

### APOGRAPHS OF LOST CODEX r FOR DEMOSTHENIS IN TIMOCRATEM (1)

Scholia on Demosthenis in Timocratem (or. 24) are extant in thirty-four mss, of which five are codices vetustissimi:

A (Monacensis gr. 485, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, saec. 10), F (Marcianus gr. 416, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, saec. 10), P (Laurentianus 59.9, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, saec. 10) S (Parisinus gr. 2934, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, saec. 9/10) and Y (Parisinus gr. 2935, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, saec. 10). Scholia from two of these codices vetustissimi (A and Y) constitute most of the scholia in the five mss which will be shown to be apographs of lost codex r. Two of these apographs are primary copies: codex R (Parisinus gr. 2936, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (2), fourteenth century) and codex Fi (Laurentianus 59. 10, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence (3), early fifteenth century). In addition there are three secondary copies of r: Vf (Vaticanus gr. 76, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (4), fourteenth century), which derives from R; Mk (Marcianus gr. 417, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (5), early fifteenth century), which de-

(1) A grant from the American Philosophical Society has made possible purchase of microfilm copies of Demosthenic mss and travel grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Arts and Science Research Fund of New York University have facilitated inspection of mss in 1973 and 1975 respectively.

(2) See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, vol. III, Paris 1888, p. 64.

(3) See A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum mss Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. II, Florence 1768, cols. 496-499.

(4) See Ioh. Mercati and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti... Codices Vaticani graeci*, vol. I, Rome 1923, pp. 80-82.

(5) See J. Morelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina*, vol. I, Bassano 1802, pp. 290-291.

rives from Fi; Lb (Perizonianus Q 4, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (6), a. 1457), which derives from Mk.

Between 1833 and 1972 investigations of Demosthenic mss have related various apographs of  $\Gamma$  to one or more of the five codices vetustissimi for the text of Demosthenes (7). However study of scholia in these mss has been neglected, except for work by Dindorf and Drerup. In his edition of the scholia of Demosthenes, Dindorf avers derivation of codex R from codex A (8), but he qualifies this by stating that R has extensive (*longiora*) scholia not found in A. Dindorf does not discuss the source of these scholia (9), but from his edition of the scholia, it appears that such scholia also occur in Y. On the other hand, Dindorf's editing does not inspire much confidence, since many scholia of R are not properly attributed (10). Unlike Dindorf, Drerup often used codicological analysis to establish relationships of mss. Thus on the basis of disordered quires in Mk. Drerup determined that Mk and Lb are cog-

(6) See *Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis Codices Manuscripti*, vol. IV Codices Perizoniani, descr. K. A. De Meyier, Leiden 1946, pp. 54-56 and M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die gr. Schreiber des Mittelalters u. der Renaissance*, 'Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen' Beihft 33, Leipzig 1909, p. 365.

(7) See, for example, J. T. Voemel (*Demosthenis contiones quae circumferuntur*, Halle 1857, pp. 161-298 = *Notitia Codicum Demosthenicorum*, I-VI, Frankfurt am Main 1833-1838), who relates R (pp. 206-7), Fi (p. 248, cf. pp. 252-3) and Mk (pp. 185-6) to codex A and D. Irmer (*Zur Genealogie der jüngeren Demosthenes-handschriften*, Untersuchungen an den Reden 8 und 9, 'Hamburger philologische Studien' 20, Hamburg 1972), who derives Mk, Lb and Vf from A "per contaminationem" (pp. 46-54) and places R in a separate group of contaminated mss with discernable influence from S (pp. 85-87, 92). For other studies of the text history of the orations of Demosthenes, see the bibliographies of D. F. Jackson and G. O. Rowe, *Demosthenes 1915-1965*, 'I.ustrum' 14, 1969, 16-19 and L. Canfora, *Inventario dei manoscritti greci di Demostene*, 'Proagones, Collezione di studi e testi', Studi 9, Padova 1968, pp. 9-14.

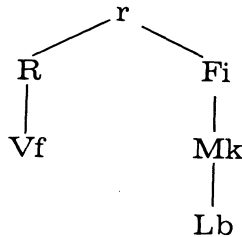
(8) *Demosthenes ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii*, vol. VIII *Scholia graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, Oxford 1851, p. viii, cf. vol. I, Oxford 1846, p. xiv. References to the text of the scholia on or. 24 are to page and line numbers of vol. IX of Dindorf's edition.

