A NEW LOOK AT THE MANUSCRIPTS OF XENOPHON'S *HIPPARCHICUS*

INTRODUCTION

Over the last fifty years the world of the palaeographer has been revolutionized by the widespread use of photography. Today a scholar can study a microfilm of almost any codex in the western world in the comfort of his home and compare it with any number of other codices within a matter of minutes. It is no longer necessary to travel long distances, set aside large blocks of time, and spend substantial sums of money in the collation of manuscripts. This fact should encourage modern palaeographers to review the work of their predecessors who were denied these blessings to see if the work of the past lives up to today's standards.

A case in point is a study done by Pius Cerocchi in 1898.[1] The study is one which has been widely used by text editors and is still cited today as crucial in dealing with Xenophon's *Hipparchicus*.[2] Cerocchi's labour was substantial and his methods flawless, but, as he himself says, much of his information came to him by way of gracious assistance from natives of the countries in which the manuscripts were located.[3] This graciousness was not always accompanied by great care. Even Cerocchi's collations of manuscripts in Italian collections are sometimes faulty, probably because his visits to various cities were limited by time and expense. A careful study today gives us a much clearer picture of the relationships between *Hipparchicus* manuscripts and of the whole tradition of the opuscula of Xenophon.

The B readings

The oldest manuscript in which *Hipparchicus* is found is Vaticanus gr. 989 (B), a thirteenth-century codex.[4] It also contains Xenophon's *De re equestri* (*Hipp.*) and *Cynegeticus* (*Cyn.*), as well as various works by other authors. The text of *Hipparchicus* in B cannot be tied closely to any group within the tradition. It is essentially an independent witness, as the following good readings show, but not so different from the other witnesses as to suggest derivation from a different archetype:[5]

[1] P. Cerocchi, 'Prolegomena ad Xenophontis Hipparchicum', *SIFC* 6 (1898), 471–92.

[2] See, for example, E. C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, Tomus V: *Opuscula* (Oxford, 1920), Praefatio ad Hipparchicum, 'Ad textum Hipparchici...recensendum fundamenta optime iecerunt tres viri Itali, Cerocchi, Tommasini, Pierleoni, quorum nomina semper ab omnibus Xenophontis operum minorum studiosis celebrabuntur.' Since many of the manuscripts of *Hipparchicus* also contain *De re equestri*, V. Tommasini's work in *SIFC* 10 (1902), 95–119 can also be helpful to the student of the former opusculum. But because his findings are virtually the same as Cerocchi's, Tommasini's collations and stemma also deserve reevaluation. See also, G. Pierleoni, *Xenophontis opuscula* (Rome, 1933).

[3] See Cerocchi, p. 474 n. 1: 'ceterorum notitiam compluribus humanis atque liberalibus viris debeo...qui in usum meum hos codices ad Hipparchicum carptim contulerunt.' It is in the area of collation and in the relationships of manuscripts based on these collations that Cerocchi's article is weak. In other respects his work is still of great value.

[4] See Cerocchi, p. 474. My B is his b, considered by him to be a fourteenth-century codex. See my article, 'The Mysterious Manuscript A of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*', *Hermes* 117 (1989) 157–66, where I offer a new evaluation of the relationship between B and A (= Vindob. phil. gr. 37).

[5] My placement of B in the overall stemma agrees with that of Cerocchi, p. 492.

1.5 πόλεμοι B: πολέμιοι rell. 1.8 ἂν εἶεν B: γὰρ εἶεν rell. 1.11 ἔστι B: ἔτι rell.
2.4 δεκάδαρχοι B: δέκαρχοι rell. 3.1 alt. ταῦτα hab. B: om. rell. 4.2 ποι B: που rell.
4.3 διαπερᾶν τὰς B: διαπεράναντας rell. 4.5 τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ πλείστου προαισθάνεσθαι
hab. B solus 4.17 θηρᾶν B: θηρῶν rell. 5.7 βούλει (sic) B: om. rell. 6.5 μὴ hab.
B: om. rell. 6.6 τάττειν B: πράττειν rell. 7.10 καὶ B: ἦν rell. 7.14 οὕτω B: οὔτε
rell. 8.8 οὐ τοῖς B: αὐτοῖς rell. 9.2 ἐκπεραίνηται B: περαίνηται rell.

