

The Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Symposium*

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RECENT SCHOLARSHIP has produced a clearer picture of the relationships among manuscripts of certain *opuscula* of Xenophon.¹ These shorter works have been shown to belong to two distinct families: one headed by *Vaticanus gr.* 1335 (A), the other by a lost hyparchetype, Φ . In this paper I examine and interrelate manuscripts containing Xenophon's *Symposium*, a work found only in the manuscripts of the second family. The twenty-three manuscripts described here contain a total of twenty-five *Symp.* texts, seven of which are incomplete.² Three of the four groups of the Φ family of *Symp.*

¹ *Agesilaus*: R. WIECZOREK, *Xenophon's Agesilaus: A Collation, Stemma, and Critical Text* (diss. University of Iowa 1975 [Ann Arbor 1975: hereafter 'Wieczorek']); *Hiero*: J. K. DEULING and J. CIRIGNANO, "A Reappraisal of the Later ABS Family Tradition of Xenophon's *Hiero*," *Scriptorium* 44 (1990: 'Deuling and Cirignano') 54-68; D. O. HALTINER and E. A. SCHMOLL, "The Older Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Hiero*," *RHText* 10 (1980) 231-36; L. LEVERENZ, "The Descendants of Laurentianus 80.13 in Xenophon's *Hiero*," *StIt* 7 (1989: 'Leverenz') 12-23; *Memorabilia*: M. BANDINI, "Osservazioni sulla storia del testo dei *Memorabili* di Senofonte in età umanistica," *StClOr* (1988: 'Bandini, "Osservazioni") 271-92, and "I *Memorabili* di Senofante fra il Bessarione, Isidoro di Kiev, e Pier Vettori," *BollClass* 12 (1991: 'Bandini, "Mem.") 83-92; *Hipparchicus*: D. F. JACKSON, "A New Look at the Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Hipparchicus*," *CQ* N.S. 40 (1990: 'Jackson') 176-86; *Athenorum Politeia*: G. SERRA, "La tradizione manoscritta della *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* dello Pseudo-Senofonte," *AttiPadua* 91 (1978-79: 'Serra') 77-117; *Poroi*: D. F. JACKSON, "The Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Poroi*," *StIt* 8 (1990: 'Jackson, "Poroi") 166-79; *Cynegeticus*: E. A. SCHMOLL, "Xenophon's *De Venatione*: A Collation, Stemma, and Critical Text" (diss. Univ. of Iowa 1982 [Ann Arbor 1982: 'Schmoll, *De Ven.*']), and "The Fragmentary Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*," *SyllClass* 1 (1989: 'Schmoll, *SyllClass*') 21-25.

² *Vaticanus Urbinas gr.* 95 (V) has two short excerpts in addition to a complete *Symp. Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 37 (H) contains two complete *Symp.* texts. I know of three other extant *Symp.* manuscripts, which I have, unfortunately, been unable to study. From catalogue information, it is known that one, *Monacensis* 494, contains only an excerpt of *Symp.*; another, *Mutin-*

manuscripts—**M**, **γ**, and **λ**—are already familiar from work done on other *opuscula*.³ The fourth group—the **α**—unknown previously, forms the largest group of *Symp.* manuscripts, and is usually joined to only one other work of Xenophon, most often *Oeconomicus*. An outstanding witness of this new group is a *Symp.* manuscript that has not previously been consulted: *Vaticanus Urbinas gr. 95 (V)*; codex **V** and the **α** group are here described and evaluated in some detail.

The M Group

The **M** group of *Symp.* manuscripts dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and includes the following: *Marcianus gr. 511 (M)*, *Marcianus gr. 369 (O)*, *Laurentianus 55.22 (L)*, and *Marcianus gr. 368 (N)*. Three Venetian manuscripts (**MON**) once belonged to Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72). Devoted to his former countrymen, Bessarion in 1468 willed that his library be sent to Venice, where many Greek refugees were relocating. **M** and **N** were among the manuscripts shipped from Rome to Venice in 1469; **O**, which was not written until 1470, arrived in Venice sometime after the death of Bessarion in 1472. There are conjunctive errors that firmly establish the **M** group:

1.8 alt. μέν om. **MOLN** 2.3 τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι] **MOLN** 2.22 καμπτομένη] καλυπτομένη **MOLN** 3.5 ἀλλὰ σὺ αὖ] ἀλλὰ αὖ **MOLN** 4.14 κλεινία τὰ ὄντα] τὰ ὄντα κλεινία **MOLN** 4.25 ἤδη om. **MOLN** 4.10 ἀεὶ αὖ] ἀεὶ ὦν **MOLN** 4.52 σὺ δὲ δῆ] σὺ δὲ **MOLN** 5.2 τοίνυν σε ἔφη] τοίνυν ἔφη σε **MOLN** 5.6 προσδέχεσθαι] προσδέχεται **MOLN** 6.9 γε τοῖς] γέ τοι τοῖς **MOLN** 8.15 σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται] καὶ ἀποτελεῖται σαφῶς **MOLN** 8.29 ἀγαθαῖς om. **MOLN**.

ensis III D-10 (129), is a fifteenth-century manuscript that, judging from its contents, is probably a member of the **α** family; the third, *Marcianus gr. 513*, is a fourteenth-century manuscript and also probably an **α** derivative.

³ See especially the articles on *Cynegeticus*, *Hiero*, *Hipparchicus*, and *Poroi* cited *supra* n.1.

The head of this group is *Marcianus* 511 (M), a paper codex 408 folios in length. Although previous editors have disagreed about M's date, it can on the basis of its script be placed in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁴

Marcianus 511 (M) contains the following works of Xenophon (ff. 141–325v): *Cyropaedia*, *Anabasis*, *Agésilauus*, *Hiero*, *Memorabilia*, *Hipparchicus*, *Peri Hippikes*, *Lacedaemoniorum politeia*, *Athenorum politeia*, *Poroi*, *Oeconomicus*, *Symposium* (ff. 311v–318), and *Cynegeticus*. M's first three *opuscula*—*Agésilauus*, *Hiero*, and probably *Memorabilia*—all derive from *Ambrosianus* E11 inf. (S).⁵ But because the Ambrosian manuscript does not contain the other shorter works of Xenophon that appear in M, the copyist was forced to go elsewhere for the remaining Xenophon *opuscula*.

The three manuscripts OLN are easily shown to be independent derivatives of M. Each contains the same *opuscula* of Xenophon in the same order as does M, except that *Marcianus* 368 lacks *Hiero*. Also, each of the three has in *Symp.*—in addition to the M group's readings—unique separative errors.

Marcianus gr. 369 (O), according to Mioni, is a “very beautiful”⁶ parchment codex of 280 folios. He tells us that the beginning of each fascicle of this manuscript is colored in gold, blue, green, and red, and that folio 1 includes the shield of Bessarion skillfully reproduced in these same colors. On the front guard leaf Bessarion's ownership is spelled out in Greek and Latin. The last folio contains a subscription, written in red ink, that dates O to 1470 and identifies as the copyist George Tzangaropoulos, who at the time was working in Rome for Bessarion.⁷

⁴ For a list of articles containing descriptions of the M group see Jackson, 182 n.23. For catalogued descriptions of the three Venetian manuscripts see E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti* II (Rome 1985: hereafter ‘Mioni’). In addition to describing M, Mioni lists in his bibliography some earlier editors and the different dates given in M. Of further interest in M is a subscription on folio 398v, which is written in a very free hand different from the other hands in the manuscript; it incorrectly assigns the year 1166 to M.

⁵ For a description of codex S see Wiczorek 13. Also, M's *Cyropaedia* may derive from S, but not its *Anabasis*, which is missing from S. There is some disagreement whether *Memorabilia* derives from S: see Bandini, “*Mem.*” 90; Jackson 181f.

⁶ Mioni 129: “codicem pulcherrimum.”

⁷ Tzangaropoulos wrote *Marcianus* gr. 380 for Bessarion in Rome 16 August 1469: Mioni 137.

Editors agree that the works of Xenophon and Arrian (ff. 1–190v) in *Marcianus* 369 (O) derive directly from M.⁸ In *Symp.* (ff. 122–28) O has the following unique errors that confirm that it is not the source for extant manuscripts:

1.2 ἐν πειραιεῖ] ἐν πειραιῶ O 1.4 οὖν] οὖν εἶπεν O 1.4 alt. εἰ om. O 1.8 βασιλικόν τι] βασιλικόν τινα O 1.9 προσάγεται] προσάγεται εἰς O 2.22 καὶ φοβερώτερον] ἐν φοβερώτερον O.

