

TOWARDS A NEW TEXT OF HELLADIUS Neglected Manuscript Evidence on Photius' *Bibliothēke**

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Abstract: The *Chrestomatheiai* of the grammarian Helladius of Antinoupolis (4th century AD) are known to us only thanks to the excerpts preserved in the penultimate chapter (no. 279) of Photius' *Bibliothēke*. Traditionally, two manuscripts have been regarded as independent witnesses to text of the *Bibliothēke*: Marc. gr. 450 (A, end of the 9th cent.) and Marc. gr. 451 (M, ~ 1080–1120). The Helladius chapter, however, is lost in A. This is problematic for two reasons: (i) The text of the chapter in M is heavily marred by water damage, so that the available editions are quite lacunose. (ii) The stemmatic independence of M has been called into question by recent research. The present article is meant to show that two independent copies of A's lost text of the chapter in question are extant: Vat. gr. 2222 and Cambr. Trin. Coll. O.I.5 (1029). On that basis, it is possible to restore the complete text of the Helladius excerpts.

Keywords: textual transmission, textual criticism, reconstruction of ancient texts, palaeography, Photius, *Bibliothēke*, Helladius

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The *Bibliothēke*¹ of Photius I (AD 810/820–~ 893), twice Patriarch of Constantinople,² contains 279[280]³ chapters with summaries or excerpts taken from writings of Greek-speaking authors from antiquity to early Byzantine times.⁴ In the preface or letter of dedication⁵ to his brother Tarasius, Photius characterizes the whole *Bibliothēke* as a publication of the summaries (ὑποθέσεις) of certain books.⁶ However, there is a clear sign that Photius was not

1) On the spurious denominations *Bibliothēke* and *Myriobiblos*, first attested in later manuscripts, see K. Ziegler, Photios (13), RE XX,1 (1941) 667–737, 684 n. 1 and L. Canfora, Thesaurus insignis, non liber, in: N. Bianchi / C. Schiano (eds.), Fozio, Biblioteca. Introduzione di L. Canfora, Nota sulla tradizione manoscritta di S. Micunco, Pisa 2016, xi–lxiv. On the original, transmitted title of the work Ἀπογραφή καὶ συναρίθμησις τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἡμῖν βιβλίων ὧν εἰς κεφαλαιώδη δι-ἀγνωσιν ὁ ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Ταράσιος ἐξητήσατο. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα εἰκοσι δεόντων ἐφ’ ἐνὶ τριακόςια (“Register and enumeration of the books read by us of which our beloved brother Tarasius desired to have a summary appraisal; these are 279 in number.”) see below ch. 6.

2) On the biography of Photius, Ecumenical Patriarch 858–867 and 877–886, see Ziegler (n. 1) 668–684 as well as R.-J. Lilie et al., Photios, in: R.-J. Lilie et al. (eds.), Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, 6253/corr. and 26667 ([http://telota.bbaw.de/pmbz/scripts/browse.xql?id=6253/corr.](http://telota.bbaw.de/pmbz/scripts/browse.xql?id=6253/corr) and <http://telota.bbaw.de/pmbz/scripts/browse.xql?target=PMBZ28821;10/10/2018>).

3) On the number of 280 chapters in modern editions, see below ch. 6.

4) For general information on the *Bibliothēke*, see Ziegler (n. 1) 684–727, N. G. Wilson, Scholars of Byzantium, London / Cambridge, MA²1996, 93–111, W. T. Treadgold, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius, Washington 1980, and Canfora (n. 1) xi–lxiv.

5) Phot. Bibl. 1,1–22.

6) Phot. Bibl. 1,1–8: Ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ Ἀσσυρίους αἰρεθέντας ἤτησας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐκείνων τῶν βιβλίων, οἷς μὴ παρέτυχες ἀναγνωσκομένοις, γραφήναι σοι, ἀδελφῶν φίλτατέ μοι, Ταράσιε, ἵν’ ἔχοις ἅμα μὲν τῆς διαζεύξεως ἣν βαρέως φέρεις παραμύθιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὧν οὐπω εἰς ἀκοῆς ἡμῶν ἀγένως εἰ καὶ διατυπωτικὴν τινα καὶ κοινοτέραν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν [...] ὅσας αὐτῶν ἡ μνήμη διέσωζε, [...] ἐκδεδώκαμεν. (“Since, after our appointment as ambassador to Assyria by the decision of the embassy and the decree of the emperor you asked for a copy of the summaries of those books which had been read during your absence, my dearest brother Tarasius, in order that you have a consolation for the painful separation, and at the same time knowledge, even if summary and general, of the works which you had not yet read to our ears, [...] we published, [...] how much of them [i. e., the summaries] our memory preserved.”).

