

XV.—Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century

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I. Codex A of Strabo and codex L of Cassius Dio have the same format and were written by the same scribe in the latter half of the tenth century. II. Codex Vaticanus 124 of Polybius was written A.D. 947 by a monk Ephraim, the same who wrote Marc. 201 of Aristotle and MSS 1582 and 1739 of the New Testament.

I

In consulting the second volume of Boissevain's Cassius Dio recently I was surprised to meet an old friend, the scribe of codex A of Strabo¹ in the photograph of codex L of Dio.² As both codices are old, and each is the best or the only source for its text, it is pleasant and interesting to find that they are actually brothers. I think the identity will be obvious to anyone who compares the two published photographs. The format is also the same: 36 lines to a page with written space 20 by 14 cm. (according to the photograph of the Dio and my notes on the Strabo). The writing hangs beneath the ruled lines and 'leans forward'. Majuscles are mixed with the minuscules freely. Breathings are angular. Accents and breathings stand over the first vowel of diphthongs. Prepositions are often ligatured with the following articles. The only abbreviation frequently used is the one for *kal.* Silent iota is adscript or rarely omitted. The orthography is very good. The ink is light brown. There is no ornamentation or illumination.

Omont attributed the Strabo and Boissevain the Dio to the eleventh century.³ T. W. Allen says of the Strabo, "The hand is the smaller of the two minuscule types noticeable at the end of the tenth century, and resembles Laur. 32.15 (D) of the Iliad, than

¹ Paris. graec. 1397. See H. Omont, *Fac-similés des plus anciens mss grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1892) pl. XL.

² Laur. LXX, 8. See U. P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 2 (Berlin, 1898) Tab. I.

³ Boissevain dates the other ancient MS of Dio (M = Marc. 395) in the eleventh century also; but to me it appears to be very similar in all criteria of age to Urbinas 35, of Aristotle's *Organon* (Lakes' No. 333, plates 606–608), which was written for Arethas when he was still a deacon and hence about the same time as the Bodleian Plato, dated A.D. 895. There has been a general tendency to date Middle Byzantine MSS too late.

which it is however larger."⁴ In an effort to date the hand more circumstantially I looked through the Lakes' recent collection of dated Greek mss.⁵ The nearest approach to the hand of Dio and Strabo seems to be in the latter hand of Mosquensis VI 125 (20), containing works of Basil of Caesarea, dated A.D. 977 (Lakes' No. 219, plate 387). Quite similar also is Ambros. B-106-sup., Psalms with commentary, dated A.D. 966 (Lakes' No. 125, plates 211-212).

The two codices differ in certain external features of the texts. The Dio is equipped with tables of contents (*τάδε ἔνεστιν κτλ.*) and consular fasti for each book; but it has no marginal indices or scholia. The Strabo has a summary for each book entitled *κεφάλαια* and also indices and a few scholia. These differences between codices of the same origin indicate that in at least one of them the apparatus derives from the archetype. On the basis of the scholia I have suspected that codex A of Strabo was copied from an archetype in the ninth century Paris Plato group of codices,⁶ and I find confirmation of this in comparing the Strabo and the Dio. On confronting the two facsimiles one will be struck by the numerous paragraphs in the left margin of the Strabo, which have no parallel in the Dio. Facsimiles from the Paris Plato group show that the lavish use of paragraphs is constant there. It seems then that this conspicuous and peculiar feature of the Strabo is of Platonic origin.

II

Vogel and Gardthausen give four codices written by monks named Ephraim in the tenth or eleventh century.⁷ Ephraim was not a very common name in Byzantine times. Three of these codices have already been recognized as by the same scribe, dating around A.D. 950. It remains to show that the fourth is by the same.

Venetis S. Marci 201 (now 780), Aristotle's *Organon*, 183 leaves, 30 × 23 cm., one column, 29-38 lines, 21-22 × 16 cm. Subscription 183r *χάρις σοι πολλή ἰ(ησο)ῦ χ(ριστ)έ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν καὶ εὐχα-*

⁴ T. W. Allen in *Class. Quart.* 9 (1915) 20.

⁵ Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston, ten fascicles 1934-1939 and indices 1945).

⁶ T. W. Allen, "A Group of Ninth-Century Greek MSS," *Journal of Philology*, 21 (1893) 48-55.

⁷ Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909) 124 f.

