Manuscripts of *Scholia Ulpiani* on Demosthenes, *Orations* 1, 3 and 4

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SCHOLIA attributed to Ulpian are extant for eleven of the deliberative orations of Demosthenes (1–4, 10, 11, 13–17) and seven of the forensic òrations (18–24). As even brief perusal of Dindorf's edition of Demosthenic scholia will reveal, *Scholia Ulpiani* (usually indicated by the sigla **T C V**) constitute a preponderance of, if not virtually all, scholia on these orations (*cf.* 10–14, 16, 17). In fact the *editio princeps* of Demosthenic scholia (Aldus, Venice 1503) is actually an edition of *Scholia Ulpiani*, for scholia from independent recensions were scarcely known until 1770 when scholia were published from *Monacensis gr.* 485 (**A**, *saec.* 10) and *Monacensis gr.* 85 (**B**, *saec.* 13), which is an apograph of *Marcianus gr.* 416 (**F**, *saec.* 10).[1] Eighty-one years later Dindorf made the first attempt at a complete edition of Demosthenic scholia,[2] and he included scholia from **A** and **B** as well as two other recensions independent of *Scholia Ulpiani*: (1) *Parisinus gr.* 2935 (**Y**, *saec.* 10), *Laurentianus gr.* 59.9 (**P**, *saec.* 10)[3] and (2) *Parisinus gr.* 2934 (**S**, *saec.* 9/10).

Although Dindorf accomplished more than previous editors, his edition derives from inadequate MS. evidence. Thus of the four MSS. Dindorf used in editing *Scholia Ulpiani*, only one, **T** (*Paris.gr.* 2940, *saec.* 13), is a primary witness for *Scholia Ulpiani* on the *Olynthiacs* and first *Philippic*. A recent study of MSS. of *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Or.* 24 has brought to light another primary MS. for these orations, **Bc** (*Bonon.* 3564, *saec.* 13).[4] In addition, *Scholia Ulpiani* are found in seventeen

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[1] See J. J. Reiske, ed. *Oratorum graecorum quorum princeps est Demosthenes…* II (Leipzig 1770) 1–196, "Scholia vetusta in Demosthenis." On codices **F** and **B**, see M. R. Dilts, "Demosthenic Scholia in Marcianus gr. 416 and Monacensis gr. 85," *Studia Codicologica*, edd. K. Treu, J. Dummer, J. Irmscher, F. Paschke (Berlin 1977) 151–58.

[2] *Demosthenes ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii*, VIII, IX: *Scholia graeca ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (Oxford 1851). All references to scholia are from this edition.

[3] On Dindorf's inadequate use of this MS., see M. R. Dilts, "Demosthenic Scholia in Codex Laurentianus 59, 9," *TAPA* 104 (1974) 97–102.

[4] On **T** and **Bc**, see M. R. Dilts, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Demosthenis in Timocratem*," *TAPA* 105 (1975) 39–41. For the orations discussed here, **T Bc**

previously unexamined MSS.; it is these which are considered in this article.

When compared with **T** and **Bc**, MSS. scrutinized here will be shown to differ in several respects. Thus when *Scholia Ulpiani* are cognate with scholia of **F** (**B**) **Y A**, these MSS. agree variously with **T Bc** and with **F** (**B**) **Y A**, and at times these MSS. contain scholia from **F** (**B**) **Y A** while **T Bc** contain only *Scholia Ulpiani*. In other cases these MSS. contain scholia[5] and correct readings found neither in **F** (**B**) **Y A** nor in **T Bc**. In studying these MSS. my objectives have been to establish stemmatic relationships and to determine which MSS. will be of practical use in editing *Scholia Ulpiani*.[6]

I

The following MSS. appear to derive from a common exemplar by virtue of conjunctive errors:[7]

Ca, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 229, *saec.* 14

Fu, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *conv.soppr.* 168, *saec.* 14/15

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contain separative errors such as the following:

32.27 λυπηρὸc **Bc** λυπηρὰ **T**

65.2 αὐτὸ **T**, *om.* **Bc**

66.19 περιγενοίμεθα] περιγενώμεθα **Bc** περιγενόμεθα **T**

113.16 βοηθήcειν **Bc** βοηθῆcαι **T**

114.4 ἄλλωc **T** ἔcτι οὖν τὸ **Bc**

140.27–29 **T**, *om.* **Bc**

142.2 Χαλκιδικῶν **Bc** Χαλκιδονικῶν **T**

[5] Most of these were first edited by Morelli (Δημοcθένουc λόγοι...cὺν ταῖc ἐξηγήcεcιν ὠφελιμωτάταιc τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ ῥήτοροc...διὰ φιλοπονίαc καὶ ἐπιμελείαc τοῦ Γουλιέλμου Μορελίου... Lutetiae 1570 ap. Io. Benetatum). The *editio princeps* of *Scholia Ulpiani* (Editio Aldina, Venice 1503) lacks these scholia, which Dindorf identifies with the siglum **P**.