able to carry out his work:⁷ whereas we do find actual (shorter) summaries in chapters 1–233 (292 Bekker pages), chapters 234–280 (252 Bekker pages) contain (longer) series of mere excerpts taken from the primary texts.⁸ The exceptional importance of the *Bibliothèque* lies in the very fact that of 386 books treated by Photius, 101 survive outside the *Bibliothèque* only in fragmentary form and further 110 are entirely lost.⁹

To be counted amongst these works are also the four books *χρηστομάθειαι* (“books containing a summary of useful knowledge”¹⁰) of Helladius of Antinoupolis (1st half of the 4th century AD), preserved¹¹ only in the excerpts of the second to last chapter of the *Bibliothèque*, no. 279 (529b24–536a22).¹² Whereas

7) On the structural dichotomy of the *Bibliothèque*, see A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclo, Première partie: le codex 239 de Photius*, Tome I: Étude paléographique et critique, Liège 1938, 6–7, T. Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur, Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpieren in der Bibliothèque*, Stockholm 1975, 136, C. Mango, *The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850*, in: *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*. *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium 1971, Washington DC 1975*, 29–45, 37, Treadgold (n. 4) 40–52, J. Schamp, *Réflexions sur la ‘Bibliothèque’ de Photios: à propos d’un livre récent*, RBPH 62 (1984) 156–165, 159, J. Schamp, *Photios, historien des lettres. La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques*, Paris 1987, 95–96, J. Schamp, et al., *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum, Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani. Bibliotheca*, Turnhout 2004, xliii, and J. Schamp, *Photios abrégiateur*, in: M. Horster / Ch. Reitz (eds.), *Condensing texts – condensed texts*, Stuttgart 2010, 649–734.

8) The different treatment of a work in the first and the second part was examined in the case of Philostratus’ *Vita Apollonii* (ch. 44 and 241) by T. Hägg, *Photius at Work: Evidence from the Text of the Bibliotheca*, GRBS 14 (1973) 213–222.

9) On these numbers, see Treadgold (n. 4) 5–9.

10) Cf. LSJ s. v. *χρηστομάθεια*: “book containing a summary of useful knowledge or select passages”. On this terminus see also A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclo, Première partie: le codex 239 de Photius*, Tome II: *Texte, traduction, commentaire*, Liège 1938, 65–68.

11) Apart from a few fragments within the *Ἑτυμολογικόν* of Orion of Thebes (5th century AD). Orion’s *Ἑτυμολογικόν* is transmitted only in the Byzantine *Etymologica*; see H. Heimannsfeld, *De Helladii Chrestomathia quaestiones selectae*, Bonn 1911, 8–14.

12) At its end, the chapter lists the name of eight other (iambic) *λόγοι* of Helladius (*Athens, Nile, Egyptian* [scil. *λόγος*], *Protrepiticos, Rome, Fama, Nike*, and *Antinoupolis*) and also precious information about other Greek authors active in the 4th century in Egypt; cf. J. Hammerstaedt, *Photios über einen verlorenen Codex mit Autoren des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Mittel- bzw. Oberägypten*, ZPE 115 (1997) 105–116.

this epitome is in prose, the lost original, probably intended for school teaching,¹³ was written for mnemotechnical reasons in iambic metre.¹⁴ Since traces of the iambus still shine through, there have been several attempts to reconstruct passages of the original or at least to collect pure iambic verses hidden in the epitome.¹⁵ The *Chrestomatheiai* contain c. 80 paragraphs each of which is introduced by ὅτι. The topics covered include orthography, prosody, etymology, and grammar; a particular focus is on divergences between classical Attic Greek and the Koiné. Therefore, Helladius is of particular interest for lexicography,¹⁶ not least because the important lexicon of Hesychios of Alexandria seems to be influenced by him.¹⁷ Although even more profound studies on Helladius were carried out at the beginning of the 20th century,¹⁸ they did not rest upon a solid textual foundation. And still in the latest critical edi-

13) A. Gudeman, *Helladios* (2), RE VIII,1 (1912) 98–102, 100; more cautious, however, R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1997, 411.

14) On the advantages of metre regarding memorization and text protection, see e. g. Galen, *De antidotis* I 89,14–17 (*Medicorum Graecorum Opera quae exstant*, ed. C. G. Kühn, XIV, Lipsiae 1827): ἔστι δὲ δι' ἐμμέτρου λέξεως, ὡς εἶωθεν, ἥτις οὐ μόνον τὸ μνημονεύεσθαι ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ παραποιεῖσθαι τὰς συμμετρίας ἀγαθὸν ἔχει. Hammerstaedt (n. 12) 107 plausibly rejects the opinion of Gudeman (n. 13) 99 who argued that Photius used not the original of the *Chrestomatheiai* but already a prosaic epitome.