Laurentianus 55.22 (L) is a fifteenth-century paper codex of 237 folios housed in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence.⁹ L seems to have been written by the scribe who also wrote *Laurentianus* 69.12 and 69.18;¹⁰ the three codices together form a complete collection of Xenophon's works. The closeness of L to M has been proven for a number of Xenophontic *opuscula*.¹¹ It is no surprise then that *Symp.* (ff. 198–218v) in L also derives from M. The following list includes unique L readings that prove L's independence from O and N.

2.5 αὐτῶ om. L 3.6 ἔθνος om. L 4.32 τότε δέ] τότε L 4.50 ἐν] ἐπί L 4.53 ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν] ἀποκτεῖν αὐτόν L 6.7 τι om. L 6.7 φῶς] σαφῶς L 9.2 εἴσεισιν εἰς] εἴσεισιν πρὸς L.

Marcianus gr. 368 (N) is a paper codex of 184 folios. Two of at least four hands at work in this manuscript have been identified (Serra 81) as Demetrius Trivolis (ff. 1–98v, 154v line 6–155r line 10) and Cardinal Bessarion (ff. 99–154v line 5, 155 line 11–184v). Codex N has long been regarded as an apograph of M, except

⁸ P. Cerocchi, "Prolegomena ad Xenophontis *Hipparchicum*," *StIt* 6 (1898) 498; G. Pierleoni, "De fontibus quibus utimur in Xenophontis *Cynegetico* recensendo," *StIt* 6 (1898) 68; both name scholars who testify to this derivation. The concluding work of the manuscript, five books of Polybius' *Historia* (ff. 191–208v), seems to have been copied from *Marcianus* 371. J. M. Moore lists scholars who testify to this derivation: *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (Cambridge 1965) 25f.

⁹ Bandini argues ("Mem." 84ff) that *Laurentianus* 55.22 (and *Marcianus* 369) in *Mem.* was a later copy of *Marcianus* 511 than *Marcianus* 368, thus dating codex L to the second half of the fifteenth century.

¹⁰ See E. L. De Stefani, "Due codici delle *Elleniche* di Senofante," *StIt* 5 (1897) 106 n.1.

¹¹ *Agasilans*: Wiczorek 18; *Hiero*: Haltinner and Schmoll (*supra* n.1) 234; *Memorabilia*: W. W. Baker, "Some of the Less Known Manuscripts of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*," *TAPA* 43 (1912) 149; Bandini, "Mem." 84; *Hipparchicus*: Jackson 182; *Peri Hippikes*: V. Tomassini, "Prolegomena ad Xenophontis *De re equestri*," *StIt* 10 (1902) 109; *Athenorum politeia*: Serra 81; *Poroi*: Jackson, "Poroi" 176–79; *Cynegeticus*: Schmoll, *De Ven.* 3.

for its *Hellenica* that is absent from M.¹² Recently, N's immediate dependence on M for *Agesilaus* has been questioned (Wieczorek 22, 38). A collation of *Symp.* in N also casts doubt on N's alleged direct descent from M. Codex N's *Symp.* has at least seven omissions of considerable length that cannot be assigned to homeoteleuton. These omissions do not correspond to lines in M, which averages approximately eighty-three spaces per line. A manuscript whose lines are shorter, between fifty and sixty spaces per line, should be N's exemplar. It is also possible, however, that these are not line omissions, but the result of unusual carelessness.¹³

Unique N readings include:

1.6 post λέγειν, νῦν δέ ... ὄντα om. N 2.10 post χαλεπωτάτη, ὅτι ... χρήσεσθαι om. N 2.17 ἀλλά ... ζητεῖν om. N 2.20 τοῖς ὅμοις om. N 2.25 τὰ τῶν ἐν γῆ] τῶν ἐν γῆ N 3.6 post ἐπίστανται, σύ ... λέληθε om. N 4.6 ἦκ' ... πειρᾶσθαι om. N 4.40 οὐδέν ... ταμιεύομαι om. N 7.37 ὅς ... ἰστάμενος om. N.

The γ Group

The γ group is comprised of *Laurentianus conventi suppressi* 110 (C), *Parisinus gr.* 2955 (P), and *Perusinus B34* (K). This family is especially interesting for its connections with two famous Renaissance humanists, Guarino Veronese (1374–1460) and Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446). *Symp.* occurs only in fragmentary form in the γ group.¹⁴ The same portion of *Symp.** (8.28 πλείονος to the end) is found in CPK, a fact that provides

¹² Baker (*supra* n.11) 148; Cerocchi (*supra* n.8) 478; Tommasini (*supra* n.11) 110.

¹³ Bandini, "Mem." 86, argues for a date in the 1450s for *Marcianus* 368; D. Harlfinger, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Περὶ Ἀτόμων Γραμμῶν* (Amsterdam 1971) 249 n.3, seems to think that Trivolis was still in the East as late as 1465. Codex N appears in Bessarion's 1468 inventory and so was written in Rome before that date. See H. Omont, *RévBiblioth* 4 (1894) 129–87.

¹⁴ Fragmentary or incompleated works are marked with an asterisk (*).

primary evidence for the γ group.¹⁵ The following readings also establish their relationship:

8.30 τοῦτο δ' αὖ ... εἰδώς om. CPK 8.32 ἀλκιμότατον] ἀλκιμώτων C^{a-c}P^{a-c}K 8.33 τούτους] τοῦτο CPK 8.36 πιστεῦσαι] πιστεύειν CPK 8.37 ἐνέβαλον] ἀνέβαλον CPK 8.43 τῷ ὄντι] τῷ δοκεῖν CPK 9.5 οὐ σκώπτοντας] σκώπτοντας C σκώπτοντας K μὴ σκώπτοντας P.

Laurentianus conventi suppressi 110 (C) is an early fifteenth-century parchment manuscript of 150 folios in quinternions containing the following works of Xenophon: *Mem.*, *Cyn.*, *Hipp.*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.**, *Poroi**, *Symp.** (ff.109–111). C is apparently a companion codex to *Laurentianus conventi suppressi* 112 (J), which contains *Oec.*, *Cyrop.*, *Anab.*, and *Hiero*—works that C lacks.¹⁶ A second hand appears after the Xenophontic material in C for one folio (f. 113); otherwise, C was written by a single scribe. Antonio Corbinelli (d. 1425), a patron of Guarino Guarini in Florence, owned both C and J, which went into the Badia Fiorentina at his death, later being acquired by the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

The main scribe in C gives *Symp.** the title: *fragmentum* περὶ συμποσίου ξενοφῶντος ῥήτορος. Codex C deviates from other manuscripts in its group by placing *Symp.** at the end, following *Poroi** rather than after *Oec.*, perhaps because of its fragmentary state (Jackson 185).

Parisinus 2955 (P) is a composite paper codex of 253 folios, now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁷ Codex P, another fifteenth-century manuscript, contains the following *opuscula* of Xenophon (ff. 68–115): *Oec.** (up to 1.23 τὸν λοιπόν.), *Hiero*, *Lac. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.** (up to 1.16), *Poroi** (from 5.4), *Symp.** (ff. 108–110v), *Peri Hipp.** (4.5–12.15). The second

¹⁵ Also characteristic of the γ group—including two other manuscripts, *Laurentianus* 55.21 (T) and *Vaticanus* gr. 1619 (W)—is an omission that begins at *Ath. Pol.* 1.16 (φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων ...) and extends into the next *opusculum* *Poroi* 5.4 (... καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ...). This omission, probably the result of a lost gathering in γ , is passed on to each offspring unnoticed by the copyists. As a result, the two incomplete *opuscula* appear as one continuous work in each of the γ manuscripts. See Jackson 179; Serra 82f.

¹⁶ *Laurentianus conventi suppressi* 112 was likely the manuscript mentioned in a letter sent to Guarino by Isidore Ruthenus who was also J's scribe. See Deuling and Cirignano 54f.

