

XVI. The Manuscripts of Pausanias

AUBREY DILLER

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The examination of the manuscripts of Pausanias' *Periegesis* was begun by J. H. C. Schubart¹ in his edition of 1838,² where he gave the first list of all eighteen codices and made the first attempt to classify them. He says he had collated five of them entire (Va Vb La Lb Ag) and parts of five others (Vn Rc Mn Np Pd). Hitzig³ and Spiro⁴ did more collating for their editions of 1896–1910 and 1903, and altogether a good deal of work has been done on this task, although much of it was not accurate enough. Truth to tell much of it was also misguided and wasted for neglecting the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum* — a common failing in the last century. By merely observing transposed leaves Spiro showed that mss. Ag Pd are apographs of Fa and parts of La are from Pa, and Hitzig promptly dropped these mss. from his later apparatus. But other occurrences of this kind remained to be observed, with the result that the number of primary mss. is reduced to three (five in part of Book I) and the recension becomes, in the terms coined by G. Pasquali, closed instead of open.⁵

Schubart stated the theory that Pausanias was never widely read and a single exemplar survived to be discovered in the Renaissance and become the parent of the existing mss.⁶ This theory, which was con-

¹ A. Duncker, "Johann Heinrich Christian Schubart. Nekrolog," *Centralblatt f. Bibliotheksw.* 2 (1885) 301–12.

² J. H. C. Schubart and C. Walz, edition of Pausanias (3 vol., Leipzig 1838–39). The editors do not distinguish their respective roles in this edition, but the recension seems to be by Schubart (cf. notes 6, 60).

³ H. Hitzig and H. Blümner, edition of Pausanias (6 parts, Berlin and Leipzig 1896–1910), text and apparatus criticus by Hitzig. Hitzig's apparatus is ample, part from Schubart and part from his own collations, and I refer to it constantly. However, C. Robert in *Hallische Winckelmannsprogramme* 16–17 (1892–93) edits parts of Book X with some readings (particularly of Rc) furnished by Hitzig that are lacking in Hitzig's own apparatus.

⁴ F. Spiro, edition of Pausanias (3 vol., Leipzig, Teubner 1903). Spiro says he collated entire all the codices in Italy, Paris, and Leiden, and in part Ms in Moscow and Va Vb in Rome on loan from Vienna, that is, all the mss. except Mn Mt. But his apparatus is too succinct to be of much use in classifying the mss.

⁵ G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence 1934) 126.

⁶ Schubart, "Ueber die Handschr. des Pausanias," *Ztschr. f. d. Alterthumsw.* 20 (1853) 385–410.

fused by the mistaken attribution of certain mss. (Vn Ms) to the fourteenth century, is confirmed by a survey of the testimonia on Pausanias from the second to the fifteenth century, which I have presented in an earlier article.⁷ The single exemplar, or "archetype," belonged to Niccolò Niccoli in 1418 and after his death in 1437 was preserved in the convent of St. Mark in Florence for a century or so and then disappeared. I shall continue the history of Pausanias' *Periegesis* now with an account of the extant codices,⁸ establishing the stemma step by step in connection with the individual members.

Vn. Venice, Bibl. Marciana, codex graecus 413, parchment, I + 265 leaves, 38 x 26.5 cm., Pausanias fol. 4–153 in 15 quaternions, Simplicius on Arist. *de anima* fol. 156–255 in ten quaternions (256–265 blank), the two parts by different hands. Pausanias is written evenly throughout, 55 lines to a page. The hand is not very legible, the ink is light and the parchment dark, so that the ms. would not photograph well. At the beginning is a large head-piece with the main title *πανσανίου ἐλλάδος περιήγησις*, but no title for Book I. The nine other books have titles, but only the fifth is numbered (E). Divisions are sometimes indicated by small spaces in the text, especially toward the beginning, and at the very beginning is a more elaborate paragraphing in the margins: nine numbers of chapters, different from those in the editions, and many dotted obeli marking complete sentences. There are numerous marginal indices by the first hand throughout the ms., and at the beginning again several scholia in the same script but smaller. These are the etymological scholia recognized by Reitzenstein, which I would attribute to the fifteenth century (see note 7), but they are incomplete in Vn, lacking the citations of Hesychius. The text is complete except for the brief omissions⁹ usual with all but the best scribes, due to skipping lines and *sauts du même au même*.

Codex Vn is listed in Bessarion's donation of 1468 as "388. Item Pausaniae descriptio Graeciae, et Simplicius in libros de anima, in perga-

⁷ A. Diller, "Pausanias in the Middle Ages," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 84–97.

⁸ I have inspected all the codices except Ms and have used complete microfilms of Lb Pc in Indiana University Library, also microfilms of Books I and V in La and V in Fb. I wish to thank the Universiteitsbibliotheek, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Biblioteca Laurenziana for permission to take these microfilms.

⁹ Since the omissions in Vn are crucial for the main classification of the mss. of Pausanias (cf. notes 56, 59, 61), I shall list them here by the places where they occur. The ambits of the omissions are given by Hitzig in readings of Lb Ms etc. Viz. 1.13.7, 20.3, 23.2, 27.8; 2.10.7, 13.2, 18.4; 3.1.8, 5.1, 18.7, 22.7, 22.11, 26.10; 4.2.1, 19.6, 35.7, 35.10; 5.1.10, 14.1, 25.5; 6.6.5; 7.1.2, 23.4; 9.10.2, 32.6, 35.6; 10.36.9.

meno, novus liber.”¹⁰ The ms. of Pausanias was a recent apograph of the old codex in Florence. Bessarion’s use of Florentine codices in forming his library is well known.¹¹ The scribe must not have been employed often by Bessarion, as Morelli does not recognize his hand.¹² Bessarion’s books were received in Venice in April 1469 and have remained there ever since, apart from loans and losses.

Codices Lb and Pt are direct apographs of Vn, Lb written in the 1470’s for Domizio Calderini and Pt in the 1490’s. There is a notice in Vn fol. 1r, “a d 1493 die XVII novembris Leon. Tho. Pausaniam totum perlegerat”; and in a register of loans from the Marcian Library¹³ we read, “Adi dicto (16 Settembre 1493) have ser Nicholo di Thomei tre libri greci, Pausania descriptio grecie, Simplicio in libro de anima, Geometria euclidis.” Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (1456–1531) was a well-known professor in the university of Padua.¹⁴ Perhaps codex Pt and its progeny were due to his initiative.

The text of Pausanias in Vn has been corrected throughout by one or more secondary hands. This was done without the aid of another ms., since the omissions in Vn are left unsupplied and the secondary readings do not agree with independent mss. of Pausanias. Codex Pt usually follows this correction, but Lb scarcely ever. Some exceptions, however, must be mentioned. The words *ὦν καὶ νῦν* in 1.11.2 and *καθὸ καὶ ὁ ἄρειος πάγος* in 1.28.5 were omitted at first and supplied later in Vn. Both supplements are genuine, and Lb does not omit the first. Ungenuine corrections in 1.6.6, 7.1, 9.6, are also followed by Lb. Perhaps these supplements and corrections are by the first hand in Vn. I do not think they invalidate the view that the secondary correction in Vn is conjectural and later than Lb and not by Bessarion, as Morelli suggests.

Although Vn is the oldest ms. of Pausanias, it has not been collated thoroughly. Schubart collated Book I, and Hitzig culled numerous readings.