15) Cf. the apparatus of Bekker's edition of Phot. *Bibl. esp.* p. 534, A. Meineke, *Kritische blätter*, *Philologus* 14 (1859) 1–44, 20–21, M. Haupt, *Analecta*, *Hermes* 1 (1866) 398–404, 400–401, M. Haupt, *Index lectionum aestivarum 1870* (*De Hella-diis Alexandrino et Besantino*), in: *Mauricii Hauptii Opuscula*, II, Leipzig 1876, 421–427, R. Förster, *Helladios und Libanios*, *Philologus* 35 (1876) 710–711, and O. Crusius, *Pigres und die Batrachomyomachie bei Plutarch*, *Philologus* 58 (1899) 577–593, 584.

16) The Greek dictionary of LSJ relies on Helladius 32 times altogether, and the meaning of several words is transmitted only through him. For instance, Helladius (ap. Phot. 530a20–27) is our main authority for the correct original denomination or spelling of the letters φ, χ, ψ, υ and ω as φεῖ, χεῖ, ψεῖ, υ̇ and ω̇; cf. R. Kühner / F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Erster Teil, *Elementar- und Formenlehre*, I, Hannover ³1890, 40 n. 4 as well as LSJ s. v.

17) P. Isépy / O. Primavesi, *Helladios und Hesychios – Neues zum Text der Bibliothek des Photios* (Cod. 279), *ZPE* 192 (2014) 121–142, 133–139.

18) P. Becker, *De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus*, Bonn 1909, and esp. Heimannsfeld (n. 11).

tion published by René Henry in 1977¹⁹ the text has remained quite lacunose.

*1. The transmission of the Bibliotheke:
Two independent manuscripts and an archetype?*

The first serious study into the transmission of the *Bibliotheke* was undertaken by Edgar Martini (1911).²⁰ According to Martini, there are basically two independent codices, the Marc. gr. 450 (A), which he believed to have been written in the 2nd half of the 10th century, and the Marc. gr. 451 (M), dated by him to the 1st half of the 12th century.²¹ Martini considered the younger manuscript M to be independent from the older codex A because A is marred by several text omissions from which M is free; even the whole ch. 185 was missing from the beginning in A.²²

19) See above n. *. There was an index volume added to the edition by J. Schamp in 1991. Chapter 279 is found in ed. Henry (n. *) VIII 170–187. The recently published Greek-Italian edition of the *Bibliotheke* by Bianchi / Schiano (n. 1), in which M. S. Montecalvo was responsible for redacting the Helladius chapter (p. 925–937 [text] and 1209–1210 [notes]), is a slightly revised and corrected version of Henry's edition (see Bianchi / Schiano [n. 1] lxxxvii). Although Montecalvo at least was able to incorporate the new readings discovered by Isépy / Primavesi (n. 17) in her text (see also n. 48), without new manuscript evidence the chapter continues to be incomplete.

20) E. Martini, *Textgeschichte der Bibliotheke des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel, Teil 1: Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übertragungen*, Leipzig 1911, 6–19 and 50–56.

21) Cf. Martini (n. 20) 56–107 and his *stemma codicum* on 108. All other manuscripts examined by Martini stem from either the one or the other or both of the *Marciani*. Martini mentions altogether 52 manuscripts that contain the whole *Bibliotheke* or parts of it. However, after additions by P. Heseler, Review of: Martini, *Textgeschichte* (n. 20), *BPhW* 33 (1913) 585–598, 588–592, A. Diller, *Photius' 'Bibliotheca' in Byzantine Literature*, *DOP* 16 (1962) 389–396, 389–396, and esp. P. Eleuteri, *I manoscritti greci della Biblioteca di Fozio, Quaderni di storia* 51 (2000) 111–156, 113–143 today there are around 130 known textual witnesses.

