

# THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE SCHOLIA ULPIANI ON DEMOSTHENES IN TIMOCRATEM

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In 1851 Wilhelm Dindorf<sup>1</sup> edited the scholia on Demosthenes from thirteen MSS, which constitute six recensions: **I** *Monacensis* gr. 485 (A, saec. 10); **II** *Parisinus* gr. 2935 (Y, saec. 10), *Laurentianus* 59.9 (P, saec. 10),<sup>2</sup> *Parisinus* gr. 2995 (F, saec. 14); **III** *Parisinus* gr. 2508<sup>3</sup> (H, saec. 14), *Parisinus* gr. 2936 (R, saec. 14); **IV** *Monacensis* gr. 85<sup>4</sup> (B, saec. 13), *Parisinus* gr. suppl. 256 (E, saec. 13); **V** *Parisinus* gr. 2934 (S, saec. 9/10); **VI** *Parisinus* gr. 2940 (T, saec. 13), *Parisinus* gr. 2944 (D, saec. 15), *Parisinus* gr. 2945 (G, saec. 16), *Parisinus* gr. 2946 (C, saec. 16).

The sixth recension contains *Scholia Ulpiani*, which derive their alleged authorship from *Ulpiani Prolegomena*.<sup>5</sup> Along with *Ulpiani*

<sup>1</sup> *Demosthenes ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii*, voll. 8, 9: *Scholia graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxford 1851). Citations to the text of the scholia on or. 24 (vol. 9, pp. 729–806 of Dindorf's edition) are abbreviated as follows: 30.26 = 730.26; 00.4 = 800.4. Hereafter this edition is cited only by the editor's surname.

A grant from the American Philosophical Society has made possible purchase of microfilm copies of Demosthenic MSS, and a grant in aid from the American Council of Learned Societies facilitated travel in Europe during the summer of 1973, when I inspected the MSS discussed in this article with two exceptions (*Bonon.* 3564 and *Vindob. phil.* gr. 70).

<sup>2</sup> For this MS Dindorf uses the siglum *L*; on his very limited use of this MS, see M. R. Dilts, "Demosthenic Scholia in Laurentianus, 59, 9," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 97–102.

<sup>3</sup> This MS belongs to recension *VI* for *Ulpiani Prolegomena* and orr. 3 and 4. On the independent scholia contributed by this MS, see E. Drerup, "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Studienreise zur Erforschung der Demosthenesüberlieferung," *Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-philol. Klasse d. königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 3 (1902) 303.

<sup>4</sup> See on this MS, M. R. Dilts, "Demosthenic Scholia in Marcianus gr. 416 and *Monacensis* gr. 85," to appear in the Festschrift for M. Richard (*Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur: Studia Codicologica* edd. K. Treu, J. Dummer, J. Irmscher, F. Paschke, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner).

<sup>5</sup> Editio princeps: *Ulpiani commentarioli in olynthiacas philippicasque Demosthenis*

*Prolegomena*, this recension has scholia on eighteen orations in the following sequence:<sup>6</sup>

φιλιππικοί: *Ulp. Prol.*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11 (hoc in ordine *Paris. gr.* 2940, *Bononiensis* 3564, *Ambros.* A 54 inf., edit. princeps; 1, 2, 3, 4 omissis codex deperditus *g*, *Vatic. gr.* 76, *Laur.* 55.2)

δημόσιοι:<sup>7</sup> 22, 21, 18, 23, 24, 19, 20 (hoc in ordine *Paris. gr.* 2940, *Ambros.* A 54 inf.; eodem in ordine, sed 22 omissa *Vindob. phil. gr.* 70, *Paris. gr.* 2945; eodem in ordine, sed 22, 21 omissis *Marc.* 8.13; eodem in ordine, sed 19, 20 omissis *Bonon.* 3564; eodem in ordine, sed 19 post 18 transposita edit. princeps; diverso in ordine [22, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24] *Laur.* 59.19<sup>8</sup> et [21, 19, 20, 22, 24, 18] codex deperditus *g*, *Vatic. gr.* 76 et *Laur.* 55.2 in quo 21 deest)

συμβουλευτικοί: 13, 14, 16, 15, 17 (hoc in ordine codex deperditus *g*, *Vatic. gr.* 76, *Laur.* 55.2, *Paris. gr.* 2940, *Laur.* 59.19, *Paris. gr.* 2945, *Ambros.* A 54 inf., *Vindob. phil. gr.* 70, edit. princeps).

This article presents the results of a study of the MS tradition of the scholia on one of the forensic orations, *In Timocratem*, which has *Scholia Ulpiani* extant in eleven MSS.<sup>9</sup> All these MSS are shown to derive from lost codex *t* by virtue of the following conjunctive errors:<sup>10</sup>

33.15 τοῦ προοιμίου *A Y P* om. *T Bc Fj v*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 48.16 ἐγγυητὰς *A* om. *T Bc Fj v*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 78.11 ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου *Y P* om. *g T Bc v*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*

*orationes. Enarrationes sanequam necessariae in tredecim orationes Demosthenis.* Venetiis apud Aldum mense Octob. M.D.III.