ριστία ἀνθῶν τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἐπελάβου καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ δέλτῳ ἐχαρίσω. ἐγρ(άφη) χειρὶ ἐφραίμ μ(ονα)χ(οῦ) νο(εμβρίῳ) ινδ ιγ̅ ε̅τους ςϛξγ̅ (A.D. 954).⁸

Athous Laurae 184 (B 64), Acts and Epistles (Gregory No. 1739), 102 leaves, 23 × 17.4 cm., one column, 35 lines, 17 × 11 cm. Subscription 102r διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ χ(ριστοῦ) ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ὑπερευξάσθω τῆς ἀμαρτωλῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ γράψαντος ἐφραίμ μοναχοῦ: ὁ θ(εὸς) ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ ἀμήν. The date, which probably followed, has been cut away. The first twelve quaternions, containing the Gospels, are lost. The ms has unique marginalia of importance for the early history of the New Testament.⁹

Athous Vatopedii 747, Four Gospels (Gregory No. 1582), 287 leaves, 21.2 × 16.5 cm., one column, 20 lines, 14.2 × 8 cm. Subscription 287r, copied by a later hand on a leaf replacing the original last leaf (the first four words are the copyist's), εἶδον τοὺς ε̅τους ἐξανεγράψω ἐγράψω χυρι ἐφραίμ μ(ονα)χ(ου) ἐν μεραῖς ιε μῆ(νι) νο(εμβρίῳ) κγ ινδ ζ̅ ε̅τους συνζ̅ (A.D. 948).¹⁰

Vaticanus graecus 124, Polybius I–V, 304 leaves, 33.5 × 25.3 cm., 2 columns, 30 lines, ca. 24 × 7 cm. Subscription 304r εὐτυχῶς χρῶ:—¹¹ ἐγρά(φη) χειρὶ ἐφραίμ μο(να)χ(οῦ) μ(ηνι) ἀπριλλίῳ ε̅ ινδ ε̅ (probably A.D. 947).¹² Through the kindness of Prof. Francesco Sbordone of Naples I have obtained negative photographs of five pages, one of which is reproduced herewith (much reduced). The first five books are all that are preserved of Polybius in full, and this

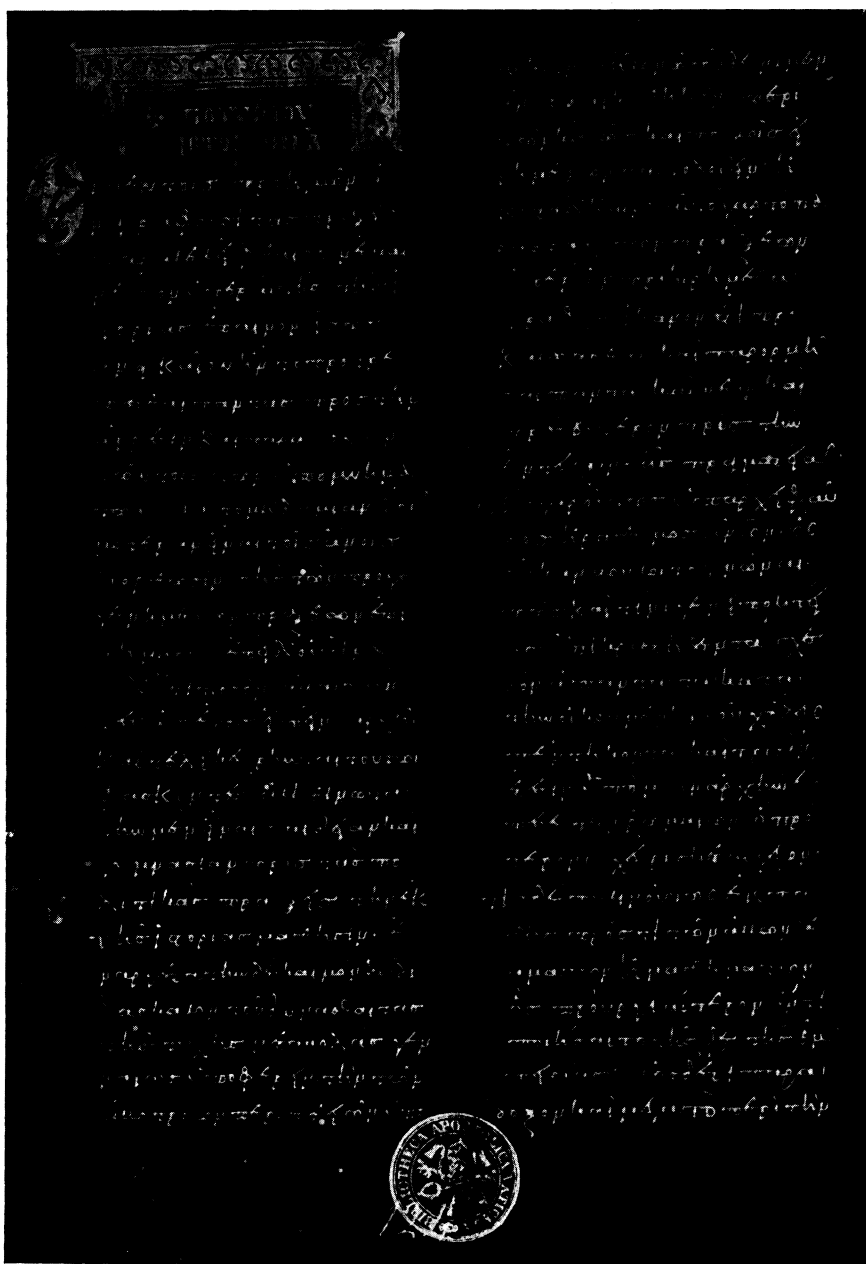
⁸ See Wattenbach and Von Velsen, *Exempla codicum graecorum* (Heidelberg, 1878) Tab. v (fol. 26r); K. Lake and S. New, *Six Collations of New Testament MSS* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) plate vi (fol. 26r); K. Lake and S. Lake, *op. cit.*, No. 44, plates 80 (fol. 84r), 81 (fol. 82r), 85 (colophon 183r).