[6] This article is based on a collation of the following pages of Dindorf's edition: (*Or.* 1) 31.1–33.19, 54.24–55.8, 56.3–57.4, 58.13–59.16, 64.13–65.2, 66.15–67.6; (*Or.* 3) 112.3–114.5; (*Or.* 4) 139.1–19, 140.27–142.15, 142.24–143.13, as well as a comparison of scholia found in each MS. and further collations of selected scholia. Collations by students in a seminar in Greek palaeography and textual criticism show that findings reported for *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4 are also valid for *Or.* 2. I have not observed *Scholia Ulpiani* in MSS. which contain only *Or.* 2.

[7] 32.7 εὐθὺc—8 cυμφέρον **T Bc Wd Af Vb** εὐθὺc ἂν αὐτοὶ (αὐτὸc **Ca**) ἀντὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων τὸ cυμφέρον ἡρπάcητε **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc**, Σ *om.* **Vd Ah**

.15 ἐπειδὴ **T Bc Wd Af Vb** ὡc ἐπειδὴ **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd**, Σ *om.* **Ah**

.18 λυπηρῶν **T Bc Wd Af Vb** τοῦτο δὲ ἦν λυπηρὸν **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd**, Σ *om.* **Ah**

Mm, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z 420 (*coll.* 860), *saec.* 14/15

Oi, Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Canon.gr.* 42, *saec.* 14

Mf, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *gr.* 432, *saec.* 15

Sc, Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad, 231 (1-2-11), *saec.* 15

Vd, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *gr.* 70, *saec.* 14

Ah, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 355 *inf.*, *an.* 1525.

Scholia and readings in copies of this exemplar also appear in codex **F**:[8]

44.26–45.5 **F B Oi Mf Sc Vd Ah**, Σ *om.* **Ca Fu Mm T Bc**

56.11 χρήcιμα **F B Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd Ah** χρήcιμά ἐcτιν **T Bc**

58.13 μικτὸν **F B Ca Fu Vd Ah** μικρὸν **T Bc**, Σ *om.* **Mm Oi Mf Sc**

64.16 πρόc **F B Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd Ah** εἰc **T Bc**

67.6 γνωρίζειν **T Bc** χαρακτηρίζειν **F B Ca Fu Vd Ah**, Σ *om.* **Mm Oi Mf Sc**

137.22–25 **F B Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf**, Σ *om.* **T Bc**

144.14–18 **F B Ca Fu Mm**, Σ *om.* **Oi Mf T Bc**

156.19–21 **F B Oi Mf**, Σ *om.* **Ca Fu Mm T Bc**

In addition **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf** have further evidence of contamination:

136.23 ἐν τοῖc ἄνω **H R S**[9] **Ca Fu Mm** εὐτάκτωc **F B**

33.4 ὑπεριδεῖν **T Bc Wd Af Vb** ὑπεριδεῖν ἐθελήcειαν (-αιεν **Ca Fu Mm**) **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd**, Σ *om.* **Ah**

58.20 ἔχει (ἔχειν **Vb**) **T Bc Wd Vb**, *om.* **Ca Fu Vd Ah**, Σ *om.* **Mm Oi Mf Sc Af**

The sigla **Wd** (*Vindob.phil.gr.* 105), **Af** (*Ambrosianus* C 235 *inf.*) and **Vb** (*Vatic.gr.* 68) are introduced here as representative of recensions discussed in sections II and III of this article. Conjunctive errors occur only for *Or.* 1, since **Sc** lacks scholia on 3 and 4; **Vd** derives from **Vb** for 3 and 4; **Ah** derives from **T** for 3 and 4; **Oi Mf** contain an identical selection of scholia on 3 and 4, but not those collated. References to catalogue descriptions of MSS. discussed in this article are to be found in M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*[2] (Paris 1958) and *Supplément* I (Paris 1964).