<sup>6</sup> This sequence derives from MSS containing scholia on or. 24, which are all cited, except for two codices descripti (*Paris. grr.* 2944 and 2946).

<sup>7</sup> The title *δικανικοί* is used for this group of orations in the subscription of 20 in *Vindob. phil. gr.* 70 and *Paris. gr.* 2945 (τέλος τῶν δικανικῶν). *συμβουλευτικοί* appears in the title of 13 in *Paris. grr.* 2940 and 2945, *Ambros.* A 54 inf., and *Vindob. phil. gr.* 70 (*Δημοσθένους συμβουλευτικοί: περὶ συντάξεως*) as well as lost codex *g* (*συμβουλευτικός α', ὁ περὶ συντάξεως λόγος*) and *Laur.* 55.2 (*ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν α' τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν*).

<sup>8</sup> This MS contains orr. 1–11, but *Ulp. Prol.* as well as *Scholia Ulpiani* are lacking, except for orr. 10 and 11.

<sup>9</sup> The primary MSS are *g* (= *Vf*, *Vatic. gr.* 76 and *Fd*, *Laur.* 55.2); *T*, *Paris. gr.* 2940; *Bc*, *Bononiensis* 3564; *Fj*, *Laur.* 59.19; *v* (= *Ac*, *Ambros.* A 54 inf.; *Wb*, *Vindob. phil. gr.* 70; *G*, *Paris. gr.* 2945; *Mr*, *Marc.* 8.13). Two MSS are derived from extant copies: *D*, *Paris. gr.* 2944, from *T*; *C*, *Paris. gr.* 2946, from *G*.

<sup>10</sup> Included here and below are deliberate scribal omissions (e.g., 98.9–10, 17–19, 02.15–16). Although these are not conjunctive errors (in Maas' terminology), such omissions have the same function as "errors" for establishing a stemma.

- 90.28 καὶ πολιτευομένων *A* om. *T Bc v* Σ om. *g Fj*  
 91.8 ἰστέον ὅτι *A* om. *T v* Σ om. *g Bc Fj*  
 98.9–10 ἀπέρριψε – καὶ *Y P* om. *g T v* Σ om. *Bc Fj*  
 98.17–19 παρατῆρει – πράγματος *Y P* om. *g T v* Σ om. *Bc Fj*  
 02.15–16 ἐνθένδε – δοκεῖ *Y P* om. *g T v* Σ om. *Bc Fj*

For or. 24 apographs of lost codex *t* contain seventy-nine scholia which occur only in this family and are identified by the sigla *TCDG* in Dindorf's edition, a brief selection of the scholia also found in the second recension (*YP*: 30.26–31.27, 37.2–4, 40.1–3, 12–15, 52.5–8, 55.21–27, 56.11–15 βούλεται, 64.19–23, 68.3–5, 78.11–13, 14–16, 86.16–19, 98.8–19, 20–25, 01.10–20, 26–29, 02.13–22, 04.20–24), and most of the scholia found in the first recension (*A*). At one time codex *t* doubtless contained only *YP* and *TCDG* scholia, since a copy of *t*, lost codex *g*, has scholia from these two recensions, but not from *A*. Scholia from all three recensions first appear in codex *T* of the thirteenth century.

*g* Codex *Vaticanus gr.* 76 (*Vb*, fourteenth century, or. 24: ff. 225<sup>r</sup>–227<sup>r</sup>)<sup>11</sup> and codex *Laurentianus* 55.2 (*Fd*, fifteenth century, or. 24: ff. 159<sup>v</sup>–167<sup>v</sup>)<sup>12</sup> are shown to derive independently from lost codex *g*, since *Vf* and *Fd* present virtually an identical selection of *YP* and *TCDG* scholia without the text of or. 24 and in addition they share conjunctive errors

39.21 διαδικασία – κτημάτων om. *Vf Fd*

<sup>11</sup> On this codex see Ioh. Mercati et Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti . . . Codices Vaticani graeci*, vol. 1 (Rome 1923) 80–82, and the references cited in P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano 1970) 365–66. *Vf* consists of two MSS (ff. 1–99 and ff. 100–294) of which the second MS contains Demosthenes (ff. 100–239) and Lucian (ff. 240–94). In addition folios 100–239 contain two recensions of Demosthenic scholia: *a* ff. 100–199 (scholia on or. 24 in this recension will be shown in a later article to derive from *Paris. gr.* 2936) and *b* ff. 200–239. These recensions are in the same hand, but the format differs: *a* contains text of or. 24 with scholia and *b* contains only scholia in a more closely written hand, 52–58 lines.

<sup>12</sup> See A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum mss Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae . . .*, vol. 2 (Florence 1768) 214–17. Folios 1–101 (*Ulp. Prol.* and *Scholia Ulpiani* on orr. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 22, 21, 18, hyp. ad or. 19, init. – 5 ὁφείλοντας) are paper and constitute a separate MS from folios 102–208<sup>v</sup>, which are parchment and signed by Zenobius Acciaiolus. Folio 102<sup>r</sup> begins with hyp. ad or. 19.4 τοὺς ληψομένους. Quire numberings at the end of each quinternion (e.g., 111<sup>v</sup> ε') indicate that four quires (forty leaves?) have been lost from the beginning of the second MS.