Lb. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, codex B.P.G. 16L, parchment, 214 leaves, 35 x 25 cm., Pausanias fol. 3–213 (214 blank) in 20 quinter-nions and one sexternion, written evenly throughout, 42 or 41 lines to a page, in a clear hand. On fol. 1v occurs the important notice, “Hunc librum curavi mihi transcribendum venetiis eo consilio ut in latinum

¹⁰ H. Omont, “Inventaire des mss. . . . Bessarion,” *Revue des Bibl.* 4 (1894) 164.

¹¹ R. Schöll in *Hermes* 5 (1871) 122, cf. note 22.

¹² Jac. Morelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta graeca et latina* (Bassano 1802) 282.

¹³ Published by G. Coggiola in *Zentralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.* 25 (1908) 52.

¹⁴ *Enciclop. ital.* 20 (1933) 912.

verterem, pro quo solvi Duc. decem et octo. Coepi transferre febr (?) . . . MCCCCLXXVII quom aetatis meae annum agebam trigesimum primum. — Domitius τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χειρί." This suggests that Lb was copied from Vn between 1469 and 1477. Schubart thought Lb was an apograph of Vn,¹⁵ but Hitzig objected with some readings *contra*. Spiro followed Schubart at first, correcting Hitzig's readings, but later changed his mind on new evidence, which he promises to present but does not. I myself observed a number of incipient omissions in Lb that I think make it certain that Lb was copied directly from Vn.¹⁶ In 1940 a photograph of a page of Lb was published,¹⁷ which has led to the identification of the scribe as the George ἀπατήρ of Crete who wrote and signed Marc. gr. 221 (375 in Bessarion's donation). So Domitius employed a scribe previously employed by Bessarion. Several other unsigned mss. have been attributed to him.¹⁸ In Lb his work is very accurate, like Fa Fb, but being an apograph of Vn, Lb is of no value in establishing the text.

Domizio Calderini,¹⁹ born near Verona in 1446, came to Rome before 1470, where he lived in the family of Bessarion and soon became a master in the Studio Romano and apostolic secretary. He died in Rome in 1478, having published several learned commentaries on Latin classics and having in hand besides other works a revision of Ptolemy's *Geography* and a translation of Pausanias. In his commentary on Statius' *Silvae* (Rome 1475) he cites Pausanias and calls him "rerum graecarum scriptor et indagator diligentissimus," and in the preface and epilogue speaks of the translation as already under way — "interdum vertimus" . . . "principis cuiusdam nomine, qui id a me postulavit, opus varietate doctrinae iucundissimum futurum et tam utile quam magnum."²⁰ He also made use of Pausanias, citing him by name, in his commentaries on Martial (Rome 1473) and Ovid's *Ibis* (Rome 1474). How are we to reconcile these dates with the 1477 in codex Lb?²¹ It would help if we knew who was the *princeps* he mentions (Bessarion had died in 1472). Calderini may have seen codex Vn in Bessarion's library before it was

¹⁵ Schubart (see note 6) 401 n.

¹⁶ A. Diller, "Incipient errors in manuscripts," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 232-39.

¹⁷ B. A. van Groningen, *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography* (Leiden 1940) plate X.

¹⁸ R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* II (Oxford 1953) lxxi. I owe this reference to Dr. K. A. de Meyier, of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, who kindly replied to my inquiry about the scribe of Lb. See note 85.

¹⁹ Gino Levi, *Cenni intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di Domizio Calderini* (Padua 1900).

²⁰ Quoted by G. Mercati in Jos. Fischer, *De Cl. Ptolemaei vita operibus* (Vatican City 1932) 203 n. 1. See also the letter of Calderini, 31 July 1477, in Levi (see note 19) 83.

²¹ Also the request for Pausanias to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1478 (see note 37).

sent to Venice in 1469; but probably he had codex Lb already in 1473²² and actually began the translation only in 1477, the *interdum vertimus* being premature in 1475. He was away in Avignon during most of 1476. His unfinished work on Ptolemy and Pausanias is preserved in manuscript in Verona.²³ The Ptolemy was published in Rome in 1478 and the fragment of Pausanias (beg. — 2.6.2) was printed in Venice in 1500 and in Basle in 1541.

In codex Lb there are corrections by a later hand on Book I and the beginning of II. They appear to be conjectural and are probably by Calderini himself, as he follows some of them in his translation.²⁴

There was another reader of Pausanias in Rome in Calderini's time. Demetrius Cavaces of Sparta, a refugee who lived in Rome from 1466 until after 1487,²⁵ has excerpts from Pausanias in several of his mss.²⁶ He could have taken them from Lb, if not from Vn before 1469 or Fb after 1485.

The two Leiden codices of Pausanias (Lb La) were acquired in 1806 at the sale of the library of Matth. Roever,²⁷ who had them as early as 1738 and 1743, when J. J. Reiske and Jac. D'Orville consulted them in his possession.²⁸ Previously they had been in the ill-fated library of Card. Domenico Grimani (d. 1523), the greater part of which he left to the monastery of S. Antonio in Venice.²⁹ In the catalogues of Grimani's Greek mss. preserved in codex Vat. lat. 3960 are listed 238. *Pausanias historicus* (fol. 8v, 61v) and 380. *Pausaniae graeciae descriptio* (12v, 61v). In a catalogue of S. Antonio published in 1650³⁰ are listed *Pausaniae Graecarum Historiarum Lib. f. m.* (Lb) and *Pausanias. fol.*

²² Compare the history of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*: an old ms. in Florence, an apograph in Bessarion's library, another with Calderini in 1473. See A. Diller in *TAPA* 66 (1935) 306–8 and *CP* 33 (1938) 209.

²³ Verona, Bibl. capitolare, codex CCLVII fol. 31–93; see S. Maffei, *Verona illustrata* (Verona 1731) part 2 pp. 114–21, and Levi (see note 19) 7, 69–71.

²⁴ 1.5 Hitzig *πρόκλου Procli*, 1.16 *νεῶν navalía*, 34.20 *οὗτος hic*, 58.2 *κατὰ μακ. Macedonum hostes*, 77.11 *τιθηνῆς almae*, 92.24 *ὥς σφισι ul cuiuspiam*, 94.12 *ῥάριον Rhario*, 104.1 *ἔστιά foci*, 107.14 *πανδίωνος Pandione*, etc. I have had to take these Latin readings from the edition of 1541, although it is professedly corrected from the Greek text.

²⁵ S. Lampros in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 4 (1907) 331–42.

²⁶ Vatic. gr. 2236 fol. 174v–176v (Paus. 3.1.1–2.6), 2238 fol. 182v (Paus. 3.1.1–2), Parma ms. 3062, on Strabo 636D, 637C, 656A (Paus. 1.1).

²⁷ B. P. van Wesele Scholten, *Catalogus librorum Matth. Roeveri* (1806) N^{os} 216, 217; C. G. Siebelis, edition of Pausanias, vol. 5 (Leipzig 1828) p. 2.

²⁸ Reiske in Hitzig-Blümner (see note 3) 1.1 p. XIII n.; Jac. D'Orville, *Animadv. in Charit. Aphrod.* (Amsterdam 1750) 61, 74; Scholten (see note 27) *loc. cit.*

²⁹ G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio*, "Studi e Testi" 75 (1938) 26–34.

³⁰ Jac. Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae* (Udine 1650) 15, 17.

ch. (La). In Lb fol. 2r are two cancelled *Ex libris*, one dated 1611, and on 1v an old number 22. The library of S. Antonio was burned in 1687, but many of the codices had already been dispersed.

