

# The Manuscript Tradition of Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*

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HALHEIM AND RUEHL'S TEUBNER TEXTS of Xenophon's *Opuscula* have been available for over fifty years. So too have the texts edited by Gino Pierleoni (*Scriptores Graeci et Latini* [Rome]) and the complete works of Xenophon edited by E. C. Marchant (Oxford University Press). Recent manuscript studies of Xenophon's *opuscula* reveal that many of the individual texts edited by these scholars were based on the sometimes faulty collations of one or two manuscripts or on a misunderstanding of the relationships of all those extant.<sup>1</sup> In this latter respect, in fact, very little was done to create a text based on an assessment of the entire manuscript tradition of a given work. While the longer works of Xenophon await reinvestigation, much has already been done to correct the editorial deficiencies of the *opuscula*,<sup>2</sup> and with that work continuing apace, I turn my attention to one of the *Libri Socratici*. The

<sup>1</sup> It goes without saying that modern palaeographers are indebted to the ground-breaking work of their forerunners. The logistical difficulties early scholars faced have been pointed out many times.

<sup>2</sup> R. Wieczorek, *Xenophon's Agesilaus: a Collation, Stemma, and Critical Text* (diss. University of Iowa 1975); K. Widdra, *Xenophontis de re equestri* (Leipzig 1964); D. F. Jackson, "The Mysterious Manuscript A of the *Cynegeticus*," *Hermes* 117 (1989) 157-66; "A New Look at the Mss. of Xenophon's *Hipparchicus*," *CQ* n.s. 40 (1990) 176-86; "Correction and Contamination in Xenophon's *Hiero*," *StIt* 6 (1988) 68-76; "The Mss. of Xenophon's *Poroi*," *StIt* (forthcoming); L. Leverenz, "The Descendants of Laur. 80.13 in Xenophon's *Hiero*," *StIt* 7 (1989) 12-23; G. W. Bowersock, "Pseudo-Xenophon," *HSCP* 71 (1966) 33-55; D. Haltinner and E. A. Schmoll, "The Older Mss. of Xenophon's *Hiero*," *RHT* 10 (1980) 231-36; G. Serra, "La tradizione manoscritta della Costituzione degli Ateniesi della Pseudo-Senofante," *AttiMemPadua* 91 (1978-79) 77-117; E. A. Schmoll, "The Fragmentary Mss. of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*," *Syllecta Classica* 1 (1989) 21-25, and *Xenophon's Cynegeticus: a Collation, Stemma, and Critical Text* (diss. University of Iowa 1982); J. Deuling and J. Cirignano, "A Reappraisal of the Later ABS Family Mss. of Xenophon's *Hiero* tradition," *Scriptorium* 44 (1990) 54-68.

following is an examination of the manuscript tradition of Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*.

The manuscripts of the *Apologia Socratis* are five in number: *Vaticanus gr.* 1335 (A), *Vaticanus gr.* 1950 (B), *Mutinensis* 145 (C), *Harleianus* 5724 (H), and *Vaticanus Pal. gr.* 93 (P) containing only excerpts.<sup>3</sup> The *editio princeps* is that of Johan Reuchlin (R) published in 1520.

*Vaticanus gr.* 1335 is a parchment codex of 246 folios. Despite disagreement about the age of this manuscript I am inclined to follow Diller in assigning it to the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript contains a number of Xenophon's works, including the *Cyropaedia*, *Anabasis*, *Apologia Socratis* (206<sup>r</sup>–209<sup>r</sup>), *Agesilaus*, *Hiero*, *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*, *Respublica Atheniensium*, and *De vectigalibus* (all but the last thirty words).

The earliest extant witness for its Xenophontic contents, A was originally executed by a single scribe. Folios 7–14 and 21–68 were restored in the eleventh century, while folios 1–6, 15–20, 230–45 were supplemented by a later hand.<sup>5</sup> The only quire marks are those that run from 84<sup>v</sup>–164<sup>v</sup> (α'–κα') and indicate that this portion of the codex was bound in quaternions. This manuscript later became #124 in the library inventory of Roman bibliophile Fulvio Orsini (†1600). He bequeathed it to the Vatican.