22) Martini (n. 20) 50–53 and N. Zorzi, *Studi sulla tradizione della Bibliotheca di Fozio: il ms. Marc. gr. 450 (= 652). Con uno specimen di edizione dei marginalia e un capitolo su Teodoro Scutariota*, unpubl. diss., Università di Padova 1998, 51–52 (non vidi), quoted by M. R. Acquafredda, *Un documento inesplorato: il Pinax della Biblioteca di Fozio*, Bari 2015, 31 n. 44. This is different with ch. 238, 240, 278, and 280, today (partly) missing in A; they were once part of the codex (Martini

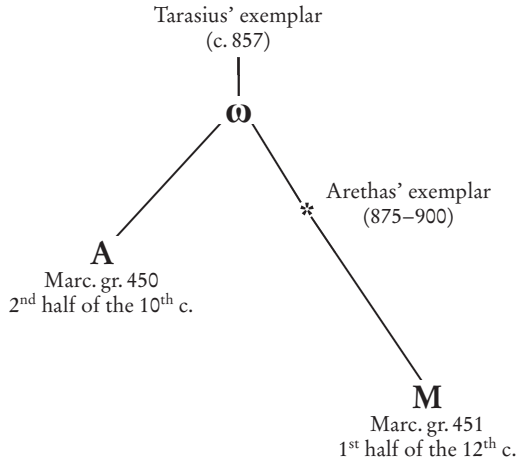


Fig. 1: Simplified structure of the independent transmission of Photius' "Bibliothèque" according to Severyns (n. 7) 286 and 382.

Whereas Martini refrained from evaluating the relative quality of **A** and **M**,²³ it was Albert Severyns (1938)²⁴ who – in the case of ch. 239 (Proclus) – pointed out that **A** and **M** share many errors which cannot reasonably be ascribed to Photius. Therefore, Severyns traced back both manuscripts to a faulty common ancestor, i. e. to an archetype (**o**).²⁵ Furthermore, Severyns observed that **A** shows a more genuine text, whereas **M** transmits a text which was arbitrarily revised and 'corrected' by a redactor.²⁶ He suggested

[n. 20] 9–10 with n. 1). On the special case of ch. 279 (Helladius), not extant in **A** today either, see below ch. 2. In codex **M**, on the other hand, there is only one chapter missing, no. 202.

23) E. Martini, Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der 'Bibliothek' des Photios, in: *Charisteria Alois Rzach zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Reichenberg 1930, 136–141, 139: "Die weitere Aufgabe, den Wert der Überlieferung von **A** und **M** zu bestimmen, habe ich für den zweiten Teil der Textgeschichte verspart; ein begründetes Urteil darüber läßt sich erst abgeben, nachdem die Schicksale des *Bibliothèque*-Textes in der unseren Handschriften vorausgehenden Periode klargelegt sind. Wie kompliziert da die Dinge liegen, vermag sich der Fernstehende gar nicht vorzustellen."

24) Cf. for the following, Severyns (n. 7) 15–382.

25) Severyns (n. 7) 10–12 and 339–382.

26) Severyns (n. 7) 62–255.

identifying this redactor with Photius' most famous disciple, Arethas of Caesarea (860 – after 944), who copied, by his own hand, passages from ch. 239 in the wording of **M** on the margin of codex Paris. gr. 451 (Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea et al.).²⁷ Severyns dated the composition of the *Bibliothèque* before Photius' first appointment as Patriarch,²⁸ i. e. before 858.²⁹

2. Ch. 279 (Helladius): missing in codex A, damaged in codex M

As a consequence of two special material conditions – one relating to **A**, the other to **M** – the Helladius chapter can be called the most challenging section of the *Bibliothèque* with regard to its transmission. First, this chapter is not contained in manuscript **A** at all.³⁰ Second, the Helladius epitome is not complete in the *Marcianus M*

27) Severyns (n. 7) 279–295 and 353–357. T. Hägg, Review of: Photius, Bibliothèque, Tome I/VII, Codices 1–83, Texte établi et traduit par R. Henry, Paris 1959/74, GGA 228 (1976) 32–60, 53–54, demonstrates, however, that Severyns' claim cannot be maintained without further ado, because in the case of ch. 209 (Dion of Prusa) the Arethas-scholia follow the correct **A** text against **M** and neither errors of **A** nor specific **M** readings are attested by Arethas.

28) According to the majority of scholars Photius' appointment as ambassador to Assyria (πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίου ἀίρεθέντα, cf. above, n. 6) and therefore also the composition of the *Bibliothèque* must have taken place at a rather early time in Photius' life, but certainly before his first patriarchate. Cf. e.g. K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur, Von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453), München² 1897, 517, and E. Orth, Photiana, Leipzig 1928, 4–6. Also several later publications and dictionaries assume an early date of the *Bibliothèque*, as e.g. J. Schamp, 'Vendez vos biens' (Luc. 12, 33): Remarques sur le Julien de Photios et la date de composition de la 'Bibliothèque', in: B. Janssens, et al. (eds.), Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine texts presented to Jacques Noret for his sixty-fifth birthday, Leuven 2004, 535–554, 554. A detailed list of the literature in favour of an early dating is given by L. Canfora, Libri e biblioteche, in: G. Cambiano, et al. (eds.), Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica, II. La ricezione e l'attualizzazione del testo, Roma 1995, 11–93, 31–33.