[8] See Dilts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.1). Some of these scholia also occur in other MSS., but agreements in readings indicate that these MSS. derive from **F** (**B**). Moreover the following readings make it clear that **Ca Fu Mm** derive from **F**, not **B**:

126.8 τὸ **B** εἴ τιc τὸ **F Ca Fu Mm**

129.17 τοῦ[2] **B**, *om.* **F Ca Fu Mm**

.18 μέcοιc **B** μέcῳ **F Fu Mm**, *sine term.* **Ca**

137.5 πλείονα ἐν **F Ca Fu Mm** πλεῖον τὰ **B**

[9] Readings for **H R S** are reported by Dindorf. **H** (*Paris.gr.* 2508, *saec.* 15) appears to be a copy of **R** (*Paris.gr.* 2936, see Dindorf [p.viii] and M. R. Dilts, "Apographs of Lost Codex

.25 μιcθοφορᾶc **H R P Ca Fu Mm** μιcθοφορίαc **F B S**

145.14 ἀποδείξαc αὐτὰc **T Bc** αὐτὰc ἀποδείξαc **Pr**[10] **Oi Mf**, *Σ om.* **F B Ca Fu Mm**

146.9 ἄν **Pr Oi Mf**, *om.* **T Bc**, *Σ om.* **F B Ca Fu Mm**

.11 ἐχθροῖc **T Bc** ἐναντίοιc **Pr Oi Mf**, *Σ om.* **Ca Fu Mm**

Conjunctive and separative errors in **Ca Fu Mm** indicate that these MSS. derive from a lost hyparchetype, codex **f**:

33.5 χ. τ. τὰ δ.] τὰ δ. τ. χ. **Ca Fu**, *Σ*[p] *om.* **Mm**

112.8 cυcτέλει *om.* **Ca Fu Mm**

.10 ἀλάττει] ἐναλάττει **Ca Fu Mm**

113.6 οἰκείοιc] ἰδίῳ **Ca Fu Mm**

31.1–10 **Fu** (31.1–8 **Mm**) **Mm**, *om.* **Ca**

57.10–16, 58.8–11 **Ca Fu**, *om.* **Mm**

122.12 πολέμου **Ca Mm** πολλῶν **Fu**

130.15 ἀκόντων **Ca Mm** ἀκὸν ὧν **Fu**

When **Fu** has scholia of **F**, these appear in the text in a numbered sequence for *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4, and *Scholia Ulpiani* appear in the margins for *Orr.* 1 and 3.[11] **Ca** and **Mm** combine both sets of scholia (**Ca** in a section containing only scholia, and **Mm** on folios after the text of each oration). For *Orr.* 1 and 3 codex **Fu** may preserve the format of lost codex **f**. For other orations **Ca Fu Mm** do not contain scholia (*e.g.* 10, 13, 14, 16, 17) or appear to derive scholia from *Parisinus gr.* 2935, **Y** (*e.g.* 11, 15, 22).

Codex Vallicellianus 36 C34, **Re**, is a composite codex of which the second part (ff. 286–373, *saec.* 15 *exeunt.*) contains excerpts from scholia on *Or.* 4 (ff. 354ᵛ–363ᵛ). The following evidence indicates that these are derived in part from lost codex **f** and in part from other MSS. (*viz.* 140.1–25 **R S Re**, *om.* **Ca Fu Mm**; 142.17–21 **A H Re**, *om.* **Ca Fu Mm**):

139.1 Ζητοῦcι] Ζητοῦcι γὰρ **T** Ζητοῦcι δέ τινεc **Bc** Ζητοῦcι τινὲc **Ca Mm Re**, *Σ om.* **Fu**

.2 κατηγορεῖ **T Bc** ἡ κατηγορία **Ca Mm Re**, *Σ om.* **Fu**

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[10] Dindorf refers to **Pr** (*Paris.gr.* 2995, *saec.* 14) as **F**, a siglum normally used for *Marcianus gr.* 416.

[11] For *Or.* 4 **Fu** lacks marginal scholia, and all doublets of *Scholia Ulpiani* and **F** agree with **F** in error.

142.13 πρῶτον λέγειν **F B Ca Fu Mm Re** λέγειν πρῶτοι **T Bc**

Codex **Re** contains a number of careless errors which verge on illiteracy:

141.12 ἐμμεμενηκὼς] ἐμμεμενηκὸν **Re**

142.11 πῶc λεληθότωc] περιλεληθότωc **Re**

Such readings and the brief selection of scholia render this MS. of no value.

Codices **Oi Mf Sc** are shown to derive from a lost hyparchetype since all three MSS. contain the same scholia on *Or*. 1, and **Oi Mf** the same scholia on *Orr*. 3 and 4 as well as conjunctive and separative errors:

31.1–8 δεινῶc *praebb. post* 31.14 χρημάτων **Oi Mf Sc**

33.5 ἰcτέον—19 πεποιήκαcιν *om.* **Oi Mf Sc**

32.22 ἐν τ. θ....ὀβολοὺc **Oi Mf** ἐν τ. θ. *transp. post* ὀβολοὺc **Sc**

47.28 οἱ—48.2 ἀναχωρήcωcιν (ὁμ.) **Oi Sc**, *om.* **Mf**

.28 καὶ—48.1 οὕτωc **Sc**, *om.* **Oi**

Scholia contained in these MSS. constitute a selection from *Scholia Ulpiani* and are found on folios following the text of *Orr*. 1, 3 and 4. Other orations in **Oi Mf** contain scant excerpts from scholia, which do not merit consideration (*Or*. 10) or scholia from **Y** (*Or*. 11). **Oi** has scholia from **Y** on *Orr*. 15 and 22; 13, 14, 16 and 17 lack scholia (**Mf** lacks these orations).