*Vaticanus gr.* 1950 is a paper codex of 548 folios. This fourteenth-century manuscript begins with the second book of the *Cyropaedia*, followed by the *Anabasis*, *Apologia Socratis* (222<sup>v</sup>–226<sup>r</sup>), *Agesilaus*, *Hiero*, *Lac. Resp.*, *Ath. Resp.*, and *De vect.* (missing the same portion as A). After blank folios (272–79) the *Memorabilia* was added at a later date and is followed by a miscellany of works. A number of hands are evident in this codex but the Xenophontic works are in two. This codex came into the possession of the Vatican in 1683 when its owner Stefano Gradi died.

<sup>3</sup> *Guelpherbytanus* 3616 does not contain the *Apologia Socratis*, although it is listed in the table of contents.

<sup>4</sup> A. Diller, *JWarb* 24 (1961) 316; François Ollier (*Xénophon, Apologie de Socrate* [Paris 1961] 98) puts A in the twelfth century, as do Marchant (*cf.* the sigla in his Oxford text of the *Apology*) and K. Schenkl, "De codicibus quibus in Xenophontis *Hierone* recensendo utimur," *Mélanges Graux* (Paris 1884) 111–20. G. Pierleoni (*Xenophontis opuscula* [Rome 1933] XLVI) opts for the beginning of the eleventh century.

<sup>5</sup> See Serra (*supra* n.2) 79 for the dating of the restored portions of A.

*Mutinensis* 145 is a composite manuscript of 129 folios in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena.<sup>6</sup> One hand wrote folios 2–51 of this fifteenth-century manuscript (Plutarch's *Moralia*) on regular quaternions marked  $\alpha'$ - $\epsilon'$ . The hand is that of Georges Tzangaropoulos.<sup>7</sup> The rest of the codex is in a second hand, that of the so-called Anonymus Mutinensis.<sup>8</sup> Folios 52–69 contain the  $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  of Alexander of Aphrodisias on unmarked quires. Folios 70–73 containing Cassius Felix Iatrosophista are unmarked. Folio 73<sup>v</sup> is blank. Plutarch returns on 74<sup>v</sup>–100<sup>v</sup> (101–03 are blank) in quaternions marked  $\alpha'$ - $\gamma'$ . The remainder of the codex (104<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>) contains the *Hiero*, *Lac. Resp.*, *Ath. Resp.*, *Poroi*, and *Ap. Socratis* (127<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>) of Xenophon on three marked quires,  $\alpha'$ - $\gamma'$ , two quaternions and a ternion. This Modena manuscript contains the ex libris of George Valla of Piacenza (1447–1500) on the flyleaf, along with that of Alberto Pio of Carpi (1<sup>v</sup>).

*Harleianus* 5724, a paper codex of 218 folios in the British Museum, contains Euripides' *Hecuba*, the Hesiodic *Scutum*, works by Demetrius Moschus, Philostratus, speeches of Demosthenes with arguments by Libanius, and four dialogues of Lucian. The works of Xenophon are the *Apologia Socratis* (54<sup>r</sup>–59<sup>r</sup>), *Agesilaus*, and *Hiero*. This fifteenth-century manuscript seems to have been the work of Aristobulus Apostolis of

<sup>6</sup> For a lengthy description and evaluation of C cf. Ernst Kalinka, "De codice Mutinensi 145," *Innsbrucker Festgruß* 50 (1909) 167–201.

<sup>7</sup> Serra (*supra* n.2) 80; also see J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius* (Cambridge 1965) 14, who describes *Marc. gr.* 369, written by Tzangaropoulos in 1470 for Cardinal Bessarion. The dated manuscripts of Tzangaropoulos fall in the period 1457–70, and he worked toward the end of this period for Cardinal Bessarion (†1472).

