

Marcus Musurus and a Codex of Lysias

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A DOZEN MANUSCRIPTS of minor Attic orators were available to humanists associated with the Medicean court in the 1490's. I wish to argue that one of them, *Marcianus gr.* VIII.1 (K), had a central rôle in the transmission of the text of Lysias.¹ The contents of the twelfth-century codex *Pal.gr.* 88 (X), the best witness to the *corpus Lysiacum* and a primary witness to other minor Attic orators, can be recognized in K. K in turn can be shown to have been owned by Marcus Musurus (†1517), perhaps Greece's most talented classical scholar; Musurus was preeminent among the Aldine scholars, and close inspection of the *editio princeps* of Lysias, *Oratores Graeci*, published by the Aldine press in 1513, will reveal K as its primary source for Lysias. I hope to show too that K was written for Musurus as part of a matched set with *Marc.gr.* VIII.6 (L), whose ancestor is the other primary witness to the minor Attic orators, *Burney* 95 (A). We shall see too that Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Lysias* reached K from *Wolf.* 902 (a descendant of *Laur.* 59.15), and that K is therefore a non-identical twin to a lost codex belonging to Cardinal Domenico Grimani (†1523).

I. *Pal.gr.* 88 (X) and Its Descendants

Of the 425 orations attributed to Lysias in antiquity only thirty-one have survived.² These have been transmitted through two independent traditions: the first two orations probably were part of a rhetorical anthology (similar to *Burney* 95) that contained orations of Demades, Antisthenes, Alcidas, and Gorgias; and all thirty-one have been transmitted through *Pal.gr.* 88 (X), which is probably a descen-

¹ See Tables 1 and 2. I want to thank Professors Aubrey Diller of Indiana University and Mervin R. Dilts of New York University for the information about certain manuscripts that they have generously given, and for their guidance and assistance. Through cooperation of European libraries, I have obtained microfilms of all the codices of Lysias discussed here except *Coislin.* 342 (Y).

² K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley 1968) 2-27.

dant of the greater corpus.³ Any witnesses to the greater corpus appear to have perished in the sack of Constantinople in 1204, in which many manuscript traditions were eradicated.⁴ For a fourteenth-century note on fol. 142 of X states that this and certain other codices and papers were in Nicaea in the cell of a monk; this suggests that X had been brought there when Nicaea became the capital in exile (1204–1261).⁵

K is constructed of parchment, in quinions, 103 folios, 310 × 220 mm., 30 lines; its scribe has been identified as Aristobulus Apostolius (†1535).⁶ Raised in Crete, he became associated with the Medicean court from 1492 to 1494 and later belonged to the Aldine milieu in Venice and the papal court of Leonine Rome.⁷ He had been a teacher of Marcus Musurus in Crete, and renewed his association with Musurus in Florence. Because Musurus resided in Florence from 1486 to 1493, thereafter in Crete (1493–1499), the codices Aristobulus wrote for him in Florence—including K, we shall see—undoubtedly date from 1492/3.⁸

Aristobulus used two apographs of X for his text of Lysias, *Laur.* 57.45 (D) and *Coislin.gr.* 342 (Y).⁹ D contains twenty-eight orations of Lysias (om. 2, 5, 6), Lucian, Cebes, Herodian, Aeschines, various epistles and anonymous opuscula. It is one of the few manuscripts we can trace from a scriptorium of Cardinal Bessarion (†1472) to the

³ Dover (*supra* n.2) 2–3; G. Avezzi, *BIFG* 3 (1976) 212–15, has argued that the anthology may not have contained *Or.* 1.

⁴ J. Sandys, “Hude’s Lysias,” *CR* 28 (1914) 12–13. For the damage done to Greek literature in 1204 see L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*² (Oxford 1974) 62–64; N. G. Wilson, *GRBS* 8 (1967) 57.

⁵ The note was published by R. Schöll, *Hermes* 11 (1876) 203; it is dated by the patriarch Niphon (1311–1315).

⁶ To save space I omit routine references to library catalogues found in M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1958) and *Suppléments I* (Paris 1964). Aristobulus’ hand was recognized by E. Mioni, *Archivio Veneto* V.93 (1971) 16, and independently by M. Sicherl in J. L. Heller, *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana 1974) 589. On his handwriting cf. P. Canart, “Note sur l’écriture de Michel et Aristobule Apostolès,” in Anna Lucia di Lello-Finuoli, *Un esemplare autografo di Arsenio e il “Florilegio” di Stobeo* (Rome 1971) 87–101; and E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten I* (Vienna 1981) no. 27. Facsimiles: M. Wittek, *Album de paléographie grecque* (Ghent 1967) pl. 46; N. G. Wilson, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1972) pl. 83.

⁷ D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge 1962) 167–200. For Aristobulus’ library see D. Pingree, “The Library of George, Count of Corinth,” *TU* 124 (1977) 351–62.

⁸ Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 598, 604; Geanakoplos (*supra* n.7) 115.

⁹ This descent is indicated by the following separative errors: Lys. 1.12 *διὰ* DK: *δὴ* YKs: om. *rell.* 1.15 *ἀντὴν* DK: *ἀντῆ ἦν* Y: *ἀντῆ* X. 1.21 *κύριον* DK: *κέρριον* Y. 1.45 *οὖν* om. YK: *hab. rell.* This collation of Y was made by F. Vater, *Archiv f. Philol. und Paedagog.* Suppl. 19 (1843) 25–49.