There are also sufficient errors in B to demonstrate that it is not the parent of any
other extant witness. Text editors should in fact beware of B, whose age might unduly
recommend reliance upon it:

1.5 ὑπαρχόντων om. B ἀναπηδᾶν δύνωνται] ἀναπηδώη B 1.14 μᾶλλον om. B
3.9 ἤνπερ om. B 3.12 αὐ τὸ ... σάλπιγγος om. B post ἀλλήλοις repetit σεμνὸν
(17) ... ἀλλήλοις sine omissione B 4.15 λελήθης] δεηθῆς B 5.3 κακῶς] καλῶς B
5.15 φιλοκίνδυνον ... δόξη τις om. B 7.1 ἵππαρχον] δήμαρχον B 8.1 κρεῖττον om. B
9.1 καὶ ὀλιγάκις ... αὐτῷ om. B

The λ group

Of the manuscripts which lack both the good readings and the errors of B, most
belong to a group which is here designated λ. The members of the group can be
divided into independent witnesses (HLOW) and derivatives (anprs):

Primary manuscripts
   Laurentianus 80.13 (H)
   Lipsiensis 9 (Stadtbibl. I.46) (L)
   Bodleian. Canon. 39 (O)
   Vindobon. hist. gr. 95 (W)

Secondary manuscripts
   Vindobon. phil. gr. 37 (a)
   Monacensis gr. 546 (n)
   Parisinus gr. 1643 (p)
   Vaticanus gr. 1334 (r)
   Brit. Mus. add. 5110 (s)[6]

There is an abundance of readings with which to establish the existence of λ:

1.4 εἰδότα] εἰδότας λ 1.10 διὰ κέρδος ἄν τις] ἄν τις διὰ κέρδος λ 1.13 ἵππον om. λ
2.7 εἰ om. λ 4.4 δυσχωριῶν] δυσχωρίαν λ (-είαν W) 4.12 τῶν πολεμίων] μὲν τῶν
πολεμίων λ 5.3 ἐπιτίθωνται BWᶜ: ἐπιτίθονται Wᵃpᵃ: ἐπίθωνται HLOapᶜrs 6.1
οὕτω] οὗτοι λ 7.4 ἐκτὸς] ἐκ λ 8.11 μὴ om. H¹LOWarˢs 9.7 συνεθελόντων] συν-
ελθόντων λ (συνθελόντων r)

Of the five secondary codices, four derive from H in *Hipparchicus*:[7]

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[6] For descriptions of these codices see Cerocchi, pp. 480ff. He knew very little about L and
could therefore not give it its rightful place in the group. Both L and H are featured as
representatives of the second family of *Hiero* manuscripts by D. Haltinner and E. A. Schmoll,
'The Older Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Hiero*', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 10 (1980), 234–5.
Codices O and W do not contain *Hiero*, so we have here a better picture of the whole group and
its relationship to the γ group which follows.

[7] Cerocchi, pp. 482ff., graphically demonstrates that lacunae in H are represented in anp.
Because it lacks evidence of these lacunae, he sees s as a likely gemellus of H. I deal with this
matter in my text. Cerocchi's list of H-group errors (p. 484) is correct at 1.3, 6, 21; 3.5; 4.15;

1.3 εὔχρηστοι] εὐπειθεῖς Hap   1.6 σκοπεῖσθαι] σκοπεῖν Hap   1.20 ταῖς πρὸς τῆς] τῆς
Haps   1.21 ὅτι αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς Ha^cps   3.5 θεαταῖς] θεοῖς Haps   5.12 ἀπατητικὸν]
ἀγαπητικὸν Haps   8.18 ἐγγὺς] εὐθὺς Haps

Codices aps have been found to derive from H in *Hiero* and s in *Cynegeticus*.[8] The
reason that s deviates from H readings at 1.3 and 6 apparently comes from some small
lacunae in H. These are scattered through the opening lines of *Hipparchicus*, none
going beyond 1.8. The scribe of s, in an attempt to circumvent these lacunae, used a
different source to begin *Hipparchicus* and turned to H after 1.8. His alternative
source was a λ-group member, as the reading εἰδότας at 1.4 demonstrates. Because
s does not have πράξειας of O at 1.1 or the O omission of μάλιστα at 1.6, we can
eliminate that codex as a possible source. The same may be said of W which has
εὐπειθεῖς for ἀπειθεῖς at 1.3 and ταῦτα for τἆλλα at 1.6. The only λ-group manuscript
free of separative readings in the early section of text is L. This is then our prime
candidate for the alternative source, although a comparative reading of H and any
other of the λ witnesses might give the same result.

A clearer picture exists for codex r, a certain derivative of L:[9]

1.16 ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς] ὁ γὰρ πειραθεὶς Lr   3.2 χοροὶ] θεοὶ Lr   3.9 ἀεὶ ταχὺ] ἀεὶ Lr
4.5 πρὸς τὸ φυλάξασθαι] ἐπὶ τὸ φυλάξασθαι Lr   4.10 ἐνέδραι om. Lr   4.14 πρὸς τοὺς]
περὶ Lr   8.25 κρατίστων] καλλίστων Lr

Codex W does not come from either L or H. It agrees with no errors listed above,
except for λ-group errors, and has only two readings which could in any way be
considered significant:

1.16 καταβαλόντα] καταβαλόντων HW   1.20 ποτὲ καὶ σὺ] καὶ σύ ποτε HWFP

Since FP testify that their common parent independently made the second of these
errors, it is hard to maintain it as truly significant. The other is hardly sufficient to

5.1, 12 and 8.18. At 1.4 and 7.4 he lists as H readings items which belong in the λ-group list. The
reading at 1.16 is found also in W, that at 5.13 also in OW, that at 1.19 also in OW and, in the
same place, L omits the reading in a lacuna. Where H has καὶ at 3.2, OL read ἐπὶ and W ἐν. I
have not been able to see the Munich manuscript, but its trouble with H lacunae makes it a
certain member of the group.