Conjunctive and separative errors indicate that **Vd** and **Ah** derive scholia on *Or*. 1 from a common exemplar:

55.4 ὡc *om.* **Vd Ah**

.7 ἐcτιν *om.* **Vd Ah**

57.1 μὴ *om.* **Vd Ah**

58.8 ⟨καὶ τοῦτο⟩ τῷ **Vd Ah**

31.10 τὸ—32.3 πέπειcμαι **Vd**, *om.* **Ah**

57.22 χρῆcθαι—58.2 **Ah**, *om.* **Vd**

Scholia on other orations appear in both MSS., but **Vd** derives these scholia from **Vb** (see n.7 and section III below) and **Ah** from *Parisinus gr*. 2940, **T**. Codex **Ah** is dated to the year 1525 and consists of selected scholia copied by Lazarus Bonamicus,[12] who doubtless composed several scholia not known from other sources (*e.g.* 1.9 νῦν δὲ καιρὸc ἥκει] ὅρα δὲ πῶc ἀθυμίαc αὐτοὺc πληρώcαc διὰ τοῦ καταλόγου

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[12] See M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*... I (Boston 1962) 644–45.

τῶν ἀπολωλότων χωρίων, πάλιν παραμυθήσατο διὰ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι πάλιν ἥκει καιρὸς οὐ χείρων ἐκείνων).

In sum, **Oi Mf Sc** and **Vd Ah** contain a briefer selection from *Scholia Ulpiani* than **Ca Fu Mm**, which in turn lack many scholia found in **T Bc**. One notable feature of these eight mss. is that they do have from codex **F** readings which preserve the truth when **T Bc** are in error.[13] In addition, the samples of text collated for this article have brought to light accepted readings found neither in **T Bc** nor in **F**:

56.12 ἀπό[2] **Ca Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd Ah** ὑπό **T Bc**

113.20 ὅτι πλείους εἰσὶ **Ca Fu Mm** ὅτι εἰσὶ πλείους **T Bc**, Σ om. **Oi Mf**

141.12 τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον **Ca Fu Mm** τῶν ἄλλων χρόνων (-νον **T**[ac]) **T**[pc] **Bc**, Σ om. **Oi Mf**

.15 ἀγορεύειν **Ca Fu Mm** ἀγορεύει **T** ἀγορεύων **Bc**, Σ om. **Oi Mf**

These involve minor corrections of the text of **T Bc** and could be interpreted merely as felicitous conjectures. However obvious this conclusion may be, it is based on a collation of a portion of scholia on *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4 (see *supra* n.6), and further collation might well produce readings which derive from a source of equal or greater value than **T Bc**. Moreover, since **Ca** (*saec.* 14) is nearly coeval with **T Bc** (*saec.* 13) and since **Ca** contains a more complete text of scholia than its cognate mss., it seems prudent to collate all scholia in **Ca** and weigh the results. Meanwhile codices **Fu Mm Oi Mf Sc Vd Ah** can be dismissed from further consideration.

II

Conjunctive errors indicate that the following mss. derive scholia on the *Olynthiacs* and first *Philippic* from a common exemplar, lost codex **w**:[14]

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[13] Note, for example the following readings cited above (pp. 57,59) 56.11, 58.13, 64.16, 142.13.

[14] 33.16 μόνον **T Bc Ca Af Vb** μᾶλλον **Vf Wd Vs**, Σ[p] om. **Pv Ao**

56.10 Φιλίππου **F B T Bc Ca Af Vb** Φιλίππου πράγματα **Vf Wd Vs Pv Ao**

58.24 ἔχειν **F B T Bc Ca Vb** ἔχειν τὸν λόγον **Vf Wd Pv Ao**, *ap.* **Vs** Σ *desunt post* 58.5, Σ om. **Af**

.25 συμφέροντι προσήκει **F B T Bc Ca Vb** προσήκοντι συμφέρει **Vf Wd Pv Ao**, Σ om. **Af**

Vf,[15] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *gr.* 76, *saec.* 14

Wd, Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, *phil.gr.* 105, *saec.* 14

Vs, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *gr.* 2207, *saec.* 14/15

Pv, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *gr.* 2999, *saec.* 15

Ao, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q 12 *sup.*, *saec.* 15

Vi,[16] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *gr.* 1367, *saec.* 15.

