

THE *TLDV* MANUSCRIPTS OF XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA* AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

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In an earlier article¹ I attempted to show that two of the oldest manuscripts of the *Hellenica*, representative of two different families in the tradition, are of equal value in the establishment of a text of the history. I now turn to a group of codices which is important in its near relationship to *P* and in its position as a productive source of other *Hellenica* manuscripts:

Matritensis 4561 (*T*) is a paper codex of 289 folios in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The volume is a composite of three different manuscripts, a *Vita* of Thucydides according to Marcellinus in the hand of Constantine Lascaris (d. 1501), Thucydides' history in a fifteenth century hand and the *Hellenica* (f. 202–289), dated 1427 A.D.

Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 317 (*L*) is a paper codex of 319 folios, containing Thucydides' history (f. 1–239)² followed by the *Hellenica* (f. 240–319^v). Both histories are abbreviated, the former breaking off at 8.8.108 and the latter at 7.1.21. Contrary to the estimate of Devreesse,³ *L* dates to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

¹ See D. F. Jackson, *BASP* 6 (1969) 45–52. Papyrus evidence is presented to show that *Parisinus* gr. 1738 (*B*) and *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 140 (*P*) are equally well supported by ancient testimony and must therefore be given equal attention by future editors. In the past codex *B* has consistently been used as the basis for printed texts.

² See D. F. Jackson, *CJ* 65 (1969) 11–13 for more on the history of *L*.

³ In the article listed in note 2 conclusive proof is provided that *British Museum* add. ms. 5110 (*H*) is a copy of *L*. Marcel Richard in his *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum* (Paris 1952) on page 3 dates *H* to the fifteenth century. Devreesse in *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin* (Paris 1945) on page 306 has suggested a late fifteenth century date for *L*.

Parisinus gr. 1642 (*D*) is a paper codex of II + 281 folios, containing Xenophon's *Hellenica* (f. 2-61), *Memorabilia*, *Agésilas*, and *Hieron*. Works of various other authors follow. One scribe wrote all, except for a brief interruption at folios 223 through 227. The codex dates to the early fifteenth century.

Marcianus gr. 368(*V*) is a paper codex of 184 folios, containing Xenophon's *Hellenica* (f. 1-77), *Agésilas*, *Memorabilia* and the rest of the opuscula, lacking only the *Hieron*. One scribe wrote the *Hellenica* and *Agésilas*; several others wrote the rest. The codex dates to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

Codex *L* was first used in a critical edition by J.-B. Gail.⁴ It was the last of six Paris manuscripts he employed and it was therefore designated *F*. Dindorf⁵ altered its designation. He introduced *Leiden Perizonianus* F6 as *F* and called the Paris manuscript *L*, which it has remained. Sauppe,⁶ Keller,⁷ Hude,⁸ and Hatzfeld⁹ all included *L* in their critical apparatuses. Marchant¹⁰ alone among modern editors ignored it, preferring *H*, unaware that it is a copy of *L*.

Codex *D* was among the Paris codices introduced by Gail. All subsequent editors used both *D* and *V* in their editions. Manuscript *T* has not been used as yet in any critical editions, being brought to light only recently.¹¹

Manuscripts *LDV* have traditionally been placed in the category of "older and better" codices, along with *BP* and *Ambrosianus* A4 inf. (*M*). The manuscripts of this group contain large lacunae at 5.1.5-6 and 5.1.7-8, as well as scattered fenestrae at 5.1.10 and 5.1.13-14. The missing text has been supplemented from later witnesses which have gained stature from having an integral fifth book and have been

The hand of *L* is plain and hard to date, but that of *H* is florid and free and seems to me to date to the mid-fifteenth century. Its model therefore should be considered a contemporary of *TDV*.

⁴ J.-B. Gail, *Oeuvres de Xénophon* (Paris 1795-1822) in 14 volumes.

⁵ L. Dindorf, *Xenophontis historia graeca* (London 1836).

⁶ G. Sauppe, *Xenophontis opera* (Leipzig 1865-66) in 5 volumes.

⁷ O. Keller, *Xenophontis historia graeca* (Leipzig 1890).

⁸ C. Hude, *Xenophontis historia graeca* (Leipzig 1930).