58.23 ἐν δὲ – 24 αὐτό om. *Vf Fd*

78.22 σημείωσαι – 23 οὕτως om. *Vf Fd*

87.3 κεφάλαιον – 4 εἰσπράξασθαι om. *Vf Fd*

as well as separative errors, which show that *Vf* and *Fd* are in fact gemelli

40.2 ἡ τελ. – 40.3 νόμον hab. *Vf*, om. *Fd*

76.12 ὁ – πατήρ hab. *Fd*, om. *Vf*

05.5 λογισμὸς – 6 Ἑλλήνων hab. *Fd*, om. *Vf*.

Lost codex *g* is in turn shown to derive from *t* independently of *T*, *Bc*, *Fj*, and *v* since *g* contains the conjunctive errors of these MSS for *YP* and *TCDG* scholia and has in addition separative errors.

Without doubt codex *g* dates from the thirteenth century or earlier, since *g* lacks *A* scholia, which were added to lost codex *t* prior to the copying of codex *T* (saec. 13).

In 1491 Janus Lascaris described a codex of Demosthenes, which he inspected in Ferrara, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Γυρίνου, clearly Giovanni Battista Guarino:<sup>13</sup>

- 50<sup>r</sup> 6 ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἂν καὶ ὑμῶν ἐντεῦθεν πρῶτον μέρος  
τοῦ β' μέρους τῆς προτάσεως  
εἰς τὸν κατὰ Μειδίου  
περὶ παραπρεσβείας  
10 πρὸς Λεπτίνην  
κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος  
κατὰ Τιμοκράτους  
κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους  
περὶ στεφάνου  
15 Οὐλπιανοῦ σχόλια εἰς τὸν α' τῶν Ὀλυνθιακῶν  
εἰς τὸν τέταρτον τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου  
α' πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Φιλίππου. ὅτι μὲν Φίλιππος  
Σηλυβρίαν ἐπολιόρκει

<sup>13</sup> Giovanni Battista Guarino inherited the Greek MSS of his father Guarino Veronese, d. 1460. The description of this codex is taken from K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris u. die Mediceische Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884) 381–82. Lines 6–7 of this description are the beginning of a *TCDG* scholium for or. 21 (= 532.8); other quotations from scholia appear in lines 17–18 (cf. 209.1 = *TCDG*) and 19 (= 216.2–3 = *TCDG*).

συμβουλευτικὸς α', ὁ περὶ συντάξεως λόγος οὐκ ἔχει  
 50<sup>v</sup> ἢ γ' ὁ περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν  
 εἰς τὸν περὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν

This codex is now lost, but direct quotations from *TCDG* scholia and the fact that Lascaris cites *Ulpiani Prolegomena* aver that this MS contained *Scholia Ulpiani*. A comparison of the contents of this codex with *Vf* and *Fd* further supports an identification of the Guarino codex with *g*, since all three MSS have a unique sequence for the forensic orations and omit 1, 2, 3, 4 from the Philippic orations, which occur only in these MSS between the forensic and deliberative orations:

*codex Guarinensis*: 21 (*Σ* 532.8–fin.), 19, 20, 22, 24, 23, 18, *Ulpiani Prolegomena*, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 15, 17

*Vf*: 21 (*Σ* 558.20 – fin.), 19, 20, 22, 24, 23, 18, *Ulpiani Prolegomena*, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 15, 17

*Fd*: 19, 20, 22, 24, 23, 18, *Ulpiani Prolegomena*, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 15, 17.<sup>14</sup>

Guarino Veronese may have acquired codex *g* during one of his trips to Constantinople, which he first visited in 1403. Later this codex may have become the property of the Duke of Mantua and it may have been lost in the sack of that city in 1630.<sup>15</sup>

*T* Codex *Parisinus* gr. 2940, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>16</sup> thirteenth century, folios 1–334, 245 × 168 mm., contains scholia for or. 24 on folios 179<sup>v</sup>–212<sup>r</sup>. *T* commingles the text of or. 24 with scholia, which are written in a smaller hand than the text and in black ink—sections of the text are written in red ink. A single scribe copied all of the scholia on or. 24 and most of the text of this oration.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Earlier Müller considered the possibility of *Fd* being a copy of Guarino's codex, but he clouds the issue by bringing into consideration the first Demosthenic part of this codex (see above, note 11).

<sup>15</sup> See A. Diller, "The Greek codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," *JWI* 24 (1961) 317–18.

<sup>16</sup> See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, vol. 3 (Paris 1888) 65–66; Dindorf vol. 8, VIII.

<sup>17</sup> Folios 200<sup>v</sup>–206<sup>r</sup> 24, which contain only text of or. 24, are copied in a second hand.