(9) For example these scholia might be assumed to derive from A before it suffered a loss of folios (cf. Dindorf, vol. I, p. xiii and vol. VIII, pp. vii-viii). Alternatively these scholia might be assumed to derive from the common source, which Dindorf posits (vol. VIII, p. viii) for R and Paris. gr. 2508.

(10) For example Dindorf fails to attribute the following scholia to R for only ten pages of his text (729.1 - 739.13): 733. 1-4, 15-16, 21, 734. 1-2, 29-32, 735. 1-3, 737. 1, 5-7, 25-31, 738. 10-14, 18-19, 24-739.1, 7-13. Since Dindorf states that he found R useful in reading passages barely legible in A, one might assume that Dindorf chose not to cite R when the text of A was clear, but this is not his practice.

nate (11). Similarly he concluded that scholia in R derive from the extant vetustissimi A, S and Y because scribal hands vary in these mss, cological analysis to establish relationships of mss. Thus on the basis of disordered quire in Mk, Drerup determined that Mk and Lb are cognate (11). Similarly he concluded that scholia in R derive from the extant vetustissimi A, S and Y because scribal hands vary in these mss, but not in R (12). However for or. 24, R does not contain scholia in later hands in A, S and Y.

In sum previous study of the five apographs of r has been incomplete. In the remaining pages of this article, I present evidence to demonstrate that R, Fi, Vf, Mk and Lb derive scholia from lost codex r and I conclude with a discussion of the sources of these scholia and an analysis of readings in r, which appear to derive from a source superior to extant mss.



Stemma codicum

r The following conjunctive errors and variant readings in R and Fi indicate that these mss derive from a lost codex (r) (13):

745. 17 γὰρ A, om. R Fi

750. 27 καλεῖ A, om. R Fi

751. 15 ἐκ<sup>2</sup> A, om. R Fi

.23 ἐστὼ αὐτοῦ A αὐτοῦ ἐστὼ R Fi

754. 7 τὸν νῦν ἀγῶνα A τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν νῦν R Fi

761. 27 πρῶτης καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς Y P om. R Fi

762. 8 τόπος Y P νόμος R Fi

769. 12 καὶ ὅσια Y P καὶ τὰ δημόσια R Fi

.28 προστιμήματα A ἀποτιμήματα R Fi

782. 3 ἔστι – 4 ἀπρεπούς A, om. R Fi

783. 10 ἔζησεν... ὕστερον ἐπανελθῶν A ὕστερον ἐπανελθῶν ἔζησεν R Fi

(11) I. Drerup, Antike Demosthenesausgaben, "Philologus" Suppl. 8, 1899, pp. 574-6.

(12) I. Drerup, Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Studienreise zur Erforschung der Demosthenesüberlieferung, "Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-philol. Klasse d. königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften" 3, 1902, p. 308.

(13) Independent derivation of R and Fi from r is assured by the scholia lacking separately in R and Fi (see infra on these two mss).

791.11 ἀπολαμβάνειν A προσλαμβάνειν R Fi

793. 3 ὅ Y P ἦ R Fi

.19 νομοθετεῖν A νομοθέτην R Fi

R Scholia in codex R (ff. III + 283, 323 x 247 mm., parchment, Σ ad or. 24 = ff. 49v - 67v) appear in margins and between lines and sometimes alternate with sections of the text of or. 24, which was copied by the same hand as that of the scholia.

The following scholia contained in Fi, but omitted in R, show that R derives from lost codex r independently of Fi: 730.26 - 731.27, 28 - 732.9, 735.8 - 736.18, 740.15 - 741.27.

Codex R appears as rhet. 17 in the catalogue of Cardinal Nicolas Ridolfi (d. 1550). Subsequently his collection was acquired by P. Strozzi, Catherine de' Medici and in 1599, by the Bibliothèque Royale.

Vf Codex Vf (ff. III + 294, 287 x 186 mm., paper, fourteenth century, Σ ad or. 24 = ff. 165v - 175v) contains marginal and interlinear scholia in one hand, which is identical to the hand of the text. Vf is shown to derive from R, since Vf shares the errors of R and in addition omits the following scholia found in R: 734.1-2, 748.3-5, 758.26-759.21, 779.18 -19, 784.12-13.

Codex Vf first appears in the Vatican Library in 1518 (14).

Fi Codex Fi (ff. 320, 270 x 180 mm., paper, early fifteenth century, Σ ad or. 24 = ff. 160v - 174r) contains marginal and interlinear scholia in a black ink in one hand, which appears to be identical to the hand of the text. The following scholia lacking in Fi, but found in R, show that Fi derives from r independently of R: 742.19-27, 744.14-22, 745.7-16, 748.10-21, 762.25-29, 772.7-12.