⁹ J. Hatzfeld, *Xénophon, Helléniques* (Paris 1936) in 2 volumes.

¹⁰ E. C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia* (Oxford 1900-20) in 5 volumes.

¹¹ See F. Gomez del Rio, "Manuscritos de Jenofonte en bibliotecas españolas," *Emerita* 26 (1958) 319-54.

cited often in other places. It will be shown that most of these later witnesses derive from *T* and need no longer be taken into consideration.

The lacunae and fenestrae of the older codices give us an idea of the format of the lost archetype of the tradition. The loss of text probably resulted from physical damage, perhaps by water, to the recto and verso of one folio, with lesser damage to the following recto and verso. The codex itself carried twenty-seven lines to a page and about thirty letters to a line. Subsequent offspring of the archetype left blanks in the usually vain hope of later supplementation. Codex *H* is the only manuscript extant which originally had blanks and was able to fill them in later. Codex *T* is the oldest extant manuscript to contain a complete text for Book Five.

Where the supplementary material came from is uncertain. The most likely assumption is that a copy of the archetype was made before it was damaged and then came into the hands of fourteenth century scholars who used it to fill out the text of *H* and provide a complete model for *T*. The rest of our older witnesses thus derive from hyparchetypes copied from the damaged archetype and apparently never came into contact with manuscripts carrying the complete text, until entering modern collections.

Although *LDV* have been recognized as belonging to the older and better group of codices, because of old and faulty collations it has not been pointed out that they and, as we shall see, *T* all derive from a common source. This source was apparently written in a script which copyists had difficulty deciphering. This is exemplified by the following list. We see that in case of difficulty *L* usually left blanks. Codex *V* has frequent interpolations in these places. Codex *D* has a few interpolations, but is often correct in these places. Codex *T* is most free from error and blanks:¹²

1.6.4	[ξυνιέντων] <i>L</i>	[ξυνιέν]των <i>T</i> ¹	ξυνέντων <i>V</i>
3.2.29	[διῆκεν] <i>L</i>	διῆγγεν <i>V</i>	διαφῆκεν <i>D</i>
3.4.14	[παλτά] <i>L</i>	ταῦτα <i>V</i>	

¹² Brackets indicate a fenestra. The reading within the brackets is the correct one. Any of the four manuscripts omitted from any particular entry should be understood to carry the correct reading in that place.

- 3.4.17 [οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες] *L* οἱ σκηνοποιοὶ πάντες *V*
οἱ ζωγραφοῦντες πάντες *D*
- 3.4.20 [προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς] *L* προσεῖπεν αὐτοῖς *T* παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς *D* ἐπὶ τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἵεναι ἔλεγεν *V*
- 3.4.21 [αὐτὸν πάλιν] *L* αὐτὸν *D* αὐτοῖς προσποιούμενος ἵν' αὐτόν *V*
- 3.4.21 προ[εῖπεν εὐθύς] *L* πρότερον ἐπηγγείλατο *V* πρότερον εὐθύς *D*
- 3.5.4 [ἀντεμβαλόντες] *L* ἐμβαλόντες *V*
- 4.8.10 Ποδά[νε]μος *L* Πο[δάνε]μος *T* Πρόξενος *V* Ποδόμιμος *D*
- 5.1.11 [Τρι]πυργία *L* τετραπυργία *V*
- 5.1.14 [πλείστα πορίζειν] *L* πλείστον πορίζειν *T*
- 5.1.14 [οὐδέν] *L* ὅπως οὐχ *V*
- 5.1.16 [ξυνπονῶμεν] *L* ξυνευποιῶμεν *V* ξυνδειπνῶμεν *D*
- 5.1.17 [ἴστε . . . τε] *L* ἴστε καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἱκανήν *V* ἴστε ὅτι μεγαλοφροσύνην τε *D*
- 5.1.17 [παρέχεται] *L* μεγίστην παρέχει *V*
- 5.1.21 [ἀναδουμένους] *L* ἐκέλευεν *V*
- 5.1.25 [Νικόλοχον] *L* Νικόλοχος *T* Νι[κόλοχον] *V*
- 5.1.33 [εὐθύς] *L* διαβῆναι *V* ἐξίεναι *D*
- 5.2.3 [τοῦ δήμου] *L* τοῦ πολέμου *V*
- 5.2.13 [καὶ Πέλλαν] *L* καὶ Σέλαν *D*
- 5.2.15 [πρέσβεις] *L* πολλοὺς ὄντας *V* πόσον τε *D*
- 5.2.20 [μυρίους] *L* συμμάχους *V* Ἀκανθίους *D*
- 5.2.24 [ἐλάττω ἔχοντα] *L* ἔχοντα τοιαύτην *V* ἐξαιρετὸν ἔχοντα *D*
- 5.2.29 [θεσμο]φοριάζειν *L* ἐμφοριάζειν *V*
- 5.2.29 [καὶ ἡγείται] *L* καὶ ἔρχονται *V* καὶ ἴεται *D*
- 5.3.5 [καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι] *L* καὶ μὴ [ἀν]ιέναι *T* καὶ μὴ ἀφιέναι *V*
- 5.4.14 [ἀνακαίου] *TLV* Ὀρχομένου ὑπὸ μέθης ἐκ- *D*
- 6.5.27 [κατέβαινον] *L* ἐπολέμουν *V* ἐπέδραμον *D*
- 6.5.41 ἐκ [θεῶν] τινος *L* ἔκ τινος *T* ἐκ παρά τινος *V*
ἐκ θεοῦ τινος *D*