Schubart located Roever's codices in Leiden and collated both of them entire. Hitzig culled some new readings from Lb.

Pb. Paris, Bibl. Nat., codex graecus 1400, paper, 71 leaves, contains only Book I of Pausanias, copied from Lb, including the unique secondary corrections in Lb.³¹ The ms. belonged to Janus Lascaris (d. 1534)³² and later to Card. Nic. Ridolfi and Catherine de Médicis.³³ It was inspected by Clavier and Schubart and last by Fr. Dübner for L. Dindorf,³⁴ who observed its relation to Lb.

Fb. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, codex 56-11, parchment, 284 leaves unnumbered in 26 quinternions and three quaternions numbered, 34 x 24 cm., 40 lines. The codex resembles Lb in appearance. The last seven pages (KΘ 5v-8v) are blank excepting the subscription on 6r (see below). This is a codex de luxe and the best ms. of the text of Pausanias. The parchment is very fine. The scribe, Joannes Rhosus, was famous in his time for his handsome script and accurate copying.³⁵ The first page (A 1r) has an elaborately illuminated border with a deleted coat of arms. Each book has a heading and subscription in red, probably by a rubricator, giving the author, main title, and title (excepting Book I) and number of the book. *περιηγῆσεως* is often dropped from the main title, and *ἐλλάδος* is written whimsically as *ἐμαδός* (in majuscule) in all but the first place. The scholia in Book I are fuller than in Vn Pc. I did not find any omissions; the scribe made several but always supplied them himself in the margin. He must have collated his own work.

The subscription is as follows: Μετεγράφη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ῥώμῃ· διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἰωάννου πρεσβυτέρου ῥώσου τοῦ κρητός· ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς χ(ριστο)ῦ γενέσεως χιλιοστῶ τετρακοσιοστῶ ὀγδοηκοστῶ πέμπτῳ· Ἰνδικτύονος τρίτης μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου δεκάτῃ. Circumstances are given in the correspondence of Giovanni Lorenzi Veneto,³⁶ who became apostolic secre-

³¹ Hitzig pp. 1.6, 1.16, 31.2, 63.6, etc.

³² K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Lascaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek," *Centralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.* 1 (1884) 333-412, esp. 410. The two codices of Pausanias mentioned in this list appear to be Pb Pa rather than Fa Fb, as Müller supposed. See B. Knös, *Janus Lascaris* (Paris 1945) 93 f., n. 3.

³³ Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* (Paris 1739) 772; G. Mercati, *Opere minori* 3, "Studi e Testi" 78 (1937) 126-29; R. Ridolfi in *Bibliofilia* 31 (1929) 173-93.

³⁴ L. Dindorf, edition of Pausanias (Paris, Firmin-Didot 1845) IX f.

³⁵ M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber* (Leipzig 1909) 187-93.

³⁶ Published by P. de Nolhac in *Mé!Rom* 8 (1888) 14-18.

tary 12 Sept. 1484 and librarian 12 Dec. 1485. In the spring of 1485 through the intervention of Politian a codex of Pausanias belonging to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici was sent to Rome to be copied for Giovanni Lorenzi. In October 1486 Politian tells Lorenzi they are expecting it back.³⁷ While this information goes very well with the subscription in Fb and scarcely leaves room to doubt that Fb is the codex copied for Lorenzi, it raises two difficulties in the history of the mss. of Pausanias, one regarding Fb and the other Fa. I must admit neither one would arise if Fb were copied from Fa, but I still feel sure it is the other way. Fb then being a primary and very good ms. of Pausanias, we would suppose it was copied from the old codex, which we have supposed on other grounds (see note 7) to be preserved at this time in St. Mark's convent, but instead we are told the exemplar belonged to a minor Florentine nobleman twenty-two years old. Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco (1463-1507), second cousin of the great Lorenzo, was a bibliophile at least to the extent that several codices in the Laurentian Library (not Fa Fb) and elsewhere have his name in them.³⁸ Did he actually possess the old codex of Pausanias, and if he did, what becomes of the other evidence? *Non liquet*.

There is no trace of any codex of Pausanias in the old Medicean Library in the time of Lorenzo il Magnifico and Pope Leo X, but Fb and Fa were probably in the new Laurentian Library when it was inaugurated in 1571 or soon afterwards.³⁹

Fa. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, codex 56-10, parchment, 291 leaves in 28 quinternions and one sexternion lacking its last leaf, 33 x 21 cm., 36 lines. Although the script is not as clear as in Fb, the ms. is very accurate. Incipient errors are carefully erased. I did not find any omitted lines in Books V and X, but Hitzig reports several in Ag Pd that must go back to Fa.⁴⁰ Fa agrees closely with Fb, even in that *εμαδός*

³⁷ In 1473 Theodore Gaza in Rome offered to pay Demetrius Sguropulus in Florence if he would copy Pausanias for him, and in 1478 Domizio Calderini (see above on Lb) wrote to Lorenzo il Magnifico for permission to have *his* codex of Pausanias copied by Giovanni Candiottio (Joannes Rhosus). See *TAPA* 87 (1956) 95. These anticipations of the affair of 1485 were interrupted by the Pazzi conspiracy and the death of Calderini and resumed after the death of Sixtus IV.

³⁸ Codd. Laur. 7-28, 8-11, 30-2, 58-33, etc., Ambros. R 26 sup. (Tibullus), Brussels 11336.

³⁹ I have consulted the inventory of 1495 published by E. Piccolomini in *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. terza 20 (1874) 51-94, and the catalogue of *Graeca bibliotheca apud Card. de Medicis* (later Leo X) in codex Barberini lat. 3185, and the *Index bibliothecae Mediceae* (ca. 1536) printed in Florence, Libreria Dante, 1882 (30 pp.). I have not seen the earliest catalogues of the new Laurentian Library.

⁴⁰ Omissions in (Fa) Ag Pd: 1.1.4, 1.44.2, 2.3.11, 3.4.7, 3.12.8, 3.14.9, 6.12.2.

in the titles. I compared large portions of the two mss. seeking evidence to show whether one was copied from the other, and found it very scarce, so accurate are both mss. Nevertheless it is certain that Fb was not copied from Fa, as Spiro supposed. There are many small defects in Fa where Fb is sound and agrees with Vn Pc, for example, the omission in 1.1.4. Aside from this negative evidence I found only one positive indication that Fa was copied from Fb. In 5.1.8 Fb at first omitted $\xi\sigma\chi\epsilon\nu$, writing $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\nu \alpha\rho\chi$, and then corrected himself by changing ρ to $\epsilon\sigma$, leaving the reading $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\nu\alpha \xi\sigma\chi\epsilon\nu$, which occurs in Pd from Fa. Since this absurd reading thus seems to originate in Fb, its occurrence in Fa Pd and also in La (see below) must derive from Fb. I conclude that Fa is an apograph of Fb, but I wish I had more proof of it.

The illuminated first page of Fa, with its coat of arms, was published in 1914⁴¹ and has led to the identification of the script and scribe, but not the owner of the coat of arms and the codex. The scribe was Demetrius Chalcondyles,⁴² professor of Greek in Florence 1475-1491.

⁴¹ G. Biagi, *Riproduzioni di mss. miniati. Cinquanta tavole in fototipia da codici della R. Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana* (Florence 1914) plate 37.