[8] I owe my information about *Hiero* to Lynn Leverenz, 'The descendants of Laur. 80.13 in
Xenophon's *Hiero*', *SIFC* 7 (1989), 12–23. The information about *Cyn.* comes from an article by
E. A. Schmoll, 'The fragmentary manuscripts of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*', *Syllecta Classica* 1
(1989), 21–5. He informs me that the fragmentary opening lines of *Cyn.* in the Vienna codex are
a duplicate of the fragment carried in H. W has a slightly longer fragment (see below). See note 4
above for the derivation of a in *Cyn*.

[9] Again, Cerocchi's list of r (his d) readings (p. 481) is correct at 3.2, 9; 4.8, 10, 14; 8.5, 25
and 9.5. The supposed error at 7.3, the first time the phrase occurs there, is spurious. Also, at
1.19 the omission in L is marked by a lacuna, but there is none in r. The second reading at 3.2
is also found in O. The addition of μέν at 4.12 is a λ-group error. The second reading at 9.5 is
also found in P of the γ group. Cerocchi also gives a list of readings which he believes prevent
our seeing r as a copy of L. The reading at 1.25 seems to affirm rather than deny the relationship.
At 8.23 also the variant seems to originate in L where the parent has a strange abbreviation for
-ᾶν of ὁρμᾶν. The variants at 4.3 and 7.13 are itacisms whose corrections are not beyond the
talent of a fifteenth-century scribe. At 4.1 the scribe has simply repeated the compound of νοέω
used a few lines above and he has introduced errors at 5.8 and 11. At 4.8 Cerocchi got unreliable
information from Gardthausen about L which has ἥξοντες. At 9.7 the λ group reads
συνελθόντων. The scribe of r saw that it was not 'if the gods convene' that was needed, but 'if
the gods will', and changed to συνθελόντων, close to the BM γ reading συνεθελόντων. We must
also admit that some contamination may be involved in the readings of this fifteenth-century
witness. At 5.13 the whole λ group has ἔχον and the return of r to ἔχειν of BM γ is suspicious.
Also, at 1.7, while r has εἰκός ἐστιν in the text (a BM γ reading), it also has εἰκὸς εἶ (the λ-group
reading) in the margin.

suggest derivation. It seems safer to make W a much younger brother of HL. Such a fraternal relationship is more certain for codex O. It never agrees with one group member against another. It does have several errors which disqualify it from consideration as the source of any of our manuscripts:

1.1 ἄρξαις] ἄρξειας LHW: πράξειας O   1.6 μάλιστα om. O   4.9 αἰσθάνοιντο εἰ] αἰσ-
θάνοιντο εἰ μὴ O   5.3 οὕτω] οὐ O   5.9 πρὸς] καὶ O   8.16 πονεῖν] πολὺ O   9.3
γὰρ ἄν] γ᾿ ἄν O   9.8 κατανοῇ ὅτι] κατανοῇ O

There once existed then a manuscript from which HLOW derive independently, here called λ. This lost codex was probably quite old in the fourteenth century, since its copiers seem to have had trouble deciphering its text:

1.19 δέῃ περὶ] δ᾿ ἔνι περὶ HOW: [....] περὶ L   1.20 τῆς H: ταῖς πρὸς W: ταῖς πρὸς τῆς
LO rell.   1.21 ἑαυτοὺς H: τούτους W^c: ὅτι αὐτοὺς LO rell.   1.25 εἰσηγ [...] δὲ L: εἰσ-
ηγῶω δὲ O: εἰσηγεῖσθαι δὲ W: εἰσηγοῖο δὲ H rell.   3.2 πρὸς] ἐπὶ LO: καὶ H: ἐν O
4.5 ἐπὶ L: κατὰ O: πρὸς HW rell.   8.3 ταῦτα ὅσωπερ H: ταῦτα ὥσπερ W: ταῦτα ὅσον-
περ LO rell. ὅσωνπερ ὑγιεῖς LO: ὥσπερ ὑγιεῖς W: ὅσονπερ ὑγιεῖς H rell.