As well as shedding light on the common source of *TLDV*, the preceding list also shows that each of the four manuscripts is independent of the others. None could be the model for any of the others. A reconstruction of the lost source from these extant offspring shows that it agreed most closely with the fourteenth century codex in Milan, *Ambrosianus* A 4 inf. (*M*):

- 1.1.23 ἀπορίομες *BP* ἀπορέομες *MTLDV*
 1.1.27 εἰρημένοι *BP* ῥημένοι *MTLDV*
 1.6.24 εἰσβιάζοντες *BP* εἰσβιβάζοντες *MTLDV*
 1.7.22 προδῶ *BP* προδιδῶ *MTLDV*
 3.3.11 ἄλλους τοὺς hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 3.5.15 μέν hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 5.2.36 ταῦτα hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 5.4.25 τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 5.4.31 οὐκοῦν hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 6.1.3 τῆς προσόδου hab. *BP* om. *MTLDV*
 6.2.22 τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις *B* (-οιν) *P* om. *MTLDV*

Codex *M* cannot, however, be identical with the source of *TLDV*:

- 1.5.3 ἀποκόψειν *M* κατακόψειν *BPTLDV*
 3.2.12 εἶναι *M* ἀφείναι *BPTLDV*
 4.2.8 καὶ Ὀρσιππος om. *M* hab. *BPTLDV*
 4.2.16 καὶ Σικυνώνων . . . χίλιοι om. *M* hab. *BPTLDV*
 4.5.17 ἐπιόντας om. *M* hab. *BPTLDV*
 7.2.17 τὴν πίστιν om. *M* hab. *PTDV*¹³
 7.2.22 τοὺς δὲ φυρῶντας . . . ποιουμένους om. *M* hab. *PTDV*

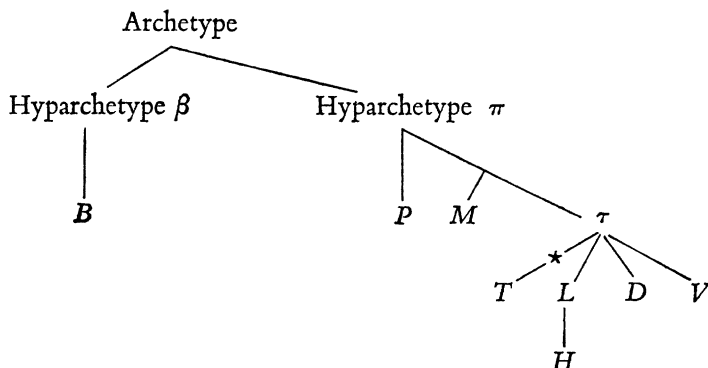
Since *M* also shares none of the fenestra-linked errors of *TLDV* listed above, we may be sure that it derives from a different exemplar from theirs.