*T* derives from lost codex *t*, since it shares the conjunctive errors of *t* and has separative errors such as the following:

- 45.14 *εἴπομεν* *Bc Fj ν* *εἴπαμεν* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 47.11 *οὐ δούς* *g Bc Fj ν* *οὐδείς* *T*  
 49.20 *εἴπομεν* *Bc Fj ν* *εἴπαμεν* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 51.25 *ὁ* *Bc Fj ν* om. *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 58.14 *ὥς* *g Bc ν* om. *T Fj*  
 66.11 *ἀπαλλάξῃτε* *Bc ν* *ἀπαλλάξατε* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 71.17 *σφάλει* *g Bc ν* *σφάλει* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*  
 71.18 *λεγει*<sup>2</sup> *g Bc ν* *λέγειν* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*  
 72.21 *ποιότητος* *g Bc ν* *πιότητος* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*  
 87.1 *ἀλλὰ μνησθέντες* *g Bc ν* *ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσθητε* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*  
 89.20 *ἐκείνω* *Bc ν* *οὐ κείνο* *T<sup>ac</sup>* *οὐ κείνω* *T<sup>pc</sup>*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 90.26 *ἐλέου* *g ν* *ἐλέους* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc Fj*  
 90.28 *τίς* *g ν* *τί* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc Fj*  
 94.5 *παραλειφθέντων* *g ν* *παραληφθέντων* *T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc Fj*

Codex *T* is the most reliable MS of this family, since *T* contains all of the *Scholia Ulpiani* for or. 24 (cf. *g*, which lacks *A* scholia and *Bc* and *Fj*, which lack scholia after 90.29 and 61.9 respectively) and the separative errors of *T* are fewer and less substantial than those of codex *ν*.<sup>18</sup>

*D* Codex *Parisinus gr.* 2944, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>19</sup> fifteenth century, folios 1–247, 293 × 217 mm., contains scholia without the text of or. 24 on folios 65<sup>r</sup>–74<sup>r</sup>.

Codex *D* is shown to be an apograph of *T*, since *D* contains the errors of *T* and in addition omits *YP*, *A*, and *TCDG* scholia from 37.5 to 39.21, which are all contained on folio 181<sup>r</sup> and 181<sup>v</sup> of *T*.

Codex *D* is number 128 in the Medici loans to Janus Lascaris (11 October, 1493) and later this MS appears in the catalogue of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On *ν* see below, pp. 42–43. Since the errors of *T* are minor, one might contend that *g*, *Bc*, *Fj*, and *ν* derive from a corrected copy of *T* or from *T* itself. The first proposition is untenable in view of the scholia contained in *g*, which clearly derives from a MS with only *YP* and *TCDG* scholia or a MS in which *A* scholia were distinct from *YP* and *TCDG* scholia. The second proposition is based on the highly unlikely assumption that the scribes of *g*, *Bc*, *Fj*, and *ν* independently corrected the errors of *T*.

<sup>19</sup> On this MS, see H. Omont (above, note 16) 66–67; Dindorf vol. 8, VIII.

<sup>20</sup> See *Archivio storico italiano*, serie terza 21 (1875) 290; *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*

*Bc* Codex *Bononiensis* 3564, Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna,<sup>21</sup> fourteenth century, folios 1–177, 241 × 161 mm., contains text and scholia for or. 24 on folios 156<sup>v</sup>–177<sup>v</sup>. The text of or. 24 ends at 146 ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ and the last scholium is 90.29. (Since folio 177<sup>r</sup> is signed κς', the remaining text and scholia for or. 24 and perhaps orr. 19 and 20 and the five deliberative orations were contained on leaves lost from the twenty-sixth and subsequent quires.) Scholia in *Bc* appear in margins and between lines in a hand which is identical to the hand of the text.

Codex *Bc* is shown to derive from lost codex *t*, since *Bc* shares the conjunctive errors of *t* and has separative errors such as the following:

- 31.4 τὴν πόλιν *g T Fj v* om. *Bc*  
 48.6 λέγει οὐκ *Fj T* τῶν οὖν *Bc* οὐ λέγει *v* Σ om. *g*  
 51.13–14 *T v* Σ om. *g Bc Fj*  
 54.11–12 *T Fj v* Σ om. *g Bc*  
 74.21–22 εἰ – γράψαι *g T Fj v* in fen. om. *Bc*

*Fj* Codex *Laurentianus* 59.19, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence,<sup>22</sup> folios 1–332, 220 × 150 mm., contains the text of or. 24 (ff. 296<sup>v</sup>–310<sup>v</sup> = saec. 15; ff. 311<sup>r</sup>–332<sup>r</sup> = saec. 16) with scholia (ff. 296<sup>v</sup>–307<sup>r</sup>). The last scholium on or. 24 is 59.22–61.9. *Fj* contains marginal scholia in a hand which appears to be identical to the hand of the text for folios 296<sup>v</sup>–310<sup>v</sup>.

Codex *Fj* is shown to derive from lost codex *t* by virtue of the fact that *Fj* shares the conjunctive errors of *t* listed above and that *Fj* has the following separative errors:

- 31.7 οὗτ' ἐπιτηδεῖον οὔτε δίκαιον *g T Bc* (οὔτε] οὐδὲ *v*) *v* in fen. om. *Fj*

1 (1884) 410; *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 6 (1886) 258; B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* (Paris 1739) 771BD, 772AC.