⁴² See below on Pa. This is only a tentative statement based on the following facts. (1) E. Lobel, *The Greek mss. of Aristotle's Poetics* (Oxford 1933) 53, placed Laur. 56-10 (Fa) and Paris. gr. 1394 (Strabo) in a group of mss. by the same hand, working in Florence about 1480, which he could not identify. Cf. Pfeiffer (see note 18) lxiv. I have compared the two codices and find they are not only by the same hand but also of the same format (fine parchment in quaternions, 33 x 22 cm., 36 lines). (2) In a letter to Giovanni Lorenzi Veneto (see above on Fb) Demetrius Chalcondyles says a $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\rho\acute{o}s$ of Florence wishes to have Strabo copied, but the available exemplar, in two codices containing Europe and Asia respectively, is defective in Europe. I think it certain the codex in project here is Paris. gr. 1394, which has the insignia of the Medici and was copied from the famous Strabo of Ciriaco d'Ancona, now Eton 141 (Europe) and Laur. 28-15 (Asia). See R. Foerster, "Cyriacus von Ancona zu Strabon," *RhM* 51 (1896) 481-91. The letter is published by H. Noiret in *MélRom* 7 (1887) 486-88. It is dated August 14 without the year. I think it was in 1484, after the peace of Bagnolo and the death of Sixtus IV (August 7 and 12) and before Lorenzi became apostolic secretary (September 12). (3) The specimen of Chalcondyles' handwriting from Paris. gr. 2783 given by H. Omont, *Fac-similés de mss. grecs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris 1887) plate 16, did not seem to Lobel to be the same as Fa etc.; for he attributes a ms. of the *Poetics* to Chalcondyles (Ambr. 0 52, compared with Omont's specimen) and marginal notes in it to the hand of Fa. Recently D. Young, in *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 14 f., has suggested Omont's specimen is Janus Lascaris instead of Demetrius Chalcondyles. Professor Young very generously sent me a whole package of specimens, which enabled me to review this problem directly. The most authentic examples of Chalcondyles' handwriting, in Vat. lat. 5641 (letters) and Paris. gr. 2023 (births of children), are alike but somewhat different from Paris. 2783 and from Fa etc., being less calligraphic. Nevertheless I concluded all three scripts could be by the same hand. If not, the scribe of Fa would be someone working with Chalcondyles in Florence in 1484. That could be Janus Lascaris, but his handwriting seems to me to be quite different.

It is a problem how and why he copied from Fb, which belonged to Lorenzi in Rome, instead of the old codex in Florence. Part of the answer is probably that the old codex was more difficult to read.

The two Laurentian codices have been strangely neglected by the editors of Pausanias. S. Ciampi published readings from them in 1814.⁴³ Siebelis (1822) received a specimen of their readings from Del Furia, the librarian, but decided not to have them collated in full. Schubart and Hitzig culled readings, but more from Fa than Fb. Spiro edited the scholia from them, but he perversely gave Fa priority over Fb.⁴⁴ After Spiro discovered that Ag Pd are apographs of Fa, Hitzig collated Fa in Books VIII–X. The modern text of Pausanias has suffered from this neglect of its best extant source.

Ag. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, codex C.2.11 (gr. 103), paper, 32 x 23 cm., 32 lines. Pausanias fol. 6–439 in 43 quinternions and one binion. The codex bears the name of Card. Egidio da Viterbo (1470–1532).⁴⁵ Like other codices of his in the Angelica it was written by Valeriano d'Albino da Forlì, a prolific writer of Greek mss. in the second quarter of the sixteenth century,⁴⁶ and so it is later than the editio princeps of Pausanias (1516). Ag was rated highly by Nibby, who collated it for his Italian translation of 1817. Siebelis obtained a collation, and Schubart collated it all again, but regarded it unfavorably.

Pd. Paris, Bibl. Nat., codex graecus 1411, paper, 20 x 14 cm. (much trimmed), 25 lines. Pausanias fol. 1–428 in 42 quinternions and one quaternion. Omont attributes this ms. also to Valeriano. In 1550 it was in the Royal Library at Fontainebleau.⁴⁷ Clavier in his edition of 1814 rated Pd Pc above Pa. Schubart collated Book IV, and Hitzig collated the whole. Hitzig showed that Ag Pd are twins, neither copied from the other, and found a large transposition shared by both in 5.21–22, which enabled Spiro to identify Fa as the *Vorlage* of Ag Pd.

Pc (P). Paris, Bibl. Nat., codex graecus 1410, paper, 309 leaves (1–307 with three unnumbered leaves after 178 and without number 233) in irregular quires, 23 x 16 cm. (much trimmed), written rather unevenly in a small, unclear hand, signed fol. 307r: τέ[λος ἐ]λληφ]εν ἡ παροῦσα

⁴³ S. Ciampi, *Descrizione della cassa di Cipselo tradotta del greco di Pausania* (Pisa 1814), cited by Schubart. I have not been able to consult this work or Ciampi's complete translation of Pausanias (4 vol., Milan 1826–36).

⁴⁴ Spiro, "Pausanias-scholien," *Hermes* 29 (1894) 143–49.

⁴⁵ *CR* 3 (1899) 347, *StItal* 4 (1896) 10, 141.

⁴⁶ G. Mercati in *Studi e Testi* 164 (1952) 165–73.

⁴⁷ H. Omont, *Catalogues des mss. grecs de Fontainebleau* (Paris 1889) 140 N° 417, 302 N° 562, 449 N° 563.

νῦν δέλτος παρ' ἐμοῦ [μιχαήλ τ]οῦ σουλιάρδου ἐν ἔτει ̳ω̳ϙ̳ω̳θ̳ω (6999 = A.D. 1490–91). Michael Suliardus has left a number of signed and dated Greek codices.⁴⁸ He worked at various places in Greece until after 1489 and then appears in Florence and Bologna. His dates are often amiss and unreliable; but there is no particular reason to suspect this one. Suliardus is free and irregular with the titles all through and has supplied the missing title for Book I: τέλος τοῦ ᾠ^{ου} τῶν ἀθηναϊκῶν καὶ μεγαρικῶν (39r). He puts a summary at the end: 'Ἀθηναϊκά: κορινθιακά: λακωνικά: [om. IV] ἡλιακά: ἀχαιικά: ἀρκαδικά: βοιωτικά: φωκικά: λοκρῶν ὄζολων: — (307r, compare Pt). He often writes quotations of verse and marginalia in red. He omits most of the scholia on Book I, but preserves some unique scholia further on, such as the precious testimonium of Arethas (194r on 7.21.10).

Pc is a primary ms. of Pausanias, doubtless copied in Florence from the old codex. It is inferior to Fb, but perhaps as good as Vn and certainly valuable as a third witness in establishing the text. It has no apographs. Francis I bought it with other Greek codices in 1529 for his library at Fontainebleau from Jerome Fondule of Cremona, tutor of the Dauphin.⁴⁹ Clavier in his edition of 1814 rated it above Pd and Pa, and Bekker in 1826 followed him so far as to state, "Eum codicem haec editio ita exprimit, ut nullum ab eo vestigium nisi monito lectore recedat," which Schubart branded as an overstatement. Schubart neglected Pc, but Hitzig collated it entire, though leaving it to Spiro to discover the unique scholia.⁵⁰

Mt (Ma). Madrid, Bibl. Nac., codex 4564 (formerly N 25), paper, 53 leaves. Fol. 13–38, in two quaternions and one ternion, 29 x 20 cm., 30 lines, Pausanias beg. — 1.26.5 διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστι, written in the well-known hand of Constantine Lascaris. Fol. 1–10 (Simplicius) and 39–53 (Appian) are by two other hands. The title is in red: Πανσανίου ιστοριογράφου ἱστορίαι. There are a few marginal indices in red, but no scholia. Fol. 38v is full and the text ends abruptly without subscription, suggesting that more followed and has been lost; but the ternion suggests that the ms. is complete as it is. Mt is a primary ms., being independent of the other existing mss. of Pausanias.