¹⁷ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* I (Paris 1886–98).

hand (ff. 147–226) of at least four hands at work in this manuscript (not the scribe of Xenophon's works) has been identified (Deuling and Cirignano 60) as George Gregoropoulos of Candia, active 1465–1501. The *Symp.* fragment in P follows *Poroi** as in C and has the same title: *περὶ συμποσίου τοῦ ξενοφῶντος ῥήτορος*.¹⁸ Codex P in *Symp.** has all of C's errors plus one additional insignificant error.¹⁹

Perusinus B34 (K) is a parchment codex of 276 folios written in two columns in quinternions. Gerard of Patras, K's scribe, was active in Mantua in 1431 and was one of a group who worked for Vittorino da Feltre—the famous pedagogue of Manuta (d. 1446).²⁰ Codex K contains only works of Xenophon: *Mem.*, *Oec.**, *Symp.** (ff. 59–60v), *Cyn. Cyrop.*, *Anab.*, *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.**, *Poroi**. An incomplete *Oec.* ending at 19.9 τὸ κλῆμα) is joined immediately to the *Symp.* fragment that follows mid-sentence without a break. The conflation of the two works was noticed and a retroactive title was written at the conclusion of the *Symp.* fragment and the beginning of *Cyn.* (60v): ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ.

There are separative errors common to C and P that show that K does not derive from either of them:

8.29 αὐτάς om. CP 8.30 δέ τ'] τάδε C^cP 8.31 ἀποθανόντι] ἀποθανόντος CP^{a,c} ἀποθανοῦντο P^c ἀποθανόντι P^{in marg.} 8.32 τὰ νῦν καλά] τὰ νῦν τὰ καλά CP^c 8.34 ἀποτελῶσι] ἀπετλῶσι C^{a,c}P 8.36 τῷ τήν] τῶν τήν CP 8.38 ἀνέχεται] ἀνέσχεται CP 8.39 ἐρευνητέον δὲ καί] ἐρευνητέον καί CP 9.1 ἄνθρωπος om. CP 9.5 ἀλλήλους] ἄλλους CP^t ἀλλήλους P^m.

Neither does C nor P derive from K:

8.30 ἄλλοθί που] ἄλλο δήπου K 8.33 εἶ γε] εἶ δε K 8.33 θαυμαστά] τὰ θαυμαστά K 8.35 ἐὰν καί] ἐὰν γὰρ καί K 8.38 καὶ τόν om. K 8.39 μὲν σοι] μέντοι K 8.40 ἀξιοπρεπέστατον] ἀξιοπρεπέστερον K 8.42 οἱ μὲν] οἱ μὲν γάρ K 9.2

¹⁸ In the margin is the abbreviation "FRAG" for "fragmentum." Also underlining the title in P is an olive branch—one of many seen throughout the first scribe's portion of the manuscript (ff. 1–146).

¹⁹ 8.42 σύ με] σὺ μὲν (*sic*) P. By itself this reading is not sufficient to prove P's derivation from C. It has been shown, however, that P derives from C in *Poroi** (Jackson, "Poroi," for whom *Laurentianus conventi suppressi* 110=L and *Parisinus* 2955=K). C then is probably also P's source for *Symp.**.

²⁰ A. Diller, "The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Guarini," *JWarb* 24 (1980) 320.

ὑποπεπωκώς] ὑποπεπτωκώς K 9.5 ὄντως] οὔτως K 9.6 φιλεῖ
αὐτόν] φιλεῖ αὐτήν K 9.7 ἀπήλαυνον] ἀπήλαυσον K.

The production of the γ family is thought to have occurred in the following way. After four years of teaching in Florence (1410–14), Guarino moved to Venice, where he purchased γ , a manuscript containing works of Xenophon that at the time were not available in Florence.²¹ In 1417 Amrogio Traversari (d. 1439), a humanist monk working for Corbinelli in Florence, wrote to Guarino asking that he bring him these “rarer works.”²² Eventually, a copy of γ was made (μ) and sent to Florence. The arrival of μ allowed Corbinelli to have the opuscula not found in *Laurentianus conventi suppressi* 112 (J)—*Mem.*, *Cyn.*, *Hipp.*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.**, *Poroi**, and *Symp.**—copied into codex C. Before μ was sent to France, Guarino made a copy (π) that he took with him to Verona where he settled after marrying in December 1418. Codex π was the source of K whose scribe, Gerard of Patras, was working in Manua in 1431 for Vittorino da Feltré.

The λ Group

The λ group includes the following manuscripts: *Laurentianus* 80.13 (E), *Parisinus* gr. 1643 (A), *Leidensis Vulc.* 2 (X), *Parisinus* gr. 1645 (B), *British Museum add. ms.* 5110 (b), *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 37 (H¹), and *Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 95 (G). For the existence of the λ group in *Symp.* there is little evidence;²³ the group has been established for other *opuscula* of Xenophon that appear in these manuscripts.²⁴ Furthermore, the similarity of contents among these manuscripts is good evidence in support

²¹ On Guarino and his Greek manuscripts see Diller (*supra* n.20) 317–21.

²² See the stemma at the end of this article. Bandini, “Osservazioni” 175ff, discusses this sequence of events and also quotes from Traversari’s letter. For a more detailed discussion of this history as it pertains to *Symp.* see my *Xenophon’s Symposium: A Collation, Stemma, and Text History* (diss. University of Iowa 1993 [Ann Arbor 1993]) 12–19.

²³ Only one λ reading exits: 2.11 ἔδοξεν] ἔδειξεν GEXBbH¹; codex A, a descendant of E, has the correct reading ἔδοξεν. The shortage of λ readings in *Symp.* indicates that λ ’s *Symp.* was written very carefully, and so had no significant errors to pass on.

²⁴ For *Hipp.*, which appears in five of the above λ manuscripts, see Jackson 177; for *Cyn.**, which appears in four of these manuscripts, see Schmoll, *SyllClass* 21–25.

of the group's existence. All seven manuscripts contain *Lac. pol.* followed immediately by *Mem.*, a combination not found in the other groups. Also five manuscripts—**EAbH¹G**—have the same unique sequence of Xenophontic *opuscula*, beginning with *Hipp.*²⁵

Of the seven λ manuscripts, five derive from *Laurentianus* 80.13 (E) in *Symp.*:²⁶

2.4 μόχθων] μόσχων **EAXBbH¹** τῶν μυροπωλῶν **EAXBbH¹**
 2.6 εὔρησει] εὔρησεις **EAXBbH¹** 2.22 τοῦπισθεν] τοῦπροσθεν
EAXBbH¹ 4.1 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους] τῶν ἀνθρώπων **EAXBbH¹**
 4.39 δοκεῖ] δοκοῦσιν **EAXBbH¹** 4.41 Θασίῳ] θαυμασίῳ
EAXBbH¹ 4.62 προαγορεύσαντα **EBH¹**: προαγογεύσαντα **b**:
 προαγορεύοντα **A^t**: προαγωγεύσαντα **A** in marg. et rell. 9.6
 φιλεῖ αὐτόν] φιλεῖ αὐτήν **EXBbH¹** φιλεῖ αὐτόν **A**.

Laurentianus 80.13 (E) is a composite manuscript 189 folios in length, written in four hands and bound in quaternions.²⁷ Codex E contains the following works of Xenophon: *Ath. pol.*, *Poroi*, *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Symp.* (ff. 132–44), and *Cyn.** (up to 2.1 παιδεύματα). Folios 1 to 18 are paper and were written by one hand from the fifteenth century (Serra 81f); the rest of the manuscript is parchment and dates to the early fourteenth century. The number of each work—beginning with *Hipp.*—and also the number of folios dedicated to it appear at the top of each recto; the folios are numbered consecutively within each work at the bottom of each recto (Leverenz 13).

Parisinus gr. 1643 (A) is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript 205+ folios in length and gathered in quaternions. Codex A contains these works of Xenophon: *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Symp.* (ff. 151v–170).²⁸ The opuscula of

²⁵ The sequence followed is: *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Symp.*, *Cyn.** The exceptions are that codex G lacks *Hiero*, and A is without *Cyn.**

²⁶ The ordering of the descendants of *Laurentianus* 80.13 has been worked out for *Hiero* by Leverenz; since codices **AbH¹** are nearly identical in ordering and content, her findings are sure to hold for *Symp.* as well; the details then of the relationships among the E derivatives in *Symp.* will not be repeated here. Manuscripts X and B, however, which lack *Hiero*, are shown to be E derivatives.

²⁷ A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Laurentianae* (Florence 1768) III 202ff; for a more recent description see Leverenz 12f.

²⁸ For a general description see Omont (*supra* n.17) I 115; Leverenz 13f.