<sup>21</sup> See A. Olivieri and N. Festa, "Indice dei codici greci delle Biblioteche Universitaria e Comunale de Bologna," *SIFC* 3 (1895) 433–34.

<sup>22</sup> See B. de Montfaucon (above, note 20) 357DE; A. M. Bandini (above, note 12) 536–37; J. T. Voemel, ed., *Demosthenis Contiones quae circumferuntur* (Halle 1857) 266–67; G. Vitelli, "In Hegesippi oratione de Halonneso codicum florentinorum lectionis discrepantia," *Pubblic. del. r. Ist. di studi super. pratici e di perfezionamento in Firenze, Sezione di filosofia e filologia* 2 (1880) 55–66; D. Irmer, *Zur Genealogie der jüngeren Demostheneshandschriften, Untersuchungen an den Reden 8 und 9* (Hamburg 1972) 27, 76 f.

39.8-10 ἔστι - στάσεως (ὁμ.) *T Bc v* om. *Fj*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*

55.13 *g T Bc v*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*

56.10 τὸ - ἐκτίσῃ *g T Bc v* om. *Fj*

*v* Codices *Ambrosianus* A 54 inf. (*Ac*), *Vindobonensis phil.* gr. 70 (*Wb*), *Parisinus* gr. 2945 (*G*), and *Marcianus* 8.13 (*Mr*) are shown to derive from lost codex *v*, since each of these MSS contains the errors listed below as well as separative errors to be presented later:

33.22 ἐν ἐτοίμῳ *g T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*

34.31 ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ *T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*

34.32 προσέθηκεν ὅτι *T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*

43.11 καὶ - ἀποδοκιμασθέντων *T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*

43.25 τὸ - δικαστῶν (ὁμ.) *T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*

60.10-11 καὶ - συνενπορήσουσι (ὁμ.) *g T Bc Fj* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*

70.10 ἀντιπίπτον *g T Bc* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*

91.19 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως *T* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Bc Fj*

95.19 καὶ σοφιστικῶς *g T* om. *Ac Wb G Mr*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc Fj*

This lost codex is shown to derive from *t* independently of *g*, *T*,<sup>23</sup> *Bc*, and *Fj*, since *v* shares with these MSS the errors of *t* and in addition contains the errors cited above.

The independent value of *v* for establishing the text of scholia on or. 24 can be surmised from the instances where Dindorf adopts the reading of *v* (from *G* or *C*) for or. 24 and where *T* as well as *g*, *Bc*, and *Fj* are in error:

47.12 βούλεσθε *v* βούλεσθαι *g T Bc Fj*

59.26 τῆς *v* ἐκ *g T Bc Fj*

60.1 τυγχάνειν *v* τυγχάνον *g T Bc Fj*

64.6 ὁμόσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο *v* ἐψηφίσαντο ὁμόσαντες *g T Bc*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*

84.10 ὑμῶν *v* ἡμῶν *T Bc*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*

<sup>23</sup> For *Ulp. Prol.*, E. Drerup ("Antike Demosthenesausgaben," *Philologus Suppl.* 7 [1899] 594; cf. Dindorf vol. 8, p. 3, n. 29 and p. 13, n. 23) has shown that one of the *v* MSS (*Ac*) derives from *T*. Two facts indicate a change in stemmatic relationship for the forensic orations: (1) separative errors of *T* for or. 24, (2) or. 23.96 ὅτε - 100 ἔξιν hab. *Ac Wb*, om. *T*. (This lengthy omission does not correspond to a full folio in *T* and *T* does contain scholia on this part of or. 23.)



96.27 καταβηβληκότες *ν* καταβεβηκότες *g T*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc Fj*

These cases, where *ν* alone preserves correct readings, seem to derive from Byzantine conjecture, not an ancient source, for the following reasons: (1) Correct readings in *ν* involve a simple emendation of an error in *t*; in other words, when *ν* alone preserves the truth this could easily be the result of Byzantine conjecture. (Two readings listed above may seem to be more than simple emendations, but I am not persuaded that the reading of *ν* is correct at 59.26 and 64.6. In the last case the word order of *ν* may be a conscious attempt to improve the text.) (2) The following incorrect readings, which appear only in *ν*, provide further evidence of conjectural emendation:<sup>24</sup>

- 31.5 ἀσάφειαν *g T Bc Fj* ἀσφάλειαν *ν*  
 31.25 εἰς *g T Bc Fj* πρὸς *ν*  
 39.11 τίνος *T Bc Fj* τίνων *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *g*  
 40.2 νόμον *g T Bc Fj* χρόνον *ν*  
 46.21 μείζονα *g T Bc Fj* πλείονα *ν*  
 56.9 αὐτὸ τοῦτο *g T Bc Fj* τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον *ν*  
 60.23 διειλέχθαι *g T Bc Fj* διελέσθαι *ν*  
 65.13 δεσμοφυλάκων *T Bc* θεσμοφυλάκων *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 75.23 et 24 βοηθεῖσθαι *g T Bc* φοβεῖσθαι *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *Fj*  
 82.23 κιναιδίαν *T Bc* κιναιδείαν *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 85.23 ὡς εἰρήκαμεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ *T Bc* ἐν τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ  
 ἡμῖν εἴρηται *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 89.5-6 οὐδὲ - νόμον *T Bc* τοῦτο προάγει ὁ Τιμοκράτης τὸ οὐ  
 δῆσω Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα ὡς νόμον *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *g Fj*  
 90.25 ἀναγκαῖος *g T<sup>ac</sup>* φίλος *T<sup>pc</sup>* οἰκεῖος *ν*  $\Sigma$  om. *Bc*  
*Fj*

Since no trace of these readings appears outside of *ν* MSS and since each is without value and represents a misguided attempt to improve the text, it is reasonable to assume that these readings do not derive from an ancient source.