At a later point the scribe of Fi or a contemporary scribe added in a brownish ink such scholia as the following from codex Monacensis gr. 85 (B) or an apograph: 111a 42 (15), 733.14, 111b 12-15 ἐνταῦθα, 111b 27, 739.23, 743.1, 747.3, 4.

Mk Codex Mk (ff 300, 288 x 215 mm., paper, early fifteenth century,

(14) See R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V...*, 'Studi e Testi' 244, Città del Vaticano 1965, p. 220 (= 676 and 159), p. 296 (= 573 and 159), p. 346 (= 476).

(15) This scholium as well as the two listed after 733. 14 are cited from Io. G. Baiter and H. Sauppe, *Oratores Attici, pars posterior: Scholia Fragmenta Indices*, Zürich 1850, since Dindorf omits all three scholia. B derives most of its scholia from F, but the fact that 111b 12-15 does not occur in F establishes a connection between Fi and B. See further M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenic Scholia in Marcianus gr. 416 and Monacensis gr. 85*, to appear in the *Festschrift for M. Richard, Studia Codicologica*, edd. K. Treu, J. Dummer, J. Irmscher, F. Paschke, Leipzig 1977.

Σ ad or. 24 = 162v - 167r) contains marginal and interlinear scholia on or. 24 (des. 764.8 καὶ) in one hand, which is identical to the hand of the text. Mk is shown to derive from Fi, since Mk contains a selection of r and B scholia found in Fi with the following omissions: 742.9-12, 751.8-9, 752.4; scholia des. 764.8 καὶ ap. Mk.

Readings from Mk were collected by Pierre Pithou (1539 - 1596) in the margins of an Aldine edition of Demosthenes and later published by Reiske in his edition of Demosthenes (16).

Lb Codex Lb (ff. V + 548 + 2, 220 x 150 mm., paper, a. 1457, Σ ad or. 24 = ff. 503r - 515v) contains marginal and interlinear scholia on or. 24 (des. 763.13) in the hand of a scribe who identifies himself as Νικόλαος and who also copied the text of or. 24. Lb is shown to derive from Mk, since Lb contains only scholia found in Mk (including B scholia) and Lb omits the following scholia found in Mk: 730.20 - 731.27, 731.28 - 732.9, 740.7 - 8, 9 - 11.

Lb was part of the library of Ianus Parrhasius (d. 1522 or 1534), whose collection passed to Cardinal A. Seripandi (d. 1563) and thence to the Cloister of San Giovanni di Carbonara, Naples (17). Unlike other codices in this collection, Lb was acquired by Jan de Witt (d. 1672) and then by Perizonius (d. 1715), whose ms collection is now part of the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

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The scholia on or. 24 contained in lost codex r can be ascertained from its two primary apographs R and Fi. These are scholia found in A and two 'gemelli' Y and P (18) as well as scant excerpts from scholia also found in S (19) and the Scholia Ulpiani (20).

(16) J. J. Reiske, *Oratorum Graecorum*, vol. VIII, Leipzig 1773, p. 699.

(17) See M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists...*, vol. V, Boston 1962, p. 1328.

(18) On these mss see M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenic Scholia in Codex Laurentianus 59.9*, "ΓΑΡΑ" 104, 1974, 97-102. Several YP scholia also appear in F, but F can be excluded as a source, since r shares conjunctive errors with Y and r lacks any scholia found only in F.

(19) The following scholia are clearly from S since they contain conjunctive errors (see Dindorf's critical notes ad loc.) or do not occur in other mss: 740.30-741.7, 742.18.

(20) 739. 21 *διαδικασία - κτημάτων* Σ Ulp. Fi, om. AYPFR; cf. 739. 24-25 AR, om. FYP Σ Ulp. Fi. Elsewhere r is shown to be independent of Σ Ulp. since when Σ Ulp. diverge from YP or A, r consistently agrees with YP or A (see Dindorf's notes on 738.24-25, 752.8, 755.19, 762.10, 765.1, 768.26, 771.21, 24, 27, 783.8, 787.26, 28, 788.6, 797.30). Without doubt 739.21 derives from Σ Ulp. and not another source, since the following selections from Σ Ulp. appear in R or Fi for or. 21: 532.