Xenophon in **A** display the same running log as in **E**, giving the number as well as the total folios for each work at the top of each recto; at the bottom, folios are numbered consecutively within each work. A single scribe wrote the manuscript with corrections added by a different hand above the lines and in the margins. Before correction, *Symp.* is mistitled throughout its text as *Lac. pol.* On the back of the first guard leaf is a note in Latin (dated 1785) that harshly criticizes Michael Apostoles (d. 1486) for ruining the text of *Mem.*: "Hic Michael Apostolius textum fere totum Xenophontis laniavit, mutilavit, pessum dedit. Etsi nonnullas antiquas lectiones exhibeat hic codex, quas alibi frustra desideraveris, pessimus dici potest; ut ipse pronuntio, collato integro opere ἀπομνημονευμάτων."²⁹

Leidensis Vulc. 2 (**X**) is a fifteenth-century paper codex 164 folios in length.³⁰ Codex **X** is a composite of two fifteenth-century manuscripts:³¹ the first part (ff. 1–141) was written by George Hermonymus of Sparta and contains *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, and *Symp.* (ff. 73–83v). At the top of folio 143 another hand has written: Μοσχοπόλου ταῦτα εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω—perhaps referring to the author of the marginalia of Philostratus Maior's *Iconum* appearing on folios 143–163. A prefatory folio gives the contents and the names of two previous owners: "fuit liber Pauli Aemilii Paris(iensis); nunc Ioa(n)nis Arcerii Theodor(et)i." The date 1565 also appears on this sheet.³²

Parisinus gr. 1645 (**B**) is a fifteenth-century paper codex 168 folios in length. Codex **B** contains three works of Xenophon: *Symp.* (ff. 1–33), *Lac. pol.*, and *Mem.* There is no logging system as in **E**; the gatherings and the folios within each gathering are numbered at the bottom of each recto. George Hermonymus wrote the text of **B** as well as its scanty marginalia.

Codices **X** and **B** have already been shown to contain codex **E**'s group readings. Codex **B** displays all the errors of **X** and

²⁹ The note does not specify whether Apostoles was the scribe or editor of the text. The appearance of Michael Apostoles' hand in *Parisinus gr.* 1643 was rejected most recently by Bandini, "Osservazioni" 287.

³⁰ For a general description see P. C. Molhuysen, *Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis codices manuscripti*, I. *Codices Vulcaniani* (Leiden 1910)1f.

³¹ The composite nature of codex **X** is most easily demonstrated by the physical difference in size between each part (given by Molhuysen [*supra* n.30] 1f): part one measures 265×175 mm.; part two is 235×135 mm.

³² Also on this same sheet it is suggested that folios 143–164 were written by Macharios (*sic*) Calliergis—an unknown and perhaps fictional scribe.

many of its own; **B** then derives from **X**. The following is only a selection of unique **B** readings:

2.17 δολιχοδρόμοι ... οί om. **B** 3.12 οὔτος γε μὴν ἔφη τις om. **B**
 4.10 ἐπαύσατο] περιεπαύσατο **B** 4.28 ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ καὶ **B**
 4.58 τί δὲ λόγοι] λόγοι **B** 4.62 ἔφη σε] ἔφησεν **B** 6.9 ἀλλ' εὔπερ
 γε τοῖς πᾶσι per. **B** 8.21 ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις om. **B** 8.42 ὦ
 Σώκρατες om. **B** 9.2 κατετέθη] κατέθη **B**.

British Museum additional 5110 (b) is a fifteenth-century paper codex 312 folios in length written in four hands.³³ The first hand begins the manuscript with *Hellenica* (ff.1–84v); the second hand continues with *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Symp.* (ff. 152–159v), and *Cyn.**, following the same sequence as in *Laurentianus* 80.13 (E). The works of Xenophon, beginning with *Hipp.*, are numbered only in the title at the beginning of each work (Leverenz 13 n.2). Codex b is a composite of at least two manuscripts: *Hellenica* was written in the early fifteenth-century, the opuscula of Xenophon in the late fifteenth.³⁴

Vindobonensis phil. gr. 37 (H¹, H²) is a paper codex 292+III folios in length, written in five hands. The first half dates to the sixteenth century; the second half (ff. 165–292) to the end of the fifteenth.³⁵ This codex is a composite of at least four different manuscripts, three of which contain works of Xenophon (Leverenz 15 n.6). It is unique in having two copies of *Symp.* and *Peri Hipp.* *Vindobonensis phil. 37* contains *Hipp.*, *Hiero*, *Peri Hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, written by the same scribe; a second hand wrote *Mem.*, *Oec.*, and *Symp.* (ff. 112v–124v=H¹; *Cyn.*, *Peri Hipp.*, and *Symp.* (ff. 148v–163=H²) were written by another scribe; George Gregoropoulos of Candia appears to have written Epictetus' *Encheiridion* and a commentary on this work by Simplicius (ff. 165v–245v).

³³ M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs du British Museum* I (Paris 1952) 3; codex b has been described more recently by Leverenz 21f and Schmoll, *SyllClass* 22.

³⁴ *Hellenica* in codex b was once one with *British Museum Egerton* 2625, which originally included *Hellenica* and Thucydides. See D. F. Jackson, "Varia Palaeographica," *CJ* 65 (1969) 11ff.

³⁵ H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* I (Vienna 1961: hereafter 'Hunger') 162, lists the watermarks for *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 37*, three of which date to the late fifteenth and three to the early sixteenth century: Verona 1518; Vicenza 1501; Udine 1503; Treviso 1483; Udine 1485, 1479.

Vindobonensis hist. gr. 95 (G) is a paper manuscript 338 folios in length, which dates to the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁶ The scribe remains unknown and there are no visible quire signatures. Codex G contains *Anab.*, *Hipp.*, *Peri hipp.*, *Lac. pol.*, *Mem.*, *Oec.*, *Symp.* (ff. 303–323), and *Cyn.** (up to 2.1 ὠφελείας).

Codex G lacks E's conjunctive errors and is therefore not derived from it. The following is only a selection of G separative readings:³⁷

1.5 ἀεί] ἀεί οὐ G 1.14 γελοῖόν τι εὐθύς] εὐθύς γελοῖόν τι G
 3.5 συμμίγνυται] μίγνυται G 4.10 μαχοῦμεθα] συμμαχοῦμεθα
 G ἀπάτης δίκη] ἀπάτην δίκης G 4.18 δὲ ἡδύ ... δέοιτο om.
 G 4.44 τιμῶμαι] τιμῶ καὶ G 5.8 ψήφους] ψόφους G 8.4 ἐρᾶς]
 ὄρᾶς G 9.6 ἀλλήλων om. G.

The α Group

The α group, the largest of *Symp.* manuscripts, includes the following: *Vaticanus Urbinas gr.* 95 (V), *Laurentianus* 85.9 (D), *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 109 (F), *Laurentianus* 55.19 (Z), *Ambrosianus* A 157 sup. (Q), *Ambrosianus* E 119 sup. (R), *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 37 (H²), and *Monacensis* 495 (g). Two additional manuscripts with sizeable excerpts from *Symp.* may be included in this group: *Laurentianus Acquisti e Doni* 37 (q) and *Bernensis* 690 (r).³⁸ A few readings establish the group:

2.3 μέντοι] μέν τι α 3.2 εἶπαν] εἶπον α 3.9 εὐχαρίτω]
 εὐχαρίστῳ α 3.13 ὁ δ' εἶπεν] ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι α 4.36 οὕτω]
 οὕτως α 8.4 πάρεχε] πάρασχε VDFZQR πάρεσχε H².

Unlike the other groups that contain a more extensive selection of Xenophon's works, the α group features *Symp.* and usually only one or two others, most often *Oec.*, suggesting that the exemplar α had only *Oec.* and *Symp.*

Although *Urbinas* 95 (V) has the above α readings, it is without other significant errors and is therefore closest to Φ of

³⁶ All watermarks date to the second half of the fifteenth century: Hunger 103.

³⁷ The relationship between *Laurentianus* 80.13 and *Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 95 has already been established for *Cyn.** (Schmoll, *SyllClass* 22f), *Hipp.* (Jackson 178f), and *Mem.* (Bandini, "Osservazioni" 290).

³⁸ Neither manuscript has previously been consulted as a *Symp.* codex.

the α group. The rest of the family helps to establish the lost gemellus of V , codex β , which contains the following errors:

2.12 οὐχί] οὐ DFZQRH² 3.7 ἔφη ὦ Σώκρατες] ὦ Σώκρατες
 ἔφη DFZQRH² 4.12 δεξαίμην ἄν] ἄν δεξαίμην
 DFZQRH²Q 4.35 περιττεύοντα τῆς] περιττεύοντα τὰ τῆς
 DFZQRH² 4.56 εἶπαν] εἶπον DFZQRH² 6.4 Ἑρμόγενης] ὦ
 Ἑρμόγενης FZQRH².