Like codex *T*, codex *ν* doubtless presented scholia commingled with the text of or. 24, since this format appears in codices *Ac* and *Wb* and since the continuous scholia of *G* and *Mr* doubtless derive from an

<sup>24</sup> This list is only a brief sampling of *ν* variants, which are rarely reported in Dindorf's apparatus.

exemplar in which text and scholia were commingled, just as *D* derives its continuous scholia from *T*. Lines omitted from the text and added in the margins of *Ac* indicate that a line of text or scholia in lost codex *ν* contained about eighty letters.<sup>25</sup>

*Ac* Codex *Ambrosianus* A 54 inf. (792) in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan,<sup>26</sup> dated 1483, paper, 335 × 234 mm., folios IX + 262 + XII, contains consecutive text and scholia for or. 24 in a single hand, folios 157<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>r</sup>. The text of or. 24 is usually distinguished from the scholia by marginal indices (viz. *κείμενον*, *ἐξήγησις*); in addition initial words of sections of text and lemmata of scholia are frequently copied in red ink.

Codex *Ac* is shown to derive from lost codex *ν* independently of *Wb*, *G*, and *Mr*, since *Ac* contains the errors of *ν* cited above and *Ac* has in addition the following separative errors:

36.19 Ἰσοκρατική] σοκρατική *Ac* ἡ om. *Ac*

48.17 διπλῶν] διπλοῦν *Ac*

48.14 ἄτιμοι] ἄγειμοι *Ac*

48.20 καταβάλλωσι] καταβάλλει (sic) *Ac*

75.22 ὑφορμεῖν] ὑφορμήν *Ac*

75.28 ποῦ] τοῦ *Ac*

In a subscription on folio 262<sup>r</sup> Ioannes Rhosus states that he copied this MS in Venice on 2 June, 1483, for Giorgio Merula (1431–1494).<sup>27</sup> After the death of Merula in Milan, this MS was acquired by Rovidio, whose MSS became part of the Ambrosian library in 1607.

<sup>25</sup> These are 23.39 εἰ δὲ – τοῦτ' ἦ, 23.89 ὑμῶν καὶ – ὅπως ἀδεῶς, 23.97 μηδεμίαν – συνεῖναι, 23.122 τούτων – γὰρ οὐχ, 23.141 καὶ γυναῖκας – καλῶν, 23.220 κατ' αὐτοῦ – ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, 24.20 τὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονίαν – 21 τῶν κειμένων, 24.40 τὰ τέλη – καὶ ἐγγυωμένων, Σ 64.6 ὁφθῇ – 7 δεσμόν, Σ 82.24 τῷ κατὰ – 26 αἰνίττεσθαι et 82.17 πολλὰς πενταετηρίδας, 24.161 <τὴν> ἐξουσίαν – ἐνόμιζεν, Σ 94.7 ὅρα – 9 Ἀνδροτίωνος. Since four lines omitted in the text of *Ac* correspond to full lines in *Wb* (23.97, 23.122, 24.20–21, 24.161), one might assume that *Ac* is a direct copy of *Wb*. However, this correspondence is shown to be misleading by the following omission in *Wb*: 23.123–4 δώσετε οἶον – δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ μὴ τυχόντες. φερ' in fen. 2 ll. om. *Wb* δικαίως – φερ' om. *Ac*.

<sup>26</sup> On this MS see A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, vol. 2 (Milan 1906) 884–86.

<sup>27</sup> The subscription is reported by Martini and Bassi; see also M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die gr. Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 23 (Leipzig 1909 = Hildesheim 1966) 189.

*C* Codex *Parisinus* gr. 2946 (Medic. Reg. 2190), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>28</sup> sixteenth century, paper, 331 × 233 mm., folios XIX + 338 + XII, contains only scholia for or. 24 on folios 310<sup>v</sup>–338<sup>r</sup>.

Codex *C* is shown to derive from codex *Ac*, since *C* has all the errors of *Ac* and in addition has separative errors such as the following:

31.16 καὶ om. *C*

32.18 εἰ ἐποιεῖτο] εἰς ἐποιεῖτο *C*

75.19 ἀπαιδευσίαν] παιδευσίαν *C*

76.8 Σόλωνα θρυλεῖ] Σόλων ἀθρύλλει *C*

*Wb* Codex *Vindobonensis* phil. gr. 70, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna,<sup>29</sup> second half of the fifteenth century,<sup>30</sup> paper, 292 × 210 mm., folios I + 243, contains consecutive text and scholia for or. 24 in a single hand, folios 129<sup>v</sup>–150<sup>r</sup>. As in *Ac*, text and scholia are distinguished by indices (κείμενον and ἐξήγησις); these indices are sometimes written in red ink and in general scholia are written in a smaller hand than the text.