Cretan scriptorium of Michael Apostolius (†1480), the father of Aristobulus.¹⁰ Its watermarks indicate that **D** was written around 1400.¹¹ This codex was the exemplar for the orations of Lysias in *Marc.gr.* 522 (**I**), whose scribe has been identified as Cosmas Trapezuntius; Trapezuntius collaborated with other scribes employed by Cardinal Bessarion to write **I** probably around 1465.¹² Soon afterwards, **D** was copied in Crete by Georgius Tzangaropulus, who collaborated with other scribes employed by Michael Apostolius to write *Urb.gr.* 117 (**J**).¹³ In 1492 **D** was purchased by Janus Lascaris (†1534) on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici (†1492) from Niccolò di Giacomo in Candia, and entered the Medicean library.¹⁴

Y, now *Greek 3* in the library of the University of Moscow, is constructed of parchment, in quinions, 124 folios, 225 × 154 mm., 26–28 lines, and its scribe has been identified as Johannus Scutariotes.¹⁵ Scutariotes also wrote two other complete copies of **X**,

¹⁰ For **D**, cf. A. Diller, "The Manuscript Tradition of Aeschines' Orations," *ICS* 4 (1979) 47–48; H. Gösswein, *Die Briefe des Euripides* (Meisenheim am Glan 1975) 58–59; I. Düring, *Chion of Heraclea* (Göteborg 1951) 36; E. Drerup, *Aeschinis quae feruntur epistolae* (Leipzig 1904) 27–28. Although Michael Apostolius brought copies of Italian manuscripts to Crete, little is known about where these manuscripts were acquired; cf. D. Harlfinger, *Die Textgeschichte der Pseudo-Aristotelischen Schrift ΠΕΠΙ ΑΤΟΜΩΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΩΝ* (Amsterdam 1971) 243 n.3. Diller (57–59) has found that *Vat.gr.* 72, which was used in Michael's Cretan scriptorium, had been copied by Michael from codices owned by Bessarion and his secretary Gaspare Zacchi. D. C. C. Young has suggested that Michael collaborated with Emmanuel Atramyttenus in the north of Italy in 1466/8: "A Codicological Inventory of Theognis Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 36.

¹¹ Watermarks resembling no. 4046, 4050, and 11982 of C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Paris 1907), are visible on ff.21–22, 220–23, and 231–35. My thanks to Antonietta Morandini and to the Director of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana for this information.

¹² The separation of *Or.* 2, 5, 6 in **I** from the other speeches of Lysias indicates its descent from **D**. The Attic orators were copied by Cosmas, cf. E. Mioni, "Bessarione scriba e alcuni collaboratori," in *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Medioevo e Umanesimo 24 [Padua 1976]) 299–300. Harlfinger also recognized Cosmas' hand in **I**, and found that he had collaborated with the same three scribes who in 1464/5 wrote *Marc.gr.* 527 for Bessarion: D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance* (Berlin 1974) pl. 47, 53–55, 64.

¹³ The handwriting of Tzangaropulus was recognized by Harlfinger (*supra* n.10) 267 n.2. Michael employed all the other scribes of **J** (Michael Lygizus, Georgius Tribizius, and Andreas Protonarius), cf. D. F. Jackson, "Varia Palaeographica," *CJ* 65 (1969) 8–11. That **D** was the exemplar of **J** is indicated by the following separative omissions: *Lys.* 1.2 *δημαγωγία*, 1.16 *ἀνὴρ ὁ*, 1.21 *γὰρ*, 1.44 *αὐτὸν*.

¹⁴ E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* II (Paris 1885) 327. This document, which was signed by Aristobulus who acted as a witness, was written by the Cretan notary Cirillo Gradenigo, cf. J. Whittaker, "*Parisinus graecus* 1962 and Janus Lascaris," *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 242–44.

¹⁵ Scutariotes' hand was identified by Stolpe, cf. B. L. Fonkič, "Greek Manuscripts in the Moscow University Library," *VDI* 102 (1967) 100–03. For Scutariotes cf. Gamillscheg and Harlfinger in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977) 339.

Vat.gr. 66 and 1366.¹⁶ In all three apographs, Scutariotes altered the arrangement of contents of X, transferring the orations that are between the second and third orations of Lysias in X to the tail of the manuscripts.

The history of Y serves as a good example that very few Greek codices registered in the catalogues of Renaissance libraries have since been lost.¹⁷ Y had been owned by Cardinal Grimani, who had amassed one of the largest private libraries of the sixteenth century. Y had been described in *Vat.lat.* 3960, a sixteenth-century inventory of Grimani's library, as "40. Lysie orationes viginti novem. Gorgias de laudibus Helene, Alcidas de sophistis, eiusdem Ulixis accusatio contra Palamedem. Antistenes Ajax. Eiusdem Ulixes. Demades de duodecennio."¹⁸ In 1523 Grimani's library was deeded to the convent of S. Antonio in Venice, and Y was described in the inventory of that library, made by Tomasini in the first half of the seventeenth century, as "Lysij Orationes, cum Alcidemantis et Dimali variis. f(olio) m(embranus)."¹⁹ Grimani bequeathed his library to S. Antonio with the intention that it remain together; most of his Greek codices, however, had strayed from the convent before a ruinous fire destroyed the library building and its contents in 1687. Y had been brought to Marseilles before 1645, where an agent of the French chancellor Pierre Séquier (†1672) purchased it along with nineteen other Greek codices from a certain 'Cyprianus'.²⁰ Séquier's library passed to his son Henri Duke of Coislin, who deposited it at the monastery of St Germain-des-Près around 1715.²¹ The manuscripts were transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale during the French Revolution; Y however at the same time was taken to St Petersburg by P. Dubrovsky, who donated the codex to the library of the University of Moscow in 1805.

¹⁶ U. Albin, *Lisia, i discorsi* (Florence 1955) li; P. Canart, "Scribes grecs de la renaissance," *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 68. Scutariotes also has been identified as the scribe of the orations of Lysias (20–30) contained in *Laur.* 74.12, cf. Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 183 (who report mistakenly that Scutariotes wrote ff.65–80: the orations of Lysias are at ff.33–66, cf. R. Roncoli, *AFLB* 14 [1964] 392).

¹⁷ Twice Y has been reported as lost: V. de Falco, *Demade oratori* (Naples 1954) 55; J. Stolpe, "Les manuscrits de Gorgias," *Eranos* 68 (1970) 59.

