The So-called D-Manuscripts of Apollonius

Graham Speake and Francis Vian

In his dissertation on the manuscript transmission of Apollonius Rhodius, Hermann Fränkel posited the existence of a group of MSS. headed by *Paris.gr.* 2729 (=**D**) and descended from *Brussels* 83 (=**B**).[1] He admits, however, that his conclusions were based on a minimum of collation and that his views about the origin of the *k* family (of which **B** is a member) were, to say the least, hazy. This article presents the conclusions of an inquiry which we have conducted in collaboration on the eight MSS. (**FNMRQCDB**) which Fränkel assigned to the **D** group.[2] If these MSS. truly constitute an integral branch of the *k* family we should expect them to share a good number of significant errors against the rest of the transmission. Collation of the whole text, however, reveals that these suggested descendants of **B** in fact constitute two quite distinct groups which have only slight affinities with each other. It therefore seems necessary to revise Fränkel's conclusions in certain respects.

Before proceeding with the inquiry we list below the MSS. to be treated, together with (where available) details of date, copyist and provenance. This list is followed by a reproduction of the stemma of the *k* family (otherwise known as the Cretan recension) as established by Vian.[3]

The *m* family:

L Florence, *Laur.* 32.9, *ca.* 960–80

[1] "Die Handschriften der *Argonautika* des Apollonios von Rhodos," *GöttNachr* 1929, pp.164–90.

[2] Speake has collated these MSS. in full and studied them in a dissertation entitled "The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Apollonius Rhodius," submitted in 1972 for the degree of D.Phil. in the University of Oxford. Vian has provided collations of the principal MSS. of Apollonius, thus enabling us to determine the place of the so-called **D** group in the *k* family.

[3] *Cf.* Vian, "La Recension 'crétoise' des *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 2 (1972) 191. This article contains full details of the MSS. of the *k* family. For a description of the so-called **D**-MSS. the reader is referred to pp. 1–9 of Speake's thesis.

A Milan, *Ambros.* 120 (B 26 sup.), *ca.* 1420, George Chrysococcas, Constantinople

The *w* family:

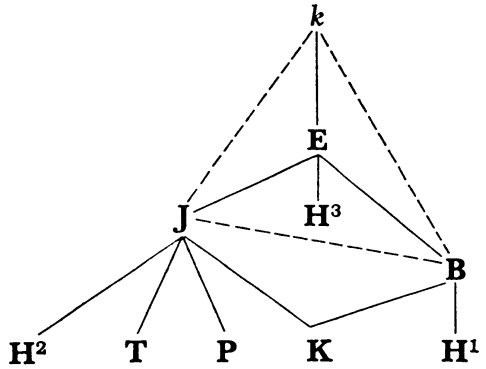
S Florence, *Laur.* 32.16, 1280, for Maximus Planudes
G Wolfenbüttel, 10.2 *Aug.* 4°, XIV century, by one Peter

The *k* family:

E Escorial, *Σ*.iii.3, *ca.* 1480–85, Antonius Damilas, Crete
B Brussels, 83 (18170–73), March 1489, Aristobulus Apostolides, Crete
H Paris, *gr.* 2728, *ca.* 1487, George Gregoropoulos, Crete
J Modena, *Estensis* α.P.5.2, *ca.* 1485–87, Alexander Chomatas, Crete
T Toledo, 102–34, late XV century
P Paris, *gr.* 2727, *ca.* 1487–89, Crete
K Sinai, *gr.* 1194, December 1491, Aristobulus Apostolides, Crete

The so-called **D**-manuscripts:

F Florence, *Laur.* 91.8 (to 3.117), *ca.* 1485–90
N Milan, *Ambros.* 477 (L 37 sup.), early XVI century, Michael Souliardos
D Paris, *gr.* 2729, 1490–1510, Demetrius Moschus
M Milan, *Ambros.* 426 (H.22 sup.) (Books 1 and 2), early XVI century
R Vatican, *gr.* 1358, *ca.* 1505, Demetrius Moschus
Q Vatican, *gr.* 37, *ca.* 1491–1514, Demetrius Moschus
C Rome, *Casan.* 408 (G.III.5), 1490–1510, Demetrius Moschus



H^1 = 1.1 – 2.1020 = quaternions 1–5
H^2 = 2.1021 – 3.198 (?) = quaternion 6 (partly)
H^3 = 3.199 – end

1. Characteristic Readings of Groups (M)RQCD and FN

(a) (M)RQCD (henceforth this group will be designated *d*)

We offer below a selection of readings common to these five MSS. (not forgetting that **M** carries only Books 1 and 2; we have identified the other four MSS. (**RQCD**) with the hand of Demetrius Moschus whom, for the sake of convenience, we shall consider as the scribe of the *d* group). The readings of the other MSS. are enclosed within parentheses.

1.39 *ἰέντες (ἰόντες)*, 159 *ὅττι περ (ὅτ(τ)ι κεν)*, 283 *πάντα om.*, 388 *βαρυ (στιβαρῇ)*, 703 *ὦρσο (ὄρσο)*; 2.271 *φορέ(ρ)οντο (φέροντο)*, 398 *ὡς (ἕως)*, 498 *ἐτήσιαι (ἐτήσιοι)*, 640 *προσέειπεν (μετέειπεν)*; 3.84 *οὔτε (οὐδέ)*, 86 *αἰήταο (αἰήτεω)*, 203 *δὴ (νῦν)*, 332 *οὐκ (οὔ c')*, 458 *ἀγόρευεν (ἀγόρευσεν)*, 580 *ῥ' om.*, 797 *ἄλγος (αἶσχος)*, 1035 *μειλίσσαιο (-σσοιο)*, 1086 *εὐρρειτός (εὐρ(ρ)ηνός, εὐρρυτός)*, 1131 *τῆς (τῇ)*, 1201 *ἔκτοθι (ἔκτοθεν)*; 4.127 *τείνατο (-νετο)*, 256 *ἀγόρευεν (ἀγόρευσεν)*, 327 *ἄλαδε προμολόντες (ἄλαδ' ἐκπρομολόντες)*, 402 *ἄλλο (ἄλγος)*, 417 *ἐπερχομένους (ἀπ-)*, 770 *οὐλύμπου ὦρτο θέουσα (θόρουσα* **D***) (οὐλύμποιο θοροῦσα)*, 823 *σῆμα (δεῖμα)*, 873 *ἀνεπάλμενος (ἀναπ-, ἀνεσπ-* **G***)*, 965 *λιμένα (λειμῶνα)*, 975 *παρ' ὕδασι ποταμοῦ (ποταμοῖο παρ' ὕδασιν)*, 1019 *μαχλοσύνης (μαργοσύνης)*, 1022 *ἔπειθεν (ἔπεισεν)*, 1198 *οἷον (οἷαι)*, 1201 *ἐνὶ (ἀνὰ)*, 1217 *τέτυκται (δέχονται)*, 1296 *ἔπι om.*, 1320 *ἐπίγην (ἐφ' ὑγρήν)*, 1330 *ἀνέσταθεν (ἵν' ἔσταθεν)*, 1361 *πη (τις)*, 1368 *πόδας om.*, 1531 *ἔρρεεν ἄχνη (ἔρρεε λάχνη)*, 1585 *κομίσσαι (μογῆσαι)*, 1613 *ὑπεκ (ὑπαὶ)*, 1620 *δώματα (σήματα)*, 1674 *λυγρὸς (μοῦνον)*, 1698 *βαράθρων (βερέθρων)*, 1759 *δὴ om.*