Constantine Lascaris (1434–1501) was professor of Greek at Messina for the last half of his life; previously he had been at Milan.⁵¹ In 1499

⁴⁸ Vogel-Gardthausen (see note 35) 318–20; Lobel (see note 42) 54–56.

⁴⁹ Omont (see note 47) 372 N° 20, 141 N° 418, 302 N° 563, 449 N° 561.

⁵⁰ Spiro, "Ein Leser des Pausanias," *Festschr. Johannes Vahlen* (Berlin 1900) 135–38.

⁵¹ Vogel-Gardthausen (see note 35) 242–46 with references; H. Rabe, "Konstantin Laskaris," *Zentralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.* 45 (1928) 1–7.

he published a little book in Messina entitled *Vitae illustrium philosophorum Siculorum et Calabrorum*,⁵² in which he cites Pausanias 6.4.4 (*Cal.* 18) and 10.11.3 (*Sic.* 27), showing that he had read more than Mt contains. A list of books, probably *desiderata*, in his handwriting in codex Barocci 76 has *πανσανίας εἰς τὴν διαγραφὴν τῆς ἐλλάδος*.⁵³

How did Constantine Lascaris come to know Pausanias in Messina when there was no copy nearer than Rome? In *Vitae Siculorum* 13 he says he had read three orations of Gorgias in the Library of St. Mark in Florence. This is a mistake; there are only two orations of Gorgias preserved. The two occur only in codex Burney 95, an apograph of which (Laur. 4-11) was brought from Athos by Janus Lascaris in 1492 for the Medicean Library,⁵⁴ which was transferred to St. Mark's after the flight of the Medici in 1494. It looks as if Constantine Lascaris visited St. Mark's in Florence between 1494 and 1499 and learned of Pausanias' *Periegesis* there and then and began to copy it (hastily, according to Hitzig) but did not get far along with it.

Like many other Greek mss. in Madrid, Mt was copied and kept by Constantine Lascaris for himself. He bequeathed his books to the city of Messina. In 1679 they were transferred to Palermo and in 1738 to Madrid. From the catalogue of Iriarte (Madrid 1769) Mt was at last added to the list of mss. of Pausanias by Schubart in 1838. Hitzig obtained a loan of the codex and gives a description and collation.

* * *

We have examined now half of the mss. of Pausanias and have found four apographs (Mt only a fragment) of the old lost codex in Florence and five apographs in turn of these. There has been no evidence of contact or comparison between these mss. and only a small amount of conjectural correction (in Vn Lb). From now on our task will be more difficult. With codex Pt extensive contamination and interpolation begin and in the end so confuse the tradition as to resist analysis and obstruct stemmatization. Schubart rightly put the mss. we have reviewed and those that are to follow (except parts of La) in separate classes and recognized the latter as interpolated.⁵⁵ Spiro transferred Vn Lb to the latter class. Actually Vn is the source of the whole latter class, though without sharing its distinctive contamination and interpolation.

⁵² Copinger 3500, reprinted in Fabricius, *Bibl. graeca* 14 (Hamburg 1728) 22-35, and Migne, *Patr. graeca* 161 (Paris 1866) 915-28.

⁵³ S. Lampros in *Néos 'Ελληνομνήμων* 1 (1904) 308, 6 (1909) 398; Lobel (see note 42) 49.

⁵⁴ W. Wyse, *The speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge 1904) i-vii.

⁵⁵ Clavier and Nibby had already recognized the superiority of Pc Pd Ag over Pa Pt, and Bekker had based his text on Pc alone.

Pt (Vt). Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, codex Palatinus graecus 56, paper, 247 leaves in 25 quaternions lacking three leaves, written throughout by the same hand. On fol. 96r there is a conspicuous cancellation of a great part of the page. After the words *ἔστι δὲ καὶ τύχης* (4.30.3) follow the words *καλούμενος δὲ αὐτὸς . . . καθὰ καὶ πρότερον* (4.28.1-3), which fill the rest of the page and are cancelled, with the word *λάθος* in the margin. Fol. 96v continues with *ναὺς φαραιάταις* (4.30.3). This is an incipient repetition, which serves to identify the codex Pt was copied from (see note 16). In Vn fol. 60r ends with *ἔστι δὲ καὶ τύχης* and 59v begins with *-μενος δὲ αὐτὸς*; therefore Pt was copied directly from Vn, the scribe forgetting to turn fol. 60. After this it is scarcely necessary to say that the primary text of Pt agrees constantly with Vn. It has all the omissions of Vn plus many more of its own.⁵⁶ In 1.28.1 (Vn 14r4) and probably elsewhere it omits precisely one line of Vn. It agrees with Vn in the titles, where Fb Pc are different and untraditional. It also agrees usually with the secondary corrections in Vn. At the end it has a summary, supplying a title for Book I: *πανσανίου ἐλλάδος περιηγήσεως: ἀττικῶν· κορινθιακῶν· λακωνικῶν· μεσσηνιακῶν· ἡλιακῶν α̃^{ov}· ἡλιακῶν β̃^{ov}· ἀχαικῶν· ἀρκαδικῶν· βοιωτικῶν· καὶ φωκιῶν λοκρῶν ὄξωλῶν. ΤΕΛΟΣ* (247r, compare Pc). Unfortunately there is no subscription, and I have not identified the scribe. I imagine Pt was written in Venice or Padua about the time Niccolò Leonico Tomeo borrowed Vn from the Marcian Library and *Pausaniam totum perlegerat* in 1493.

Pt has been subjected to thorough collation and correction by secondary hands. As all the omissions are supplied, the codex used for collation cannot have been Vn. A similar revision occurs in Rc Pa etc. (see below).

Codex Pt was in the library of Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg (1526-1584), which became, in respect to Greek codices, the main component of the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. It is one of the large number of Fugger-Palatine codices that have the name *Hen(ricus)* written in them, explained variously as Henry Scrimger, Edward Henryson, or Henri Estienne, who were all agents or associates of Ulrich Fugger.⁵⁷ In 1623 the whole Palatine Library was presented to the Pope and taken to Rome. Nibby collated Pt in 1817, rating it below Ag, and Siebelis obtained a collation. Schubart collated a few pages and classified it as interpolated. Schubart and Hitzig rarely quote it beyond Book I.

⁵⁶ Omissions in Pt: 1.1.3, 2.5, 20.1, 23.5, 28.1, ... 10.1.3, 1.8, 7.3, 7.8, 8.4, 8.5 bis, 9.8, 10.6, 12.6, 15.2, 18.1, 18.5, 19.4. Cf. note 9.

⁵⁷ P. Lehmann, "Briefe an Ulrich Fugger," *BZ* 44 (1951) 379-88; A. Diller, *The tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, Penn. 1952) 25 f.

Rc (R). Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, codex graecus 29, paper, 278 leaves, written by two main hands, fol. 1–122 in 11 quinternions and two ternions, Paus. beg. — 5.14.2, and fol. 123–278 in 15 quinternions and one ternion, 5.14.2 — end, fol. 123 by still another hand apparently a replacement of the original leaf.⁵⁸ At the end is the summary as in Pt (277r, 277v–278v blank). The primary text has all the omissions of Vn Pt plus many more of its own;⁵⁹ in 1.6.6 and 6.14.3 it omits precisely one line of Pt (4v4, 131r21). It is plain Rc was originally a simple derivative, probably a direct apograph of Pt before collation and correction. It was written before 1497, the date of its own derivative Pa.