29) The precise date according to Lilie (n. 2) 6253/corr. is 25 December 858; Severyns (n. 7) 2 indicates 25 December 857 following J. Hergenröther, Photios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel: Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma, I, Regensburg 1867, 379 and Orth (n. 28) 5.

30) As a result of a secondary mutilation, the codex breaks off in ch. 278 (Theophrastus) in the middle of a sentence (with 527b34 ταχέϊον), at the end of a folio (f. 537v).

either: the manuscript was affected by water damage at its end in such a way³¹ that nine passages of the Helladius epitome copied on f. 430r–434v cannot be read at all or only with great effort.³²

Furthermore, in the case of the Helladius epitome, manuscript **A** cannot be substituted by the 13th century copy of **A**, Paris. gr. 1266, **B**. Whereas the Paris manuscript contains large parts of ch. 278 and 280 (Eulogius of Alexandria, patriarch 580–608), there is no trace of ch. 279 at all.³³ Since, in addition, the Helladius epitome is not mentioned in the *pinax* of *Marciannus A*, it has become the *communis opinio* of scholars that this chapter simply was never part of codex **A**.³⁴

However, **M** – *codex unicus* under these circumstances – was not consulted by modern editors of the *Bibliothèque* before Henry. Instead, the editors used copies of **M** which tend to omit the passages damaged in **M** altogether. The best of these copies is Lond. Harl. 5593 (**X**) written by the young Henri Estienne. Due to David Höschel's *editio princeps* of the *Bibliothèque* (1601)³⁵ which

31) The humidity entered from the upper margin of the codex and can be observed beginning on f. 362^r with increasing tendency towards the end (cf. Isépy / Primavesi [n. 17] 122 and 131, fig. 1). A terminus ante quem for the damage is the date of the oldest *apographon* of **M** known to us, codex Scoral. Ψ.I.10 (S) (cf. L. Canfora, *Il Fozio ritrovato*, Juan de Mariana e André Schott, con l'inedita Epitome della Biblioteca di Fozio ed una raccolta di documenti a cura di Giuseppe Solaro, Bari 2001, 45); this 'photographic copy' of **M** was written in 1543 and already reflects the illegible passages of its model.

32) It is the matter of the following passages at the upper margin of the f. 430r–434v: 1) 529b27–29; 2) 530b3–6; 3) 531a19–20; 4) 531b36–38; 5) 532b10–12; 6) 533a27–29; 7) 534a3–6; 8) 534b25–27; 9) 535b4–5.

33) On the *Parisinus*, see Martini (n. 20) 20–21 and 56–57 as well as S. Micunco, *Biblioteche di patriarchi: Fozio nella collezione di Metrofane III* (Par. Gr. 1266), *BollClass* 36 (2015) 77–122, 88, 94–95, and 108–110.

34) Cf. e. g. Zorzi (n. 22) 50, Schamp (n. 7) 650 n. 5, Acquafredda (n. 22) 45, and S. Micunco, *Dallo schedarion al codice: sulla tradizione manoscritta della Biblioteca*, in: Bianchi / Schiano (eds.) (n. 1) lxxv–lxxxv, lxxiii n. 91.

35) Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Φωτίου, *Librorum Quos Legit Photius Patriarcha Excerpta Et Censurae*, D. Hoescheli Augustanus primus edidit, Augustae Vindellicorum 1601. The *editio princeps* is based on four *codices descripti* which for ch. 279 depend all (indirectly) on **M** and reflect its damages. The four manuscripts mentioned on the title leaf (*Quatuor mss. codicibus Ex Graecia, Germania, Italia, Gallia collatis*) were identified by Martini (n. 20) 113–118 with the codices Monac. gr. 30 (**E**), Vat. Palat. gr. 421/422 (**K**), Paris. gr. 471 (**T**) and Lond. Harl. 5591–5593 (**X**).

is based amongst others on Estienne's manuscript,³⁶ also Immanuel Bekker (1824/1825)³⁷, Henry's predecessor,³⁸ was able to print the correct text for some of the damaged passages.³⁹

The unsatisfactory situation of ch. 279 in the Henry edition (1977), however, can be explained by two circumstances: First, Henry himself collated the *Marcianus M* from only microfilm⁴⁰ and, second, he did not take into account important results of scholarship. The Helladius chapter had been corrected in the case of both (a) Höschel 1601 and (b) Bekker 1824/25 in the light of manuscript evidence, which was known to Henry, but did not find adequate expression in his edition.