(b) FN

Now follows the evidence for the second group, **FN**. **F** stops at 3.117, so evidence for the existence of the group also ends there.

1.66 *λατοίδης (λητοίδης)*, 257 *ὠδήν (αὐδήν)*, 466 *ἴστων αὖ (ἵστω νῦν)*, 522 *ὀρίθυνεν (ὀρόθυνεν)*, 941 *ἄρκτων (ἄρκτον)*, 1069 *οὔνυμα (οὔνομα)*, 1116 *ἀδραστείης (ἀδρηστείης)*, 1313 *γ' ἐπορέξατο (σπορ-, ἐπορ-, μέγ' ἐπορ-)*; 2.751 *ἀνέμοισι (ἀνέμοιο)*, 778 *κομίζον (-ζων)*, 886 *ποῦ (πῇ, ποῖ)*, 1189 *ἔδασσεν (ἐκέδασσεν)*.

2. Relations between the Groups *d* and FN

There are instances of readings common to both groups or, more precisely, to certain MSS. of these two groups. The most important are those readings attested in MSS. of the first and second families. The most remarkable cases are listed below.

1.105 *εὐφαέα* **N**, **MRCD**, **G**: *σιφναζέα* $\mathbf{S}^{ac}$,[4] *σιφαέα cett.*

[4] Reading attested by Madrid *gr.* 4691, apograph of **S**. The reviser of **S**, erasing the faulty text, made a hole in the paper on the site of the ε; he then changed the ζ to an ε.

384 *βρίcαντε μιῆ* **F, MRQD, L**: *βρίcαντεc μιῆ(ι) cett.*
692 *κακότητα* **FN, D, B**^{sl}**, LA**: *-τι* **S** *k*
871 *ἑλὼν* **FN, D, B**^{3mg}**, LASG**: *om. k, ἑκὼν* **JPTKB**^{2mg}
893 *τοι* **FN, D, B**^{pc}**, L**$^{vl\ 5}$: *ἑοῖ* **LAS**, *ἑοῖο* **G**, *τι k*
2.1170 *ἱερευcάμενοι* **F, MRQ, LASG**: *-cόμ- k*
4.689 *μίμνεν* **N, C, LASG**: *-νον k*
1365 *ἔκθορεν* **N, D, LA**: *ἄνθ- w, ἔνθ- k*

Clearly these agreements, which are not otherwise numerous, do not signify the existence of affinities between **FN** and *d*; they prove only that all these MSS. were subject to contamination, as we shall demonstrate later.

At the same time there exist a small number of readings which remain confined to the two groups under examination:

2.77 *ἦ τε κράτος* **N, MRQC, BH**: *ἦ κάρτος cett.*
81 *ἐπ' ἄλλα δέ τ' ἄλλος* **FN, CD, B**^{ac} **H**: *ἐπ 'ἄλλῳ δ' ἄλλος* **LASG**, *ἐπ' ἄλλα δε ἄλλος k, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ δέ τ' ἄλλος* **B**^{ir}
721 *λ(ε)ίπον νῆcον* **F**^{ac}**, D**: *νῆcον λίπον cett.*
1155 *κτίcωρος* **FN, D**: *κυτίcωρος* **L A S** (**G**) *et* **E**^{ar}, *κύτωρος* **E**^{pc}**, BHJPTK, MRQC**
4.436 *παρὰ* **N, C**: *ποτὶ* **K**, *περὶ cett., μετὰ pap.*
1147 *γλυκερὸc πόθοc* **N, RCD, P**: *γλυκερὸν πόθον* **LASG**, *γλυκεροῖc γλυκερὸc πόθοc k*

These six agreements are not analogous and may be explained in different ways. Two of them (2.77, 81) indicate that **FN** and (**M**)**RQC** knew **B** or were copied from it. The agreements noted at 2.721 and 4.1147 are probably fortuitous, particularly in the second instance where the elimination of *k*'s unmetrical and absurd *γλυκεροῖc* makes the first reading inevitable. Only the shared conjectures listed at 2.1155 and 4.436 are worth considering, but they alone do not allow us to posit a group **FN MRQCD**. They indicate only that there was—or that there could have been—contamination between **FN** and **D** in one case,[6] and between **N** and **C** in the other.

It is therefore practical to treat the two groups **FN** and *d* separately.

3. The Group FN

These two MSS. are notable above all for the introduction into the

[5] The scribe of **L** first wrote the two variants *ἑοῖ τοι* in the text; then the reviser struck out *τοι* and wrote it in above the line as a variant between two points (*·τοι·*).

[6] The form *κτίcωρος* is found in one MS. of Hdt. 7.197.

text of *k* of a considerable number of *variae lectiones* borrowed from **L**:[7]