Rc, like Pt, has been subjected to thorough revision. All the omissions are supplied, and many variants and corrections are entered, apparently by the main hand of the first part. We will return to this revision in connection with Pa.

There is a series of heavy scratches in the text of Rc with numbers opposite in the margins, which correspond in part to pages of the Aldine *editio princeps* of 1516. I think they indicate that this codex was used in printing the edition, which in any case depends on the secondary correction in Rc. On fol. 123r Rc omits the word *φασιν* (Paus. 5.14.2) right where one of the scratches occurs, whereas the edition does not omit it. As fol. 123 is probably a replacement, the omission does not prove the edition is independent of Rc, but the scratch would show the replacement was made before the edition was finished.

The origins of the Riccardi Library are not well known. Codex Rc appears in the catalogue published by G. Lami in 1756. Schubart collated Book I.⁶⁰ Hitzig at first thought Rc a valuable ms. and collated it entire, but he ceases to quote it after Book VII (see note 81). Spiro also once calls it “der hochwichtige Riccardianus” (see note 44), but in his edition he counts it among the “*prorsus abiendi*.”

Ms (M). Moscow, Library of the Synod, now in the State Historical Museum, codex graecus 500 (formerly 194 and 193), paper, 281 leaves, Pausanias fol. 2–280, neatly written with the summary at the end as in Pt Rc. Schubart called attention to a large transposition in 8.35.2–37.7, which he explained *folii inversione* in the antigraph (rather *foliorum*

⁵⁸ The hand of fol. 123 occurs extensively in other Riccardi mss. and elsewhere. See below on Vb. In Br. Mus. add. ms. 9349 it is signed by Constantine Mesobotes in Padua in 1508. See G. Vitelli in *StItal* 2 (1894) 486, E. Lobel in *CQ* 22 (1928) 202, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 (1931) 97–101 with plate IV.

⁵⁹ Omissions in Rc: 1.6.6, 10.3, 12.3, 25.5, 26.7, ... 10.19.7, 30.7, 30.9, 31.8, 33.8. Cf. notes 9, 56.

⁶⁰ Schubart, “De Pausaniae codicibus Neap. Ricc.,” *Ztschr. f. d. Alterthumszw.* 7 (1840) 601–11.

or *bifolii*). It did not occur to him or Hitzig or Spiro to look for this antigraph, for they all had it in their hands without recognizing it. The transposed portions coincide with fol. 207 and 208 in Rc, which are the interior bifolium of a quire. Rc was probably unbound when Ms was copied, and the scribe read the bifolium backwards. It is bound in order now. In this part, then, Ms is an apograph of Rc. In Books VI–X it has the accumulated omissions of Vn Pt Rc. In I–IV, however, it does not have the omissions of Rc, but only those of Vn Pt; in 4.16.9 it omits precisely one line of Pt (87r10), which Rc does not omit. There was a change of antigraph, then, in the middle of the codex, perhaps at 5.14.2, where there is a break in Rc. Codex Ms seems from the description to be the work of a single scribe. Probably Ms and Rc were copied from Pt at the same time. Like Pt Rc, Ms has a number of omissions of its own,⁶¹ but unlike Pt Rc, it has no secondary collation and very little correction. The primary hand often corrects its own mistakes, and sometimes new readings are introduced by conjecture,⁶² which are useful for recognizing the derivatives of this ms.

In the front of the codex occur — conveniently for us — the names of three previous owners: *Arsenij*. 'Ιβήρων. 'Εκ τῶν μαξίμου ἐπισκόπου κυθήρων. The last was the first. Maximus Margunius (1549–1602), bishop of Cythera, was a Cretan, who lived in Venice after 1584.⁶³ He bequeathed his Greek books to a monastery in Crete,⁶⁴ but somehow they reached the monastery 'Ιβήρων on Mt. Athos instead, where many of them still are. In 1655 the Russian monk Arsenij Suchanov was sent to Greece to procure manuscript codices for the Synod in Moscow and returned with a large number mostly from the monasteries of Mt. Athos.⁶⁵ After more than a century these codices were examined with remarkable industry by the German professor C. F. Matthäi during his appointments in Moscow. In 1784 Matthäi brought back to Germany a number of codices from the shelves of the Synod and several printed editions collated with mss. of the Synod, which he sold to the public library in Dresden.⁶⁶ One of the collations was of Pausanias in a copy of Kühn's edi-

⁶¹ Omissions in Ms: 1.2.3, 5.3, 20.3, 23.7, 29.13, 35.6, 43.8, ... 10.26.8, 29.7, 31.12, 38.9. Cf. notes 9, 56, 59.

⁶² III p. 705.5 Hitzig φόβους, V p. 232.12 ἐλαφροδιῶνος, 253.2 πάριον, VII p. 716.11 τέλος, 717.5 ἐπέταξεν, 754.5 θεόν, 755.3 τι, VIII p. 44.13 τοῦ, X p. 584.18 s. φροντῖνος. ⁶³ BZ 45 (1952) 138.

⁶⁴ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique . . . des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris 1885) 2 p. LXIV.

⁶⁵ Archimandrite Vladimir, *Systematic catalogue of the Greek mss. in the library of the Synod in Moscow* (Moscow 1894, in Russian), preface.

⁶⁶ O. von Gebhardt, "Chr. Fr. Matthaei und seine Sammlung griechischer Handschr.," *Zentralbl. f. Bibliotheksw.* 15 (1898) *passim*.

tion of 1696, which is almost the only source of our knowledge of the text of Ms.⁶⁷ It was used by Facius (1794), Siebelis (1822), and Schubart (1838) for their editions. Schubart and Hitzig had correspondents in Moscow inspect the codex for them. Spiro collated Books I V X himself in Moscow and found the unique personal scholium about Rimini at 2.32.2, which he absurdly attributed to Arethas (see note 50).

Mn (Mo). Munich, Staatsbibl., codex graecus 404, paper, 72 leaves (1–71 with 1 *bis*) in nine quaternions, ending abruptly in 3.13.3 with a catchword for the next quire. The main hand ends with fol. 66r in 3.6.9; a second hand continues on 66v and is succeeded by a third at 68v14. I have recognized the last two hands elsewhere.⁶⁸ Mn belongs to a small group of Greek codices in Munich all bound alike in stamped pigskin and each written in whole or in part by one or both of these hands. In codex 546 fol. 17r our second hand is dated in Venice, 28 January 1505 (probably 1506 our style), by Paolo da Canale, who died in 1508 at the age of 25.⁶⁹ I have not found the name of our third hand, which has an uncouth appearance.⁷⁰ The whole ms. is apparently an apograph of Ms. Omissions, including those from Vn, are supplied in Books I II by the second hand (da Canale); in 2.16.7 his supplement *καὶ ἡλέκτρας* agrees with a secondary interpolation in Pt Rc.

The mss. of da Canale in Munich probably came to the Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg from its librarian David Hoeschel (1556–1617), who has written some notes in Mn, including the page-numbers of Sylburg's edition of 1583 and a supplement in 1.2.3. The Augsburg library was transferred to Munich in 1806. Siebelis obtained a specimen of readings from Mn, and Schubart and Hitzig collated the whole ms.

