὄπερ (MS, Hermann 1823) [crossed out]  
 \*742 question mark (Hermann 1823)  
 +754 <μ'> (Blaydes 1905)  
 +1056 δέ γε (Seager 1813)  
 +1238 ἐμβάλλει (*II*, Mitchell 1842)  
 1305 βάξεις (Heimsoeth 1865)  
 1350 μηδέν' (MSS)

*Trach.*

- +71 τλαίη (Walter 1884)<sup>7</sup>  
 +88–89 del. (Hermann 1822)  
 +90 μη <οὐ> (Valckenaer pre-1775)  
 +93 πύθοιο (Blaydes 1871)  
 +98 γὰς (Schneidewin 1854)  
 +114 <έν> (Erfurdt 1802)  
 +171 ὦς (Blaydes 1871)  
 \*205 δόμος (Burgess *teste* Dindorf 1885)  
 +206 ἐφεισίοισιν (Blaydes 1871)  
 302 οἴκων (Blaydes 1871)  
 313 εἶκεν (Schneidewin 1854)  
 \*326 δακρυρροεῖ (MSS, Brunck 1786)  
 \*328 αὐτή (MSS)  
 344 κείνους (Blaydes 1871)  
 +356–357 del. (Wunder 1841)  
 377 ἦ (Blaydes 1871)  
 +440 πεφύκασ' (Nauck 1866) [crossed out]  
 \*549 τῶνδ' (Zippmann 1868)  
 628 προσφθέγματ' (Hermann 1848)  
 \*747 κοὐ (MS, Valckenaer pre-1775)  
 866 εὐσημον (Hense 1880; *noluit* Walter 1877)

<sup>7</sup> Walter writes τλαίη (K. Walter, “Kritische bemerkungen zu Sophokles,” *Philologus* 42 [1884] 266–274, at 274), which is presumably a misprint.

- 968  $\alpha\iota$  ter (Musgrave pre-1780, published 1800)  
 \*977  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$  (MSS)  
 999 del.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\rho\chi\theta\eta\gamma\alpha\iota$  (Fröhlich 1815)  
 1112 <σφ'>  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\rho\omega$  (Blaydes 1871)

*Phil.*

- +43  $\phi\omicron\rho\rho\beta\eta\gamma$  (Burges *teste* Nauck)  
 203 <του> before  $\tau\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$  (\*after it, Porson 1802)  
 242  $\omega$  'κ  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\varsigma$  (Blaydes 1870)  
 +256  $\pi\omega$  (MSS)  
 +304 del. (Bergk 1858)  
 +369  $\omega$   $\sigma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$  'τολμήσατ' (Valckenaer pre-1775)  
 \*371  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (Porson 1801)  
 \*457  $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  (Brunck 1786)  
 478  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (Blaydes 1870)  
 \*491  $\delta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$  (Goup 1780)  
 +558  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  γ',  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$  (Blaydes 1870)  
 +572  $\omicron\upsilon\nu$  (Dissen 1813)  
 \*614  $\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$  (MSS, Valckenaer pre-1775)  
 786  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\eta$  (-ει Wecklein 1869)  
 \*994  $\omicron\upsilon'$   $\phi\eta\mu'$ . ('Οδ.)  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$  δέ (Gernhard 1803 post Wakefield 1794)  
 \*1035  $\delta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon$  (Brunck 1786)  
 \*1071  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  δῆ (Wakefield 1794)  
 \*1238  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  (MSS)  
 +1265  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$  (Schneidewin 1855)  
 \*1288 del.  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$  (Porson 1801)  
 +1330  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (Brunck 1786)  
 \*1386  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}$  μ' (Valckenaer pre-1775, *ap.* Burges 1833)  
 +1406  $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (Brunck 1786)  
 1422  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa$  (Wakefield 1794)

*OC*

- \*42  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  (Vauvilliers 1781)  
 +307  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\epsilon\iota$  (Brunck 1786)  
 +454  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$  (Wunder 1867)  
 +534  $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho'$  (MSS)  
 +572  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa$  (Blaydes 1859)  
 \*644 marks aposiopesis (Brunck 1786)

- +646 *κρατήσεις* (Nauck 1861)  
 728 *έγγενείς* (Brunck 1786)  
 \*735 *τηλικόσδε* (Brunck 1786)  
 \*769a del. (Valckenaer 1768)  
 \*922 punctuates before *βία* (Brunck 1786)  
 \*1012 *θ'* (MS)  
 \*1121 *τήν* (Musgrave pre-1780, published 1800)  
 1192 *ἕα ὑτόν* (Brunck 1786)  
 \*1199 *βαιὰ* (Musgrave pre-1780, published 1800)  
 1266 *ταῦτα* (Elmsley 1813)  
 1270 *ἔστ' ἀποστροφή* (Blaydes 1859)  
 +1345 *θέλω* (MSS)  
 \*1361 *μειννημένω* (Blaydes 1859)  
 +1379 *τοιούδ'* (Kunhardt 1838)  
 +1418 *ἄν* (Vauvilliers 1781)  
 1523 *κεῖμαι* (Blaydes 1859)  
 \*1562 *ἐξανύσαι* (Vauvilliers 1781)  
 \*1698 *μηδαμὰ* (Brunck 1786)  
 \*1752 *νύξ ἀπόκειται* (J. F. Martin)  
 1773 *ὄσαπερ* (Blaydes 1859)

There are also some emendations which I have not seen attributed to a later scholar, but which are worth recording in case they are of interest to future editors:

*Aj.*

813–814 *delendi* (“pueriliter”)

*El.*

1210 *τέφρας*

1449 *τοῦ φιλτάτου*

*OT*

105 *ἀκούσας*

308 *αὖ*

407 *μαντεῖα ῥᾶστα*

1005 *μάλιστ' ἔς*

*Ant.*

27 *μὴ οὐ*

414 *λόγοισι*

745 ἦ ...;  
 748 οὐκουν ...;  
 1014 *delendus*

*Phil.*

55 πλέκων

*OC*

1375 ἐξαφηῆκ'

In all, that makes 55 emendations accepted by the editors of the OCT, 38 found in their apparatus, and 42 that appear in neither. By citing these figures I do not mean to imply that the Oxford editors' assessment of each conjecture is necessarily the correct one. But the figures do provide a rough guide to the significance of this discovery. Markland's name has hitherto barely featured in the apparatus of critical editions of Sophocles. Now he stands revealed as one of the most prolific and successful emenders of his text. Taken with the recent haul of unpublished scholarship on Sophocles by (among others) Valckenaer and Pierson,<sup>8</sup> Markland's conjectures mean that the contribution of the eighteenth century to the purification of Sophocles' text is now far greater than had been imagined. This has considerable implications for our understanding of the history of classical scholarship on Greek dramatic texts.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> P. J. Finglass, "Unpublished Conjectures at Leiden on the Greek Dramatists," *GRBS* 49 (2009) 187–221.

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to *GRBS*'s anonymous referee for helpful comments.