1.494 ἀνὰ **FN,LA**: ἂν *cett.*
548 μένος **FN,LA**: γένος *cett.*
575 κατ' **FN,LAS** (**G** *deest*): μετ' *k*
688 περιτελλομένου $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$**A**: κατατελ- **S**, πρόκα τελ- **N,L** *k*
1117 ὕλην **FN,LA**: ὕλῃ *cett.*
1144 ξυλόχας **FN,L**, ξυλλόχας *k*: ξυλόχους **ASG**
2.77 ἀάατοϝ **F,L**: ἀάατον **D**, ἄατος **SG** *k*, ἄατον **A**
358 ἐνετήιος $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{S}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{G}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{B}^{\gamma\rho}$: μενεδήιος *cett.*
374 τε **FN,LASG**: δὲ *k*
379 τῇ (τῇ) **FN,LAS**: τοῖ **G**, τοῖς *k*
392 νήϊ̈ω **FN,L**: νήϊ̈ου $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{N}^{sl}$, *cett.*
404 ἄρεως **FN,LAG**: ἄρεος *cett.*
632 ἠγερέεσθε **FN,L**^{sl}**A**: -έεσθαι **L**, -έθεσθε *cett.*
730 δερκομένη **FN,LASG**: κεκλιμένη $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}\mathbf{N}^{vl}$,$\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ *k*
763 μυθεῖτ' **FN,LA**: μυθεῖθ' *cett.*
766 τ' **FN,LA**: θ' *k***MRQCD**, δ' **SG**
804 διαμπερὲς $\mathbf{F}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{N}^{vl}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$: διὲξ ἁλὸς *cett.*
934 φόρεται **FN,L**: φέρεται *cett.*
1030 παρανισσόμενοι **F N, L (A)**: παραμειβόμενοι $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$ $\mathbf{N}^{vl}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ $\mathbf{K}^{vl}$ **S G** *k*
1032 λιαρὴ **FN, LSG**: διερὴ $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$ $\mathbf{N}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **A** *k*
1039 ἐρυβώτης **FN, LSG**: ἐριβώτης *k*, εὐρυβάτης **A**
1156 ἔργον $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$ **N, L**: ἄργον *cett.*
1219 μύθῳ **F, L, E**^{2vl}: θυμῷ $\mathbf{F}^{\gamma\rho}$ **N, MRQCD**, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **ASG** *k*
4.657 τρύχεα $\mathbf{N}^{sl}$ $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **S**(?) : τεύχεα **LAG** *k*
709 ἱκεσίῃσι $\mathbf{N}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **SG**: ἱκεσιάων **LA** *k*
810 θυμηδέα $\mathbf{N}^{sl}$ $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **SG**: νημερτέα **LA** *k*
1065 μνωομένης $\mathbf{N}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **S**, -μένη **G**: μυρομένης **LA** *k*
1115 ἐφημοσύνῃσιν $\mathbf{N}^{\gamma\rho}$, $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$ **SG**: ἐπιφροσύνῃσιν **LA** *k*

The only two agreements that we have noted with **SG** bear only on orthography and are therefore of no value: 2.705 παρνησοῖο **FN, SG** and 733 πεφύασσιν **FN, G**.

It would be interesting to establish the point at which the group should be attached to the stemma of the third family. We have already remarked that at two points (2.77 and 81) the scribes seem to have known **B**. But three other readings suggest that **FN** may belong to the group **JPT**(**K**):

[7] It is certain that **FN** used **L** itself: **V**, apograph of **L**, is unaware of a good number of the *variae lectiones* mentioned below, *e.g.* 2.358, 804, 1219, 4.657, 709, 810, 1065, 1115. **FN** were presumably therefore copied in Florence, since **L** was there from 1424.

2.625 ἔμελλε(ν) **F N, J P T**^{ac}: -λλον **L A S G, E B H K, J**^{mg} **T**^{pc}
908 ἀγρίας **F N, E, J P T K**: ἀγίας **L A S G, B**^{γρ} **P**^{γρ}**, D,** ἀγρίους **B H, M R Q C**
997 ναιετάεσκον **F N, J P T K**: -άασκον **L A S G, B H, M R Q C D**

It seems impossible to decide. It is more important to note that some other contemporary MSS., of which only two have been partially collated, are related to **FN** to a greater or lesser degree. The most significant cases are those of *Paris.gr.* 2846 and *Estensis gr.* 140 (α.T.8.13, formerly II E 7).

Paris.gr. 2846 agrees with **FN** at 1.66, 257, 522, 941,[8] 1116, 1313; 2.81, 705, 733, 886, 908, 997, 1155, 1189; 4.1147, but it does not report readings of the group at 1.105 (**N**), 466, 1069; 2.77 (**N**), 751, 778; 4.436 (**N**). Furthermore along with **FN** it carries the following readings that issue from **L** (**A**): 1.384 (**F**), 494, 548, 575, 688 (**F**^{γρ}), 692, 871, 893, 1117, 1144; 2.77 (**F**^{sl}), 358 (**F**^{γρ}), 374, 379, 392, 404, 632, 730, 763, 766, 804, 1030, 1032, 1039, 1156 (**F**^{γρ}), 1170 (**F**), 1219 (**F**^{γρ}); 4.657 (**N**^{sl}), 689 (**N**), 709 (**N**^{γρ}), 810 (**N**^{sl}), 1065 (**N**^{γρ}), 1115 (**N**^{γρ}), 1365 (**N**).[9] It does not, on the other hand, carry those readings reported for 2.934 and 1032.

Estensis gr. 140, for which we have had to content ourselves with some soundings, appears to be very close to *Paris.gr.* 2846: it agrees with **FN** for 1.66, 466 (contrary to *Paris.gr.* 2846), 941 (ἄρκτῶν, like *Paris.gr.* 2846), 1116; 2.81, 886;[10] like them it gives the readings of **L** at 1.548, 871, 1144; 2.1030, 1032 (λιαρὴ only by *Paris.gr.* 2846), 1156. At 2.77 it offers two variants which are attested the one by **F** (and *Paris.gr.* 2846), ἦ κάρτος ἀάατος, and the other by **N** (written between the lines and prefixed by γρ), ἦ τε κράτος ἀάτος.

These two MSS. certainly belong to the same group as **FN** and no doubt more systematic collations would allow us to be more precise concerning their reciprocal relations.

The case of *Marcianus gr.* 1161 (= *Class.* IX 22) is different. This MS. is the work of an intelligent scribe who collated a great deal: he certainly used **K** (*post correctionem*) for his work, and probably also MSS. of the first family and of the group *d* (**MRQCD**). We have twice

[8] The conjecture of **FN** appears between the lines (ἄρκτῶν) and seems to be in the first hand.

[9] Like **F** and/or **N**, the MS. reproduces both variants at 1.688; 2.77, 358, 392, 730, 804, 1030, 1156, 1219; 4.657, 709, 810, 1065, 1115. The interlinear and marginal notes are always in the first hand.

[10] πού appears to have been inserted in a blank space by a second hand, but there is no erasure.

noted agreement with an error in **FN** (1.66 and 466); but it disagrees with them at 1.522, 548, 871, 941, 1116, 1144; 2.77,[11] 81; at 2.1030 and 1032 it does not report the readings *παρανιccόμενοι* and *λιαρή*. So we may assume that the copyist knew a MS. of the group **FN**, but that he only rarely borrowed from it.