I choose to designate the lost source of *TLDV* by the Greek letter τ, because *T* seems to represent its text best of the offspring. This is true not only in the areas already listed, but in those places where all the manuscripts have some reading *T* correctly agrees now with one and again with another. Some examples follow:

¹³ Codex *B*, like *L*, lacks the final passages of Book Seven through a loss of final folios.

- 2.3.51 ἀνήσομεν *TD* νήσομεν *L* ξενίσομεν *V*
 3.3.1 βασιλείας *TL* βασιλείας ὅτι οἱ μὲν *D* om. *V*
 3.3.4 τὸ τρίτον *T* Ἀγησιλάου *L* ἐξ ἧ ἑπτά *D* τούτου *V*
 3.4.1 καταπλεούσας *TL* συλλεγομένας ὥς *V* καταγομ-
 ένας *D*
 3.4.3 ἐλθὼν θῦσαι *T* ἀπελθὼν θῦσαι *L* θυσιάσαι *V*
 διαπλεοῦσαι *D*
 3.4.21 κατέστησεν *TD* κατέπεσεν *L* ἀπέπεμπεν *V*
 3.5.7 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ *T* ἐκέκλειστο αὐτῷ *L* ἐθύετο *V*
 ἐθύετο αὐτῷ *D*
 5.1.25 χρῆσθαι *T* καρποῦσθαι *L* συνθέσθαι *D* ποιεῖσ-
 θαι *V*
 6.2.3 Ἀμβραχίας *TD* Ἀμβρανίδος *L* Ἀμβρακίτιδος *V*
 6.3.4 ἤδη ἦλθον *TL* ἦλθον ἤδη *V* ἦλθον *D*
 6.5.26 εἰ μὴ *T*¹⁴ *D* ὁ δέ *L* καί *V*
 6.5.27 ἐπὶ τὰς *TD* εἰς τὰς *L* καὶ εἰς *V*
 7.4.23 οἱ *T* οἷ γε *D* ἐκέϊσε *V* om. *H*¹⁴
 7.4.31 ἄρχων στρατόλας *TD* ἀρχιστρατόλας *H* ἀρχιστ-
 ράτηγος *V*

The older manuscripts of the *Hellenica* can be graphically presented in the following manner to show that once the text editor gets past *B* and *P* there is little to be gained from the other witnesses. They are farther removed from the hyparchetypes of each family than *BP* and are therefore more subject to error and interpolation. An obvious exception should be noted in the area of the lacunae in Book Five where codex *T* provides best evidence.



¹⁴ The apograph is used here to represent the abbreviated source.

Codex *T*, in addition to being the oldest dated manuscript of the *Hellenica*, is noteworthy also as the most copied text of the history. In fact, the whole "poorer family" derives from the Madrid codex. The remainder of this article will deal with proof of this assertion.

Two manuscripts which have been ignored by most editors are closely related to *T*:

Marcianus gr. 365 (*g*) is a paper codex of III+310 folios in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. It contains the histories of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon (f. 250^v–300^v). A cryptographic subscription in a transposition cipher¹⁵ on folio 300^v attests that the codex was completed on May 30, 1436. Codex *g* has not been collated previously or given a letter designation.

Marcianus gr. 364 (*b*) is a parchment codex of 381 folios, also in Venice. It contains the same three histories as *g*. A final subscription states that the codex was written for Cardinal Bessarion (d. 1472) by Joannes Plousiadenos in 1469 A.D. The *Hellenica* of *b* was designated *G* by Gail who was followed in this by Dindorf and Sauppe. To give the manuscript a more meaningful siglum, I designate it *b* for Bessarion, in lower case to indicate that it is a secondary codex.

Codex *g* is a direct copy of *T*. In addition to perpetuating all the significant errors of *T*, *g* presents explicit evidence of its source. The scribe of *T* ended folio 246^r with the first three letters of the word κίνδυνος and failed to finish the noun on 246^v. Instead he wrote the following verb εἶη. In *g* we read κινείη. At 3.2.13 the scribe of *T*, in a characteristic manner, wrote σύν with a lunar sigma and an upsilon which is little more than a wavy horizontal line. The scribe of *g* took the word to be ἐν.¹⁶ At 1.7.27 the scribe of *g* wrote ὕστερον ἡμαρτηκότας, then deleted the second of the two words. This is an incipient line omission, the text between ὕστερον and ἡμαρτηκότας of the same paragraph equalling one full line in *T*. The scribe of *g* dropped down

¹⁵ The subscription and resolution read:

+ετιελωνεθακατηνηριταοκνητςυδαμινω. εν ετει ς^ω μδ^ω Ν ιδ +
+ετελιωθεν κατα την τριακοντης του μαιου. εν ετει . . .