Vaticanus Urbinas 95 (V) is a paper manuscript 333 folios in length, in quinternions, and is bound in two volumes: folios 1–151 and 152–333. Folios 1–80 were originally a separate codex and contain mostly works and excerpts from Xenophon: *Oec.* (ff. 1–31r) is followed by *Symp.* (ff. 31r–48v); the rest of folio 48v is filled with sententiae accompanied by illustrations from the Bible that were clearly added to an already existing blank space; the next seven folios contain a first series of excerpts from *Mem.*, followed by a complete *Hiero* (ff. 57–66v), more excerpts from *Mem.*, six lines from *Oec.* followed by two *Symp.* excerpts (71v–72): the first runs from καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν (2.9) to ἔδοξεν εἰρησθαι (2.11), the second from δυῶ (2.23) to ἐγείρειν (3.2) and is followed by more excerpts from *Oec.* (72v); the last eight folios of this section contain various apophthegms, sententiae, and excerpts.

Codex V continues with more sententiae, epitomes, orations, homilies, epigrams, etc.³⁹ Much of the last section of V —folios 239–333—was penned by John Eugenicus, an admirer of Pletho and ardent anti-unionist.⁴⁰ There is an interesting note, written by Eugenicus in the top margin of folio 239, which introduces a work on the Sabbath by John of Damascus; it indicates that the present book was copied from a “hagioretic” book on the holy mount of Athos at the time of the synod in Italy, “where we

³⁹ Folios 236–38 are blank. For a complete listing of the varied contents of V , see C. Stonajolo, *Codices Urbinae graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome 1895) 139–47.

⁴⁰ Except for ff. 259–63 and 314–16. This according to G. Mercati, “Sopra alcuni autografi di Giovanni Eugenico,” *Opere minori* IV (= *Studi e testi* 79 [Vatican 1937]) 61 n.5. Canart mostly agrees with Mercati, but doubts whether ff. 239–57 and 306–11 are in his hand; he also asserts that only the marginalia of ff. 259–63v are written by Eugenicus. Also, according to Canart, only the interlinear phrases—not the text—for ff. 314–17v are in Eugenicus’ hand: P. Canart, “Scribes grecs de la Renaissance: additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinélis,” *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 76.

sailed from the big city—with no good reason.”⁴¹ Assuming that this note refers to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, this section of **V** was written in late 1437 or early 1438.⁴² Of interest also are the autograph orations of John Eugenicus found in the last section of **V** (ff. 265–305, 326–33), and a red monocondyl on folio 263v that reads: Ἰωάννης νοτάριος ὁ εὐγενικός.⁴³ The first part of codex **V**—folios 1–235—dates to the fourteenth century, and except for an excerpt from Theognis (ff. 81r–83r) is in one hand.⁴⁴

Vaticanus Urbinas 95 contains no significant separative errors in *Symp.* and is probably the oldest of the extant *Symp.* manuscripts in the **α** family.⁴⁵ It has been used previously in establishing a text of Xenophon. The manuscript's shabby appearance as well as its complicated contents must have

⁴¹ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ βιβλίῳ ὃ Θεοῦ χάριτι περισώζεται ἡμῖν ἐς δεῦρο, εὐρίσκειται ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ῥητῶς οὕτως· Ἰωάννου ταπεινοῦ μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Δαμασκήνου λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον σάββατον. ἔοικεν οὖν εἶναι τῷ ἁγίῳ σύγχρονον ἐκεῖνο. τὸ δὲ παρὸν μετεγράφη ἐκ βιβλίου ἀγιορειτικοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω· ἠνίκα κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ σύνοδον ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως, ὡς μὴ ὄφελθεν, ἐξεπλέομεν.

⁴² While en route to Florence, Eugenicus apparently took advantage of a stop at Mt Athos to obtain a copy of this work on the Sabbath by St John of Damascus. There is some doubt whether the work (ff. 239–57) is in Eugenicus' hand: Canart (*supra* n.40) 76. Assuming that John did not at that time bring codex **V** with him to Italy, this section was inserted into **V** at some later time. Perceiving the Council to be a failure, John left Ferrara soon after the proceedings began in September 1438. His return voyage from Venice was delayed by a shipwreck that landed him in Ancona. While in Ancona, Eugenicus wrote an oration in thanksgiving for his survival, which is dated 11–22 May 1439 and is found in *Paris*. 2075 (ff. 244–81v); an excerpt from this oration—εὐχαριστήριος εἰς ... Θεοτόκον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ πικροῦ θανάτου—appears on ff. 329–30 of codex **V**.

⁴³ Mercati (*supra* n.40) 61 n.4. See also D. C. Young, “A Codicological Inventory of Theognis Manuscripts with Some Remarks on Janus Lascaris's Contamination and the Aldine *Editio Princeps*,” *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 7. There are marginal notes (esp. ff. 328–29) that mention Eugenicus. Also, the watermark on folio 324—cheval 3567 (Venice 1433) or 3568 (Venice 1434) fits well with the dates of John Eugenicus.

⁴⁴ As Mercati notes (*supra* n.40: 61 nn.4f), a monocondyl on f. 81v names Thomas Gorianites who may be mentioned at the *Acta* of 1318 (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, edd., *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani 1315–1402 e codicibus manuscriptis Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis* [Vienna 1860] I 86).

⁴⁵ **V**'s lack of separative errors may indicate that it is a direct descendant of codex **α**. A potential rival for oldest member of the **α** family is *Marcianus* 513, a manuscript I have as yet not seen.

contributed to its neglect.⁴⁶ Although codex V contains three complete works of Xenophon, *Oec.*, *Hiero*, and *Symp.*, the greater part of the manuscript consists of *Mem.* fragments and other excerpts that are of little use to editors of complete texts.⁴⁷ Moreover, the most important figure in recent times for studies of Xenophonic manuscripts, Karl Schenkl, never mentions *Urbinas* 95 (V).⁴⁸

Codex V probably came west in the 1460s soon after the death of John Eugenicus and entered the library of Federigo da Montefeltro, founder of the most famous of the princely libraries of the Italian Renaissance. Although Duke Federigo had willed that his library's manuscripts should remain in Urbino, Pope Alexander VII in 1658 transferred the manuscripts to the Vatican for safekeeping. *Urbinas* 95 remains at the Vatican and is one of the 1,767 manuscripts comprising the Urbino collection.⁴⁹

Codex V is the gemellus of codex β, which is the lost source of two other lost manuscripts: codices δ and ζ. The following errors establish the lost codex δ—parent of *Laurentianus* 85.9 (D) and *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 109 (F):

2.11 εἰς οὖν] εἰς μὲν οὖν DF 2.12 οὕτω om. DF 3.4 ποτέραν] πότερον DF 3.8 πολλήν] πολλήν ἔφη DF 4.37 ἄγαν om. DF 4.47 τί τε ... αἰτοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς om. DF 5.6 ἔᾱ εὐθύς] εὐθύς ἔᾱ DF 8.9 ἐστι καὶ τῆς] ἐστι τῆς DF καὶ ναοὶ εἰσι] εἰσι καὶ ναοὶ DF 8.37 εὐδηλον] ἄδηλον DF^{a-c-r} 9.3 οὐπω] οὕτω DF.

Laurentianus 85.9 (D) is a parchment codex 434 folios in length and gathered in quaternions. In addition to *Oec.* and *Symp.*,

⁴⁶ I have seen that the first half especially of *Urbinas* 95—where the three complete works of Xenophon occur—has a brownish color and is splattered with sizeable waterspots.

⁴⁷ For example, Young's inventory of Theognis manuscripts omits *Urbinas* 95 with only 276 lines of Theognis as an independent but not valuable witness; he refers (*supra* n.43: 7) to this manuscript as a "scrap-book."

⁴⁸ Schenkl contributed three Xenophon studies to the *SBBerlin* series: the first (1869) on *Anab.*, the second on *Mem.* without mentioning the fragments in *Urbinas* 95, and the third (83 [1876] 141–68) treating *Oec.*, *Symp.*, and *Apol.* again without mention of *Urbinas* 95.