Scholia found in rA and rYP could derive from lost mss equal to or greater in value than A and YP, but the following evidence supports the conclusion that r derives scholia from the extant mss A and Y:

1. R and Fi preserve a selection of scholia contained in A and YP (21).
2. When YP contain variant readings, r agrees with these mss in error:
  - 758.29 ἀσαφούς S σαφούς Y P R Fi
  - 759.2-3 τὸν νόμον S τὸ νόμιμον Y P R Fi
  - .3 ἡδη δέ ἐστι τοῦτο S τοῦτο δέ ἐστὼ ἡδη Y P R, Σ om. Fi
  - 787.26 λοιπὸν S, om. Y P R Fi
  - .28 ἴα δὲ - ἐξῆς S, om. Y P R Fi
  - 788.6 τοῦ νόμου S, om. Y P R Fi
  - 790.13 οὐ τοῦ S οὔτε Y P R, Σ om. Fi.

In addition the following readings point to codex Y as the source of YP scholia in r:

- 746.9 Σ hab. P, om. Y R Fi
- .10 Σ hab. P, om. Y R Fi
- 753.27 ὅπσα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα P, om. Y R Fi
- 763.17 δι' ἐγγύησω P δὲ ἐγγύησω Y Fi, Σ om. R

and r mss contain the following scholia found in Y, but lacking in P: 733.14, 742.9-12, 744.14, 787.12-14, 18.

On the other hand, Dindorf did adopt variant readings from R, which at first sight seem to derive from mss independent of A and Y. On closer inspection, however, these readings turn out to be based on false readings for A or Y (22), instances of simple conjectural emendation or rejection of a possible reading in A or Y:

- 743.3 εἰ R ὅτι A, om. (verbis praesectis) Fi
- ὅτι is a possible reading in this passage, which summarizes or. 22.8
- 749.5 ἐννοίας R διανοίας Y Fi
- The reading of R involves the substitution of a slightly more appropriate synonym.
- 749.25 σεσοφισμένον R σεσοφισμένως Y Fi
- Either reading is possible.

20 προβουλή - ἀδικούντων, 537.17-20 hab. Fi, om. R; 545n3 hab. R, om. Fi; 547.16-22, 23-25, 548.1-3, 551.1-2, 562.8-9 hab. Fi, om. R.

(21) Thus R and Fi omit the following scholia, which are found in A: 756.6, 770.3, 772.6, 30 as well as the following, which are found in YP: 729.8-730.19, 733.9-14, 734.8-9, 756.11-18.

(22) The following corrections should be made in Dindorf's notes: 745.23 δρωτήτα A, 749.26 ἡ - πρότασις hab. Y, 757.19 ἡρετῆατο A<sup>ac</sup>, 788.4 τῶ Y, 794.11 ἀκρβῆς A, 799.9 κατ' Y (?).

757.20 *μη δειν* R Fi *μηδè* A

The reading of A is a closer parallel to or. 24.65.

785.26 *καλουμένω* R, om. Y Fi

The reading of R may result from 786.5 *τῷ καλουμένω ὀπισθοδόμω*.

799.19 *ἐξαιρέσεω* R *ἐξαίρεσω* Y Fi

The form of R seems to derive from an attempt to eliminate possible ambiguity between dative and accusative.

802.18 *κωει* R (?) *δει κωειν* Y Fi

The correction of R may result from 802.16.

Such emendations as these and others not reported by Dindorf (23) as well as the amalgamation of scholia from a variety of sources aver that codex r was copied during a period of philological activity. This was probably the Palaeologian Renaissance, since the earliest apograph of r (codex R) dates from the fourteenth century and since r has been shown to contain excerpts from Scholia Ulpiani, which have been provisionally dated to the thirteenth century (24). This portion of the text history of Demosthenic scholia ends here, since we do not have the information needed to answer larger questions of who compiled these scholia, where r was copied and whether or not the scribe of r had direct access to A and Y. On the other hand, investigation of scholia on or. 24 in these five mss has not been without positive results. For example we now know that scholia in Vf, Mk and Lb are copied from extant mss and that R and Fi, though primary copies of lost codex r, are of no value for establishing a new text of the scholia on or. 24.

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(23) In addition to the instances discussed above, note the following readings cited for codex r (supra p. 206 sg.): 751.23, 754.7, 762.8, 769.12, 28, 783.10, 791.11, 793.3.

(24) See M. R. Dilts, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Scholia Ulpiani on Demosthenis in Timocratem*, "TAPhA" 105, 1975, 49-50.