¹⁸ For this inventory see G. Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio* (Studi e testi 75 [1938]) 26–34; A. Diller, "Some Locations of Greek Codices," *Scriptorium* 29 (1975) 159–61. For Cardinal Grimani see P. Kibree, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York 1936) 17–22; S. Bernardinello, *Autografi greci e greco-latini in occidente* (Padua 1979) 29 n.54.

¹⁹ J. Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae* (Udine 1650) 18.

²⁰ H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient* I (Paris 1902) 12–13.

²¹ See Jackson (*supra* n.13) 12.

Although it has been established that Scutariotes used X for his manuscripts, the location where Scutariotes wrote his copies has been disputed. Diller has suggested that X belonged to Palla Strozzi (†1462), who lived in Florence until 1434, when he was banished to Padua upon the return to power of Cosimo de' Medici; but Donadi has argued that Scutariotes copied X in Rome.²² New evidence substantiates Diller's suggestion of Strozzi's ownership, and other evidence indicates that Strozzi owned X as early as 1429, hence in Florence. For examination of X through ultraviolet light has revealed the number 483 on fol. 2, the first page of text, on the upper right-hand side of the leaf.²³ This number corresponds to the accession-number given X when it entered the library of the monastery of S. Giustina in Padua, and is included in a description of X in an inventory made in the sixteenth century: "483. Orationes Lysiae in greco bona carta cum asseribus, corio nigro obvolutus."²⁴ X was bequeathed to S. Giustina by Palla Strozzi, whose will of 1462 described X as "un volumetto in membrana, lettera molto sottile non cosi bene leggibile, con asse mal legato nel quale sono più orationi di Lisia ottimo oratore greco, coperto d'asse et curio negro."²⁵

That Strozzi owned X as early as 1429 is proved by a letter written to him by Francesco Filelfo (†1481), dated "Non. Oct. 1461." Filelfo reminds Strozzi of the time when Strozzi copied an oration of Lysias which he gave to Filelfo; the occasion was probably in 1429 when Filelfo had recently returned to Florence from the East and had made the first Latin translation of Lysias *Or.* 1 and 2, which he dedicated to Strozzi.²⁶ Strozzi very likely copied the first oration from X, almost

²² A. Diller, "The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese," *JWarb* 24 (1961) 314; F. Donadi, "Esplorazioni alla tradizione manoscritta dell' *Encomio di Elena Gorgiano*, II," *BIFG* 3 (1976) 248-49. For Strozzi's handwriting see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 337 *bis*; R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands* (Oxford 1981) pl. 88; Bernardinello (*supra* n.18) pl. 21.

²³ I received this information from Dr Wilfried Werner, Bibliotheksdirektor of the Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, to whom I am most grateful.

²⁴ L. A. Ferrai, "La bibliotheca di S. Giustina di Padova," in G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei mss. ital. delle bibl. di Francia* (Rome 1887) 571. It should be noted that *Pal.gr.* 140 accompanied X to S. Giustina: its accession number at that monastery (484) is still visible on fol. 1. Three other manuscripts have visible accession numbers of S. Giustina and undoubtedly also accompanied X to the monastery from Strozzi's library, *Paris.gr.* 1909 and 940, numbered 480 and 489, and *Breslau Magd.* 1442, numbered 482 on fol. 44. I am most grateful to Dr Charles Astruc of the Bibliothèque Nationale and Dr Józef Budzyński of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka for supplying me with the information about the accession numbers. On the manuscripts see Diller (*supra* n.22) 314-15.

²⁵ V. Fanelli, "I libri di messer Palla di Nofri Strozzi," *Convivium Raccolta nuova* (1949) 65.

²⁶ A. Calderini, quoting part of the letter, suggested that Strozzi sent the handwritten codex to Filelfo in 1461: *StItal* 20 (1913) 207, 343. The context of the letter, however,

certainly the only witness to the speech in Florence at that time, and he gave his copy to Filelfo who translated it. The letter is as follows:²⁷

Indeed I am most delighted with your letter, and I . . . recognized the depth of your long-standing esteem.

You have never neglected any duty whenever you could accommodate yourself to my wishes. Indeed, whatever has gratified in the past is very pleasing at any time, and although it was more than enough for you to have given me the oration of Lysias which I had so greatly desired, you yourself wrote it in your handsome script.

Since I am the recipient of such a great benefit, should I not thank you—even though I am not as cognizant of your advanced age as you are? It is believed that if a person wishes nobly for something, it will be given to him. Surely your future will be salutary and prosperous. It remains for me to return your good wishes and to hope that you remain in good health for a very long time.

To summarize: in 1492 **X** was no longer in Florence, but the two best witnesses to it were and were used by Aristobulus. **X**, acquired by Strozzi before 1429, was the source of **D** (written around 1400 and reaching Florence in 1492 by way of Crete) and of **Y** (written by Scutariotes either at Florence before 1434 when Strozzi was banished or rather at Padua in 1442–1462 when he is otherwise known to have worked for Strozzi). In 1492 Aristobulus in Florence gained access to **D** and **Y**.

II. The **X** and **A** Traditions Unified

The relationship between **K** and **L** needs now to be determined. That **K** is part of a matched set with **L** is proved by the similarity of their formats and construction, the complementary nature of their contents, and the fact that both were written by Aristobulus for the same patron. **L**, like **K**, is of parchment, in quinions, 310 × 220 mm.,

suggests a generous gift in the past, mentioned to lessen possible bad feelings on Strozzi's part for not being able to comply with Filelfo's most recent request. And it is almost inconceivable that Strozzi, now 89 and in bad health, had set himself to copying the speech for Filelfo only recently. For Filelfo's Latin translation of Lysias see S. Prete, *Two Humanistic Anthologies* (Studi e testi 230 [1964]) 25–26; L. Sheppard, "A Fifteenth-Century Humanist, Francesco Filelfo," *The Library* IV.16 (1935) 3–4.

²⁷ *Fr. Philelfi viri grece et latine eruditissimi epistolarum familiarum libri xxxvii* (Venice 1502) ζ. Several pages were inserted between p.122 and 123 of this edition, cf. Calderini (*supra* n.26) 207 n.2.