4. The Group **MRQCD** = *d*

(a) The Relevance of **B**

Now the time has come to examine the evidence for a possible connection between *d* and **B**. We list below the most significant coincident readings:

1.447 *-βάντι om.* $\mathbf{B}^{ac}\mathbf{C}$ (*ἐπι*$_{\wedge}$*λίπηται*$_{\wedge}$*βάντι* **B**, *ἐνὶ λ.* **C**, *ἐνὶ τοῖο λ.* **MRQ** (*recte* $\mathbf{M}^{\gamma\rho}$), *ἐπιβάντι λ. cett.*). This provides us with conclusive evidence for a link between **B** and *d*. When **C** was copied, either the scribe failed to read correctly **B**'s carets or the addition had not yet been made in the exemplar.

594 This verse is omitted in $\mathbf{B}^{ac}\mathbf{K}^{ac}\mathbf{R}$ and is a glaring case of homoeoteleuton. But "when two or more manuscripts agree in an omission which can be thus [palaeographically] explained, it does not necessarily follow that the omission is derived from any common source of these manuscripts; the palaeographical cause is universally operative, and manuscripts not akin to one another may be independently affected by it."[12]

871 *δώcειε* **BC**, *δώηcιν* **MRQ**, *δώcει cett.* This agreement seems to be in no other MSS. and provides further, but much less convincing, evidence for some connection between **B** and **C**.

2.77 *ἥ τε κράτος* **BHMRQCN**, *ἥ κάρτος cett.*

397 *ἔχονται om.* **BH**, *ἔαcιν* **MRQC**. A most significant agreement. *ἔαcιν* is in 393 but not in the same *sedes*. Almost certainly **MRQC** are attempting to make up for the deficiency they have found in **B** or **H**.

723 *καὶ ἀνδρῶν* **BHR**, *ἀνδρῶν cett.* This time the presence of *καὶ ἀν-* immediately below in line 723 forbids any conclusion beyond the simple palaeographical one.

739 *μεcημβριόεντος* **BRQC**, *-ινόεντος* **D**, *-ιόωντος cett.* This agreement, although not especially significant in itself, adds some support to the possibility of a connection between **B** and *d*. But it is not de-

[11] The *Marcianus* has *ἥ κάρτος ἀάτατος* (*sic*).

[12] A. E. Housman, Preface to *Lucan* (Oxford 1926) p. xx.

cisive, for the same reading is attested in *Vrat.Rehdig.* 35 and *Laur.gr.* 32.45.

908 ἀγρίουc **BHMRQC**, ἀγρίαc **EFN**, ἁγίαc **LASG**. This could indicate a link, though attraction to the ending of ἀμειδήτουc is simple enough.

1222 οἰόμεθ' **BMRC**, ὀίομ' *k*, **FNQ**, οἴομαι **D**, οἴω **LASG**.

4.633 δ' αὖ καὶ **BRQ**, δ' αὖ ἐπὶ **EH**, δ' ἐπὶ *cett.*

673 οὐδ' *om.* **BRQ**. Independent haplography (the line starts with οὐδὲ) is a possibility, but the same MSS. are involved as at 633 above, and the suggested conclusion is likelier than not.

Evidence of a connection between **B** and *d* is thin on the ground, but the quality rather than the quantity of the three or four really significant agreements cited above (especially 1.447 and 2.397) is sufficient to suggest that **B** was one of the MSS. of the third family (but not necessarily the only one) available to the scribes of *d*.

(b) The Relevance of Other MSS. of the Third Family

We must now examine the possibility of another MS. of the third family being available to the scribes of *d*. We list below a number of readings which *d* shares with MSS. of the third group (and not with *m* or *w*) against **B**:

1.1356 ῥα *om.* **D, EK**
2.142 δηριάαcκον **D, K**: δηιάαcκον *cett.*
195 ἐπήιεν **MRQC**, $\mathbf{E}^{mg}\mathbf{J}^{pc}$**PK** (**T** *deest*), ἐπήιπεν **E** ($\mathbf{B}^{ac}$?) **HD**, ἐποίηcεν **N**, ἐπήιcεν **LASG**, $\mathbf{B}^{ir}$
996 ὁμηγυρέεc **CD, JTFN**: ὁμηγερέεc *cett.*
1198 τ' **RQD, K**: δ' *cett.*
1255 πέλεν **MRQCD, PK**: πέλλεν **EBHJTFN**, πάλλεν *cett.*
3.179 παραίτερον **RD, EHJK** παροίτερον *cett.*
223 ἀναβλύζεcκε(ν) **RQ, K**: -ύεcκε *cett.*
356 ἕνεκ' **RQCD, HK**: οὕνεκ' *cett.*
556 ἔνθορεν **RCD, K**: ἄν- *cett.*
799 ἐν (νυκτὶ) *om.* **D, JPTK**
4.787 δειναὶ *om.* **QD, K**: *in v. fine* **A**
1147 γλυκερὸc **RCD, PN**: γλυκὺc **Q**, γλυκεροῖc γλυκερὸc **EHBJTK**, γλυκερὸν **LASG**
1427 ἑcπερίη **RQCD, K**: ἑcπέρη *cett.*

Of these shared readings it is hard to ignore 1.1356, 3.223, 356, 556, 799, 4.787, 1427. One MS. is conspicuous by its appearance at every one of these significant agreements, namely **K**. It therefore seems likely that

K as well as **B** was available to Demetrius Moschus, the scribe of the *d* group.

It is no doubt a fact of some relevance that **B** and **K** are in the same hand, namely that of Aristobulus Apostolides, and were both copied and signed by him in Crete in March 1489 and December 1491 respectively.[13] It is not difficult to imagine a correspondence between Aristobulus and Demetrius Moschus, the latter asking for a good copy of Apollonius to use as his own model, the former sending both the copies that he had recently made since a collation of the two would provide a better text than one. Alternatively the two Cretan MSS. may have been sold together or been copied for the same man and found their way to the same Italian library to be utilized by Demetrius Moschus.[14]

(c) Contamination with Other Families

We may now turn to *d*'s contaminations and its relationship with the other two MS. families. We first list the agreements of *d* with **L**, **A**, and **LA**.