Our stemma of the λ group is depicted in Fig. 1.[10]

The γ group

The next group of *Hipparchicus* manuscripts is especially interesting because it has been tied to the great Italian humanist Guarino of Verona. Aubrey Diller, following G. Mercati, identified a Xenophon manuscript mentioned in a letter sent to Guarino by Isidore Cardinal Ruthenus as Wolfenbuettel 2698.[11] It has been recently suggested that Laurentianus conventi suppressi 112 is that codex.[12] It too belonged to Guarino and has the added attractions of having been written by Isidore himself and containing *Hiero*, as mentioned in the letter, while Wolfenbuettel does not. A companion volume to 112 is number 110 in the same collection, here designated C. Together these codices contain most of Xenophon's opuscula, *Hipparchicus* being in C. It also contains *Athēnaiōn politeia* (*Ath.*) and *Poroi* (*Por.*) in a form characteristic of the whole group.[13] The common source for the group (γ) seems to have lost a quire that contained the text of *Ath.* 1.16 to the end and the beginning of *Por.* to 5.4. The γ-group scribes did not recognize the loss and copied the halves of the two opuscula as if they were continuous. This is probably sufficient proof to establish the existence of the group, but there are also some significant errors worth citing:[14]

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[10] This stemma differs from Cerocchi's (p. 492) in having HLOW derive from a single parent. The λ-group readings assure this derivation. Codex r (his d) is surely derived from L, if not a direct copy of L. B.M. 5110 is a derivative of H. I have not attempted to ascertain whether anps are independent derivatives of H or whether one serves as the source for one or more of the rest.

[11] A. Diller, 'The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Guarini', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 24 (1980), 320.

[12] J. K. Deuling and J. Cirignano, 'A Reappraisal of the Later ABS Family of the Tradition of Xenophon's *Hiero*', to appear in *Scriptorium* in 1990.

[13] The designation γ for this group comes from an unpublished dissertation by E. A. Schmoll, *Xenophon's De Venatione: a Collation, Stemma and Critical Text* (The University of Iowa, 1982). For a more accessible description of these manuscripts see G. Serra, 'La tradizione manoscritta della *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* dello pseudo-Senofonte', *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia Patavina* 91 (1978–9), 82–3. See also Cerocchi, pp. 486ff. Serra has done a masterly job of accounting for earlier scholarship on *Ath.* Because the λ group lacks *Ath.* and because he does not know about the SM relationship (see below), Serra's stemma is not accurate.

[14] Cerocchi cites a few readings (p. 487) which occur early in the opusculum to establish this group. Most are insignificant and poorly documented. At 1.1 P also has ἄρξαας. At 1.2 C has
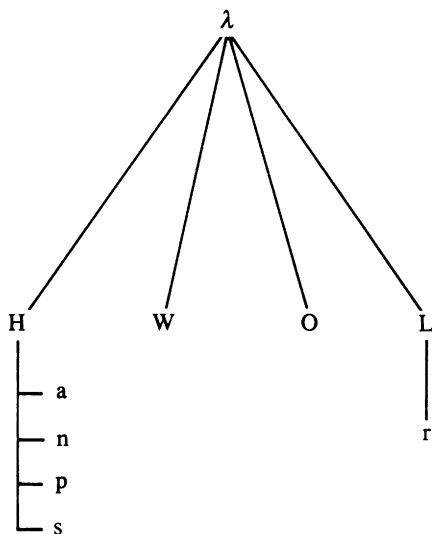
Fig. 1. λ group stemma.

1.1 ἄρξαις] ἄρξαας γ: ἄρξειας λ   1.8 τε τὴν βουλὴν] τε τοὺς τὴν βουλὴν γ   1.22 εἰ
om. γ   3.4 ἀναβεβαμμένῳ B: ἀναβεβαμένῳ λ: ἀναβεβασμένῳ γ   4.9 ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ] ἢ
ἀπὸ γ   4.15 φίλους] φιλίους γ   8.3 προελάσεσι] προελάσωσι γ

The manuscripts which comprise this group date to the early and mid fifteenth century:

> Laurentianus conventi suppressi 110 (C)
> Laurentianus 55.21 (F)
> Perusinus B 34 (P)
> Vaticanus gr. 1619 (V)

In addition to the group errors listed above, there are conjunctive errors common only to F and P which show that they are closer to one another than to C or V:

1.2 μὴ μειῶται] μειῶται FP   τοὺς δὲ καὶ] τοὺς δὲ FP   1.5 αὖ om. FP   1.16 πειρ-
αθείς] πειρασθεὶς FP   1.21 ὧδ' ἂν] ὡς δ' ἂν FP   2.5 ἐπὶ πολεμίους] ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμίους
FP   ἐγκελεύων] κελεύων FP   4.7 πᾶσαι] καὶ FP: πά καὶ C: πού καὶ V   4.15 ὅταν
γάρ] ὅταν γε FP   4.20 τέχνη] ἴχνη FP   7.1 ᾧ] ὡς FP   7.7 εἰκὸς om. FP   8.18
ἂν om. FP

Codices FP must be gemelli, since neither can derive from the other:[15]

1.2 ἀναπληρῶται...ὅπως om. F   2.1 post ῥᾶστα δὲ add. μαχοῦνται F   2.3 μά-
λιστα...σίδηρον om. P   2.7 προαγορεύεται...δεκαδάρχοις om. P   7.6 οὐδὲν om. P

It should be noted here that a *Hipparchicus* witness which is not well-known to text

δέ, not δ'. At 1.4 P agrees with the rest of the group and with BM against λ. At 1.5 what amounts to a π reading is in agreement with B. Again at 1.7 the γ group agrees with BM against λ. At 1.8 C does not omit τε, but P does. At 1.10 we have another instance of a λ-group error.