30 lines, and the scribe has been identified as Aristobulus.²⁸ **L** contains the minor Attic orators that are descended from **A** (their major witness besides **X**), transmitted by an apograph of **A** written in 1491 at Mt Athos, *Laur.* 4.11 (**B**).²⁹ Janus Lascaris traveled to the East twice in 1491; during one of his trips he stopped at Athos and apparently found **A**. He surely arranged to have it copied by a scribe at the Vatopedion library who wrote **B**; Lascaris then brought **B** to his patron Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence.³⁰

K and **L** complement each other in their contents: for both consist of Attic orators, and Gorgias' *Helen* has been omitted from **L**. This omission is revealing because *Helen* is listed in the table of contents at the head of **L**, and because the omission was not caused by any blemish of **B**. We must conclude that Aristobulus omitted *Helen* because he had already copied the speech in **K** and wished to avoid duplication.³¹ This implies a common purpose for the two manuscripts.

That Musurus owned **K** as well as **L** we can deduce from the dedicatory letters on their first leaves and from their use as exemplars both in Florence and for the first volume of *Oratores*. The dedicatory letter of **L** (fol. lv) was written by Musurus when he gave the codex to Lorenzo and Paolo Priuli, probably Venetians.³² The dedicatory letter of **K** has been erased (fol. lv), but it too was probably written by Musurus.³³ Again, Musurus copied from **K** and **L** when he produced a duplicate set, *Burney* 96 (**M**) and *Laur.* 57.52 (**E**).³⁴ Musurus subscribed his name in **M**, and wrote on fol. 165 of **E**

²⁸ The identification was made independently by Mioni (*supra* n.6) 16 and Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 589, 606.

²⁹ For **A** and its family see W. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge 1902) ii–iii; C. Conomis, *Lycurgi Oratio in Leocratem* (Leipzig 1970) vi–viii.

³⁰ Avezzù (*supra* n.3) 186 noted that **B** has watermarks resembling no. 3400 Briquet, which is found on Venetian paper in 1487 and 1492. Lascaris saw **A** in the Vatopedion library and described its contents in an inventory of MSS. in foreign libraries written probably on his first trip in 1491 (*Vat.gr.* 141); cf. K. K. Mueller, *ZBB* 1 (1894) 397–98, Wyse (*supra* n.29) vi. Lascaris made three journeys to the East in 1491/2. The second trip of 1491 began in March or April and ended 25 February 1492; that of 1492 began in April and ended in June or July: cf. J. Whittaker, "Parisinus graecus 1962 and Albinus," *Phoenix* 28 (1974) 337–43. It has been thought that Lascaris made only two trips, cf. F. Donadi, *BIFG* 2 (1975) 171 n.6.

³¹ This possibility was proposed by Wyse (*supra* n.29) iii.

³² Mioni (*supra* n.6) 16, Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 589.

³³ Mioni (*supra* n.6) 22.

³⁴ That **M** derives from **L** is already known, cf. Conomis (*supra* n.29) viii–ix, Wyse (*supra* n.29) iv–v. That **K** is the exemplar of **E** is shown by the following separative errors: *Or.* 1.14 ἀνάψασθαι **KE**: ἐνάψασθαι **X**; 2.40 ἐσβάντες **KE**: ἐμβάντες **X**; 2.61 ἐρήχθεν om. **KE**: hab. rell.

τούσδε λόγους Λυσίου φλωρεντίδι γράψ' ἐνι γαίῃ Μάρκος Ἰωάννου Κρής τὸ γένος τελέθων.³⁵ **K** and **L** were again copied in Florence by Michael Suliardus when he wrote *Ambros.gr.* 26 (U)—therefore before 1493 when Musurus left for Crete and presumably took the codices with him.³⁶

In producing this matched set Musurus used readings descended both from **X** (through **D** and **Y**) and from **A** (through **B**). The effect was that his set unified the two major textual traditions for the minor orators.

III. The Unified Tradition and the Aldine Press

The Aldine press published its edition of the Attic orators in the spring of 1513, Volume I in two parts, Volume II in one part.³⁷ The press runs are dated in April, as is the brief preface Aldus wrote to Volume II thanking Musurus for his intervention (see *infra*); in the first days of May he wrote his general preface put at the head of Volume I, and also the press run of the addenda to Volume II prompted by Musurus. It is already known that **L** served as the printer's copy for Volume I.2, which with one exception reproduces the contents and order of **L**.³⁸ **K**, lacking the ink spots that reveal a printer's copy, cannot itself have been so used. Nevertheless, it seems clear that **K** stands behind *Oratores* I.1, and we should conclude that Musurus lent both codices to the Aldine editors to be the joint source of their Volume I, a lost printer's copy κ standing between **K** and the printed text.

³⁵ The independent existence of Marcus Johannou is debated. He was believed to have been a scribe employed by Marcus Musurus, but Conomis (*supra* n.29) vii n.7 and Mioni (*supra* n.6) 11–12 independently argued that Marcus Johannou and Marcus Musurus were one and the same. Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 603–05 disputed Mioni's contention that one scribe wrote the codices ascribed to both names; but most recently Hunger has provided convincing evidence that one scribe wrote all the MSS., cf. Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 265 with Hunger's analysis in the second volume.

³⁶ For Suliardus see Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 268. The text of Aeschines in U probably was copied from *Laur.* 58.6, cf. Diller (*supra* n.10) 52.

³⁷ A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris 1834) 60–61; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise* (Paris 1875) 333–37.

³⁸ Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 589, Donadi (*supra* n.30) 173. Volume II of *Oratores* contained the orations of Isocrates, deriving them from the *editio princeps* edited by Demetrius Chalcondyles in Milan in 1493, to which were appended (see *infra*) orations of Gorgias, Alcidamas, and Aristides; cf. E. Drerup, *Isocratis opera omnia* I (Leipzig 1906) clxv; F. W. Lenz and C. A. Behr, *P. Aelii Aristidis opera* I (Leiden 1976) cix–cxi.