(a) Johannes van Meurs, also called Meursius (1579–1639) named several *variae lectiones* regarding the text of the *editio princeps* in his *Notae ad Helladii Chrestomathiam*, drawn up around 1637⁴¹ but published posthumously in 1686;⁴² he also was able to heal a few of the corrupt passages on the basis of an unspecified manuscript, to which he always refers with the expression: *Restituto ex MS^{to}*.⁴³

36) Especially, thanks to Stephanus, the *Editio Augustana* is able to offer the correct reading in five of the places mentioned above in n. 32 (1, 3, 4, 7, 9; 1 and 4 are present only in X).

37) Bekker did not consult codex M either; cf. Martini (n. 20) 129–130. In the case of ch. 279 the Bekker-text is based only on the very lacunose *apographon* of M, Paris. gr. 1226, C (1545–1547).

38) On the edition history of the *Bibliothèque*, see Martini (n. 20) 109–133, Canfora (n. 31), L. Canfora, *La Biblioteca del Patriarca: Fozio censurato nella Francia di Mazzarino*, Salerno 1998, 114–135, G. Carlucci, *I Prolegomena di André Schott alla Biblioteca di Fozio*, Bari 2012, and for the Helladius chapter Isépy / Primavesi (n. 17).

39) In addition to the correctly deciphered places in the *Ed. Aug.* (see n. 35) Bekker's apparatus shows improvement suggestions also in the case of passages 2) and 5), that, however, trace back to Johannes van Meurs. For van Meurs' work on Helladius, see below.

40) Isépy / Primavesi (n. 17) 132–133.

41) Vgl. H. Heimannsfeld, *Zum Text des Helladius bei Photius (cod. 279)*, RhM 69 (1914) 570–574, 571–572 n. 1.

42) Ἑλλαδίου Βησαντινίου Χρηστομάθειαι, *Helladii Besantinoi Chrestomathiae*, Cum notis Joannis Meursi, Ultrajecti 1686, printed again as *Helladii Besantinoi Chrestomathiae: cum interpretatione latina et notis Joannis Meursii*, in: *The-saurus Graecarum Antiquitatum, contextus et designatus ab Jacobo Gronovio*, X, Lugduni Batavorum 1701, 949–984.

43) *Ed. Meursius*, *Χρηστομάθειαι* (n. 42) 43 and 53 presents, for content and grammar, plausible solutions for the corrupt passages 2) and 5) (see n. 32).

(b) Heinrich Heimannsfeld, who already had undertaken a thoughtful study on Helladius' *Chrestomathiae* based on Bekker's text (1911),⁴⁴ published, in 1914, new readings of **M** gained from an examination of the codex *in situ*. Even if he was not able to decipher the wording of all of the problematic passages completely, his combination of van Meurs' suggestions and his own readings led to some remarkable findings.⁴⁵ Heimannsfeld's attempt to identify van Meurs' 'mysterious' manuscript, however, remained unsuccessful.⁴⁶

In the light of Meursius' and Heimannsfeld's promising results, Henry's edition must be regarded as a step backwards: Although six out of nine damaged passages had already been completed and two restored in part by Henry's predecessors, Henry ignored these improvements and introduced a considerable number of new errors.⁴⁷

In the context of a projected new edition of Photius' Helladius epitome, we succeeded in deciphering the *Marcianus M in situ* in the case of two passages that still remained unresolved after Heimannsfeld's work.⁴⁸ Thereby, two new examples of correct,

44) Heimannsfeld (n. 11).

45) Heimannsfeld (n. 41) 571–574 succeeded in reconstructing passage 5) completely, 2) almost, and 6) partly. In the case of 2) and 5) he is slightly at variance with Meursius' manuscript. On passage 6), see the detailed discussion of Isépy / Primavesi (n. 17).

46) Heimannsfeld (n. 41) 573 n. 1.

47) The extreme irregularities in the case of Helladius in the last volume of Henry's edition (cf. Isépy / Primavesi [n. 17] 129–130) might find an explanation in Henry's imminent death on 7 april 1978; cf. J. Loicq, René Henry (1910–1978), RBPB 57 (1979) 1114–1115. However, also many of the reviews of previous volumes of Henry's edition – listed e. g. with M. Losacco, Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà: l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus, in: B. Flusi / J.-C. Cheynet (eds.), Autour du "Premier humanisme byzantin" et des "Cinq études sur le XIe siècle", quarante ans après Paul Lemerle, Paris 2017, 235–308 n. 77 – criticise the high number of errors and the unreliability of Henry's work. Examples of mistakes in the Helladius chapter: 531a31 om. τοῦ, 531b1 ἕλλου (pro ἕλλον M sive ἕλλον nos), 531b11 διαμαρτήσθαι (pro διημαρτήσθαι M), 531b25 ἦ (pro ἦ M), 533a1 τῆς (pro τοὺς M), 533a19 om. τὸ, 533b19 φησι (pro φησὶ M), 533b36 θηλείαν (pro θήλειαν M). Examples of mistakes in the apparatus: 531a15 μικήριος Hoeschel (pro μακήριον), 531b3 νεκρὸν M (pro νεβρόν), 533b21 καλεῖ M (pro καλεῖσθαι) etc.