Apographs of codex **w** contain scholia not found in **T Bc**:

29.5 ἠθικὸν—11 θεραπεύει **F B Vf Wd Vs Pv Ao**, *cf.* 31.1–7
    θεραπεύει **T Bc**

156.19–21 **F B Wd Vs Pv Ao**, Σ *om.* **Vi T Bc**

.28–157.2 **F B Wd Pv Ao**, Σ *om.* **Vi T Bc**

143.26–144.2 **P Wd Vs Pv Ao Vi**, Σ *om.* **F B T Bc**

144.7–9 **P Wd Vs Pv Ao Vi**, Σ *om.* **F B T Bc**

.10–12 **P Wd Vs Pv Ao Vi**, Σ *om.* **F B T Bc**

Like mss. represented by **Ca**, readings and scholia in apographs of **w** point to contamination from **F** (**B**). In addition **w** contained scholia found neither in **F** (**B**) nor in **T Bc** (*e.g.* the last three scholia listed above). These were first edited by Morelli in 1570, and he probably derived them from **Pv**.[17]

Three mss. (**Vs Pv Ao**) derive still more scholia from recensions independent of **T Bc**. **Vs** contains scholia which doubtless derive from codex **A**, *Monacensis gr.* 485, *saec.* 10:

156.8–10 **A H Vs**, *om.* **Wd Pv Ao Vi**

.11–14 **A H R Vs**, *om.* **Wd Pv Ao Vi**

.21–24 **A Vs**, *om.* **Wd Pv Ao Vi**

Similarly **Pv Ao** contain scholia found in the recension of **F** (**B**), which are lacking in **T Bc Vf Wd Vs**: 41.11–12, 44.17–24, 26–45.5;

113.11 περὶ ποιότητος προσώπων **A H R Wd Vs**(?) **Pv Ao** περὶ ποιότητα προσώπου **T Bc Ca Vb**, Σ *om.* **Af**

142.2 τριάκοντα δύο **F B T Bc Ca Af Vb** λξ' **Wd Pv Ao** τριάκοντα τὸ ἐξ **Vi**, Σ *om.* **Vs**

[15] **Vf** contains scholia only for *Or.* 1, ff. 5ᵛ–13ᵛ. These folios are part of the first of two recensions of Demosthenic scholia in this codex; see Dilts, *opp.citt.* (*supra* n.4) 37–39 and (*supra* n.9) 207.

[16] **Vi** contains scholia from this recension only for *Or.* 4; *Orr.* 1 and 3 have scholia from **Bc**.

[17] 112.11 διὰ τῶν ἔργων δείκνυσι **Wd Vs** ἅμα γὰρ δεινὸν χρῆσθαι πράγμασι τοῦτον δείκνυσι **Pv**. Morelli attributes this reading to codex η, the seventh of the mss. he used (α–θ); see further J. T. Voemel, ed. *Demosthenis contiones quae circumferuntur* (Halle 1857) 183. Scholia first edited by Morelli also appear in **Af** and **Vb** (see section III).

135.4–10, 15–18; 138.5–6, 8–11; 144.3–5, 14–18; 147.8–18.[18] These scholia appear to derive from a comparison of **F** and **B**, since **Pv Ao** sometimes agree with **F** but not **B** (*e.g.* 134.16 κ. τ. c. **B** τ. c. κ. **F Pv Ao**) and *vice versa* (*e.g.* 154.13–17 **B Pv Ao**, *om.* **F**), and at other times **Pv Ao** combine readings in **F** and **B**:

136.11 ὡς ἐπανορθωτικὸν **F** ἐπανορθωτικῶς **B** ὡς ἐπανορθωτικῶς **Pv Ao**

137.5 πλείονα ἐν **F** πλεῖον τὰ **B** πλεῖον τὰ ἐν **Pv** (πλείω **Ao**) **Ao**

The following separative errors indicate that codex **Vf** is an independent copy of lost codex **w**:

32.12 εἰπεῖν **Wd Vs Pv Ao** εἰπεῖν διὰ **Vf**

54.26 γὰρ **Wd Vs Pv Ao** γὰρ ὁ ῥήτωρ **Vf**

56.4 μέλλει **Wd Vs Pv Ao** τὸ μέλλον **Vf**

Three readings for scholia on *Or.* 1 aver a common source for **Wd** and **Vs**:

32.26 ὁ π. ὁ πρ. Φ. **T Bc** ὁ Φ. ὁ πρ. π. **Wd Vs** ὁ πρ. Φ. π. **Vf** (32.24–33.19 *om.* **Pv Ao**)

55.3 δείκνυσι **T Bc Wd Vs** δείκνυσι μιμεῖται γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν **Vf Pv Ao**