Oratores I.1 consists of the *corpus Aeschinis* followed by most of the contents of **K** in almost the same order. The *Lysias* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which heads **K**, is printed at the end of *Oratores* I.1, in contrast with the brief *Vita Aeschinis* (placed at the head of the *corpus Aeschinis*). In addition, two orations (*Hel.* and *Soph.*), present in **K**, were omitted from I.1, only to be picked up in Volume II. In Volume I.2, the item in **L** that was omitted is Alcidas' *Odysseus*, which is also in **K** and had been printed in I.1.

Aldus Manutius acknowledged that it was through the intervention of Musurus that the orations of **K** omitted from I.1 were added to II. In his dedicatory letter to Volume II Aldus wrote, "Addidimus hisce Isocratis orationibus, Musuri nostri hortatu, Alcidamantis . . . Gorgiae . . ." ³⁹ This statement has been taken to mean that Musurus was supervisory editor. ⁴⁰ Surely it implies rather the opposite, for it indicates that Musurus, who was familiar with the contents of **K** and **L**, could not correct the omission of *Helen* and *Odysseus* before *Oratores* I had gone to press. Evidently he became active when he saw the printed result, or its proofs, and could intervene in time to prompt an addendum to Volume II.

The editors of Volume I had omitted the orations in what seem to be two attempts to rearrange the contents of **K** and **L**. (a) The two speeches of Gorgias *Helen* and *Palamedes* are together in **A** and in its copy **B**, and likewise are named in the table of contents at the head of **B**. When Aristobulus wrote **L** from **B** he copied the complete table of contents, but omitted *Helen* because he had already copied this speech in **K** and the two codices were intended as a set. The Aldine editors omitted *Helen* from *Oratores* I.1 probably in order to relocate the speech in I.2 in its original position (in **B**) beside *Palamedes*. But then, using **L** as the printer's copy for I.2, they evidently forgot to add *Helen* from **K**. (b) The omission from *Oratores* I of Alcidas' *Sophists* (found in **K**) probably stems from the duplication of his *Odysseus* in **K** and **L**. Aristobulus had written both speeches in **K**,

³⁹ B. Botfield, *Praefationes et epistolae editionibus principibus auctorum veterum praepositae* (Cambridge 1861) 301. Aldus adds that Musurus made him aware of Aristides' *Panathenaic* oration, which prompted Aldus himself to add the *Roman* as well. Musurus' activities for the Aldine press in 1513 included supervision of Plato's *Opera*, published in September, and of the preparation of the text of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Commentaries on the Topics of Aristotle*, whose text was completed also in September; cf. Geanakoplos (*supra* n.7) 149, 154. Musurus also lent his copy of Pindar (*Vat.gr.* 41) to the Aldine editors, who used the MS. as an exemplar of their edition, published in January 1513; cf. Sichel (*supra* n.6) 566.

⁴⁰ Donadi (*supra* n.30)184.

but then wrote *Odysseus* also in L, surely inadvertently, for he left no indication in L that *Odysseus* is a new speech and not part of the oration that precedes it in the ms.⁴¹ The Aldine editors must have ordered the omission of *Odysseus* when I.2 was printed from L, in order to avoid the duplication; but in the process, *Sophists* was somehow also omitted from I.1. It seems certain, therefore, that Musurus lent both codices to the Aldine editors for their *Oratores*. And his timely intervention placed two omitted speeches at the end of Volume II.

The result is that, even though in somewhat altered sequence, the whole of the manuscript tradition that Musurus had unified stands behind the first printed edition of Lysias.

IV. The Addition of the *Vita* of Lysias

In addition to Attic orators, K contains a *Vita* of Lysias, written, we know, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but ascribed by Aristobulus to Plutarch. This ascription gives the clue for the source of this item in K: in *Laur.* 70.19 (F) the life is given the title *Λυσίου Βίος γραφείς παρὰ πλυτάρχου, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντιλέγουσιν ὅτι ἐγράφη παρὰ διωνυσίου ἀλικαρνεσέως*. I conclude that Aristobulus had access to F as well as D and Y when he composed K. F derives from Ferrara, a copy of W, which was owned by the famous humanist Guarino Veronese of Ferrara (†1460) and which undoubtedly remained in Ferrara until the seventeenth century when the codex was acquired by the duke of Mantua.⁴² F, on the other hand, is known to have come to Florence by the end of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is in the Medicean library, and it bears the accession number 44 in the sequence as inventoried by Fabio Vigili da Spoleto around 1508.⁴³ And

⁴¹ Note that when Musurus made a copy (M) of L, he placed *Odysseus* before the speech that it follows in L, thus avoiding presenting the two speeches as one.

⁴² For W see Drerup (*supra* n.38) lxiv; H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei opuscula* I (Leipzig 1899) xxvi. W was written between 1421 and 1423 by Georgius Chrysococces in Constantinople for Giovanni Arispa, who brought it to Italy in 1424. Cf. *Griechischen Handschriften und Aldinen* (Wolfenbüttel 1978) 52–53; A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Arispa e la sua biblioteca* (Padua 1976) 115; Diller (*supra* n.22) 317–19. Usener and Radermacher overlooked Chrysococces' subscription in W and assigned the manuscript to the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. This error is perpetuated in the most recent edition, G. Aujac, *Denys d'Halicarnasse* I (Paris 1978) 59. For F see Drerup (*supra* n.10) 10; J. Sykutris, "Die handschriftenliche Überlieferung der Sokratikerbriefe," *PhW* 48 (1928) 1291–92.

⁴³ For this inventory (*Vat. barb.* 3185) cf. Whittaker (*supra* n.14) 239.

