

DEMOSTHENIC SCHOLIA IN CODEX LAURENTIANUS 59, 9

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Codex Laurentianus 59, 9 (*P*) in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence,¹ parchment, tenth century,² folios 1–186, 212 × 145 mm., consists of twenty-three quires. The first eighteen folios, two quaternions and two additional folios, are a sixteenth century replacement of lost folios, which contained the text of or. 19.1–157 λέγω.³ The remaining gatherings are twenty-one quaternions and contain the following orations with scholia: or. 19.157–fin. (ff. 19r–42r), or. 60 (ff. 42r–46r), or. 20 (ff. 47r–68v), or. 21 (ff. 68v–99r), or. 23 (ff. 99r–129r),⁴ or. 22

¹ On this ms see B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* (Paris 1739) 355E; A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* 2 (Florence 1786) 496; J. T. Voemel, *Notitia codicum Demosthenicorum* II (Frankfurt 1834) 15–16 and *Demosthenis contiones quae circumferuntur* (Halle 1857) 201–2; E. A. Bond, E. M. Thompson, G. F. Warner edd., *The Palaeographical Society, Facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions*, Second series 1 (London 1884–94) plates 88 and 89; G. Vitelli and C. Paoli, *Collezione fiorentina di facsimili palaeografici greci e latini* (Florence 1884) tavola 12; G. Vitelli, “Spicilegio fiorentino,” *Museo Italiano* 1 (1885) 9–15; E. M. Thompson, *An introduction to Greek and Latin palaeography* (Oxford 1912) plate 64.

The following editions are cited by the editor’s last name: W. Dindorf, *Demosthenes*, 8 and 9; *Scholia graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxford 1851); C. Fuhr, *Demosthenis orationes* 1 (Leipzig 1914).

In preparation of this article I have used microfilm copies of *P* and paris. gr. 2935 purchased through a grant from the American Philosophical Society. I inspected these two mss during the summer of 1973, thanks to a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. Aubrey Diller and a referee for *TAPA* have offered helpful comments on this article.

² Bandini dates this ms to the tenth century, but virtually all other references listed in note 1 assign codex *P* to the eleventh century. On such false attributions, which were common during the last century, see the important article of A. Diller, “The age of some early Greek classical manuscripts” (to appear in the *Festschrift* for A. Turyn, University of Illinois Press, Urbana). In this article Diller assigns *P* to the mid tenth century.

³ This hand also replaced folio 156 and parts of the text of orations lost through trimming on folios 57v, 58v, 59v, 63r, 64r, 65v, and 67r.

⁴ Fuhr, p. xvi, wrongly reports that or. 23 lacks scholia.

(ff. 129r-140r), or. 24 (ff. 140r-168v), or. 25 (ff. 168v-182v). Folios 183-86 are blank.

Folios 19-182 contain scholia in three hands: *P*¹, a scribe contemporary with, but not identical to, the scribe of the text, wrote scholia vetera in brown ink using a minuscule script for the most part, occasionally minuscules mixed with majuscule letter forms. Although *P*¹ scholia constitute the bulk of scholia in this codex, about sixty-five scholia as well as variant readings from a variety of sources appear in two hands of the fourteenth century: *P*² in greyish ink and *P*³ in greenish ink.⁵

On five occasions the scribe *P*³ reports that he derives readings for the text of the orations from other mss: 19.234 ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις; 22.59 τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων; 22.67 ἐν ἄλλοις; 23.106 ἐν ἄλλῳ; 24.128 ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις. In a similar fashion *P*³ and, to a lesser extent, *P*² derive scholia from more than one ms source, since the following scholia appear in the same form as in *P*² or *P*³ in only one of the codices vetustissimi:⁶

Codex *A* (Monac. gr. 485, saec. 10) Dindorf 422.20-21 *P*² (422, n. 21 is a conj[unctive] er[ror] between *A* and *P*²). 439.2-5 *P*³ (439, n. 5 is a conj. er. between *A* and *P*³). 439.7-8 *P*³ (439, n. 7 is a conj. er. between *A* and *P*³). 676.26 *P*³,⁷ 686.11 *P*³, 12 *P*³. 687.9-10 *P*³. 692.14-15 *P*³.