Codex *Wb* derives from lost codex *v* independently of *Ac*, *G*, and *Mr*, since *Wb* contains the errors of *v* cited above and has in addition the following separative errors:

61.21 λέγεις] λέγειν *Wb*

67.6 τοῖς] τοῦ τοῖς *Wb*

72.2 ζῆν] ζεῖν *Wb*

(These readings hardly constitute substantial separative errors, and one might be tempted to consider *Wb* a primary MS and *Ac*, *G*, and

<sup>28</sup> On this MS see H. Omont (above, note 15) 67; Dindorf vol. 8, VIII–IX; E. Drerup (above, note 3) 304.

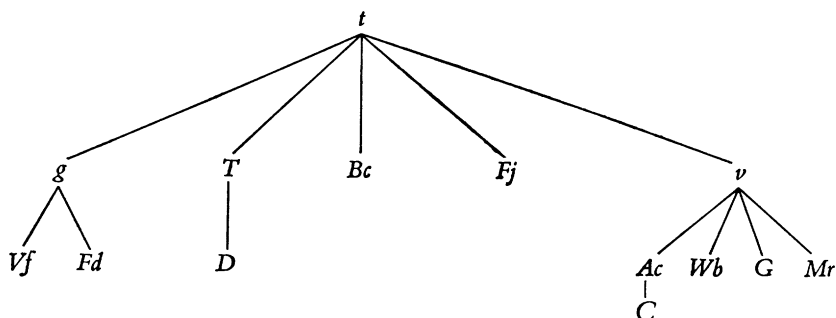
<sup>29</sup> On this MS see H. Hunger, *Katalog der gr. Handschriften des Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 1, *Codices Historici Philosophici et Philologici* . . . (Vienna 1961) 185–86; J. T. Voemel (above, note 22) 213–14.

<sup>30</sup> Watermarks for folios 53–200, which constitute a separate part of this codex (cf. Voemel, above note 22, 213–14), indicate that *Wb* may be somewhat earlier than *Ac*. Dr. Eva Irblich kindly supplied me with the following report: ff. 58, 88, 90–94, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104, 108, 111–12, 115, 118–19, 124–26, 128, 130, 162–63, etc. to 196: hut similar to Briquet 3391, Florence 1491; ff. 69, 74, 75: bull's head, similar to Briquet 14799, Molburg 1471; ff. 73, 77, 78, 81, 82: bull's head, similar to Briquet 14574, Regensburg 1471; ff. 137–39, 143, 144, 147, 148–50, 152, 154, 197–99: scales, similar to Briquet 2578, Ofen 1480.



this MS and others belonging to Jacobus Nanius became the property of the Marcian Library.<sup>33</sup>

To summarize conclusions reached to this point, I append a stemma of the MSS which derive scholia on or. 24 from *t*. Of the nine MSS, which have been shown to be primary, Dindorf used only *T* and *G*. The application of this article to a new edition of the *Scholia Ulpiani* should lead to a full and accurate report of the readings of *g*, *T*, *Bc*, *Fj*, and *v*, for which only a selection of the numerous Byzantine conjectures need be reported.



Up to this point a stemmatic relationship between *t* and its apographs has been established, but little has been said about the relationship between *t* and codex *Monacensis* gr. 485 (*A*, saec. 10).<sup>34</sup> In brief one of two relationships exists: *t* ultimately derives the scholia it shares with *A* (1) from *A* or (2) from a source, which is of equal or greater value than *A* for establishing the text of the scholia. In the first case, *t* can be ignored for all the scholia also contained in *A*; in the second case, all readings of *t* merit attention, since they may derive from a tradition as old or older than *A*.

For the scholia on or. 24 shared by *t* and *A*, the following evidence points to a derivation of *t* from *A*:

<sup>33</sup> See Joh. A. Mingarelli, *Graeci codices manu scripti apud Nanios patricos Venetos asservati* (Bologna 1784) 460; Carlo Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani* . . . (Florence 1933) 402-03.

<sup>34</sup> The relationship between *t* and two other tenth century MSS (*Y* and *P*) is not considered here, since the scant one hundred or so lines of scholia shared by *t* and *YP* do not provide adequate evidence to answer the question of whether *t* derives scholia from *Y* or *P* or the lost common source of *YP* (see M. R. Dils, above, note 2) or a MS which is equal to or greater than *Y* or *P* or their common source in value.

(1) *t* omits (a) words or phrases contained in *A* (for a partial listing, see pp. 36–37) (b) entire scholia contained in *A* (29.1–7, 34.1–2, 39.24–5, 48.3–5, 56.20–22, 57.29–30, 61.12–13, 66.8, 69.4, 70.3, 76.14–17, 80.16–17, 83.8–20, 84.4–9, 87.10–11, 90.1–2, 3–4, 31).