F was used by Janus Lascaris as an exemplar for the Socratic epistles in *Vat.gr.* 1336, which he wrote in Florence before 1493 with Marcus Musurus.⁴⁴

Now **F** was also the exemplar of a portion of *Grimani* 208 (**G**), a manuscript which seems to have perished in the burning of the library of S. Antonio in 1687. In his inventory Tomasini described **G** as “Gorgij Encomium Helenae. Isocratis. Archidami. Lysij. Vita Plutarch. Athansij quaedam 4 ch [*i.e.* quaternions, charta].”⁴⁵ The sixteenth-century inventory of Grimani’s library (see *supra* 380) gives a more complete description:

208. Gorgias de laudibus helenae
 Demades oratio de duodecennio
 Alcidamantis oratio contra sophistas
 Eiusdem Ulixes contra Palamedem
 Antisthenes Ajax et Ulixis
 Lysias contra Philonem
 Isocratis de laudibus Archidami
 Eiusdem epistole
 Plutarchus de vita Lysiae licet quidam id Dionysio
 adscribant
 Aeschinis epistole
 Menandri et Glyceræ epistole
 Bruti epistole

The ascription indicated in **G** for the Life of Lysias proves that **F** was its exemplar. Presumably the scribe of **G** also derived the epistles of Isocrates and Aeschines from **F**. But where did he get his texts of the Attic orators, including the one oration of Lysias? Several facts point to **Y** as the probable exemplar of **G**. **Y** also belonged to Cardinal

⁴⁴ As shown by the inscriptions on the flyleaf (*μουσούρον καὶ τῶν χρωμένων and Florentiae 1493*) and the alteration of the last passage of Dio Chrysostom (*ἐν φλωρεντία/τέλος τῶν τοῦ δίωνος χρυσοστόμου λόγων*). This codex has three parts: ff.1–70 (*Xen. Mem. and epistles of Socrates and Isocrates*), 79–168 (Dio Chrys.; 71–78 are blank), and 199–206 (prolegomena to Aristides; 169–98 are lacking). The handwriting has been disputed. The whole codex was attributed first to Musurus and later to Lascaris; cf. P. Parinelis, *EpetMesaionArch* 8/9 (1958/9) 93–94, 98. W. W. Baker, however, saw two hands, one responsible for the first and second parts, the other for the third: “Some of the Less Known mss. of Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*,” *TAPA* 43 (1912) 167–68. Canart (*supra* n.16) 78–79 thought three scribes probable—in the first Lascaris, in the second another man, and yet another in the third, whose hand closely resembled that of the second part. Most recently, Canart and Sicherl have identified the scribe of the second part with Marcus Johannou (= Marcus Musurus): Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 565–66, 604. Compare on the mss. J. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis . . . omnia* I (Berlin 1893) xii–xiii; Drerup (*supra* n.38) xvii; Sykutris (*supra* n.42) 1292.

⁴⁵ Tomasini (*supra* n.19) 17.

Grimani and was in Florence around 1492, the likely date of G. And there is good reason to think that Johannus Scutariotes, the scribe of Y, used G as his exemplar in writing two other manuscripts, *Paris.gr.* 2944 (T) and 2832 (S).⁴⁶ The portion of T written by Scutariotes (ff.201^v–247) became attached to another codex which once was in the Medicean library and later belonged to Lascaris; the two portions of T had accession numbers 14 and 43 in the inventory of the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (†1550).⁴⁷ T undoubtedly was copied from G, because it shares the unique contents of G and also the same title of the *Vita* of Lysias. Collation of T, moreover, has shown that its text is related closely to that of F.⁴⁸ As to S, the portion written by Scutariotes (ff.105–60) also has been shown by collation to be closely related to F.⁴⁹ Furthermore, S contains nearly all the epistles in G that Scutariotes did not write in T.

V. Conclusion

These remarks have attempted to clarify the lines of descent—fewer than has been thought—that led to the first printed edition of Lysias. Certain related questions will bear further study. The association of Scutariotes with Palla Strozzi during the middle years of the fifteenth century, and then with the circle of Marcus Musurus in Florence at the end of the century, deserves investigation. The three copies of X that Scutariotes wrote establish that he was employed by Strozzi: Strozzi owned X, and one of Scutariotes' copies (*Vat.gr.* 66) belonged to Johannus Argyropulus, who probably acquired it during his stay at Strozzi's estate at Padua in the 1440's.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Scutariotes and Strozzi are known to have collaborated on two manuscripts, *Laur.Acqu.* 4 and *Monac.* 332.⁵¹ This association raises the possibility that Strozzi was also the original owner of some of the

⁴⁶ Scutariotes has been recognized as the scribe of T by Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 606 n.21 and independently by Avezzù (*supra* n.3) 192 n.28; and of S by Harlfinger (*supra* n.10) 416.

⁴⁷ M. Cuvigny, "Giannotii, Turnèbe, Amyot," *RHT* 3 (1973) 60 n.2; see also M. R. Dilts, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Demosthenis in Timocratem*," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 40. The Ulpian scholia in T were copied from *Paris.gr.* 2940.

⁴⁸ Usener and Radermacher (*supra* n.42) xxvi, Drerup (*supra* n.38) xxx.

⁴⁹ Drerup (*supra* n.10) 20.

⁵⁰ G. Mercati, *Opera minori* III (Studi e testi 78 [1937]) 124. For Argyropulus see Gammillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 158; Barbour (*supra* n.22) pl. 46; J. E. Seigel, "The Teaching of Argyropulos and the Rhetoric of the First Humanists," in T. Rabb and J. E. Seigel, *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton 1969) 237–56.

⁵¹ Harlfinger (*supra* n.10) 416.

Urbine manuscripts that Scutariotes wrote.⁵² The Urbine collection was gathered by Duke Federigo di Montefeltro (†1482) and includes at least some codices once owned by Strozzi and bequeathed by him to the monastery of S. Giustina in 1462.⁵³

That Scutariotes wrote manuscripts for Lorenzo de' Medici and for Angelo Politian (†1494) is well known. It is not clear, however, how Musurus or Aristobulus in Florence obtained Y, written by Scutariotes for Strozzi. Scutariotes, moreover, wrote *Vat.gr.* 1461, which Janus Lascaris used as an exemplar with F for *Paris.gr.* 3054.⁵⁴ Since *Vat.gr.* 1461 was also used in 1499 for the Aldine edition of the epistles of Euripides, whose supervisory editor was Musurus, it is possible that Musurus acquired the manuscript in Florence and took it to Venice.⁵⁵

Next, there is the possibility that K was used as an exemplar also for *Helen* and *Sophists* in *Oratores* II, a question that could be resolved only by exhaustive comparison of the mss. of these tracts. Here it may be observed that variant readings in the printed text of *Helen* indicate that the editors consulted, in addition to K, a manuscript closely related to *Matrit.* 7210.⁵⁶ It is unlikely that this codex was used by the Aldine editors in Venice in 1513, as Donadi has argued, for it belonged to the library that Constantine Lascaris had bequeathed to Messina in 1501.⁵⁷ Several manuscripts, which seem to be closely related to *Matrit.* 7210 because they contain, written with *Helen*, the Life of Homer attributed to Herodotus, are the more likely exemplars.⁵⁸ Yet it is likely that Musurus intervened with K to supply the texts of these tracts when he saw them omitted from *Oratores* I.