48) Healed passages: 6) 533a27–29: καὶ τὰ βραράγγια καλοῦσι βραγγία: καὶ τὸ (28) ἔσω δὲ ἀναλογώτερον τοῦ εἴσω. καὶ τὸν ἀλετριβανον δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ ε πρὸ-(29)φέρουσιν· ἢ δὲ συνήθεια διὰ τοῦ α (on this passage: Isépy / Primavesi [n. 17] 8). 534b25–27: After 27 ἐβόησε Heimannsfeld (n. 41) 574 conjectures τοῦτο, Henry (without mentioning the addition!) ταῦτα. It turns out, however, that we

i. e. Attic Greek, as opposed to the Koiné, came to light:⁴⁹ Their inter-textual embedding led to important results as far as lexicography and literary history are concerned.⁵⁰

These new readings of **M** are certainly precious findings and the Helladius excerpt is now more complete than ever; nevertheless, measured against Martini's and Severyns' bipartite stemma, the text of the Helladius chapter is still lacking 50% of the transmission. And the absence of codex **A** carries even much more weight with the editor, if we take into account the recent results of scholarship on the tradition of the *Bibliothēke*.

3. Codex A: synthesis of Photius' ὑποθέσεις and σχεδάρια

In the last two decades, several scholars have undertaken various palaeographical, codicological, culture-historical, and literary studies⁵¹ that clearly demonstrate that the transmission of the *Bibliothēke* cannot be described through the method of Lachmann-Maas,⁵² i. e. with a bipartite stemma, as Martini and Severyns did, or better yet, were forced to do.

The most far reaching achievement, thereby, was the meticulous examination of the two codices *Marciani*, **A** and **M**. The date of

are dealing here with a real *rasura* of 7–8 letters, realized before the passage was marred by water. Since the first letter in the *rasura* is a μ, it seems to be the matter of the correction of a dittography of the following words μήτε λύειν; this is obvious, since the text goes μήτε λύειν μήτε ἀνα-(28)γινώσκειν (that there is nothing to add after ἐβόησε, is also proven through the new <**A**>-text, on which see below). Passages 2) and 5) remain problematic in **M**, the latter, however, can be restored through Meursius' readings (see n. 45).

49) Correct βαράγγια ("gills") for common βραγγία and ἀλετριβανος ("pestle") for ἀλατριβανος (see n. 48).

50) The words βαράγγια and ἀλατριβανος seem to constitute a link between Helladius and the lexicon of Hesychios of Alexandria. See on this and consequences for some *lemmata* in the dictionary of LSJ, Isépy / Primavesi (n. 17) esp. 139.

51) It is not the aim of this article to give an exhaustive treatment of the studies in question. In addition to the titles quoted *suo loco*, I refer generally to Canfora (n. 1) xi–lxiv, Micunco (n. 34) lxx–lxxxv, and the quoted literature.

52) Cf. P. Maas, *Textkritik*, Leipzig ⁴1960 and recently P. Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method: A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text*, Padova ²2017, 49–75.

the younger codex (dated by Martini to the 1st half of the 12th century) can be placed now more precisely in the period between 1080 and 1120;⁵³ on the other hand, Guglielmo Cavallo has shown that codex A, thought to be written in the 2nd half of the 10th century (Martini), has to be predated by almost a whole century.⁵⁴ He was followed by other scholars with only slightly different opinions whose common ground is a dating between the late 9th and the first years of the 10th century.⁵⁵ In other words, it is quite possible that codex A was written during Photius' lifetime († ~ 893).

Furthermore, numerous pieces of evidence leave no doubt that codex A cannot be the result of a simple copying process from an already finalized *Bibliothèque*, i. e. from one model (e. g. "Tarasius' exemplar"), but must be the very place where Photius' collection of summaries (ὑποθέσεις) and excerpts (σχεδάρια) were put together for the first time. This claim is justified by the following observations regarding codex A:⁵⁶

- The confused numbering and division of chapters.⁵⁷
- Several blank passages (*agrapha*), some of which were filled up only at a later point in the copying process.⁵⁸

53) M. Losacco, Ancora su testimoni della Bibliotheca foziana: sulle mani del Marc. gr. 451, SETE 12 (2014) 223–259.