¹⁶ J. de Iriarte in the catalogue of Greek manuscripts in Madrid of 1769 committed the same error as the scribe of *g*. In the transcription of the final subscription of *T* he wrote εντελεσθη for συντελεσθη.

two lines in his model after writing ὕστερον and then discovered his error.

Codex *b* is in turn a direct copy of *g*. The following list of common errors shows that *b* is derived from *g*:¹⁷

- 1.1.22 στρατηγῶ] στρατηγῶν *gb*
 1.1.32 ἄρμοστής] ἄρμοσθής *g* ἄρμοσθείς *b*
 1.1.35 Ἄγις . . . καταθέοντα om. *g*^{1b} add. *g*^{5b}^c
 1.2.10 ἐπεῖ] ἐπειδή *gb*
 1.4.21 Λευκολοφίδου] Λευκοφορίδου *gb*
 1.5.21 μὲν om. *gb*
 1.6.16 συνεισέπλευσεν] συνέπλευσεν *gb*
 1.6.36 εἰς om. *gb*
 1.7.19 ὄσια] ὄσα *gb*

The proof that the derivation is direct lies in the fact that the last of four correctors in codex *g* (my *g*⁵) is identical with the main scribe of codex *b*, Joannes Plousiadenos. While writing *b*, Plousiadenos corrected *g* against another *Hellenica* codex which also was before him. This codex was:

Laurentianus 69.15 (*m*), a paper codex of 72 folios in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. It contains only the *Hellenica*. A subscription on folio 69^v attests that the codex was completed on April 25, 1455. One hand executed the whole text.¹⁸ Dindorf introduced *m* as *N* and was followed in this designation by Sauppe. E. L. de Stefani¹⁹ gave it the more meaningful siglum *m* which is used here.

Just as some omissions in *g* were supplemented by Plousiadenos from *m*, so too some omissions in *m* are supplemented from *g* by the same scribe. Although *g* was the primary model for *b*, it is clear that Plousiadenos was at times looking at *m* while writing *b*:

¹⁷ These two codices have been collated only through Book One. A further study will be helpful in fully explaining the intricate relationship of *gbm*, concerning which see below.

¹⁸ The hand which wrote the text of *m* is quite similar to that of codex *f* below. The latter is signed by Demetrius Trivolis who may be the scribe of *m* as well.

¹⁹ E. L. de Stefani, "I codici fiorentini delle *Elleniche* di Senofonte," *SIFC* 3 (1895) 364-68.

1.2.5 *πεζόν* *bm* ζωόν *g* *rell.*

1.4.15 *ἀπό* *g* ὑπό *bm* *rell.*

1.4.15 *καθ'* *g* παρ' *bm* *rell.*

1.4.16 τῶν δέει *bm^m* τῶν δεῖ (φόβω *supra*) *m^t* τῶν δέ *g* *rell.*

Such borrowing from manuscripts within a collection is neither surprising nor unusual. In fact, an earlier corrector of *g* (*g*⁴) had noted the omission at 7.1.8 of τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. Since codex *V* was also in Bessarion's collection at this time and free of the error, he used *V* as a supplementary text. Unfortunately, through a similarity of sound, *V*¹ had changed ἐπισκέψασθε to ἐπισκέψασθαι and, to justify the infinitive, had added *χρή*. The omission, which originated in *T* (or its model), is found in the incorrect form in the margin of *g* in the hand of *g*⁴, in the body of the text *b*, and in the margin of *m* in the hand of Plousiadenos.

To carry farther the matter of marginalia, I might note here some other supplements in *m* which have been accepted by editors as *paradosis*, while being only scribal interpolations. At 4.1.30 we read:

ὥς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπονδὰς λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον, [ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος] καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν . . . ἀνέμενον.