⁴⁹ On the library at Urbino see especially C. H. Clough, "The Library of the Dukes of Urbino," *Librarium. Revue de la Société des bibliophiles suisses* 9 (1966)=*id.*, *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance* (London 1981) ch. VI; D. Robathan, "Libraries of the Italian Renaissance," in J. W. Thompson, ed., *The Medieval Library* (New York 1957) 536–44.

codex D contains the complete works of Plato.⁵⁰ Sicherl states that the works of Plato in D were copied from *Laurentianus* 59.1 ca 1462 at the request of Marsilio Ficino, who received 59.1 from Cosimo de' Medici.⁵¹ Although Sicherl gives no evidence for Ficino's connection to 85.9, he is probably right in placing D in the fifteenth century.⁵²

The text of codex D was written by a simple scribe who, starting at folio 28, at the top of every recto, has written the author, title, and number of folios that each dialogue occupies. At the bottom of every recto, each folio is numbered sequentially within each dialogue.⁵³ Another hand is apparent now and then in D's margins. The works of Xenophon, *Oec.* (f. 419) and *Symp.* (429v), follow the Plato section after orations by Aristides and Libanius, and conclude the manuscript. The *editio princeps* *Symp.*, printed by the Giunta press in 1516, seems to be derived from codex D.⁵⁴

Vindobonensis phil. gr. 109 (F) is a paper codex 324+II folios in length, in quaternions, and contains ten works of Plato that, except for *Menex.*, follow the sequence in D. Of the works of Xenophon, codex F contains only *Symp.* (f. 219).⁵⁵ The hand that executed the text of F resembles that of George Chrysococces, grandfather and namesake of the scribe of Z and Q;⁵⁶ there are Latin as well as Greek marginalia, some of which appear to

⁵⁰ For a complete description of D's contents see Bandini (*supra* n.27) III 257–66.

⁵¹ M. Sicherl, "Platonismus und Textüberlieferung," in D. Harlfinger, ed., *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt 1980) 554. *Laurentianus* 59.1 is the oldest extant manuscript containing the complete works of Plato, but lacks works of Xenophon and is therefore not the source of 85.9: G. Boter, *The Textual Tradition of Plato's Republic* (Leiden 1989) 32f.

⁵² M. Schanz, "Mittheilungen über platonische Handschriften," *Hermes* 10 (1876) 174, shows that the text of 85.9 (D) contains readings from the margins of *Laurentianus* 59.1 and concludes that 85.9 must be younger than 59.1, contrary to the dating of A. M. Bandini who dates 59.1 to the fourteenth and 85.9 to the thirteenth century.

⁵³ *Laurentianus* 80.13 (E) has a similar logging system, but instead of giving author and title, the top of each recto indicates the number of each work: λόγος α', λόγος β', etc.

⁵⁴ The *Symp.* of the 1516 Giunta edition contains all of the DF (δ) readings and all but one (at 5.40) of D's readings.

⁵⁵ For a more complete description of F see Hunger 217f.

⁵⁶ A sample of the elder Chrysococces' hand appears in A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti* (The Vatican 1964) pl. 110.

be by George Gemistus Pletho.⁵⁷ There are also clear indications that *Symp.* was inserted in F sometime after the codex was first compiled. In the pinax, *Symposium* is written in an erasure by a hand different from that of the Plato contents. Also, the ordering of quire signatures is interrupted by a quinternion numbered α' on folio 119 where *Symp.* begins.

Vindobonensis phil. 109 is usually assigned to the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ All of the watermarks in F—except for one from the late thirteenth century—date to the fourteenth.⁵⁹ An inscription on folio 2 identifies John Sambucus (d. 1584) as an owner of codex F, which he purchased for five ducats. Hunger suggests (217) that F may have been used for the printing of Stephanus' 1578 edition of Plato.

Laurentianus 85.9 (D) is a carefully copied manuscript and contains only a few readings to show that it is not the parent of F in *Symp.*: 2.18 ἐν σκιᾷ] ἐὰν σκιᾷ D 4.5 προαγορεύειν] προσαγορεύειν D 4.25 δῆ] ἤδη D 4.50 ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίῃ] φρονοίῃ ἐπ' αὐτῇ D 4.56 εἶεν] οἶον D.

Nor is *Vindobonensis phil.* 109 (F) the parent of D, as this sample of errors in F shows:

2.3 ἄλλη μὲν ἀνδρὶ ἄλλη δὲ γυναικί] ἄλλη μὲν γυναικί
ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρὶ F 2.6 καὶ ἄλλο] ἄλλο F 3.7 ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν] ποιεῖν
ἡμᾶς F 4.24 οὐδαμοῦ om. F 4.25 ἀπληστον] ἀπιστον F 4.37
ἔχων] ἔχω F 4.42 σκοποῦντας] ἀσκοῦντας F^{2c} 4.58 τί δὲ τῆ ...
πάνυ μὲν οὖν om. F 6.1 ἔφη add. F post ἔχοις ἂν 6.2 ἀλλά]
ἄλλ' ὅ F 8.29 τοῦτους] αὐτούς F 8.33 ψόγου τε] ψέγειν τί F 9.2
τις] τε F.

⁵⁷ Noted are marginalia especially on folios 108, 208, 209, 215, compared with Pletho's hand in *Marcianus gr.* 406 (given in D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, I: *Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin 1974] pl. 1). The scribe of codex F also appears in *Ambrosianus* I 121, which is catalogued as a fourteenth-century manuscript and contains *Cyrop.* and *Anab.*: A. MARTINI and D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan 1906: hereafter 'Martini and Bassi') I 565.

⁵⁸ Hunger 217; L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* (Middletown 1934) 91; R. S. Brumbaugh and R. Wells, *The Plato Manuscripts, A New Index* (New Haven 1968) 14. According to Boter (*supra* n.51: 60, 142), Bk 10 of Plato's *Republic* in F derives from *Laurentianus* 85.9, a fifteenth-century manuscript. A date in the fifteenth century, however, would conflict with the dates of the watermarks in F.

⁵⁹ The watermarks are listed and dated as follows: Siena 1297, Bologna 1342, Perpignan 1330, varia between 1314 and 1336, Aldenbiesan 1345, Siena 1325 with varia between 1322 and 1361, Bologna 1324–32, Decizes 1386, Siena 1331–33, Sion 1349–75: Hunger 218.

There are readings that show that ZQRH²q derive from a lost codex ζ, a gemellus of δ. The following is only a selection of ζ readings.⁶⁰

1.1 τὰ ἐν] ἐν ZQRH² 2.3 τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι] ἡμῖν τις ἐνέγκαι ZQRq 2.11 ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν] ὀρθῶν ξιφῶν ZQRH² 2.13 πάντας om. ZQRH² 4.30 ἱκανὸς εἶην] εἶην ἱκανός ZQRH²q 4.44 καὶ μὴν καί] καὶ μὴν ZQRH² 4.45 ὅτι om. ZQRH² 4.61 ἔφη μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης] μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης ἔφη ZQRH² 8.36 ποτέρως παιδί φιληθέντι] ποτέρως φιληθέντι παιδί ZQH² (R om. παιδί ... ad *Convivii* finem).

Laurentianus 55.19 (Z) is a parchment codex 230 folios in length, in quinternion gatherings.⁶¹ Codex Z contains only three works; all three of Xenophon: *Symp.* (f. 1), *Oec.* (f. 21), and *Cyrop.* (f. 55). Part of the subscription at the end of the codex (f. 230v) appears in verse form and reveals that *Cyrop.* was written in Constantinople by Chrysococces for Francisco Filelfo; the date given is 23 November during the fifth indiction, 1426:

ᾠδὲ πέρασ λάβεν ἡ Ξενοφῶντος βίβλος ἀρίστη
 παιδείην γε Κύριοιο καλῶς μάλα διεξοῦσα
 χειρὶ Γεωργίου γραφείσα τοῦ Χρυσοκόκη
 Φιλέλφου δ' ἀναλώμασι τοῦ Φραγκίσκοιο κλήσιν.
 ἔτελειώθη μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ κγ' ἰνδ ε' ἔτους
 Δ' λε' ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει.