Codex *F* (Marcianus gr. 416, saec. 10) 451.1 *P*³. 489.29 *P*³. 571.21 *P*³.

Codex *S* (Paris. gr. 2934, saec. 9/10) 547, n. 22 *P*³. 763.14-17 *P*³ (763, n. 15 indicates two conj. er. between *S* and *P*³).

Whereas most of the scholia in the hand *P*³ derive from other mss, principally codex *A* or a copy, there are about twenty scholia in the hand *P*², which are not known from other sources. These include glosses, exegesis of an elementary nature, and paraphrases⁸ as can be seen from the following examples:

21.11 ἀλλὰ] οἶον ἔαν τις ἐκ καταδίκης ἰμάτιον ἀφηρέθη, ἐδίδου

⁵ *P*¹ corresponds to the *m*³ of Vitelli and Paoli (above, note 1); *P*², to *m*⁵; and *P*³, to *m*⁴. Vitelli and Paoli correctly reject Bekker's false identification of *P* and the scribe of the Ravenna Aristophanes, but the fact remains that the two text hands are contemporary.

⁶ About twenty other *P*² and *P*³ scholia derive from extant mss, but these scholia appear in more than one ms without apparent conjunctive errors.

⁷ For Dindorf's "*AL*" understand *AP*³ here and for the next four scholia. At 695.12, 13-14, 23-24, 697.12-13, 21-22, 704.3-6 Dindorf's "*A et rec. L*" identifies *P*³ scholia.

⁸ The longest paraphrase, about eighty words, occurs at the beginning of or. 21, folio 68v, and is little more than a summary of the oration: inc. διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι τότε πότε ὑβρίσθη Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ Μειδίου χορηγῶν κατεγόρησεν αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς . . . des. εἶναι τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ ἀποτινύνειν χιλίας δραχμάς.

αὐτῷ ὁ νόμος ἄδειαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἀλόντος κατ' αὐτὴν μόνον τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐορτῆς ἢ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἔχοντα ἀντιγράφειν τοῦτον. Cf. or. 21.9, 22, 25.

21.50 προξένους] πρόξενος ὁ κοινῇ πάσης τῆς πόλεως φίλος.

21.164 κατείληπτο σοφιζόμενος] κατείληπτο σοφιζόμενος ὁ Φωκίων ὅτι πρότερον βουλευσάμενος κατὰ γῆν βοήθειαν ἐπιπέμπειν τοῖς ἐν Ταμύναις ὕστερον δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ταύτην ἀπέστειλεν. Since my investigations of possible ancient and Byzantine sources have not provided sources or parallels for these scholia of *P*² except the text of the orations and since these scholia lack any patent signs of scholia vetera, I must, for the moment, conclude that they are scholia recentiora composed by the scribe *P*².

Since the scholia of the hands *P*² and *P*³ are derived from extant mss or appear to have been created by a fourteenth century scribe, they are of no value for an edition of the scholia vetera. On the other hand, scholia by *P*¹ do constitute scholia vetera and they should have been properly edited by Dindorf, but such is not the case. Although Dindorf (v. 8, p. vi) claims to have used codex *P* for or. 22, his practice of rarely assigning scholia on this oration to individual mss makes it virtually impossible to evaluate the scholia of *P*¹ for even one oration. Moreover Dindorf did not publish the long *P*¹ scholium at the beginning of this oration (see the appendix to this article).

Although a complete presentation of *P*¹ scholia must await a new edition of the scholia vetera, a discussion of the relationship between *P*¹ and the scholia of codex paris. gr. 2935 (*Y*)⁹ is appropriate at this point.