The bracketed words appear in no manuscript older than *m*. A reader of *m* in 1455 or 1456 realized that αὐτόν is neither Pharnabazus nor Apollophanes, but certainly Agesilaus. To render the meaning more intelligible, he added the bracketed words in the margin.²⁰

This reading then crept into the text of most later manuscripts as a remedy for a clearly corrupt passage.

A different, but contemporary, hand noted a similar loss:

4.8.23-24 ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφικετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κνίδον, [ὁ δ' Ἔκδικος] οἴκαδε. αὐτὸς δ' ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον . . .

Once again the bracketed words are found in no manuscript earlier than *m*. Cnidus is not home for Teleutias. There is clearly a loss

²⁰ Since codex *f*, which was copied from *m* in 1456, contains the addition in the text, the corrector of *m* must have entered the marginal note within a year of the completion of *m*.

of text before οἴκαδε. Teleutias was commissioned to send Ecdicus home, so the answer is inevitable. This interpolation too has found its way into all the later manuscripts and has been universally accepted by modern editors. Another interpolation, replacement of αὐτὸς δ' by ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας, also occurs in the margin of *m*, but it has not enjoyed acceptability comparable to that of the other two.

Codex *m* itself served as model for two extant *Hellenica* manuscripts, one of which has often been used by text editors, while the other has remained relatively unknown.

Leidensis Perizonianus F 6 (*f*) is a paper codex of 294 folios in the University Library, Leiden. It is a composite of four originally separate parts. The third part, folios 86–173, contains the *Hellenica*. As noted above, Demetrius Trivolis signed the work with the date 1456 A.D. Codex *f* was first collated by Valknaer in 1774 and later by Dindorf and Keller. De Stefani has shown from omissions supplemented by the first hand which correspond to full lines in *m* that *F* (now given a lower case letter) is a direct copy of *m*. Hatzfeld alone of modern editors did not use *f* in representing readings of the “poorer family.”

Neapolitanus 22.1 (*n*) is a paper codex of I+477+I folios in the Biblioteca dei Girolamini, Naples. It is a composite of numerous works, apparently all dating to the fifteenth century. The *Hellenica* occupies folios 7^r–80^r and was written by Joannes Doceianos.²¹ Codex *n* is not well known and no editor has collated it for his own purposes.²² Hude and Marchant do employ occasional readings of *n*.

Since de Stefani has already conclusively shown the position of *f* in the *Hellenica* stemma, further testimony here would be superfluous. Codex *n* has not been so securely placed. Jorio does conclude that *n* is closest to *f* of the manuscripts known to him. If he had had *m* readings at his disposal, it would have been clear to him that the Florence manuscript shares an equally close relationship:

²¹ Autograph works in *n* by the Patriarch Gennadius and Antonius Pyropulus, as well as that of Doceianos, point to Constantinople as the location for the writing of the manuscript.

²² G. Jorio, *Codici ignorati nelle biblioteche di Napoli* (Leipzig 1892), fasc. I, has provided the only collation of *n* (his X, followed by Marchant; changed to N by Hude).

- 1.1.31 βουλεύειν] βουλευέειν και βουλεύων *m* βουλεύων *f*
 βουλεύειν *n*
 1.2.5 ζών] πεζόν *mf*
 1.4.11 Πάρον] Σάμον *mf*
 1.4.13 ἀπελογήθη] ἀπηγγέλθη *mf*
 1.7.12 ἐπιβαλὼν] ἐπιβουλήν *mf*
 1.7.32 παρεσκευάσαντο] παρεκελεύσαντο *mf*
 2.4.22 καὶ ἔχθιστον om. *mf*
 3.5.7 ἐγένετο om. *mf*
 5.3.23 σπείσασθαι] σπείσαντες *mf*
 5.4.38 ἀπεσταυρομένον] ἀπεστρατευμένον *mf*

Codex *n* cannot be the source of *m* or *f*:

- 1.1.29 δμόσαντες] δμόσαντες *n*
 1.3.12 ὄρκον] ὄρμον *n*
 1.5.3 πάντα om. *n*
 1.7.6 αἰτιάσασθαι] αἰτιᾶσθαι *n*
 1.7.24 ἀναίτιοι] ἐναντίοι *n*
 2.3.2 Φαιδρίας . . . Ὀνομακλῆς om. *n*