At the bottom of the first folio can be seen a circular emblem with Filelfo's initials FR and PH written in golden letters on either side of the circle. An elaborate rubric begins each work. After *Oec.* (f. 54; 54v is blank) *Cyrop.* begins on folio 55 with another elaborate rubric very similar to the one on folio 1; Filelfo's emblem and initials reappear at the bottom of this same folio. The similarity between the first folio and folio 55 may

⁶⁰ There are four readings that might, at first glance, seem to deny this grouping; they can, however, be easily explained: 4.27 Κριτοβούλω R H²: Κριτοβούλου ZQ rell. 4.52 σὺ δέ QR: σὺ ἐ δὴ ZH² rell. 5.10 διαφέρειν R διαφ[...] H²: διαφθείρειν ZQ rell. 8.32 Πausανίας QR: Πausανίας τε ZH² rell. It is easy to see how at 4.27 a genitive is attracted by surrounding datives into the dative case; it is also easily corrected. At 4.52, a rather superfluous δὴ is omitted independently. The entire word at 5.10 may not have been legible in the parent of ZRH²; Z guessed the correct reading, R made a poorer choice and H², this time, did not hazard a guess. At 8.32, while the tradition reads τε Marchant uses Athenaeus' γε; Q and R again independently omit an extraneous particle.

⁶¹ Bandini (*supra* n.27) I 283f.

indicate a lapse of time between the copying of the *Symp.* and *Oec.* section, and *Cyrop.*, which begins after a blank folio within the last gathering of *Oec.*

Ambrosianus A 157 sup. (Q) is a paper codex, I+128 folios in length, in quaternions, with a parchment folio at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript (Martini and Bassi I 65). Codex Q contains only works of Xenophon: *Anab.*, *Symp.* (f. 91), and *Oec.* (104v). Brief notes appear in the margins of *Anab.* in a hand resembling that of the marginalia in *Laurentianus* 85.9 (D). The letter corresponding to the appropriate book of *Anab.* is written at the top of each recto. A subscription at the end of *Anab.* (f. 90v) states that George Chrysococces wrote the *Anab.* of codex Q in October, 1425: ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ ἰνδ^{ος} τετάρτης ἔτους ς^{ου} D^{ου} λ^ω δ' χειρὶ γραφῆν διακόνου γεωργίου τοῦ χρυσοκόκκη. Since the subscription appears at the end of *Anab.* rather than at the end of the codex, it is not certain whether *Symp.* and *Oec.* were written in October of 1425. The rest of folio 90v is blank; *Symp.* begins at the top of 91, ends on 104v, and is followed on the same folio by *Oec.* *Symp.* and *Oec.* are without marginalia except for an occasional ση and words marking the contents of the adjacent passage. The hand is unmistakably that of Chrysococces throughout the codex.

Ambrosianus E 119 sup. (R) is a fifteenth-century composite paper codex I+87+XII folios in length (Martini and Bassi I 365). The quire signature α' appears on folio 59v and probably marks the end of what was originally the first quinternion of a separate codex. Codex R then falls into two halves: folios 1-49 and 50-87.

The manuscript opens with two works of Xenophon: *Oec.* is followed by an incomplete *Symp.* (f. 25), which ends at the bottom of folio 37r with τῷ ποτέρως φιληθέντι (8.36) and is followed immediately by a brief excerpt from a letter attributed to Euripides. Codex R continues with Theophrastus' *Characteres* I-XV and Demosthenes' *Epitaphius* (f. 42v-47); two more orations of Demosthenes follow, *De corona* (f. 50) and *Contra Cononem* (f. 84v), each preceded by a brief hypothesis. Most of *Oec.* and *Symp.* were copied by one scribe who was relieved for folios 21r and 22v. A third hand is evident on folio 48; folios 48v and 49r-v are blank. *De corona* is written by a fourth hand, with marginalia in the third hand, which returns on folio 84v to complete the codex.

Vindobonensis phil. 37 (H¹, H²), as already noted, is a composite manuscript and contains two copies of *Symp.*: H¹

derives from *Laurentianus* 80.13 (E); H² (ff. 148v–163r) also dates to the sixteenth century, was quickly and shoddily written, and contains many errors.

Ambrosianus A 157 sup. (Q) has all the errors of Z plus plenty of its own; a selection of Q errors follows:

2.3 οὔσαι ὡσπερ] οὔσαι ὡσπερ καί Q 3.4 καλοκάγαθία] καλοκάγαθία ἔφη Q 4.18 ὦν] ὦν ἄν Q 4.28 πλείων] πλείων Q 4.45 ἀνεγέλασαν] ἐγέλασαν Q 4.54 ὄλας γε] ὄλας Q 4.63 Αἰσχύλον] καὶ Αἰσχύλον Q ζητοῦντες] ἐζητοῦμεν Q 5.8 χρή] χρή ἢ Q 6.2 ἄν τις om. Q 6.8 ψύλλα] ψύλλας Q 7.5 οὐδὲν] καὶ ὁ Q 8.35 ὄρεχθῆ τις] τις ὄρεχθῆ Q 9.5 σκώπτοντας] σκῆπτοντας Q.

There are no significant errors in Z that are not also found in codex Q; only the following differences were found: 4.27 γραμματιστῆ] γραμματοκομιστῆ Z^t corr. in marg. 4.38 ἀφροδισιάσαι] ἀφροδίασαι Z 4.57 ἔργον εἶναι] εἶναι ἔργον εἶναι Z. Q then is derived from Z, despite the conflicting dates that appear in the two manuscripts. If the dating of Q's *Anab.*—October, 1425—is correct, it seems that folios 91–96 of Q were left blank for approximately thirteen months during which time Z's *Symp.* and *Oec.* were written; then *Cyrop.* was written and completed 23 November 1426. Soon after, Chrysococces wrote *Symp.* and *Oec.* into Q. It is also possible that Chrysococces—since it was so early in the new year (which began in September)—recorded the previous year in Q. If so, *Anab.* in Q was really copied in October, 1426; then Z's *Symp.*, *Oec.*, and *Cyrop.* were finished by 23 November 1426, after which time Chrysococces returned to Q and copied *Symp.* (and *Oec.*?) from Z.

Ambrosianus E 119 sup. (R) has an abundance of separative readings, which demonstrate that R is not the source for any of the existing *Symp.* manuscripts. Only a selection of R errors follows:

1.14 ἐπιτελοίη] ἐπιμελοίη R 2.4 ἐν γυμνασίοις] ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις R 2.25 ἄγαν ἀθρόως] ἀθρόως ἄγαν R 3.7 μέγιστον] μέγα R ἐλοιδόρουν με] 4.32 ἐλοιδορούμην R 4.53 παντάσασι ... αὐτὸς ἄρ' ἔφη om. R 8.10 τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῆς φιλίας] τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς R 8.22 χαλεπὸν] χαλαιπὸν R.

Nor is H², a sixteenth-century text, the source for any extant *Symp.* manuscripts. The following is only a small selection of H² separative errors:

1.1 ἀξιομνημόνευτα] ἀξιομνημονεύτους H² 1.9 ὑπ' ἐκείνου ... ἐσχηματίζοντο om. H² 2.4 ἠδεῖαι] ἠδεῖναι H² 2.23 φιάλην om. H² 4.7 ἐνέγκη] ἐν ἔγμῃ H² 4.47 νομίζομέν γε] νομίζομενόν γε H² 5.2 προσενεγκάτω] προσεγκάτω H² 7.3 μιμουμένους ... ὠραίους om. H² 8.31 πεποίηται] πεποίητα H².

The source for the excerpt manuscript, *Laurentianus Acquisiti e Doni* 37 (q), appears to be codex Q. Codex q shares the following errors with Ambrosianus A 157 sup. (Q): 4.30 συκοφάντας] συκοφαντοῦντας Qq 4.34 αὖ] οὖν Qq νομίζω] νομίζω ἔφη Qq 4.47 μὲν καὶ] μὲν Qq τοῦτο] τοῦτο δὴ Qq 4.49 ὄσα] ὅποσα Qq. *Laurentianus Acquisiti e Doni* 37 (q) is a paper manuscript 138 folios in length, which dates to the sixteenth century.⁶² Codex q contains excerpts from various Greek authors including Plato, Polybius, Xenophon, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Isocrates; there are also several folios (118v–121) written in Latin. Excerpted passages from *Symp.* occur on folios 22–28. These excerpts have not previously been consulted by editors of *Symp.*

The source for the *Symp.* excerpt in *Bernensis* 690 (r), which begins at 8.12 and ends at 8.39, is not clear; there is only one reading that possibly connects it to *Laurentianus* 85.9 (D): 8.37 εὔδηλον] ἄδηλον DF^{a-c}r^t: οὐκ ἄδηλον r^m.⁶³ Codex r also has the following separative readings:

8.16 ἄγαται] ἄγαθαι r 8.18 τά om. r 8.22 ἀνόσια] ἀνέσια r 8.31 πεποίηται om. r 8.33 αἰσχύνονται] αἰσχυνοῦνται r 8.37 ἐνέβαλον] ἀνέβαλον r 8.38 τροπαῖα] τρόπαιον r 8.39 καὶ ποῖα] ποῖα r.