L

1.281 ταρχύcαο $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$**MRD**: τάρχυcαc $\mathbf{L}^{pc}$**AS**(**G**), ταρχύcαιc *vel* -cῃc *cett.*
384 βρίcαντε **LMRQD**, **F**: βρίcαντεc *cett.*
406 ἐπιπροέηκε$\overset{\alpha}{\breve{\varepsilon}}\overset{\alpha\nu}{\breve{\varepsilon}}$**L**, -κε$\overset{\alpha\nu}{\breve{\varepsilon}}$**D**, -κεν **E**, -καν **ASG**
2.77 ἀάατον $\mathbf{L}^{sl}$**D**$\mathbf{F}^{sl}$: ἀάατοc **LF**, ἄατον **A**, ἄατοc *cett.*
786 δουρὶ $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$**Q**: πατρὶ *cett.*
962 μετεειπειτα $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$, μετέειπε **D**: μετέπειτα *cett.*
1198 μεμαότεc $\mathbf{L}^{sl}$**R**: -τac *cett.*
3.1198 πᾶcιν **LCN**: πᾶcι *cett.*
1310 ἐριπόντα $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$**D**: ἐπιόντα $\mathbf{L}^{pc}$ *cett.*[15]
4.576 διάζοντο $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$, δίζ- **D**: δοιάζ- *cett.*
650 -έβηcαν **CD**: -έβ[..]αν $\mathbf{L}^{ir}$, -έβαν *cett.*
1235 ὅτ' **L**, ὅθ' **RDN**: ἵν' $\mathbf{L}^{vl}$**ASG**, ἔνθ' *k*

[13] On Aristobulus see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1962) ch.6 and bibl. thereto. Unfortunately there is no evidence other than textual for a connection between Aristobulus and Moschus.

[14] For notes on the Moschus family see E. Lobel, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics* (Oxford 1933) 51–53, L. G. Gyraldi, *Dialogi duo de poetis* (Florence 1551) 60, E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* 1 (Paris 1885) lxxxviii–xciii. The only MS. which Demetrius signed was a New Testament (*Vat.gr.* 2139) for Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola in 1499. He was himself the author of a short epic poem, *De Raptu Helenae*, which owes much to Homer and Apollonius. He worked mostly in Ferrara.

[15] Actual examination of **L** leaves no doubt as to the original reading. The reviser removed the stroke of the ρ and changed the remaining ο to a π; he also erased the π before ό, but vestiges of the cancelled letter are still visible.

1308 ἐλέηραν **LD**: -έειραν **A**, -έαιρον **SG**, -αίηραν *k*
1711 τόφρα φαάνθη $\mathbf{L}^{ac}\mathbf{D}$: τόφρ' ἐφ- *cett.*

A

1.312 πολιούχου **AMRQCD**: πολιηούχου **E**, πολιηόχου *cett.*
588 κῆαν **AD**: καῖον **MRQ**, κεῖαν *cett.*
4.175 ἀγρῶται **AD**, Et^{GM}: ἀγρόσται **RC**, ἀγρῶσται *cett.* ἀγρωσταὶ Et^{M}
787 δειναὶ *om.* **KQD**, *in v. fine* **A**
1369 ὁμηγυρέεσσι **AD**: -γερ- *cett.*
1697 μέγα χάος **AKD** (*et* $\mathbf{S}^{ac}$ *ut vid.*): μελάγγροος **RQC**, μέλαν χάος *cett.*

LA

1.62 ἀγκλῖναι $\mathbf{L}^{pc}$**ARQCDFN**: ἀγκλεῖναι $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$, ἐγ- *cett.*
464 ἐνὶ **LAMRC**: ἐν *cett.*
692 κακότητα **LADB**^{sl}**FN**: -τι *cett.*
1290 ἕκηλος $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$**AD**: εὔκ- *cett.*
2.827 δὲ τυπέντες **LAC**: -τος *cett.*
3.109 ἐρίδηνε **LARQC**: -δηνον *k* **DFN**, -δαινε **SG**
4.152 κυλινδόμενος **LAR**: -μενον *cett.*
405 ἀντιόωντες . . . φέροντες **LARQC**: ἀντιόωσι **SG**, εἰσαίοντες **D**, φέροιεν *k***N**
499 ὀτρυνέειν $\mathbf{L}^{pc}$**AD**^{sl}: -έει *cett.*
1365 ἔκθορεν **LADN**: ἔν- *k* **RQC**, ἄν- **SG**
1538 ἀπετεκμήραντο **LARQ**: ἀποτεκμήραντο **SG**, ἀπετεκμαίροντο *k*
1775 ἀνθρώποισι· δὴ **LARD**: -ποισιν· δὴ *k* **QCN**, -ποις· ἤδη **SG**

Here we must distinguish two types of agreement: (a) agreements which suggest contamination: 1.384, 2.77, 786, etc. (b) agreements between $\mathbf{L}^{ac}$ and **D**: 1.281, 2.962, 3.1310, 4.576, 650, 1711. These latter agreements cannot be explained by **L**'s influence on **D** since the reading of **L** has been corrected and is sometimes no longer legible except to a reader attentive to the erasures. They prove that **D** had access to a MS. which preserved readings (either errors or *variae lectiones*) of great antiquity which have completely disappeared from the MS. tradition. The case of 3.1310 is particularly significant in this respect.[16]

Finally we shall examine the evidence for contamination of *d* by the *w* family. We list below agreements with **S**, **G**, and **SG**.

[16] At 3.379, where **D** is the only MS. to attest what is perhaps the correct reading ἀποπροέηκα, **L** presents a significant erasure before ἐπιπροέηκα; but the expunged reading seems to have begun with ε: **L** probably wrote ἐπιπρὸ twice. At 4.1350 $\mathbf{L}^{1r}$ offers ἀν; **D** writes ἐκ, but the original reading of **L** cannot be deciphered.