⁹ Codex Y, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, parchment, folios II + 302 (actually 304 folios with 109 and 110 bis) + I, 312 × 221 mm., consists of thirty-six quaternions, one quinternion (ff. 17–26), and one ternion (ff. 289–94). My remarks on the scholia in *Y* are limited to the orations preserved in *P*. These orations appear in the same sequence in *P* and *Y*, except or. 60 the last oration in *Y*, which lacks the single scholium for this oration found in *P*. Only the scholia in the old hand are considered here. As N. Wilson has indicated (CQ 10 [1960] 200–202), this hand dates from the early tenth century. Wilson also identifies the main hand of the text in *Y* with the scribe of codex O of Plato, Vat. gr. 1, and a comparison of the hands from facsimilés confirms his identification. Still one should note that the number of lines, ruling, and pricking differ in *Y* and O and that heretofore O has been assigned to saec. IX/X.

See on this ms Voemel (above, note 1) 1834, 18–19; 1857, 202–4; H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements* 3 (Paris 1888) 63–64; E. Drerup, "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Studienreise zur Erforschung der Demosthenesüberlieferung," *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 3 (1902) 291–93, 305–6.

Codices *P* and *Y* have long been recognized as belonging to the same ms family (see Dindorf v. 8, p. vi) since both mss have a similar text for the orations. Moreover most of the scholia attributed to *Y* by Dindorf also appear in *P* and *P* and *Y* share conjunctive errors such as the following:¹⁰

433.22 μυροθήκας om. *PY*

440.14 τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου κέχρηται ἐπιχειρήματι] ἐπιχείρημα
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου *PY*

440.18 ὑπομνήσας-ἐξέβαλε om. *PY*

442.12 ἰστέον-14 πρόσωπον om. *PY*

466.1 ἐντεῦθεν om. *PY*

Further the conjunctive errors cited above and *P*¹ scholia lacking in *Y* and vice versa establish a lost ms as the source of the scholia in these two mss:

*P*¹ scholia omitted by *Y*: or. 19.450.15-16, 454.12-13; or. 20.458.27, 497.3-4, 499.9, 510.27-28, 511.7; or. 21.557.9, 571.29, 574.27, 590.3-4, 591.7, 647.6-7, 651.3-4, 660.1; or. 22.670.3-4; or. 23.709.28, 715.26-27, 716.9-10, 719.31, 720.12; or. 24.746.9-10; or. 60.816.12-14.

Y scholia omitted by *P*¹: or. 19.423.10, 430.16-17; or. 21.536.18 εἰς-19 προτάσεως, 538.1-2, 552.26 τοῦ-29 σύλληψιν, 554.1-2, 571.27-28, 594.20-21, 610.24-26, 29-31, 615.7-8; or. 22.704.7; or. 23.722.17-22; or. 24.733.14, 734.8-9, 742.9-12, 744.14, 747.4, 787.12-14, 18, 22-23; or. 25.808.1-2, 4, 809.30.

Barring the discovery of the lost exemplar for *P* and *Y*, both mss should be used in a new edition of the scholia vetera. Although Dindorf's edition of the scholia is in many respects superior to those of his predecessors and although he was the first editor to cite any scholia from *P*, a new edition based on a complete collation of *P* and *Y* and other primary mss will be a marked improvement.

APPENDIX

An unpublished scholium of P¹

In the margins of folio 129r, codex *P* has a long scholium introducing or. 22.¹¹ This scholium does not appear in *Y*, but a note on folio 216v of *Y*

¹⁰ In some cases here and below my account of readings corrects errors in Dindorf.

¹¹ See Fuhr (above, note 1) p. xvi, where he cites the beginning of this scholium.

(ζήτει τὸ σχόλιον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ λόγου εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ βιβλίου) indicates that it may have been included among the scholia at the beginning of Y now lost except for folio 8r and v. Since it will probably be a number of years before a new edition of the scholia vetera appears, the text of this scholium has been appended to this article.