In addition, *mf* have inherited a mystifying subscription to Book One from *T*:

Ἀπ' εὐδιορθώτου πάνυ ἐγὼ Ὀλβιος μετ' Ἀριστείδου Ἀθήνησιν.
 Since the subscription is not found in *n*, the Neapolitan codex cannot be placed between *T* and *mf* in the stemma. Neither can *n* be derived from *f*:

- 1.3.4 ὅσον] ὅσω *f*
 1.7.35 εἰς] πρὸς *f*
 2.3.33 ὑπάγομεν] ἀπάγομεν *f*
 2.4.10 μόνον om. *f*
 2.4.20 συστρατιῶται] στρατιῶται *f*
 2.4.22 ἀνθρώποις] θνητοῖς *f*
 2.4.43 ἡ μὴν om. *f*
 3.1.18 ἀχθομένου] ἀρχομένου *f*
 3.2.23 ἐκ] καί *f*
 3.2.28 εἶναι om. *f*

We can therefore safely assume that *n* is a gemellus of *f*, both deriving from *m* as a common parent.

It remains now to place the *mfñ* group in its proper relation to codex *T*. This placement is complicated by the relationship of *mfñ* to a large group of Italian Renaissance codices, the *z* group. Both *mfñ* and the *z* manuscripts share several significant conjunctive errors:

- 2.1.5 *συνενεγκεῖν*] *συνεισενεγκεῖν* *mfñz*
 2.1.7 *τῷ πολέμῳ* om. *mfñz*
 2.1.28 *τειχύδρια*] *χείδρια* *m²fnz*
 2.3.23 *παραγγείλαντες*] *παράγγειλαν τοῖς* *mfñz*
 2.3.35 *δήπου* om. *mfz* *τοῦ n*
 2.4.3 *τὰς ἐφόδους*] *αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους* *mfñz*
 3.4.5 *οἰοίμην*] *οἶει m²f¹(?)z* *οἰοί m¹* *οἱ f² in ras.*
 4.1.26 *ἐπεὶ . . . Σπιθριδάτης* om. *mfñz*
 4.3.3 *πρῶτον*] *ἤδη* *mfñz*

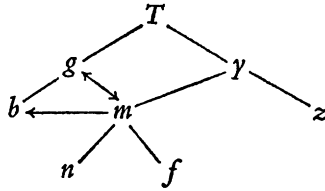
The *mfñ* conjunctive errors listed above are not found in the *z* group, a fact that rules out derivation of *z* from *m*. I therefore introduce a lost codex (*γ*) between *T* and *mz* for which there is some significance. Trivolis,²³ the scribe of *f* (and probably *m*), during 1455–56 was copying in the learned group assembled at the Morea by Georgius Gemistus Pletho. This scholar's works are in fact generously interspersed throughout the manuscripts of the *γ* and *z* groups. One of these works is a history of Greek affairs after Mantinea. It is certainly no coincidence that he began where Xenophon left off. We may safely assume that he had a copy of the *Hellenica* at his disposal and, since *m* was not written until three years after his death in 1452, codex *γ* seems a likely candidate for a position in the library of this well-known Platonist.²⁴

A stemma of the manuscripts deriving from *T* will then look like this:²⁵

²³ See A. Oleroff, "Demetrius Trivolis, copiste et bibliophile," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 260–63 and Plates 20–21.

²⁴ Some may object that *T* could be Pletho's codex. Since the existence of *γ* is assured, however, and since a student of his used it in writing *m*, it is more likely to have been his. Codex *γ* may well have perished in the flames kindled by Pletho's opponents along with his other books or may have been lost in the seizure of Mistra in 1460.

²⁵ Arrows designate textual influence without the existence of complete derivation.



Future editors of the *Hellenica* will satisfy their obligation of using the best available manuscripts of the history, and no others, if they base their work upon *Parisinus* gr. 1738 (*B*), *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 140 (*P*), *Ambrosianus* A4 inf. (*M*) and *Matritensis* 4561 (*T*). Codex *M* may be employed essentially as a check on *P* and codex *T* as a supplement for *deperdita* of *BPM*. The new critical apparatus will be significant for brevity gained with no loss of integrity.