⁵² These include *Urb.gr.* 24, 34, 36, 112, 114, 115, and 147. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 198–99; J. Wiesner and U. Victor, *RSBN* n.s. 8/9 (1971/2) 62; Sicherl (*supra* n.6) 571; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger (*supra* n.6) no. 183.

⁵³ Diller (*supra* n.22) 315–16; H. Gregory, "A Further Note on the Greek Manuscripts of Palla Strozzi," *JWarb* 44 (1981) 184.

⁵⁴ Sykutris (*supra* n.42) 1292–93. For *Paris.gr.* 3054 see Drerup (*supra* n.38) xxxi, (*supra* n.10) 6. The epistles of Alciphron in this MS. and in S are closely related: cf. M. A. Schepers, *Alciphronis Rhetoris epistolarum libri* (Leipzig 1915) x. Scutariotes was identified as scribe of *Vat.gr.* 1461 by Canart (*supra* n.16) 68; for this MS. see Gösswein (*supra* n.10) 36, 54–55, Düring (*supra* n.10) 30, Drerup (*supra* n.38) xviii.

⁵⁵ Gösswein (*supra* n.10) 60–63, Geanakoplos (*supra* n.7) 122.

⁵⁶ Donadi (*supra* n.30) 175–82.

⁵⁷ A. Guerra, "Los manuscritos españoles de Helena de Gorgias," *CFC* 13 (1977) 298.

⁵⁸ *Barocci* 119, *Paris.gr.* 2955, *Pal.gr.* 179, and *Laur.* 70.35. Donadi (*supra* n.30) 170 n.3 adds two codices of Gorgias to the list made by Stolpe (*supra* n.17). To these mss. may be added *Monac.* 172, *Sinai* 1725, *Reims* 555, *Paris.gr.* 2551 and 3009, and *Escor.* φ 11.12 and *Escor. deperd.* 208.

That the Aldine editors did not use three superior manuscripts in Venice (*Marc.gr.* 416, 417, and 422) indicates that only a small portion of Cardinal Bessarion's library was accessible in 1513.⁵⁹ One of Bessarion's manuscripts, *Marc.gr.* 522 (I), was used by them.⁶⁰ Bessarion's manuscripts were scandalously treated by the Venetian government until 1531.⁶¹ In 1513 the valuable codices were stored in the wooden chests in which they had arrived in Venice half a century before, one box stacked on top of another, and housed in a portion of one of the halls of the Palazzo Ducale behind wooden walls built to keep out thieves. The use of I alone reflects these conditions.

To conclude, we can now recognize with some confidence all the manuscripts used by the Aldine editors for their *Oratores* in 1513. The *corpus Aeschinis* printed at the beginning of *Oratores* I.1 was copied from *Ambros.gr.* 455, which had belonged to Palla Strozzi and the monastery of S. Giustina, and from *Paris.gr.* 3003, which was owned by Janus Lascaris.⁶² K, I, and L probably complete the list of the sources of *Oratores* I. The two speeches of Aristides printed in II derive from a manuscript closely related to *Paris.gr.* 2948, 3006, and *Vat.gr.* 933.⁶³ In addition, K and a codex closely related to *Matrit.* 7210 were the probable sources of Gorgias and Alcidas in the addendum to II.

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⁵⁹ For the difficulties that the Aldine editors had in gaining access to his library see N. G. Wilson, "The Book Trade in Venice," in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente* II (Florence 1977) 393–96.

⁶⁰ The descent of the *Oratores* Lysias from K and I is evidenced by the following readings: 2.23 ἀλλ' I Ald.: ἀλλ' οἱ K: οἱ δὲ rell.; 2.21 ορ/// Ald.: ὀρ///θωτάτων I: ὀρθοτάτους K: ἔρμωτάτους X; 2.40 ἔσβαντες K Ald.: ἔμ. X; 2.61 ἐρήχθεν lac. K Ald.: hab. rell.; 2.35 προσίοντες I Ald.: προίοντες K; 2.47 τοὺς I Ald.: om. K. Since I clearly served as no more than a correction text, and since it descends from D and X, it does not complicate the textual descent of *Oratores*.

⁶¹ C. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* (Rome 1979) 57–63, 169.

⁶² Diller (*supra* n.10) 53.