(2) In *A* the scholium 92.4–9 is found partly on folio 234<sup>r</sup> (92.4–6 *αὐται*) and partly on folio 233<sup>v</sup> (92.6–9 *ποτέ μὲν – αἱ σώζουσαι*.) following the scholium 90.22–24. The displacement of 92.6–9 in *A* has resulted in the following muddled version of the whole scholium in *t*, where 92.6–9 is joined to 90.22–24: 90.22–24 <αἱ ψῆφοι δὲ> 92.6–9 *ποτέ μὲν – αἱ σώζουσαι* *T Bc v* (*Σ* om. *g Fj*) || 92.4–7 *λευκαί T v* 92.7–9 *αἱ μὲν – αἱ σώζουσαι*] *καθὼς εἴπαμεν T v* (*Σ* om. *g Bc Fj*).

(3) When *t* does contain a correct reading, this appears to result from scribal emendation rather than an ancient source, since when the truth is preserved in *t* it is invariably a matter of easy correction as can be seen from the following list of readings of *t* adopted by Dindorf:<sup>35</sup>

- 33.5 γὰρ *t* om. *A*  
 45.27 οὐκ *t* οὖν *A*  
 48.8 ἡγόραζεν *t* ἡγοράζετο *A*  
 48.14 καταβαλοῦσιν *t* καταβάλλουσιν *A*  
       κατέβαλον *t* καταβάλλουσι *A*  
 48.20 καταβάλωσι *t* καταβάλλωσι *A*  
 51.15 ἐκ *t* ἀπὸ *A*  
 66.11 ἦ *t* ὥς *A*  
 69.29 ἕως *t* ἕως γὰρ *A*  
 71.24 τοῖς<sup>2</sup> *t* τοῖς *A*  
 79.14 τὸ *t* τῷ *A*  
 89.20 οἱ *t* om. *A*  
 97.29 ὄρα *t* ὄρα δὲ *A*

<sup>35</sup> All readings adopted by Dindorf for scholia on or. 24 have been considered, except the following: (a) cases where Dindorf reports a false reading for *A* (*A* contains the correct reading at 42, n. 26; 42, n. 27; 45, n. 23; 48, n. 16; 57, n. 19; 79, n. 21; 89, n. 18; 92, n. 12; 94, n. 11; 93, n. 24; 96, n. 8) (b) cases where *t* has interpolations, which result from combining separate scholia in *A* (39.14, 39.16, 43.11, 44.2, 48.8, 58.23–24) (c) cases where Dindorf's choice of the *t* variant seems to be erroneous (43.22, 48.16, 50.24, 89.20) (d) cases where either *t* or *A* can be considered correct (39.10, 42.8, 43.26, 44.16, 51.13, 56.6, 68.1, 77.19, 81.22, 92.15, 94.10).

In these cases the correct reading derives from (a) a change in the tense or voice of a verb (48.8, 14 bis, 20), (b) a common word added or deleted in *t* (33.5, 69.29, 89.20, 97.29), (c) a common word substituted for another to yield a more satisfactory sense (45.27, 51.15, 66.11). Moreover such correct readings might be expected in *t*, given the following evidence of conjectural emendation:

39.15 εἶναι πολεμίαν *A* πολεμίαν εἶναι *T Bc Fj v* Σ om. *g*

The word order of *t* may have been influenced by the last half of this sentence.

42.19 ἐπιχειροτονία *A* ἐπιχειροτονία δὲ *T Bc Fj v* Σ om. *g*

*t* also interpolates δὲ at 43.5, 62.23, 65.13, 72.3, 77.11, 79.20, 82.22, 84.10, 94.17, 95.8.

43.4 δεύτερον περὶ *A* λαβεῖν δὲ παρὰ *T Bc Fj v* Σ om. *g*

The emendation in *t* relates τῶν-πραγμάτων to περὶ τῶν βουλευτικῶν, perhaps since the scribe of *t* failed to understand that the reading of *A* refers to or. 24.20 δεύτερον-κοινῶν.

74.13 πρὸς . . . πρὸς *A* κατὰ . . . κατὰ *T Bc v* Σ om. *g Fj*

The same substitution occurs at 79.24.

77.25 ἀπὸ *A* ἐκ *T Bc v* Σ om. *g Fj*

The same substitution occurs at 78.1, 79.24, 97.30, 95.25.

91.29 τοῦ ἄρχοντος Sauppe αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος *A* αὐτοῦ.  
ἄρχοντα *T v* Σ om. *g Bc Fj*

The reading of *t* is apparently a misguided attempt to emend the text of *A*.

92.6 τετρημέναι *A* τετρυπημέναι *T v* Σ om. *g Bc Fj*

The reading of *A* is supported by 92.7.

93.21 καλόν τι *A* βέλτιον *T v* Σ om. *g Bc Fj*

There is no apparent need for this emendation.

In sum to establish the text of the scholia shared by *t* and *A*, apographs of lost codex *t* can be ignored, except for occasional citation of

felicitous Byzantine emendations. Given the foregoing attempts at “improving” the text of the scholia in *t*, and the fact that the earliest *t* MSS (*T* and probably *g*) date from the thirteenth century, it seems reasonable to assume that codex *t* was a product of the Palaeologian renaissance, which was an active period for such conjectural emendation.