57.3 παρ᾽ ἄλλου καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενος **F B** καὶ ἀναγ. παρ᾽ ἄλλου **T Bc Wd Vs** καὶ ἀναγ. ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων **Vf Pv Ao**

and the following separative errors indicate that each of these MSS. is independent of the other:

Σ *post* 58.5 τόκῳ *om.* **Vs**

113.3 Ὀλυνθίοις **Vs** α᾽θ (*sc.* ἀθηναίοις) **Wd**

.20–114.5 **Wd**, *om.* **Vs**

Wd contains *Scholia Ulpiani* for *Orr.* 1, 2, 3 and 4; other orations lack scholia (*cf.* 13, 14, 16, 17) or contain scholia from **Y** (*cf.* 11, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24). **Vs** has selections from *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4; other orations are without scholia or contain scholia from **A R Y** (*cf. Or.* 22=**A R**, *Or.* 24=**A Y**, see further n.9).

Codex **Pv** contains excerpts from *Scholia Ulpiani* with numerous scholia from **F** and **B**. For *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4 **Ao** is shown to derive from **Pv**, since **Ao** shares the scholia as well as errors of **Pv** with omissions (no separative errors have been noted for **Pv**):

32.24 οὐδὲ—33.19 πεποιήκασιν **Vf Wd Vs**, *om.* **Pv Ao**

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[18] Some of these scholia are also attributed by Dindorf to codices **H R S** (see *supra* n.9) as well as to **P**, the edition of Morelli, but readings indicate that **Pv Ao** derive from the tradition of **F** (**B**).

139.8 εὐπορίας **Wd Vi** ἀπορίας **Pv Ao**

141.3 "Ὅτι—τῷ **Wd** ("Ὅτι *om.* **Vi**) **Vi** οὕτω **Pv Ao**

  34.27–28, 46.8–9, 69n8 **Pv**, *om.* **Ao**

For *Or.* 4 **Pv** (**Ao**) and **Vi** clearly derive from a lost hyparchetype. Thus **Pv** (**Ao**) and **Vi** have conjunctive errors against **Wd** (**Vs** omits scholia cited):

141.3 περιβ. **Wd** περιβ. λόγων **Pv Vi** παραβ. λόγων **Ao**

  .4 προτάςεως **Wd** προτάςεως καὶ κέχρηται τούτῳ τῷ παραδείγματι **Pv Ao Vi**

142n13 πολλάκις **Wd** ὅτι πολλάκις **Pv Ao Vi**

and **Pv** (see 139.8 and 141.3, *supra* and **Vi** have separative errors:

142.1 λέγ. πρ. **Pv Ao** πρ. λέγ. **Vi**

  .10 θέλει—γερόντων **Pv Ao** λέγει τ. γ. εἰπεῖν **Vi**

Pv Ao contain *Scholia Ulpiani* only on *Orr.* 1, 2, 3 and 4; for scholia on other orations in **Vi** see n.16.

Of the apographs of lost codex **w**, **Wd** contains the most complete text of *Scholia Ulpiani*. (**Vf** has *Scholia Ulpiani* only for *Or.* 1, **Pv Vi** contain a scant selection of scholia,[19] and scholia in **Vs** end at 58.5 τόκῳ for *Or.* 1 while *Orr.* 3 and 4 have selected scholia.) Accordingly, readings of this recension can be practically mustered from **Wd**. Like **Ca** and other mss. discussed in section I, **Wd** does preserve accepted readings when **T Bc** are in error. Two of these are also found in **Ca** (see 56.12 and 141.12, cited on p.60), and they may result from conjecture or archetypal variants (see p.65). In addition **Wd** contributes one accepted reading not found in other mss.: 139.1 Ζητοῦςι εἰ **Wd Pv Vi** Ζητοῦςι γὰρ **T** Ζητοῦςι τινὲς **Ca** Ζητοῦςι δέ τινες ὅτι **Bc**, Σ *om.* **Af Vb**. Given these readings and the fact that **Wd** is independent of **T Bc Ca**, this ms. merits full collation with the expectation that it will yield further unique readings or at the least a more complete picture of the archetype.

III

Codices *Ambrosianus* C 235 *inf.*, **Af** (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *saec.* 13/14) and *Vaticanus gr.* 68, **Vb** (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *saec.* 14 *init.*), contain *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Orr.* 1, 2, 3 and 4.

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[19] **Pv** does have several scholia from **F** (**B**) lacking in **Wd**, but these are not relevant for editing *Scholia Ulpiani*.