<sup>8</sup> O. Smith, "Anonymous Mutinensis or Andronikos Kallistos?" *ClMed* 38 (1986) 255–58, and "Triclinianus," *ClMed* 33 (1981) 256–62. According to Smith the Anonymus Mutinensis is responsible for the marginalia in *Vat. gr.* 1314, written by Andronikos Kallistos. Gamillscheg sharply disagrees with Smith, contending that the scribe of C, identified by Smith as the Anonymus, is indeed Kallistos. Serra (*supra* n.2: 80), following Gamillscheg, identifies Kallistos as the scribe of C. See E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* (Vienna 1981) I.A 35. Although the contributions of Gamillscheg to the study of the hands of various Renaissance scribes are significant, he is also opposed by Deuling and Cirignano (*supra* n.2: 58), who argue that the hands of Kallistos and the "Anonymus" are different. After weighing the evidence, I believe that the "Anonymus," not Kallistos, is the scribe of our C.

Crete,<sup>9</sup> and several of its worthless readings were used by Marchant in establishing his text of the *Agesilaus*.<sup>10</sup> There is no record of the acquisition of H by the Harley collection, begun in 1705 by Robert Harley.

*Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 93, a thirteenth-century paper codex of 191 folios in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, contains excerpts from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, *Anabasis*, *Apologia Socratis* (146<sup>v</sup>–147<sup>r</sup>), *Agesilaus*, and *Memorabilia*. There are no quire signatures. This manuscript was written in a scrawling, undisciplined script. The excerpts from the *Apologia Socratis* are as follows:

- I.5 μέχρι ... βεβιωκέναι  
 6 δὲ εἰ ἔτι ... ἐπιλησμονέστερον  
 15 λυκύργω ... ὑπερφέρειν  
 19 ἐξ εὐδαίτου ... οἰνόφλυγα  
 23 τῶν ἐταίρων ... θανάτῳ  
 27 ἦσθετο ... ἐψεύσατο  
 (with some intervening material omitted).

In abbreviating the text the scribe of P omits a number of words—particles, adverbs, and pronouns, whose absence does not significantly obscure the meaning of the text:

- I.27 ὅτουπερ] ὅτου P  
 ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν] εἰ μὲν οὖν P  
 δῆλον ὅτι om. P  
 ἐγὼ μὲν om. P  
 28 παρῶν om. P  
 ἰσχυρῶς om. P

In addition, the scribe of P seems to have altered the grammar by simplifying it. Because of this paraphrasing one must despair of placing this manuscript with any precision in the tradition:

<sup>9</sup> M. Wittek, *Album de paléographie grecque* (Gand 1967). For a comparison with *Harleianus* 5724 see pl. 43 (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique #11291, attributed to Aristobulus).

<sup>10</sup> See Wiczorek (*supra* n.2) 10.

- I.15 λέγεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντα προσειπεῖν  
αὐτὸν] λυκύργῳ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντι προσεῖπεν  
'Απόλλων P  
23 ἐπισκῶψαι] ἐπέσκωπεν P  
28 χαλεπώτατα] χαλεπῶς P  
29 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄνυτον παριόντα] παριόντα δὲ  
ἄνυτον P

The only claim that can be safely made is that the age of P precludes its derivation from B, C, and H.<sup>11</sup>

P was one of the many codices purchased for Ulrich Fugger (†1584) by his agent Henricus when he was collecting manuscripts he later bequeathed to Heidelberg. P entered the Vatican collection in 1623 when Bavarian Duke Maximilian I sent it to Pope Gregory XV. J. Secerius edited the *editio princeps*, published at Haguenau (France) in 1520 by Johan Reuchlin. According to Thalheim, the *opuscula* contained in this edition are derived from *Vaticanus gr.* 1950 (B).<sup>12</sup>

It has long been recognized that B has as its ultimate source A, but the relationship is not as direct as has been thought. In recent articles Donald Jackson has shown that in the text of the *Hiero* B is derived from a corrected A through a lost intermediary that underwent several levels of correction.<sup>13</sup> He has found the same to be true of the *Poroi*, and we may make a similar claim for the *Apology*. Ms. A gave birth to a now lost manuscript (β) whose scribe made corrections in A:

- I.2 πρέπουσαν om. A<sup>1</sup> add. A<sup>2</sup> hab. B<sup>14</sup>  
7 κατακριθῆναί μοι A<sup>1</sup> κατακριθῆ μοι A<sup>2</sup>BCR  
παραχθέντας A<sup>1</sup> -τες A<sup>2</sup>B  
10 ἐπειδή om. A<sup>1</sup> add. A<sup>2</sup> hab. B  
28 μάλ' ἂν A<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλ' ἂν A<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον ἂν B

<sup>11</sup> The only reading which might link P and A is at ch. 27, where both manuscripts omit ὁ before θάνατος. A connection based on such a reading, however, is tenuous in that the omission of the article in P may be the result of that scribe's efforts to abbreviate the text.