⁹ See Von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des 10. bezw. 6. Jahrh.*, in *Texte und Unters.* 17, 4 (1899) 3–7 with plate (fol. 50r); Von Soden, *Die Schriften des N. T.*, 1 (Berlin, 1902) 219; C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des N. T.*, 3 (Leipzig, 1909) 1176; Lake and New, *op. cit.* 141–146 with plates iv (fol. 87r), v (fol. 102r), vi (fol. 39r); G. Zuntz, "A Piece of Early Christian Rhetoric in the N. T. MS 1739," *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 47 (1946) 69–74. Th. Zahn, in *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 20 (1899) 178, corrected Von der Goltz's interpretation of the subscription and suggested identity with cod. Marc. 201, later confirmed by Lake and New.

¹⁰ See Von Soden 145, Gregory 1160, Lake and Lake No. 86, plates 152 (frontispiece), 153 (fol. 139r, 287r). Gregory suggested identity with cod. Laurae 184, and recently Lake has asserted the identity of all three of the above MSS (*Dated Greek MSS*, Indices [1945] 73 n. 65).

¹¹ *Εὐτυχῶς χρῶ* occurs also in an ancient subscription to Dioscurides III. See Max Wellmann, *Dioscuridae de materia medica libri quinque*, 2 (Berlin, 1906) pp. vi, 166.

¹² See Mercati and Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, 1 (Rome, 1923) 154.



MS is by far the oldest, if not the only primary source for them.¹³ It was written about the time Constantine Porphyrogenetus (d. 959) was compiling his excerpts from Polybius (all forty books) and other ancient historians. It is noteworthy to find a monk in this period copying so profane a text as Polybius.

All four codices have signatures in the lower inner corner of the first and last pages of each quaternion. Three of them, and probably the fourth also (the Acts), have a cross in the upper margin of the first page of each quaternion.¹⁴ The format is otherwise irregular, and in fact the four codices fall into pairs distinguished by general appearance as well as by date. The Polybius and the Gospels are earlier and more sumptuous and elegant than the Acts and the Organon. The spacing is more ample, the calligraphy finer, and there are illuminated headpieces. The Acts and the Organon have extensive marginalia in half-uncial. Ephraim's script seems distinctly earlier than that in Strabo and Dio. It is purer and more erect, usually stands above the ruled lines, but often sinks across them. Sometimes it has a tall gamma or tau, usually towards the end of the line to save space, a feature which I do not find earlier in minuscule.

On the significance of identifications such as the above Hugo Rabe once commented as follows:¹⁵

Aber auch die Hss der älteren Zeit müssen in noch viel höherem Masse als bisher zum Reden gebracht werden. Wenn allein aus einer vor etwa 1000 Jahren angelegten Bibliothek, der des Arethas, 7 uns erhaltene Hss nachgewiesen sind, zerstreut in alle Winde, so dürfen wir doch annehmen, dass bei anderen Geisteszentren ein ähnliches Geschick gewaltet hat. Versuche zur Gruppierung sind ja hie und da gemacht, aber im allgemeinen herrschen in diesem Teile der griechischen Hss-Kunde die Zufallsfunde vor. Hier muss systematisch gearbeitet werden, um die Kulturzentren zu fassen, welche die Brücke bilden zwischen älterer und neuerer Zeit.

¹³ Büttner-Wobst, *Polybii historiae*, ed. alt., 1 (Leipzig, 1905), still dates the MS in the eleventh century and credits certain later MSS with primary value, but the stemma codicum is not satisfactorily worked out.

¹⁴ The same feature in double occurs in cod. Vatic. gr. 1660, written in Studios' monastery A.D. 916 (Lakes' No. 260, plates 461-462). See A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiogr. und homilet. Lit. der griech. Kirche*, 1, in *Texte und Unters.* 50 (1937) 608.

¹⁵ In a review of Vogel and Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, in *Berliner philol. Wochenschr.* 30 (1910) 109.

The knowledge of Middle Byzantine mss has since progressed in many ways, but not especially in the identification of hands, where the approach is still casual instead of systematic. Certainly much remains to be discovered. However, it may be doubted whether the ultimate results envisioned by Rabe would follow in great measure. The groups that have been built up around the Paris Plato and the Laurentian Aeschylus and Sophocles still wear a mask of anonymity. The case of Arethas is unique.