[15] On p. 488 Cerocchi gives some readings which indicate to him that P cannot be a copy of F (his g). He is correct, but both have ἄρξαας at 1.1. P and Fᵃ have πορρηθῆναι at 1.14, both have συμβουλεῦσαι at 1.18, παραλείψω and ἐπαλάττοιτο at 3.3. P evidently

editors, Breslau Rhedig. 15 (q), regularly agrees with P in error and introduces several errors of its own. It therefore derives from P.[16]

Codices CV were shown above to stand apart from FP. It remains to show that neither C nor V could have been the parent of the other, nor could either be a source for FP:

1.1 θύοντα] ἐνθύοντα C   1.9–10 ἢ πείθοντα … δικαστήριον om. V   1.18 καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσέ ποι] ἄλλοσέ ποι V   2.1 κάλλιστα δὲ] καὶ μάλιστα δὲ C   3.2 ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι] ὅσων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐστιν ἱερὰ V   3.5 ἔσται om. C

There is some evidence to support the theory that C is a gemellus of the lost source of FP:

1.10 εἰ μή] εἰς CFP: εἰ V (cum H)   1.21 εἰ] εἰς CFP   αὖ] ἂν CFP   4.5 ἐπιμελ-ούμενοι] ἐπιμελόμενοι CFP (cum H)   5.7 μὴ om. CFP

Codices C and V share only a few errors not found in FP. How they could have them and FP be free of them is hard to understand unless we accept a suggestion made elsewhere,[17] that π was a manuscript contaminated from the other side of the tradition and passed this contamination on to its offspring:

1.1 κεχωρισμενώτατα CV: κεχαρισμενώτατα FP rell.   3.1 ταῦτ' ἐν C: τά τ' ἐν V: τά τε ἐν FP rell.   4.1 αὐτὸ CV: αὐτὸς FP rell.

A graphic representation of the π group is shown in Fig. 2.[18]

The M group

The final group of *Hipparchicus* manuscripts dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The head of the group is Marcianus gr. 511 (M). M appears to be a composite codex.[19] Folios 1–140 contain *Moralia* of Plutarch in a hand different from that of the Xenophon section which follows. The two halves were joined already by the time of Cardinal Bessarion who left this codex at his death (A.D. 1472) to the city of Venice. Bessarion himself wrote folios 1ʳ–7ᵛ, a letter to Hipparchicus from Lysis the Pythagorean, an excerpt from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (2.6.10–3.1.45) and a *pinax* listing the works of Plutarch and Xenophon contained in the volume. The *pinax* concludes with the Cardinal's *ex libris*.

The Xenophon section of M begins with *Agesilaus* (*Ag.*), *Hi.*, and *Mem.* The first two of these opuscula have been shown to derive from Ambrosianus E 11 inf. (S) and

introduced καὶ at 9.5, because no contemporaneous or older manuscript has it. The upshot is that neither F nor P is the source for the other. In his dissertation (n. 13 above), lacking separative F readings in *Cyn.*, Schmoll considers P a copy of F. This is no longer tenable.

[16] On pp. 487–8 Cerocchi shows that, although q (his V) is very close to F (his g), q cannot be a copy of F. The closeness comes from π readings passed on to F and P. The actual source of q is P.

[17] See Haltinner and Schmoll (n. 6 above), p. 235. They did not collate P, but I have looked into the citations of *Hiero* which they think point to contamination in F and find that they occur also in P. This is further proof that it was the source of FP which was contaminated. Since *Hipparchicus* does not occur in the manuscripts of *Hiero* designated ABSC, it looks as though M or one of its offspring is the source of the contamination.

[18] Cerocchi's E group (see p. 492) corresponds to my γ group. He sees all five extant manuscripts as brothers, an idea I hope has been dispelled here. Cerocchi (p. 488) also sees little value for text reconstruction in this group. Not only is this not true, but much can be learned about the head of the whole second family of opuscula by noting the order of contents in γ.