<sup>12</sup> T. Thalheim, *Xenophontis scripta minora* (Leipzig 1910) ix.

<sup>13</sup> See Jackson's article on contamination in the *Hiero* (*supra* n.2). An article on the *Poroi* is forthcoming in *Studi Italiani*.

<sup>14</sup> πρέπουσαν in the margin of A is not in the hand of B. The correcting hand has yet to be identified.

**B** was copied from **β** in its first corrected form and both **C** and **R** (whose ages eliminate them as sources of **B**) derive from later levels of correction. The following readings show that **B** cannot be the source of **C** and **R**, but that the two share a common source other than **B**; namely, one of the later levels of correction in **β**:

- I.5 μὲν **AB** μοι **CR**  
 10 ἡ μὲν **AB** μὲν ἡ **CR**  
 12 τεκμαίρωνται **AB** -ονται **CR**

The existence of **β** can be demonstrated by the agreement of **B** **C** **R** against **A**.<sup>15</sup>

- I.1 οὖν hab. **A** om. **BCR**  
 9 πολλῶν τετυχ. **A**<sup>1</sup> καλῶν τετυχ. **A**<sup>2</sup> τετυχ. καλῶν **BCR**  
 11 prius οἱ om. **A** hab. **BCR**  
 20 prius πρὸ hab. **A** om. **BCR**  
 23 ἐγένετο **A** ἐγίνοντο **BCR**

Some uniquely **C** readings seem to have found their way into **B** apparently at a late date. In saying this I am asserting that the scribe of **C** never saw **B**. While one might argue that the readings suggest that **C** is simply following **B**<sup>2</sup>, the preponderance of **CR** against **B** readings makes this possibility highly unlikely:

- I.7 τῶν τελευτώντων] τῶ τελευτῶντι **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 12 εἰ **A**<sup>1</sup>**B** ἢ **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 13 τοῦτ'] τούτου **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 21 εἶναι] εἶναι εἰ **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 23 αὐτόν **AB**<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 24 πολλήν **B**<sup>2</sup>**C**  
 26 γάρ del. **B** om. **C**

<sup>15</sup> Another variation in **B** is worth noting. The title in **B** reads ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ. There seems no reason in **A** for **B** to take the title preposition as ΠΕΡΙ. Perhaps the intermediary had abbreviated ΠΡΟΣ and **B** misread it.

Although related to C, R derives from another stage of correction in  $\beta$  since it shares some AB readings which C does not have:

- I.13 τοῦτ' AB<sup>1</sup>R    τούτου B<sup>2</sup>C  
 23 αὐτὸν AB<sup>1</sup>R    αὐτὸς B<sup>2</sup>C  
 24 πολλή AB<sup>1</sup>R    πολλήν B<sup>2</sup>C  
 31 αὐτὸς ABR    Ἄνυτος C

C cannot be the source of R:

- I.5 μὲν om. C  
 6 εἰπεῖν] εἶπομι C  
    ἔτι] ὅτι C  
    ἄν om. C  
 7 ἦ om. C  
 16 ἀνθρ. ἐλευθ.] ἐλευθ. ἀνθρ. C  
    τά om. C  
 17 ξένων] ξένους C  
 20 πείθονται μᾶλλον] μᾶλλον πείθονται C  
    alt. καὶ om. C  
 23 καὶ om. C  
    ante εἴη add. ἄν C  
 27 post ἐγενόμην add. ὅτι C  
 30 τῇ om. C  
 31 Ἄνυτος C αὐτὸς rell.