S

1.19 καμέειν **SM**$^{\gamma\rho}$: γε καμεῖν **R**, καμεῖν *cett.*
43 βαρύθεσκέν **SMRQCD**: -κέ *cett.*
435 ἀκρίτους **SRQ**: ἐκκρίτους **D**, ἀκρήτους *cett.*
515 ἀοιδὴν **SM**: -δῆς *cett.*
749 ἀμυνόμενοι **SMRQCD**: ἀμειβ- *cett.*
829 οὐδέ ς' ὀίω **SMRD**: οὐδέ τι (οὐδ' ἔτι) ς' ὀίω *cett.*
1097 πεπότητο **SD**: -ται *cett.*
1224 κεῖν' **S**^{1}**D**: κεῖς' **S**^{sl} *cett.*
2.139 οἶναι **S**, οἴναι **MRQCD**: οἶαι *cett.*
218 λύσασθε **SC**, λύσατε **MRQD**: ῥύσασθε *cett.*
243 χερὶ **SMRQCD**: χειρὶ *cett.*
391 ἐνέποντα **SMRQCD**: ἐξεν- *cett.*
504 χθονίαις **SMRQCD**: -ίης *vel* -ίηις *cett.*
886 ποῖ **SRQCD**: ποῦ **FN**, πῆ *cett.*
οἴγε **SMRD**, **K**: οἴδε *cett.*
1015 ἱερὸν **SMD**: ἱερὸν δ' *cett.*
1135 ὀισάμενος **SMQ**: ὀιςσά- *cett.*
1180 οἵ τε **SM**: οὐδὲ *cett.*
3.81 χέρες **SRQCD**: χεῖρες *cett.*
104 δὴ *om.* **S**^{ac}**RQ**
156 χρυσέην **S**(?)**D**[17]: -έῃ *cett.*
445 παραὶ **SRQD**: παρὰ *cett.*
500 τούσδε **SRQCD**: τούσγε *cett.*
724 ἔνδοθεν **S**^{ac}**QD**, ἔνδοσθεν **C**, ἔνδον **R**: ἔντοσθεν *cett.*
752 αἰσονίδαο **S**^{pc}**RQCN**: αἰσονίδεω *cett.*
1111 αἶσα **S**^{ac}**RC**: ὅσσα *cett.*
1136 λιποῦσά γε **SRQC**^{sl}: λιποῦσα *cett.*
1163 ἐξαῦτις ἑτά(ι)ροις(ιν) **S**^{ac}**CD**: ἑτάροις ἐξαῦτις *cett.*
1219 ποταμηίδες **SRQCD**: -ητίδες *cett.*
1227 σφωιτέραις **SRQD**: -ρη(ι)ς *cett.*
1320 αὖθις **SRQCD**: αὖτις *cett.*
4.44 ὑπ' **SD**: ἐπ' *cett.*
244 ἐνὶ **SRQCD**: ἐν *cett.*
245 ἀκτῇσι **SD**: ἀκτῖσι **C**, ἀκταῖσι *cett.*
320 οὔτε **SRQC** (*deest in* **D**): οὐδὲ *cett.*
474 ἀργυφέην **SC**, *pap.*: -υρέην *cett.*
691 κέλευσεν **S**^{pc}**RQD**: -ευεν *cett.*
723 ἰδρύνθησαν **SRQ**: ἱδρύθησαν *cett.*
1642 ἠιθεοῖσι **SRQCD**: ἡμι- *cett.*
1777 αὖθις **SRQCD**: αὖτις *cett.*

[17] The last letter is hard to decipher in **S**: it is more like an elongated ν than an ι (**S** does not normally use the ι adscript).

G

1.105 εὐφαέα **GMRCDN**: *cιφαέα cett. (cιφυαζέα* **S**^{ac}*)*
882 ἀμέλγουcι(ν) **GMRQCD**: *ἀμέργ- cett.*
1153 ἔνθ' **GMRQCD**: *ἔνθεν* **LAS** *(sic) k*
1188 διὸc νἱὸc **SD**: *νἱὸc διόc cett.*
2.38 ᾗ *om.* **GD**[18]
148 πυγμαχίην **GD**: *-ίῃ cett.*
177 βιθυνίδι **GMRQCD**^{pc}, **K**: *θυνίδι* **D**,[19] *βιθυνηίδι cett.*
1019 ἀμφαδίην **GMRQCD**: *-ίῃ cett.*
3.499 χαλκείοιc **GRQCD**: *-έοιc cett.*
637 μέγα *om.* **D**: *cf. τι πῆμα* **G**
687 ἐπικλονέεcκον **GD**: *ἐπεκλ- cett.*
4.18 λευκανίηc **GD**, **E**^{ac}**H**: *λαυκ- cett.*
262 γένοc ἱερὸν **GD**: *ἱερὸν om.* **S** *sed add. i. m., ἱερὸν γένοc cett.*
331–36 *vss. om.* **D**: *337–38 ante 335–36* **G**^{ac}
865 ἐβήcατο **GD**: *ἐδύc- cett.*
1618 νιccομένην **GRQCD**: *νιco- S, νειco- cett.*

SG

1.103 κοινὴν **SG**^{sl}**RCDFN**: *κεινὴν vel κείνην cett.*
204 πόδα **SG**^{pc}**M**^{γρ}: *ποcὶ* **MRD**, *ποccὶ* **Q**, *πόδεcι* **C**, *πόδε k*, *πόδαc* **LAG**^{ac}
350 ἀγόρευcεν **SGRC**: *-ευε(ν) cett.*
371 περιβάλλετο **SGMRQCD**, *pap.*: *-βάλλεται cett.*
917 ἀρρήτουc **SGMRQC**, **T**^{pc}: *ἀρρήκτουc cett.*
2.17 αὖ **SGC**: *ἄν cett.*
393 ἐφύπερθεν **SGMRQCD**: *ἐξύ- cett.*
488 ἀθέριξε **GRQCD**, *-ιζε* **SM**: *-ιcce cett.*
606 περάccῃ **SGRQD**: *-ρήcῃ* **C**, *-ράcῃ cett.*
710 ἐνὶ **SGMRQCD**: *ἐν cett.*
807 *vs. habent* **SGM** *(et* **B**^{2im}*)*
3.26 ὀτρύνομεν **SGRQCD**, **B**^{pc}: *-νωμεν cett.*
163 ἐρεύθεται **SGRQCD**: *ἐρεύγεται cett.*
206 κατειλύcαντεc **SGD**: *-τε cett.*
241 ἄλλον **SGRCD**: *ἄλλῳ cett.*
288 ἐπ' **SGRD**: *ὑπ' cett.*
477 ἐπέκλυεc **SGQC**, **K**^{pc}: *ὑπ- cett.*
481 τόδε **SGRQC**^{pc}: *τόγε cett.*
732 αὐτὴ **SGRQC**: *αὐτὴν cett.*

[18] The first hand of **S** makes the same omission, then corrects and inserts ᾗ in the text.
[19] The first hand of **D** wrote *θυνίδι*, which might suggest that the scribe possessed a MS. with a reading not far from the truth (*θυνηΐδι*).