[19] The best description of M is Serra's (p. 81), but see also Cerocchi (pp. 474f.) who was very disappointed in the quality of M's text. The identification of Bessarion's hand in the codex is mine.
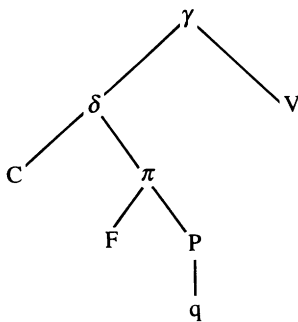
Fig. 2. π group.

the third probably does too.[20] After *Mem.*, however, we find works not contained in S, and some not contained in A, the source for S.[21] These include *Hipparchicus, Hipp., Lacedaemoniorum politeia (Lac.), Ath., Por., Oeconomicus (Oec.), Symposium (Sym.), Cyn.* Arrian's *Anabasis* begins on f. 326ʳ in the same hand as executed the opuscula of Xenophon. There are twenty-four verses of Manuel Philes at the end of the codex. These verses are found also in S along with an additional sixty-two verses. It is likely that Arrian and Philes both come from the Ambrosian manuscript.[22]

A subscription on f. 398ᵛ contending that M dates to A.D. 1166 has long been discredited. It is clearly erroneous and is written in a hand found nowhere else in the codex. M is a fourteenth-century manuscript which may have been written quite late in the century. Even if M were a much older manuscript than we think, none of the witnesses discussed above could derive from it:

2.5 σώζοι] σώξοιτο M   3.2 ἑρμῶν] ἔργων M   4.9 προγραφῆς] γραφῆς M (cum W)
4.10 πεμπάδαρχοι] πενταδάρχοι M   7.7 ἔχοι] ἔχειν M   7.9 ὑπολείπονται] ἀπολείπ-
ονται M

There is no need to go into great detail about the offspring of M. Laurentianus 55.22, Marcianus gr. 368 and 369 have long been known to be derived from M.[23] Each has the same Xenophon contents and order of contents as M, except that Marc. 368 lacks *Hiero*.

Codex M is closer to the γ group than to λ. It is so close, in fact, that it would appear to be a member of the γ group, if it did not contain an integral *Ath.* and *Por.*

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[20] In an unpublished dissertation, *Xenophon's Agesilaus: a Collation, Stemma and Critical Text* (University of Iowa, 1975), Rosemary Wieczorek says that M derives from S through a lost intermediary (pp. 38ff.). Deuling and Cirignano see no need for such an intermediary in *Hiero*. I am quite sure, in fact, that the variant on κεκτῆσθαι at 11.15 in *Hiero* in S was written by the scribe of M himself.

[21] For how S is related to A see my article, 'Correction and Contamination in Xenophon's *Hiero*', *SIFC*, Terza serie, 6 (1988), 68–76.

[22] This theory gets no support from A. G. Roos who, in his 1967 Teubner edition of Arrian, places Marc. 511 in the second family of manuscripts and Ambros. E 11 inf. in the third (pp. xix and xxii).

[23] See Cerocchi, pp. 475ff., Serra, pp. 81f., Haltinner and Schmoll, p. 234, Deuling and Cirignano, Schmoll dissertation, p. 25, Wieczorek dissertation, pp. 38ff. Wieczorek presents substantial evidence to show that Marc. 368 does not follow M in *Ages*. See also my unpublished dissertation, *The Manuscript Tradition of Xenophon's Hellenica* (Indiana University, 1967), pp. 56ff., for the idiosyncracies of this manuscript in *Hellenica*.
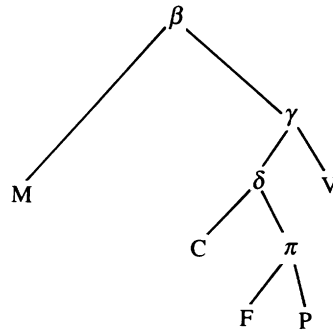
Fig. 3. β as a source.

Of the seven readings listed above to establish the γ group M agrees with all but two. At 1.1 M alone agrees with B in reading ἄρξαις. At 8.3 M has προελάσεσι. The best way to reconcile the agreement of M and γ in error and at the same time account for M having the complete text of *Ath.* and *Por.*, since γ clearly did not, is to posit a lost source from which both γ, the damaged source of VCFP, and M descend (here called β), as in Fig. 3.[24]