Va (V). Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibl., codex hist. gr. 23, paper, 238 leaves in 20 sexternions, lacking two leaves at the end, written coarsely by at least three different hands relieving each other, with the summary at the end (236r, 236v–238v blank). The ms. appears to be a derivative of Ms, as it has the same omission in 4.16.9 and the large transposition in 8.35–37 and often follows the conjectural readings proper to Ms (see note 62). In the latter part the agreement with Ms is so

⁶⁷ Another copy of the collation is in the Stadtbibliothek in Leipzig (Siebelis [see note 27] vol. 5 p. 1).

⁶⁸ A. Diller (see note 57) 23 f.

⁶⁹ *Desiderii Erasmi opera omnia* (Leiden 1703) 2 p. 502A, 3 p. 788c; Vogel-Gardthausen (see note 35) 377; P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi* (Oxford 1924) 5 p. 245.

⁷⁰ Paris. gr. 2847 and Pal. gr. 142 fol. 134–271 are by our third hand, which Holsten thought was feminine and I once thought might be juvenile (see note 57, p. 24). Now I think it is probably transalpine.

close as to suggest a simple apograph; but in the first part, while there is still much agreement with Ms, there is also much disagreement, and some omissions of Vn Pt Rc Ms do not occur in Va. The change comes in 7.23. It seems necessary to suppose a lost intermediary copied from Ms and subjected to secondary collation and correction like Pt Rc as far as 7.23. This is confirmed by the marginalia written by the first hands in red and black, containing indices with some variant readings and unique scholia,⁷¹ apparently copied from the antigraph. There is no secondary work in Va itself.

The two Vienna codices of Pausanias belonged to the Hungarian humanist Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584).⁷² Facius had collations of them for his edition of 1794, and Schubart collated them again entire. Hitzig checked Schubart's readings. Spiro had both codices on loan in Rome.

Vb. Vienna, Nationalbibl., codex hist. gr. 51, paper, 424 leaves (1–421 with 97, 204, 254 *bis*) in 42 quinternions and one binion numbered γ̄-μ̄ε̄. The first two quires are missing, the text begins abruptly in 1.19.5. At the end (421v) is a number αφ- (A.D. 15--?) and the summary as in Pt Rc. There are no marginalia and no secondary work. Vb agrees with Pt Rc in omissions in 10.8.4, 8.5, 29.7, but most of its omissions are its own. Its text agrees extensively with Ms and the vulgate against Vn Lb. If I am not mistaken, Vb was copied from Rc after collation and correction. In Rc the titles of Books V and VII–X are omitted; in Vb the titles of V and X are omitted and those of VII–IX are in Latin, the others in Greek as usual.

By courtesy of the Nationalbibliothek I have obtained a photograph of the last page of Vb and find that the handwriting is, as I had suspected, that of Constantine Mesobotes, who also wrote fol. 123 in Rc (see note 58).

The history of Vb is the same as that of Va. At the foot of fol. 1r is written *Joan. Sambucj 1551*. Gerstinger says Sambucus was in Paris during 1551.

* * *

The six codices we have just examined are a Venetian episode in the history of the text of Pausanias, starting from the Venetian exemplar Vn, passing through Venetian hands in Mn Vb, and ending with the Venetian *editio princeps* in 1516. Aside from the multiplication of

⁷¹ N. A. Bees in *Philologus* 75 (1919) 231 f.

⁷² H. Gerstinger, "Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler," *Festschr. der Nationalbibl. in Wien* (Vienna 1926) 251–400.

apographs it is remarkable for the activity in collation and correction exhibited in process in three different mss. (Pt Rc Mn) and in result in two more (Va Vb). A non-Venetian element intrudes here, for all the collations are independent of Vn. The printing of the text checked the production of manuscript copies of Pausanias. The *editio princeps* was prepared by Marcus Musurus and printed by the Aldine press in July 1516. Aldus Manutius himself had died on 6 February 1515. The edition had been in project ever since 1497.⁷³ Musurus had already used Pausanias for his notes and lectures on the *Anthology* in Padua in 1506,⁷⁴ and Erasmus mentions Pausanias among the authors provided him in manuscript by Musurus and others while he was working on his *Adagia* in Venice in 1508.⁷⁵ The influence of the secondary revision in Rc etc. is manifest on every page of Musurus' printed text. After this Venetian episode we move to Milan to finish our history.

Pa. Paris, Bibl. Nat., codex graecus 1399, paper, 240 leaves in 30 quaternions (1-238 plus three blank leaves at the end, number 194 omitted), written unevenly by the same hand throughout, with a subscription (238v): *πέτρος ὁ ὑψηλᾶς αἰγινήτης αὐτοχειρία ἔγραψεν· ἔτει χιλιοστῶ τετρακοσιοστῶ ἐννεκοστῶ ἐβδόμῳ πέντε ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ μουνυχίωνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς χριστοῦ γεννέσεως· — μεδιολανόθι*: This is the only known ms. signed by Hypselas. He was in the employ of Demetrius Chalcondyles in Florence in 1490⁷⁶ and perhaps followed Chalcondyles to Milan in 1491. Chalcondyles was professor of Greek in Milan from 1491 until his death in 1511.⁷⁷ He is represented as knowing Pausanias by heart and quoting him extensively in the *Dialogus* by his disciple and successor Stephanus Niger (Negri) printed in Milan in 1517.

Pa is a complicated ms. because it is full of supplements, variants, and corrections by the first and more than one later hand. It is not possible to unravel its relations in detail without fuller collations than are available at present. It is clear that Pa is a derivative of Rc in part and probably in whole. In Book I it has the omissions of Vn Pt Rc supplied by a later hand. This agreement in omissions ceases after

⁷³ A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875), index; A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, 3rd ed. (Paris 1834) 14a, 36a, 63a, 74a, 76ab, 335a.

⁷⁴ A. Calderini, "Scoli greci all'Antologia Planudea," *Memorie del R. Ist. Lombardo, Cl. di Lettere* 22 (3rd ser. 13 [1912]) fasc. 8; J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy* (Ithaca, N. Y. 1935) 155-58.

⁷⁵ Erasmus (see note 69) 2 p. 405b; F. M. Nichols, *The epistles of Erasmus* (London 1901) 1 pp. 31, 438.

⁷⁶ *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. terza 21 (1875) 288 N° 70, cf. 20 (1874) 89 N° 889.

⁷⁷ G. Cammelli, *Demetrio Calcondila* (Florence 1954).

2.3, but clear to the end Pa shares the secondary interpolations of Rc, part in its primary text and part added later. This suggests to me that the secondary revision of the text in Rc Pa was in progress when Pa was being written. If so, Rc must have been sent to Milan from Venice in 1497 to be collated and corrected. Chalcondyles' school would be a likely place, and this is the year Aldus Manutius begins to speak of printing Pausanias.