733 καcιγνήτη **SGRQ**: -την *cett.*
827 κίε **SGRC**, **B**: κίεν *cett.*
973 περιπεπτηυῖαν **SGRQ**: ἐνι- *cett.*
1002 τέκμωρ **SGRQ**: τέκμαρ *cett.*
1208 νήηcε **SGRD**, **B**^{ac}: νήcε **Q**, νήηcεν *cett.*
1355 φρίξεν **S**^{pc}**GDN** (φρύξ- **S**^{ac}): -ξαν *cett.*
4.108 τ' ἐπέεccι **SGRD**: τε ἔπεccι *cett.*
302 μίμνεν **SGRQ**: μεῖνεν *cett.*
421 ἠρτύναντο **SGRQCD**: -νοντο *cett.*
423 ἱερὸν *om.* **SG**, ἱερὸν δόcαν **D**: δόcαν ἱερὸν *cett.*
586 πόρουc **SGRQCD**, **L**$^{pc\ 20}$: πόνουc *cett.*
590 ἔντοcθε **SGQ**: ἔμπροcθε(ν) *cett.*
619 οὔτε **SGCD**: οὐδὲ *cett.*
627 εἰcεπέρηcαν **SGQ**: ἐξεπέρηcαν **RD**, εἰcαπέβηcαν *cett.*
685 πέμπεν **SGQC**: πέμψεν *cett.*
690 ἐcπέcθην **SGCDN**: ἐπ- *cett.*
860 δ' ἐκ **SGCD**: διὲκ *cett.*
979 τὰc μὲν **SGRQCD**: μὲν τὰc *cett.*
1023 τῆcδε **SGRQCD**: τῆcγε *cett.*
1065 μνωομένηc **S**(**G**)**RQCDN**$^{\gamma\rho}$, **L**^{vl}: μυρομένηc *cett.*
1076 οὔ τέ **SGRQCD**: οὐδέ *cett.*
1157 ἀίδηλοc **SGRQCD**: ἀρίδηλοc *cett.*
1212 ἰόντεc **SGD**: ἐόντεc *cett.*
1224 ὑπεύδιοc **SGQ**: ὑπὲκ διὸc *cett.*
1301 κινήcωcιν **SGD**: -ήcουcιν *cett.*
1343 φίλουc **SGRQ**, **L**^{sl}: φίλοιc *cett.*
1653 λιλαιομένοιc **SGQ**: λιαζο- *cett.*
ἀγόρευε **SGRQD**: -ευcε(ν) *cett.*
1723 γέλω **SGRQCD**: γέλωι **L**, γέλων *cett.*

Here we find a wealth of undeniable evidence for contamination. Of particular significance are the agreements at the following points: for **S** at 1.19, 515, 829, 2.139, 218, 391, 1015, 1180, 3.104, 752, 1111, 1136, 1163, 1219, 4.474, 1642; for **G** at 1.105, 882, 1188, 2.38, 4.262, 865; for **SG** at 1.371, 917, 2.393, 807, 3.163, 973, 4.423, 590, 627, 979, 1065, 1224, 1653. So convincing is the connection with both MSS. that we may confidently assume that Demetrius Moschus had access to a MS. high in the *w* family—perhaps *w* itself.

It should be stressed at this stage that our conclusions as to the

[20] *Sic* in spite of Fränkel's apparatus: the original ν has clearly been corrected to a ρ with a paler ink.

stemmatic position of *d* must without the evidence of further collation remain provisional. Not but what we may safely sum up our findings as follows: **FN** and *d* are two distinct subgroups belonging to the third family. **FN** is essentially characterized by certain contaminations with **L**. *d* is descended from **B**; but the scribe may also have utilized the other Aristobulean MS. **K**; the scribe of the *d* group certainly knew a MS. of the second family, perhaps *w* itself; he also borrowed some readings from the first family. The most original witness of *d*, *Paris.gr.* 2729 (**D**), further utilized a MS. related to **A** and, what is most important, preserves some ancient readings which were eliminated in **L** by the revisers and are unknown in MSS. later than **L**.

5. The Internal Relationship of MRQCD

It remains to consider the internal relationships of the MSS. of the *d* group. All five MSS. offer sufficient evidence of their mutual independence to convince us that no one MS. can be the sole source of any other; on the other hand, instances of unique error are markedly more numerous in **D**, and to a lesser extent in **C**, than in **MRQ**. Significant readings occur in almost every conceivable combination of MSS.

Amid the confusion we may discern the existence of yet another subgroup, **MRQ**. We list below some significant agreements. As before, the readings of other MSS. follow in parentheses.[21]

1.125 πολυλήιον (λυγκήιον), 129 ἀποκάτθετο (ἀπεθήκατο), 202 νόθος (παῖς), 361 ὄφρα (εἴ κε), 447 ἐνὶ τοῖο (ἐπιβάντι), 559 περικαλλέα (περιηγέα), 601 ἀνέδραμε (ἀνέτειλε), 625 γέροντι (θόαντι), 1325 ἔβησαν (ἔλειφθεν); 2.12 θέμις (θέσμιον), 115 ἀίξας (ἐλάσσας), 143 ἐλάασκον (ἐτάμοντο), 159 κάρηνα (μέτωπα), 363 κεῖται (κύρει), 577 αἰνότατος χλόος (αἰνότατον δέος), 587 πεπότητο (πεφόρητο), 811 πανημέριοι πονέοντο (-μεροι ἐψιόωντο), 812 εὐμενέοντες (ἐγκονέοντες), 1260 ἐφημοσύνῃσιν (ἀλημοσύνῃσιν).

To illustrate the promiscuity, yet at the same time the over-all coherence, of **MRQCD** we list below instances of **MRQ** agreeing with one or the other of the remaining MSS. of the *d* group against the rest of the transmission. First the agreements of **MRQC**:

1.883 ἀμφὶ *om.*, 1098 ἐκ δὲ (ἐκ γὰρ), 1169 ἄμφοιν (ἄμφω), 1337 θυμῶ (μύθῳ); 2.84 ἄσπετον (-τος), 90 μὲν *om.*, 397 ἔασιν (ἔχονται), 695 εἰσορόωντες (ἐξερέοντες), 749 ἀνάγκη (ἀέλλῃ), 1016 ναιετάασκον (ναιετάουσιν).

[21] **M**, it will be remembered, contains only Books 1 and 2. The evidence of **RQ** as a subgroup in Books 3 and 4 is equally convincing, but for the purposes of the present inquiry we shall limit ourselves to the first two books.

And now the agreements of **MRQD**:

1.228 and 320 ἠερέθοντο (ἠγερέθοντο), 582 ἀκτή (ἄκρη), 617 ὤλεc(c)αν (ἔρραιcαν), 693 τάδε πάγχυ (πάγχυ τάδε), 955 ἑλκύcαντεc (ἐκλύcαντεc); 2.198 ἦκε (ᾔε), 475 τίεcκεν (τίνεcκεν), 569 ἐβρόμεον (ἐβόμβεον), 576 κατέρυκε (κατένεικεν), 627 ἀτρύτουc (ἀτλήτουc), 755 τοῖό γ' (τοῖο), 842 -cι πυθέcθαι (-cιν ἰδέcθαι).

We are faced with a group of five MSS., all apparently having a common parent, all sharing readings with each other in every possible combination, and yet all (to a greater or lesser extent) displaying signs of independence of one another. If these five really are a group, descended from one common ancestor, how can they be both so similar and so different?