"Οπερ Εὐκτῆμων] Ὁ λόγος μικτός ἐστιν ἔκ τε τοῦ πραγματικοῦ 1
καὶ τοῦ καταφορικοῦ συνειργασμένος· καὶ τὸ μὲν πραγματικὸν ἐν
ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς περὶ τὸν νόμον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ καταφορικὸν ἐκ τῆς
κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου κατηγορίας. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξῃ μόνος ὡς φιλοπράγ-
μων κατηγορεῖν Διδώρος δείκνυσιν ὡς καὶ ἄλλον ἡδίκηκεν· 5
προεῖρηκεν γὰρ Εὐκτῆμων καὶ ἐστὶ δευτερολογία τοῦ Διδώρου ὁ
λόγος. τῇ ἐξαγγελίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων συνθέσει σφόδρα εὐρυθμος
ὦν ἅτε πρὸς Ἴσοκρατικὸν ἄνδρα συγκείμενος· πολλὰς γοῦν παρι-
σώσεις καὶ ὁμοιοκαταληξέας καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτα παρέσπαρται· ἔχει
δὲ προοίμιον ἐκ κατασκευῆς εἰλημμένον· μέλλων γὰρ καταφορᾷ 10
χρησθῆναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πραγματικοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξαγωνίοις προκατα-
σκευάζει συγγνώμην αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου ὥσπερ παραιτούμενος
τὸν ἀκροατὴν, εἰ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπορρητῶν φέισαιτο κατ' ἀνδρὸς
δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ σκευωρησαμένου ἢν' ὁ ἀκούων συγγνώμης ἄξια
καὶ τὰ τῆς καταφοράς ὑπολάβοι, μειζόνων ὄντων ἐφ' οἷς ἀλεγείν ὁ 15
λέγων δοκεῖ. διαιρεῖται τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τομὴν ἢ ἐργασία
πᾶσα τοῦ λόγου εἰς τε τὸ πραγματικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐξαγώνιον, καὶ τὸ μὲν
πραγματικὸν ἔχει τὸ νόμιμον διχῇ διηρημένον εἰς τοῦτο πρᾶγμα
καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον· τὸ δὲ ἐξαγώνιον διμερές ἐστι· διήρηται
γὰρ εἰς τοῦτον περὶ τῆς εἰσπράξεως λόγον καὶ εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς 20
ἀναιρέσεως τῶν στεφάνων καὶ κατασκευῆς τῶν πομπείων. ὁ τοίνυν
Δημοσθένης ἦτοι Διδώρος ὁ τὸν λόγον ἐξεληφὼς ἰσχυρίζεται μὲν
νόμοις τοῖς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δύο· ἐνὶ μὲν τῷ προστάττοντι μηδαμῶς
ἐξεῖναι στεφανοῦσθαι τὴν βουλὴν εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιο τὰς τριήρεις,
ἐτέρῳ δὲ τῷ κελεύοντι μηδὲν ἀπροβούλευτον ἐξεῖναι ἀναγνωσθῆναι 25
τῷ δήμῳ ψήφισμα. ὁ δὲ Ἀνδροτίων ἰσχυρίζεται πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους
τούτους ἔθει καὶ νόμῳ· νόμῳ μὲν πρὸς τὸν περὶ τῶν τριήρων νόμον,
ἔθει δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀπροβούλευτον· Δημοσθένους γὰρ φάσκοντος
μηδαμῶς ἐξεῖναι εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ψήφισμα εἰ μὴ τῆς αὐτὸ
προαναγνωσῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦτο καθόλου προτεινάντος, Ἀνδροτίων 30
λύει παρεχόμενος ἔθος ἴδιον περὶ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν διδομένων
ταῖς βουλαῖς κεκρατηκότος· καθό φησι κρατῆσθαι τὸν δῆμον περὶ
τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς βουλῆς καὶ γραφῆναι παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸ
ψήφισμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔν τι τῶν ζητημάτων ἐστίν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον
τοιούτων, Δημοσθένους παρεχομένου νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα μὴ 35
ἐξεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ τὴν δωρεὰν αἰτεῖν εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιο τὰς τριήρεις