Af and **Vb** lack scholia on other orations, with the exception of 15, 21 and 24, for which **Vb** has scholia from **Y**. Some scholia in these two MSS. derive readings from recensions which are independent of **T Bc**:

> 64.11–12 ἐπὶ Φιλίππῳ πλέον τὴν ἀπιστίαν ηὔξηςα **Af Vb Wd**, *cf.* **F B S** *om.* **T Bc Ca**
>
> 65.3–4 **F B Af Vb Wd**, *om.* **T Bc Ca**
>
> 66.15–16 πανταχόθεν...τ. Φ. **F B Af Ca** τ. Φ. πανταχόθεν **T Bc** ἀποδ. πανταχόθεν τ. Φ. **Vb Wd**
>
> 116.11–12 **A F B Vb**, *om.* **Af T Bc Ca Wd**
>
> 122.1–2 **F B Vb**, *om.* **Af T Bc Ca Wd**
>
> 143.23–24 **F B Af Vb Ca Wd**, *om.* **T Bc**
>
> .26–144.2, 144.7–9, 10–12 **P Af Vb Wd**, *om.* **T Bc Ca**
>
> 145.17 δύναμιν **T Bc Wd** δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει ὁ Μακεδών **Pr Af Vb**, *Σ om.* **Ca**

Although some of the scholia cited above appear in **Ca** and **Wd** or **Wd**, **Af Vb** are clearly independent of **Ca** (see 64.11–12, 65.3–4 etc.) and **Wd** (see 66.15–16). Moreover, the following readings indicate that **Vb** does not derive from **Af** and *vice versa*:

> 54.26 καὶ–27 ῥήτωρ *hab.* **T Bc Ca Wd**, *om.* **Vb**, 54.26–55.7 *om.* **Af**
>
> 115.26 ῥήτορας **Af T Bc Ca Wd** ῥήτορας ‹116.2 ὅτι—3 ϲκοπεῖν › **Vb**
>
> 142.5 ϲαν. τινὰϲ **Af T Bc Ca Wd** τιναϲ ϲαν. **Vb**

Thus far we have seen that **Af Vb** are independent witnesses, and at this point it is appropriate to determine whether or not these MSS. are of value in establishing the text of *Scholia Ulpiani*. While **Af Vb** lack some scholia contained in **T Bc**, these two MSS., like **Ca Wd**, sometimes preserve correct readings when **T Bc** are in error:

> 31.7 δ. ἀντ. αὐτοῖϲ εὐθὺϲ **Y Af Vb** δ. ἀντ. εὐθὺϲ αὐτοῖϲ **Wd** ὑφορμοῦντα **T Bc** ὑφορμῶντα **Ca**
>
> 56.12 ἀπό[2] **Af Vb Ca Wd** ὑπό **T Bc** 56.12 οἷον—57.1 τοιούτων *om.* **F B H R S**
>
> 66.9 ἄλλοιϲ *hab.* **F B Af Vb Wd**, *om.* **T Bc Ca**
>
> 113.2 μεταϲτῆϲαι **A Vb** μεταϲτῆναι **T Bc Ca Wd**, *Σ om.* **Af**
>
> 118.18 προθυμίᾳ **Af Vb** βοηθείᾳ **T Bc** ϲπουδείᾳ **Wd** (*ut apparet*), *Σ om.* **Ca**

In three instances (31.7, 66.9, 113.2) **Af Vb** or **Vb** preserves correct readings variously found in **F Y A**. Since these readings do occur in independent recensions, they do not alone justify full collation, but in other cases **Af Vb** preserve the truth for *Scholia Ulpiani* not found

in independent recensions. At 56.12 **Af Vb** have the correct reading along with **Ca Wd**. This could derive from independent conjecture in all four MSS. or from a double reading in the archetype. The case for archetypal doublets becomes more cogent in light of 118.18, where **Af Vb** alone preserve the accepted reading and **T Bc Wd** variants. In addition, the following variants are most readily explained as double readings in the archetype:

66.15–16 παντᾰχόθεν...τ. Φ. **Ca Af** τ. Φ. παντᾰχόθεν **T Bc**
            ἀποδ. παντᾰχόθεν τ. Φ. **Wd Vb**

139.1 Ζητοῦσι εἰ **Wd** Ζητοῦσι γὰρ **T** Ζητοῦσί τινες **Ca** Ζητοῦσι δέ
        τινες ὅτι **Bc**, Σ om. **Af Vb**

141.23 οὕτω μὲν οὗτος **T Bc** οὗτος μὲν οὕτω **F B Wd** οὖν μὲν οὕτω
        Ca Af

142.2 πολλῇ **F B T Bc Vb** πολὺ **Ca Wd Af**

Af Vb date at least to the beginning of the fourteenth century,[20] and they are therefore, after **T Bc**, the oldest witnesses to the text of the archetype. This fact, as well as the correct readings found in **Af** or **Vb** or both, justify collation of these MSS.