The secondary revision in Rc Pa is of great moment in the history of the text of Pausanias because it is extensive and substantial and because Rc became the source of the printed text. The secondary revision in Pt and Mn agrees with that in Rc at least in part and must have been transferred to them from Rc, if it is original there. The contamination in Va also agrees with Rc.⁷⁸ This far-reaching revision consists of two strands, which are to be distinguished rigorously, that is, collation and correction, or, from our point of view, contamination and interpolation. The collation will be recognized by its agreement with Vn Fb Pc. The particular source of it remains to be identified, although it was certainly independent of Vn. If it was in Milan in 1497, it may have been Fb or Fa or Pc, scarcely Ag Pd or the old codex in Florence. More important for critical purposes is the correction or interpolation. This often goes so far as to insert words or phrases into the text to restore or improve the sense, a few of which are still printed as genuine.⁷⁹ While much of this correction is acceptable as such, it should not be confused with the actual tradition preserved in Vn Fb Pc and their simple derivatives. In the future it will have to be distinguished more effectively than in the recent editions and presented in the light of conjectural emendation.⁸⁰

Pa belonged to Janus Lascaris, whose mark Λ^{σ} appears on one of the guard-leaves, and his hand is to be recognized in annotations on Books III–VI and elsewhere. From Lascaris it came to its present place the same way as Pb. It was collated with the other Paris mss. of Pausanias by Clavier, who rightly thought it inferior to Pc Pd. Hitzig collated it again and quotes it constantly throughout. He regarded it highly,⁸¹ apparently shifting his esteem from Rc to Pa in the course of his edition.

⁷⁸ The secondary revisions in Vn and Lb are independent.

⁷⁹ One of the strongest instances is in 1.41.3 *φασι . . . λέοντα τὸν*.

⁸⁰ The conjectural element in the secondary revision in Rc Pa may be discerned in Spiro's edition, partly by the symbols L¹ or L² (our Pa Vb) or s (anonymous) and partly as the opposite of γP¹ (our Vn Lb Ms and Fb Fa Pc); see his vol. 1 p. XVIII.

⁸¹ Hitzig, "Zur Wertung des Pausanias-Codex 1399 (Pa) der Bibl. Nat. in Paris," *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 261–71.

Np (N). Naples, Bibl. Naz., codex III Aa 16 bis, paper. Schubart collated Book I, and Hitzig observed close agreement with Pa. In four places in Book I, I found an incipient omission coinciding with secondary marginal supplements in Pa, one of which (1.25.4) is unique in Pa. Apparently Np is a direct apograph of Pa. There is very little secondary work in the ms.

At the end is the notice found in many Naples codices: *Antonii Seripandi ex Jani Parrhasii testamento*. Janus Parrhasius of Cosenza in Calabria (1470–1522) lived in Milan from 1499 to 1507 and married the eldest daughter of Demetrius Chalcondyles.⁸² His library passed from Antonio Seripandi to his brother Card. Gerolamo Seripandi, who left it to the convent of San Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples.⁸³

La (L). Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, codex B.P.G. 16K, paper, 384 leaves in 46 quires, written by four hands in four parts, viz. (1) fol. 1–38, quires $\tilde{a}\tilde{\delta}$, containing Paus. beg. — 1.42.1, with a change of hand in 37.4, (2) fol. 39–174, $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\kappa}\tilde{\alpha}$, 1.42.1 — IV end, (3) fol. 175–282, $\tilde{a}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\beta}$, V beg. — 8.52.4, and (4) fol. 283–384, 8.52.4 — X end. The second and fourth parts are by the same hand and were copied from Pa, as Spiro showed from a large transposition in 10.17–22. The first part appears to be primary and to rank with Mt as a minor witness in Book I, although it is a bad ms., at least in the part by the first hand. The third part is a better ms. and was rated highly by Schubart and Hitzig. In Book V it agrees with Fb against Vn Pc in these readings: p. 197.11 Hitzig $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\nu\alpha$, 201.6 $\theta\eta\rho\epsilon\phi\omega\nu\eta\varsigma$, 209.9 $\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\iota\omega\nu$, 214.12 om. $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, 219.3 $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$, 260.15 $\eta\chi\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma \phi\omega\nu\acute{\eta}$, 279.12 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota$, etc. The agreement is not constant, however, as many peculiar readings of Fb do not appear in La. In 221.9 La reads $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ with Fb alone, but has υ above α , and in 245.16 La reads $\phi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\omicron\iota$ with Fb alone, but has s added above the line; both of these corrections seem to be by the first hand. La sometimes shares the interpolations of Rc Pa: 197.1 $\tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\upsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon$, 206.10 $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu$, 213.15 $\xi\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$, 214.16 $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\eta\varsigma\iota$, 227.9 $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\nu$, 246.5 $\xi\chi\omega\nu$, 249.6 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron \tau\acute{o}$, 252.21 $\kappa\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$, 258.13 $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ etc. The precise origin of this ms. (V–VIII in La) is not clear, but I do not think it is a primary ms. or of any value in establishing the text.

The history of La since 1500 is the same as that of Lb. In 1498 Cardinal Grimani bought the library of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), and in the inventory of the sale is listed “Pausanias greco

⁸² F. Lo Parco, *Aulo Giano Parrasio* (Vasto 1899).

⁸³ Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum* (Paris 1702) 310; Fabricius-Harles, *Bibl. graeca* 5 p. 798 N° 49.

manuscriptus in papiro recuperato de sindici . . n. 445,"⁸⁴ which may have been part of codex La, but scarcely the whole, in view of the date of Pa (1497).

* * *

Short of the discovery of an unknown codex, we have completed the survey of the mss. of Pausanias. The conclusions have already been stated. If they are correct, the only primary mss. are Vn Fb Pc plus Mt La in Book I, all copied from an old codex in Florence now lost. All the other mss. are derived from these directly or indirectly. A large group of them, derived from Vn, has been subjected to systematic collation and deliberate interpolation. It is ironical that Vn Fb are among the least-known mss. of Pausanias, while several of the interpolated mss. have received ample attention. In this respect the previous work on the text has gone astray. In the future the first step in constructing the text will be to collate Vn Fb Pc thoroughly in order to recover the readings of the old lost codex. Other readings in other mss. must be regarded as errors or interpolations. After this *recensio* has been completed, *emendatio* will follow with an investigation of the state of the text of the old codex — its corruptions, omissions, interpolations, etc. It does not seem proper to attempt this now, when the available evidence is mostly secondary and confused with false material from the interpolated mss. We will have to leave the problem in suspense at this point, hoping our progress so far is valid and will contribute to the final achievement of a scientific text of the *Periegesis*.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ C. Cesis, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (Memorie storiche della città . . . Mirandola 11 [1897])* p. 69. This item is lacking in the earlier catalogue of Pico's library published by Pearl Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York 1936) 119–267, cf. 32 n. 64.

⁸⁵ *Addenda*. According to R. Foerster, *Libanii opera* 5 (1909) 368 f., 9 (1927) 69 f., there are excerpts from Pausanias in codex Neapol. II.C.32. On this codex see A. Colonna, "De Herodoti memoria," *Bolletino del Comitato per la Preparazione dell'Edizione nazionale dei Classici greci e latini*, "Accad. naz. dei Lincei" n.s. 1 (1945) 68–70. It is not clear whether these excerpts belong to the Late Byzantine or to the Florentine period of the history of the *Periegesis*.

Pausanias is cited and quoted often by Ermolao Barbaro, *Castigationes Plinianae* (Rome 1492). Barbaro came to Rome as ambassador from Venice in 1490 and may have known Pausanias from codex Vn, Lb, or Fb.

The scribe of codex Lb — George *aralēr* of Crete — is the subject of an important discovery by Dr. de Meyier, published in *Scriptorium* 11 (1957) 99–102.

Through the good offices of Professor Michael Ginsburg of Indiana University and V. I. Malyshev of the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) in Leningrad, I have received photographs of some pages of codex Ms. The codex has the same format as Rc (35 x 25 cm., 34 lines) and nearly the same number of leaves. Lacking photographs of Rc, I cannot compare the handwriting.