Ἀνδροτίων πειράται λύειν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον κατὰ ἀντινομίαν
 παρεχόμενος ἕτερον νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐὰν ἀξιῶς ἢ βουλὴ δοκῇ
 βουλευσαι δωρεᾶς, διδόναι τὸν δῆμον τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτῇ. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν
 τρόπον ἀντικεῖσθαι δυναμένου τοῦ παρ' Ἀνδροτίωνος ταραττων ὁ 40
 Δημοσθένης καὶ συγγέων ἐξεπίτηδες τὴν τάξιν ἵνα τῷ τῆς ταραχῆς
 ἀσαφεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν παρακρούσῃται οὐκ ἄντικρυς εἰσάγει τὴν
 ἀκόλουθον τῶν νόμων μάχην ἀλλ' ἐναλάττει τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς
 χρήσεις.

Ἔτι τοίνυν εἰσὶν ἕτεροι δύο νόμοι οἱ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον μὲν εἰσι, 45
 τὴν δὲ ἐξέτασιν δευτέραν ἔχουσιν. τούτων δὲ εἷς μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς
 ἐταιρήσεως ἕτερος δὲ ὁ περὶ τῶν ὀφλημάτων παραγραφικὴν
 ἔχοντες δύναμιν· καθ' ἑκάτερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀξιοῖ παραγράφεσθαι
 Διόδωρος Ἀνδροτίωνα ὡς μὴ ἐξὸν λέγειν αὐτῷ· τούτοις ἀντιτίθησι
 μεταληπτικῶς ἑτέρους ὁμοίως Ἀνδροτίων νόμους δύο· τῷ μὲν 50
 <περὶ> τῆς ἐταιρήσεως τὸν κελεύοντα ἐπὶ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν περὶ τῶν
 τοιούτων κατηγορεῖν, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀφλημάτων τὸν προστάττοντα
 δεῖν ἐνδεικνύναι τοὺς βουλομένους κατηγορεῖν τινος ὡς ὀφείλοντος
 τῷ δημοσίῳ· ἔνδειξις γὰρ κατηγορίας ἐστὶν ὄνομα κατὰ πλειόνων
 μὲν μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τῶν ὀφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι 55
 τολμώντων· ὡς τὰς μὲν προτάσεις τὰς παρὰ Δημοσθένους εἶναι
 παραγραφικὰς, τὰς δὲ παρ' Ἀνδροτίωνος ἀντιπροτάσεις μεταληπ-
 τικὰς.

Apparatus Criticus

Line 5 ἄλλο P, corr. Fuhr 14 ἢν' P^{pc} κὰν P^{ac} 18 διηρημένον
 P^{pc} (cf. 16 διαιρεῖται) διειλημμένον P^{ac} 30 προαναγνώτης P,
 correxi 51 addidi

Apparatus Parallelorum et Fontium

Line 4 ἵνα-7 λόγος] Dem. Σ 662.5-7 Dind. 20 εἰσπράξεως] Dem.
 22.47 sqq. 21 κατασκευῆς] Dem. 22.69,78 23 ἐνὶ] Dem. 22.8
 sqq. 25 ἐτέρω] Dem. 22.5 sqq. 38 ἐὰν-39 αὐτῇ] Dem. Σ 667.7-8
 Dind. 46 εἷς] Dem. 22.21 sqq. 47 ἕτερος] Dem. 22.33 sqq.
 48 καθ'-54 δημοσίῳ] cf. Dem. Σ 680.5-681.2 et 689.18-690.16 Dind.
 54 ἐνδειξις-56 τολμώντων] Dem. Σ 689.24-26 Dind.