There are few readings which appear to conflict with this stemma. At 1.16 for πειραθείς we find only in MFPr πειρασθείς. This is an error which could be made independently. At 2.3 BP² have τοῦτο μέρος, another likely instance of contamination in F, MCL have τοῦτο μέσως, while HOWF¹P have τοῦ τομέως (τοῦ τόμε ὡς V), the apparent reading of the archetype.[25] Because there is such a crossing of group lines here we should probably take the MCL reading as independent efforts to remedy the kind of meaningless phrase presented by V. At 4.3 for πλατυντέον we find πλατωτέον in MCᵃFᵃP (πλατητέον Fᶜ). Minuscule -υν- often looks like -ω- and we may again have independent misreadings. Perhaps more likely is that πλατωτέον was erroneously carried in β and passed on to M and γ. It was thus accepted by CFP, but was corrected by V. At 4.9 B has πεμπταδάρχους, LOWᶜFP have πεμπαδάρχας, CᶜV have πεμπαδάρχους (πεπαδάρχους Cᵃ) and MHWᵃ have πεντadάρχας. The archetype apparently used epsilon for the numerical prefix, followed by -αδάρχους. This shorthand notation was used also in α, β and λ, thus accounting for the variety of prefixes in the manuscripts. It seems that α misread -ου-, perhaps run together to look like a long-tailed α and wrote -ας. All later manuscripts therefore transmitted -ας, except C and V which may have corrected to -ους from an occurrence of the word in the next section, πεμπαδάρχοι, which is carried correctly by all the witnesses, except M which has πενταδάρχοι. At 4.15, where the rest of the manuscripts have ὅταν γὰρ, MFP have ὅταν γε. This seems to be the most serious threat to the stemma, but if we recall that π was a codex probably contaminated by M, we then have a simple explanation for the M reading occurring in FP.

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[24] This is, in effect, where Cerocchi puts M. His E = my γ and his B my β. Serra (p. 84) does very little with the abbreviated *Ath.* manuscripts, but he too places M close to γ (= his m). Schmoll in his dissertation takes both M and γ independently back to the archetype (I maintain his Φ for the archetype), but he had not yet evaluated the abbreviated *Cyn.* manuscripts which fall into the λ group. Today he feels that M and γ are more closely related than he had earlier supposed. I should also state here that β and γ could be the same manuscript in different states of repair. M could have been copied from γ before it began to fall apart and δV after.

[25] Let the reader beware of other renditions of these readings in the various editions of *Hipparchicus*.
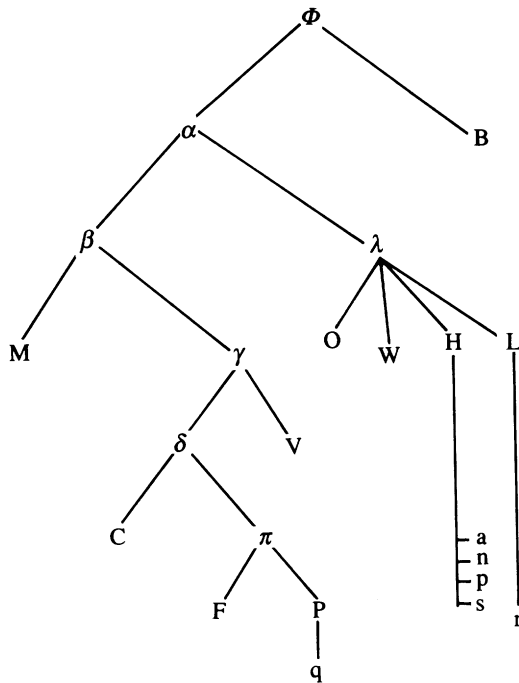
Fig. 4. A suggested stemma.

A suggested stemma

We have reached the end of our list of witnesses to the text of *Hipparchicus*. It remains now to put the three groups and B into an all-encompassing stemma. Because the λ group is free of the errors β passed on to M and γ,[26] it cannot be a derivative of β. Because β lacked the errors which λ passed on to HLOW,[27] β cannot have derived from λ. And because $\beta\lambda$ had errors not found in B,[28] these two lost manuscripts must have shared a common source (α) as shown in Fig. 4.

What has been accomplished by this detailed reconstruction of Cerocchi's earlier stemma? He posited three lost manuscripts (CDE) of equal value for use along with M in reconstructing the lost manuscript B. B could then be used along with Vat. gr. 989 to establish the text of *Hipparchicus*. C is now shown to be superfluous. D ($=\lambda$) is shown here to be closer to the archetype than was earlier believed. E ($=\gamma$) is shown to be equivalent to M and related to its own offspring in a more complicated manner than Cerocchi imagined.

Future text editors stand in a very advantageous position for reconstructing the text of the archetype of the *Hipparchicus* tradition. Whenever F and P agree, we are assured of having the reading of π. When they disagree, codex C in agreement with F or P will give us the reading of the lost manuscript. Cπ readings will give us the text of δ and V can be used when Cπ disagree. Vδ will then give us γ, Mγ will give

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[26] The β errors are the same as the γ-group errors listed above, except for the first and last which M lacks.   [27] These are the λ-group errors listed above.
[28] See the good readings of B alone listed at the beginning of this article.

us β. We have four witnesses with which to reconstruct λ and the combination of βλ will give us α, with outside help from B when needed. Bα will then be the basis upon which a new text will finally be built.