⁶² For a brief description of *Laurentianus Acquisiti e Doni* 37 see E. Rostagno and N. Festa, "Codici greci Laurenziani non compressi nel catalogo del Bandini," *StIt* 1 (1893) 197.

⁶³ Codex r sides with the tradition against the M group at 8.15; also there are no λ or E group readings in the section of *Symp.* in r.

Bernensis 690 (r) is a paper manuscript 62 folios in length, which dates to the sixteenth century.⁶⁴ Codex r contains some orations of Demosthenes (ff. 1–51v), followed by excerpts from Plato's *Phaedo* (ff. 54–58v) and excerpts from Xenophon's *Symp.* (ff. 58v–60v); folios 52–53v are blank; the manuscript ends with notes in different hands that include the Greek alphabet with Arabic numerals subscripted, and notes in Greek and Latin concerning the Greek months. *Bernensis* 690, like *Laurentianus Acquisti e Doni* 37, has not been consulted previously by editors of *Symp.*

Monacensis 495 (g) is a fifteenth-century paper codex 235 folios in length. Codex g does not contain a complete *Symp.*, but does contain the same fragments of *Symp.* as does codex V; there are no significant differences between the fragments of the two manuscripts. Folios 125 through 155 in codex g are identical in content and order to folios 49r through 83r in V. Codex V is the source for these works in g, which include excerpts from *Mem.*, *Oec.*, and *Symp.*, and also a complete *Hiero.*⁶⁵ In addition, codex g contains a diverse collection of letters, speeches, monographs, prayers, hymns, etc.⁶⁶ Particularly interesting in g are works of Pletho (ff. 61–123v; 170–72) and other references to him. One note (f. 50v) gives the exact time of death of the master, but misspells his name: μῆν. ἰουβ. κς' Ν. ιε' ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ γόμοστος ἡμέρα δευτέρα, ὥρα α' τῆς ἡμέρας. Codex g also includes two odes to Pletho: one by Charitonius Hermonymus (f. 213), the other by Gregory the monk (f. 218)—possibly both are autographs.⁶⁷ There is also a short ode to Sparta by Cyriaco d'Ancona (155v), an Italian

⁶⁴ For a brief description of *Bernensis* 690 see H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (New York 1974) 502. Omont, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3 (1886) 427, also gives a brief description, but dates *Bernensis* 690 to the seventeenth century.

⁶⁵ *Hiero* in codex g is derived through V from *Laurentianus* 80.13. See Leverenz 17–23.

⁶⁶ For a complete description of g and its contents, see I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum mss. graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavariae* (=J. C. L. DeAretin, *Cat. cod. mss. Bib. Bav.* [Munich 1806–12]) IV 151–68.

⁶⁷ Folios 213–217v are enough like *Marcianus gr.* 206 (Harlfinger [*supra* n.57] 56) to be an autograph of Charitonius Hermonymus in a more calligraphic form.

traveler who visited Pletho in Mistra in the summer of 1447 and again in the winter of 1448; the ode is not in Cyriaco's hand.⁶⁸

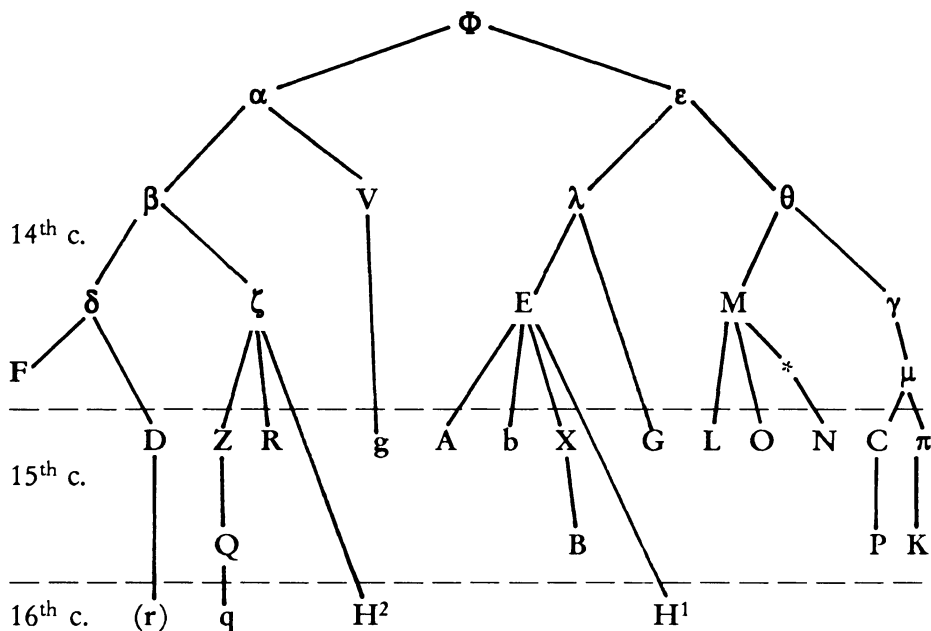
Of at least ten hands in codex **g**, Charitonymus Hermonymus seems to me to have done the most work. Noteworthy also are the Attic and 'Hellenic' alphabets that a scribe was practicing (f. 156); an apparently illiterate scribe is also evident in different places throughout the manuscript.⁶⁹ These oddities may indicate that at least a part of *Monacensis* 495 was a practice manuscript for scribes in training.

Stemma codicum

Having evaluated all twenty-three *Symp.* manuscripts, we can now arrange the four families in a complete stemma (see the illustration on the next page). A common origin for **M** and **γ** has been demonstrated for Xenophon's *Hipparchicus* (Jackson 182–85). The portion of *Symp.* in **γ** is too short to warrant the same observation, but given their similarity in contents it is likely that *Symp.* in **M** and **γ** also originated from the same source (**θ**). The **λ** group is free of errors passed on to **M** and **γ**, and is therefore not a derivative of **θ**. Because **θ** lacks the errors that **λ** passed on to **G** and **E**, neither can **θ** derive from **λ**. And because **λ** and **θ** agree against the unique readings of the **α** group, the two lost manuscripts must have shared a common source (**ε**). The lost **α** is reconstructed where **β** agrees—against the other groups—with codex **V**, the closest of all extant manuscripts to the archetype. Agreement between **α** and **ε** is the basis upon which the text of *Symp.* should be built. Only in the six places where **α** and **ε** disagree must **φ**'s readings be divined.

⁶⁸ The works of Pletho, the note giving the exact time of his death, the two funeral odes, and Cyriaco's ode to Sparta, all support codex **g**'s connection to Mistra. *Urbinas* 95 (**V**) probably came to the Peloponnesus with John Eugenicus, who made several visits there. While in Mistra, codex **V** could then be partially copied by scribes of *Monacensis* 495 (**g**). See Cirignano (*supra* n.22) 50–53.

⁶⁹ See folios 50v, 59v, 61r, 109r, 156r, 225r+v.

Stemma Codicum *Convivii* Xenophontis

SIGLA

- V=Vaticanus Urbinas 95, saec. xiv, xv
 D=Laurentianus 85.9, saec. xv
 F=Vindobonensis phil. 109, saec. xiv
 Z=Laurentianus 55.19 saec. xv
 Q=Ambrosianus A 157 sup., saec. xv
 R=Ambrosianus E 119 sup., saec. xv
 H²=Vindobonensis phil. 37, ff. 148v-163, saec. xvi
 q=Laurentianus Acquisti e Doni 37, saec. xvi
 r=Bernensis 690, saec. xvi
 g=Monacensis 495, saec. xv
 G=Vindobonensis hist. 95, saec. xv
 E=Laurentianus 80.13, saec. xiv
 A=Parisinus 1643, saec. xv
 X=Leidensis Vulc. 2, saec. xv
 B=Parisinus 1645, saec. xv
 b=Britannicus 5110, saec. xv
 H¹=Vindobonensis phil. 37, ff. 112v-124v, saec. xvi
 C=Laurentianus conv. sopp. 110, saec. xv
 P=Parisinus 2955, saec. xv
 K=Perusinus B34, saec. xv
 M=Marcianus 511, saec. xv
 O=Marcianus 369, saec. xv
 L=Laurentianus 55.22, saec. xv
 N=Marcianus 368, saec. xv