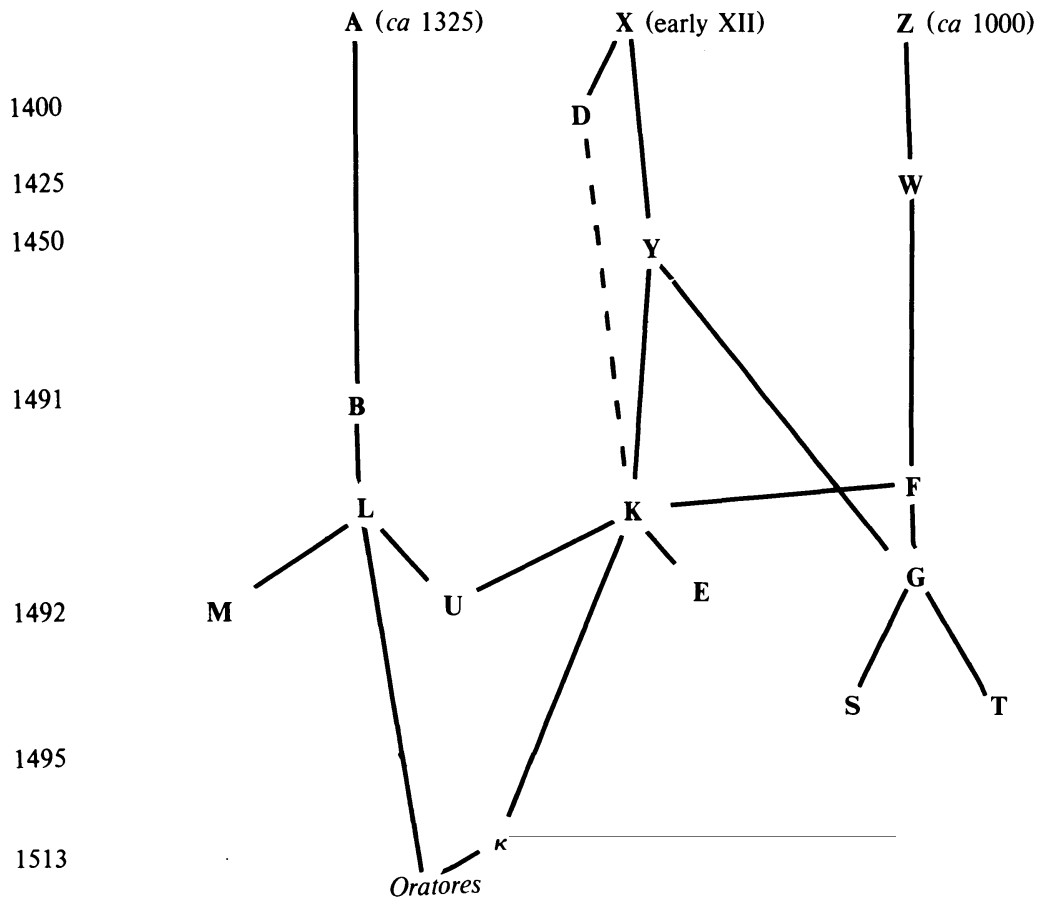
⁶³ Lenz and Behr (*supra* n.38) c.

X	Y	K	<i>Oratores I.1</i>
Lys. <i>Or.</i> 1, 2	Lys. <i>Or.</i> 1–31	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i>	Aeschin.
Alcid. <i>Soph., Od.</i>	Gorg. <i>Hel.</i>	Lys. <i>Or.</i> 1–31	Lys. <i>Or.</i> 1–31
Antisth. <i>Ajax, Od.</i>	Alcid. <i>Soph., Od.</i>	Gorg. <i>Hel.</i>	Alcid. <i>Od.</i>
Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3	Antisth. <i>Ajax, Od.</i>	Alcid. <i>Soph., Od.</i>	Antisth. <i>Od.</i>
Lys. <i>Or.</i> 3–31	Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3	Antisth. <i>Ajax, Od.</i>	Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3
Gorg. <i>Hel.</i>		Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i>
A (B)	L	M	<i>Oratores I.2</i>
Andocides	Andocides	Andocides	Andocides
Isaeus	Iseaus	Isaeus	Isaeus
Dinarchus	Dinarchus	Dinarchus	Dinarchus
Antiphon	Antiphon	Antiphon	Antiphon
Lycurgus	Lycurgus	Lycurgus	Lycurgus
Gorg. <i>Hel., Pal.</i>	Gorg. <i>Pal.</i>	Alcid. <i>Od.</i>	Gorg. <i>Pal.</i>
Alcid. <i>Od.</i>	Alcid. <i>Od.</i>	Gorg. <i>Pal.</i>	Lesbonax
Lesbonax	Lesbonax	Lesbonax	Herodes
Herodes	Herodes	Herodes	
		Harpocraton	<i>Oratores II</i>
			Isocrates
			(Addendum):
			Alcid. <i>Soph.</i>
			Gorg. <i>Hel.</i>
			Aristides <i>Pan., Rom.</i>
F	G	T	S (ff.105–60)
Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i>	Gorg. <i>Hel.</i>	Ulpian <i>Scholia</i>	Alciph. 2.3–4
Aeschin. <i>Ep.</i>	Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3	Zenobius	Aeschin. <i>Ep.</i>
Isoc. <i>Ep.</i>	Alcid. <i>Soph., Od.</i>	Dem. <i>De cor.</i>	Brutus <i>Ep.</i>
Socr. <i>Ep.</i>	Antisth. <i>Ajax, Od.</i>	Demad. <i>Or.</i> 3	Arist. <i>Ep.</i>
	Lys. <i>Or.</i> 31	Alcid. <i>Soph., Od.</i>	Philip <i>Ep.</i>
	Isoc. <i>Ep.</i>	Antisth. <i>Ajax, Od.</i>	Theod. Gaz. <i>Ep.</i>
	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i>	Lys. <i>Or.</i> 31	
	Aeschin. <i>Ep.</i>	Isoc. <i>Ep.</i> 9	
	Alciphron <i>Ep.</i> 2.3–4	Dion. Hal. <i>Lys.</i>	
	Brutus <i>Ep.</i>		

Table 1: Contents of Manuscripts

SIGLA

A = <i>Burney</i> 95	M = <i>Burney</i> 96
B = <i>Laur.</i> 4.11	S = <i>Paris.gr.</i> 2832
D = <i>Laur.</i> 57.45	T = <i>Paris.gr.</i> 2944
E = <i>Laur.</i> 57.52	U = <i>Ambros.gr.</i> 26
F = <i>Laur.</i> 70.19	W = <i>Wolf.</i> 902
G = <i>Grimani</i> 208	X = <i>Pal.gr.</i> 88
K = <i>Marc.gr.</i> VIII.1	Y = <i>Coislin.</i> 342
L = <i>Marc.gr.</i> VIII.6	Z = <i>Laur.</i> 59.15

Table 2: The Descent of *Oratores*