Reconstructing Φ

Because it has been attempted before and because we now have more information about the second family of opuscula manuscripts, it seems worthwhile to attempt a reconstruction of the contents of the lost archetype Φ.[29] Codex B is apparently a selection of 'animal' opuscula (*Cyn.*, *Hipp.*, *Hipparch.*) and it tells us little about Φ. Lost codex α, however, was more representative of the contents of φ. Using M and λ as our guides, we can be sure of the minimum number of works it contained:[30]

```
H²   Hipparch., Hi.,   Hipp., Lac., ____, ____, Mem., Oec., Sym., Cyn. to 2.1
L    Hipparch., Hi.,   Hipp., Lac., ____, ____, ____,  Oec., ____, ____,
O    Hipparch., ____, Hipp., ____, ____, ____, ____,  ____, ____, ____,
W    Hipparch., ____, Hipp., Lac., ____, ____, Mem., Oec., Sym., Cyn. to 2.1
M²   Hipparch., ____, Hipp., Lac., Ath., Por., ____,  Oec., Sym., Cyn.
```

Lost codices α and β both contained at least the ten works included in the preceding table. This allowed the full complement to be available to M. At some time after β was copied from α, the latter began to deteriorate.[31] It was probably a two-volume set, one volume ending with *Por.*, the other with *Cyn.* The end of each volume was lost and λ was therefore unable to transmit anything of *Ath.* and *Por.*, very little of *Cyn.* Those scribes who copied λ took more or less of its contents, but always in the order found in their exemplar.

The contents of M assure us that β was a duplicate of α. The scribe of M took *Hipparch.* from β but, because he had already taken *Hi.* from S, he skipped over the next opusculum and copied *Hipp.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Por.* in order. Once again, he had earlier taken *Mem.* from S, so he passed it by to conclude with *Oec.*, *Sym.*, *Cyn.*

Codex γ also shows that we are dealing with either two-volume sets or single manuscripts which have broken in half in the case of the lost manuscripts. The offspring of γ present the same general order of contents as M, but the first and second halves are reversed:

```
V   Mem., ____, ____, Cyn., Hipparch., Hi.,   Hipp., Lac., Ath-Por.
C   Mem., ____, ____, Cyn., Hipparch., ____, Hipp., Lac., Ath-Por., Sym.
F   Mem., Oec., [  ], Cyn., Hipparch., Hi.,   Hipp., Lac., Ath-Por.
P   Mem., Oec., Sym., Cyn., Hipparch., Hi.,   Hipp., Lac., Ath-Por.
```

The scribe of V passed over *Oec.* and *Sym.*, the latter probably because it was fragmentary. The scribe of C did not transmit *Oec.* because it was already included in its companion volume, conv. suppr. 112, and he postponed the *Sym.* fragment to the end.[32] The scribes of F and P copied all the contents of π, with the exception that in F we find blank folios where *Sym.* would appear, a vain hope by the scribe that another source would provide a more complete text of what was fragmentary in π.

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[29] Serra, pp. 110ff., attempted this same exercise, but because he tried to accommodate a list of the opuscula found in Diogenes Laertius and because he did not know about the S influence upon M, his ingenious shot in the dark falls short of the mark.

[30] In the following list H² refers to the older portion of Laur. 80.13 and M² to the contents of M which do not derive from S.

[31] Because M and the γ group are free of errors characteristic of the λ group, lost codex λ cannot be codex β in a state of deterioration.

[32] *Hiero* is also contained in the companion volume. The scribe of C therefore omitted it as well.

The role of A

Now that we can be sure of the contents and order of contents of Φ, we should turn our attention to A, the head of what has traditionally been called the 'first family'. By comparing what remains of this early witness with its apparently contemporaneous co-witness Φ, we can ascertain what the corpus of the opuscula of Xenophon looked like during the period before transliteration of majuscule manuscripts into minuscules. Vaticanus gr. 1335 offers two opuscula, *Apologia Socratis* (*Ap.*) and *Agesilaus* (*Ag.*), not found in the offspring of Φ. If Φ ever contained these works, they probably came at the start of the corpus as they do in A. The scribe of A apparently had no interest in the 'animal' opuscula. He copied *Hi.*, but he omitted *Hipparch.* and *Hipp.* on either side of it. A next offers *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Por.* in the same place and order as Φ. A does not have *Mem.* next, but two of its offspring do. Both B and S conclude their Xenophon contents with *Mem.* – perhaps an indication that A once had it as well. We can only speculate as to whether A ever had *Oec.*, *Sym.*, *Cyn.* As an 'animal' opusculum, it is unlikely that *Cyn.* would have appeared in A.

CONCLUSION

This comparative line-up should put to rest any doubts about the separate identities of A and Φ. The existence of two families in the manuscript tradition of *Hi.*, *Lac.*, *Ath.*, *Por.* and *Mem.* is assured. Editors of the texts of *Ap.* and *Ag.* will find that all of their witnesses go back to A, and editors of *Hipparch.*, *Hipp.*, *Oec.*, *Sym.*, and *Cyn.* that theirs all go back to Φ. With a large number of witnesses ready to be used in each step of the reconstruction of Φ, its loss is no greater than if we were to have lost A, while still having B and S to reconstruct it.

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