* * * * *

Contrary to the closed tradition established for *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Demosthenis in Timocratem* (*Or.* 24),[21] MSS. of *Scholia Ulpiani* on the *Olynthiacs* and first *Philippic* contain readings and scholia from independent recensions. Thus of the eleven MSS. containing *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Or.* 24, none contains a text contaminated from independent recensions, but an average of 50.6 per cent of the MSS. containing *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Orr.* 1, 3 and 4 show signs of contamination.[22] This is all the more remarkable since in both *Orr.* 24 and 1, 3 and 4 *Scholia Ulpiani* are often cognate with independent recensions (*e.g.* **A Y F B**). Clearly the MSS. considered here reflect a stage in the text tradition of Demosthenic scholia in which interest in comparing *Vorlagen* for scholia on orations at the beginning of the corpus was greater than for subsequent orations. This is borne out by the fact

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[20] On **Vb**, see J. Irigoin, "Les filigranes de Fabriani...," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 46, 47.
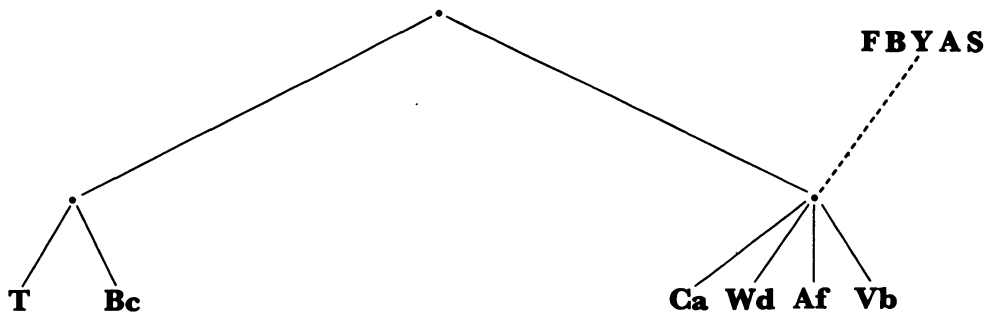
[21] See Dilts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 35–50.

[22] For *Or.* 1, 48 % (15 of 31 MSS.) are part of the contaminated tradition; for *Or.* 3, 50 % (12 of 24 MSS.); for *Or.* 4, 54 % (13 of 24 MSS.).

that contaminated MSS. contain *Scholia Ulpiani* only for the beginning of the corpus, and other orations (13, 14, 16, 17, 24) lack scholia or contain scholia from other MSS., most notably **Y**.

The *terminus ante quem* for such philological activity is the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, since **Af** is dated *saec.* 13/14, **Vb** has been dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the lost exemplars of **Ca** and **Wd** (both *saec.* 14) were doubtless as old. In other words, these MSS. date from a period coeval with or slightly later than **T Bc**.

Fifteen of the seventeen MSS. discussed in this article have been shown to derive from two hyparchetypes, which can be cited adequately from **Ca** and **Wd**. **Af Vb** together with **Ca Wd** represent a branch of the MS. tradition which is independent of **T Bc**, as can be seen from the following simplified stemma for *Scholia Ulpiani* on *Orations* 1–4:

Prior to Dindorf, editions of *Scholia Ulpiani* were based primarily on the Aldine edition of 1503 with accretions of readings from MSS. in Paris collected by Morelli (1570). Frequently the Aldine edition departs from the paradosis, and one of Dindorf's contributions was to eliminate some of these aberrations; but many remain in his text, regrettably without any account of the paradosis. Moreover Dindorf used an imperfect collation of only one primary MS. (**T**).[23] A new edition is clearly in order, and for *Scholia Ulpiani* on the first four orations of Demosthenes it should be based on **Bc Ca Wd Af Vb** as well as **T**. Making use of these six primary MSS. will result in a text

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[23] He also used two apographs *Paris.gr.* 2944 (**D**) and *Paris.gr.* 2946 (**C**). Dindorf (viii) did recognize that **D** is a copy of **T**, but he reports to excess readings from **C**, which preserves an interpolated version of *Scholia Ulpiani*; see Dilts, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.4) 42–45.

which conforms to modern critical standards and contains a full account of *Scholia Ulpiani* not found in **T**[24] and variant readings.[25]

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[24] These include several scholia in **Bc**, which have not been edited as well as those edited by Morelli (see *supra* nn.5 and 17).

[25] A grant from the American Philosophical Society has facilitated purchase of microfilm copies of Demosthenic MSS., and travel grants from the American Council of Learned Societies (1973 and 1977) and the Arts and Science Research Fund of New York University (1975) have made possible inspection of MSS.