In an article entitled "Commerce et copie de manuscrits grecs,"[22] A. Dain published a small collection of letters which gave no indication of date or of the names of either author or addressee. On external evidence he identified the year as 1564, the author as Angelos Vergikios, and the addressee as Henri de Mesmes, "maître des requêtes du roi." "Dans un même centre," writes Dain, "chaque copiste a ses auteurs attitrés, sur lesquels il a un droit d'option quand une copie en est demandée." Vergikios made seven copies of Aelian, but Nicephorus Blemmides was his nephew's territory. The contents of Vergikios' library are unknown to us, but Dain discovered two working copies (or 'brouillons d'atelier' as he called them), one of Aeneas and the other of Aelian.

Dain continues his observations on the methods of Vergikios in a chapter in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat* II (Paris 1949) 329–49, entitled "Une Minute d'atelier." Vergikios copied the *Scorialensis Φ*.III.2 from *Paris.gr.* 2526 and made it his working copy; he never returned to the *Parisinus*. It was the practice of the time for scribes to make Greek MSS. conform to their printed Latin translations. So the first revision of the text of *Paris.gr.* 2526 was made by Vergikios on the current Latin translation and resulted in corrected readings, spellings and punctuation, and especially the filling of lacunae. The second revision consisted in a comparison with a more ancient Greek text, namely *Paris.gr.* 1774. After that yet a third revision was executed. Dain summarizes the scribe's method as follows:

[22] *Humanisme et Renaissance* 4 (1937) 395–410. Our attention was first drawn to this article by Mrs P. E. Easterling.

> Si d'aventure Vergèce reprend à nouveau son brouillon ou sa minute, pour en tirer une nouvelle copie, il se retrouve devant les mêmes problèmes critiques. Le plus souvent, il a oublié la solution adoptée précédemment et il se décide pour un arrangement différent, car notre homme est un peu léger et versatile. C'est ce qui fait que les copies exécutées par Vergèce sur un même modèle sont parfois si dissemblables. (p. 339)
>
> Vergèce revenait périodiquement à son exemplaire personnel et l'améliorait en ajoutant çà et là quelques corrections. (p.346) . . . Le projet primitif: mettre à la disposition des lecteurs un texte grec retouché et adapté exactement à la traduction latine de 1535, trouve son parfait aboutissement dans l'exemplaire aujourd'hui placé dans la réserve de la Bibliothèque nationale en raison du luxe de sa calligraphie, le *Parisinus gr.* 2443. (p.347) . . . Il est des copistes qui reproduisent leur modèle pour en donner comme une photographie et s'accuseraient volontiers d'omettre certaines fautes. Il en est d'autres, au contraire, qui font des éditions critiques ou prétendues telles. (p.349)

With his study of Vergikios, Dain has provided the most probable solution to our problems concerning Demetrius Moschus.[23] Is it not likely that our scribe determined to establish himself as supplier of texts of Apollonius? For this purpose we may imagine him constructing a working copy based on **B** (and perhaps **K**), revising it against *w* and a MS. of the first family, and sprinkling it from time to time (perhaps as he made more copies from it) with his own conjectures. Having made this assumption, we may account for the numerous combinations and permutations of MSS. sharing readings according to whether he remembered or bothered to consider the marginal variants in his mastercopy. Now there are no obstacles to our theory that Moschus was the maker of a group of MSS. of the *Argonautica* which display at the same time both remarkable differences from and remarkable similarities to each other.

By a curious stroke of chance, this hypothesis may be put to the test. There is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford a MS. of the *Odyssey*, *Canon.gr.* 79, which was identified by Lobel as being in the hand of Demetrius Moschus.[24] T. W. Allen, in his article on the MS. transmis-

[23] *Cf.* F. Vian, *Histoire de la tradition manuscrite de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1959) 26–41, where similar conclusions are reached in relation to Constantine Lascaris' editions of the *Posthomerica*.

[24] *Cf.* the Photographic Catalogue of Greek Renaissance Scribes in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

sion of the *Odyssey*,[25] says of the group *r* that it "consists of the children of Pal. [= Heidelberg, *Pal.* 45] where they depart from their parent, whether in obedience to the alterations made in Pal. in the xvth century . . ., or following some other unknown source. The latter may have been *d*, with which **O P**^{3} [= *Oxoniensis* and *Paris.gr.* 2688] often coincide. . . . The survivals in single MSS. of the xvth century, such as **O** and **P**^{3}, are remarkable." Are we not immediately reminded of the remarkable survivals in *d* of Apollonius? Does it not occur to us at once that here is a reason for Moschus' wide knowledge of Homer?[26] Is it possible that Moschus employed the method suggested above also for the copying of Homer? In other words, was he the scribe of **P**^{3}?

Speake communicated this suggestion to Vian, considering it at the time a wild conjecture, but asking him to compare the hand with that of **D** of Apollonius. Vian's reply was as follows: "J'ai confronté le *Paris.gr.* 2688 avec **D**: les deux écritures sont identiques; les présentations (interventions du rubricateur) analogues. Ainsi l'*A* initial placé par le rubricateur (sans doute le copiste lui-même) au début d'*Od.* κ, ξ, τ est identique à celui qui ouvre le ch.IV des *Argonautiques* et possède une décoration de même type, sinon tout à fait identique; il existe aussi de nettes ressemblances entre l'*E* initial d'*Od.* ω et d'Apoll. Rh. II et III." We consider this identification sufficient justification for our theory that Moschus' method of copying Apollonius was at least similar to Vergikios' as described by Dain. The only essential difference is that Moschus did not concern himself with contemporary Latin translations, but rather with making his texts of Apollonius conform to standard Homeric diction.

It remains to try to place the MSS. of the *d* group in their correct order of copying. External evidence shows that **C** and **D** have the same watermark (Briquet 465), giving them a *terminus post quem* of 1490. The watermarks of **M** cannot be identified with anything in Briquet, but those of **Q** place the MS. to within 1491–1514, and that of **R** is as late as 1505. In view of their close textual affinities, **M R Q** are likely to have been roughly contemporary, so on this evidence, and making allowance for the date of **K**, we may tentatively suggest that

[25] *BSR* 5 (1910) 57–58.

[26] A large proportion of the conjectures introduced into the text of the *d* group by the scribe are clear cases of deliberate Homericism. *Cf.* G. Speake, "The Manuscript **D** of Apollonius Rhodius," *ProcCamPhilSoc* N.S. 15 (1969) 86–94.

CD were copied in the years following 1491 and **MRQ** during the first decade of the XVI century.

Assuming the truth of our hypothesis concerning the copying of the *d* group, it would be rash to base any conclusion as to the relative dating of the MSS. upon internal textual evidence: we shall pursue the question no further. What matters most is that we have established the independence of each MS. of the *d* group and given due consideration to the possibility that any single MS. may be the unique witness to an otherwise lost reading of either of the first two families.

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