Nor can R be the source of C:

- I.3 μὲν πρῶτον] πρῶτον μὲν R  
    γὰρ om. R  
 4 ἀπέλυσαν] ἀτέλησαν R  
 5 λέγεις] λέγειν R  
    μὲν om. C hab. R  
 7 ἦ] ἦ R  
 20 σὺ] σοι R  
    πάντως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες δήπου R  
    alt. καὶ om. C hab. R

From the set of ABR readings listed above it is clear that R with a text somewhat more like that of AB, although later than

C, must derive from an earlier state of  $\beta$  than does C: *i.e.*, R cannot derive directly from  $\beta^2$ . There must have been a codex available to Reuchlin older than C that contained CR conjunctive readings. This lost intermediary<sup>16</sup> must be regarded as the possible source for the solus readings both good and bad in R (at I.3–5, 8, 15, 20, 24). Finally, we cannot exclude Reuchlin as the source of some of these readings as his text shows signs of careful editorial attention. Unlike a good many Renaissance editors he took more than a passing interest in the accuracy of his text.<sup>17</sup>

It remains to comment on C. This enigmatic manuscript has long exercised scholars, some of whom claim that its good readings represent an independent mediaeval tradition and others who attribute its good readings to conjecture. Jackson's claim for C in the *Poroi* (*supra* n.2) holds good for C in the *Apologia Socratis*:

What must be emphasized is that the ingenious editorial work evident in all the opuscula of C was accomplished before C was ever written.... The admirable accomplishment of some anonymous Renaissance scholar is actually somewhat disguised by the careless copy of his working manuscript which we have represented in C.... It is therefore the source of C to which we must attribute the fine changes which were made to the text in the fourteenth century or early in the fifteenth.

Finally, manuscript H presents itself as a straightforward derivative of A:

- I.20 prius πρὸ hab. AH om. BCR  
 21 εἶναι AB<sup>1</sup>HR εἶναι εἰ B<sup>2</sup>C  
 22 τότε ABH τότε τό C τό R  
 23 ἐπεὶ καὶ AB<sup>1</sup>HR ἐπειδὴ B<sup>2</sup>C αὐτὸν AB<sup>1</sup>HR αὐτὸς B<sup>2</sup>C

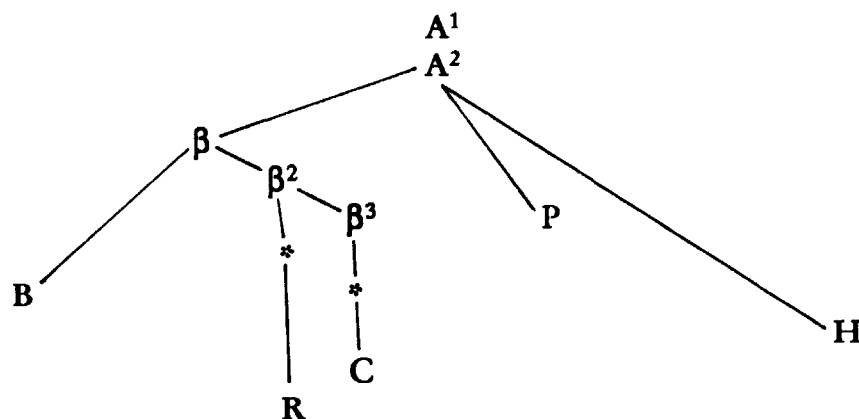
<sup>16</sup> Many manuscripts have been lost in the preparation of a text. See E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text* (Berkeley 1974) ch. 4, "Ad Fontes."

<sup>17</sup> Reuchlin not only had a good working knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, but "the scope of his learning made him the most respected scholar of his time in Germany." See M. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius* (Ithaca 1979) 264, 266.



- 24 πολλή AB<sup>1</sup>HR πολλήν B<sup>2</sup>C  
 26 γὰρ hab. AB<sup>1</sup>H del. B<sup>2</sup> om. CR  
 28 μάλ' ἄν A<sup>1</sup> μάλλ' ἄν A<sup>2</sup> μάλλον H μάλλον ἄν BCR<sup>18</sup>  
 31 αὐτὸς ABHR Ἄνυτος C

We can now represent stemmatically the relationships of the manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of Xenophon's *Apologia Socratis*. Clearly, an editor needs only A as the basis for a text. Still, the corrections originating in β, R, and the parent of C are worthy of careful consideration:



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<sup>18</sup> The ἄν in A was never changed to ον but the scribe of H took it to be such.