54) G. Cavallo, Per le mani e la datazione del codice Ven. Marc. gr. 450, QS 49 (1999) 157–177, 162 ("... può difficilmente essere più tardo dell'ultimo decennio del secolo IX ...").

55) N. Zorzi, Lettori bizantini della 'Bibliotheca' di Fozio: marginalia del Marc. Gr. 450, in: T. Creazzo (ed.), Atti del VI congresso nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini, Catania-Messina 2–5 ottobre, Catania 2004, 829–844, 830 (end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century, adjusting his first approach, i. e. 920–930 AD, proposed in Zorzi [n. 22] 171), F. Ronconi, L'automne du patriarche. Photios, la Bibliothèque et le Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. 450, in: J. Signes Codoñer / I. Pérez Martín (eds.), Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung, Turnhout 2014, 91–130, 100–101 (activity of the hands in question between 850/860 and the first years of the 10th century), and Micunco (n. 34) lxx for a general view of the discussion from its beginning. Also Nigel Wilson (verbal communication) finds a date shortly before or after 900 well possible; a dating even to the 850/860s, however, is extremely unlikely according to him.

56) Cf. in general Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

57) Acquafredda (n. 22) 25–52.

58) F. Ronconi, La Bibliothèque de Photius et le Marc. Gr. 450, Recherches préliminaires, SETE 10 (2012) 249–278, 258–265 and Micunco (n. 34) lxx–lxxii as well as lxxvii–lxxviii.

– The structural dichotomy of the *Bibliothēke* reflects a division between two teams of scribes:⁵⁹ Chapters 1–233 (292 Bekker pages), i. e. the actual ὑποθέσεις the introductory letter mentions, were copied by two hands (A, B), chapters 234–280 (252 Bekker pages) by five others (C, D, E, F, G).⁶⁰

– The redaction of the *pinax* of A by the first scribe (A) on the basis of the codex itself, carried out probably in two steps in tune with the growth of the *Bibliothēke*.⁶¹

It is certainly true that it had already become a widely held view by the 16th/17th century that the *Bibliothēke* is not an ordinary work written by one author, but a collection of summaries and excerpts that have their origins, in the end, in the reading records made by Photius (and his friends or disciples).⁶² However, it was simply not possible to connect this understanding with our manuscript tradition, since codex A was thought to have been written far after Photius' death. It was Luciano Canfora who, in an addendum to Cavallo's publication on the new dating of codex A, first linked the 'birth' of the *Bibliothēke* with our oldest textual witness A.⁶³ He plausibly proposed to identify codex A with the very copy of the records and notes, the *σχεδάρια*,⁶⁴ produced by Photius and his reading circle.⁶⁵ According to this idea, subsequently consolidated by the studies already mentioned⁶⁶ and presented in great detail by Canfora recently,⁶⁷ the *Bibliothēke* was 'composed' in the very codex A out of texts taken from single *σχεδάρια* in two phases

59) Cf. Ronconi (n. 58) 272–274, Ronconi (n. 55) 109–118, and F. Ronconi, *Il Moveable Feast del Patriarca. Note e ipotesi sulla genesi della Bibliotheca di Fozio*, in: L. Del Corso, et al. (eds.), *Nel segno del testo. Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere*, Firenze 2015, 203–238, 205–206.

60) On the hands in A, see Cavallo (n. 54), and Ronconi (n. 55) 100.

61) Ronconi (n. 55) 112–114 and Acquafredda (n. 22) 51.

62) For a historical survey, see Canfora (n. 1) xvii–xx.

63) L. Canfora, *Postilla*, QS 49 (1999) 175–177.

64) On the terminus, see Canfora (n. 1) xvi–xvii. The making and use of such a *σχεδάριον* is mentioned by Photius himself in his *Amphilochia* (Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia, V, rec. B. Laourdas / L. G. Westerink, Leipzig 1986, 78,97–102 and 148,40–42).

65) On this "club", see N. Wilson, *The Composition of Photius' Bibliotheca*, GRBS 9 (1968) 451–455, 452 and esp. Canfora (n. 1) xiv–xvii.

66) See the literature quoted in n. 59.

67) Canfora (n. 1) esp. xli–xliii and li.

and by two teams of scribes or scholars: this led to the coexistence of ὑποθέσεις elaborated on the basis of the σχεδάρια (ch. 1–233) and mere copies of (parts of) them (ch. 234–280). The new dating of codex A together with the discovery of its role as “quasi autografo”⁶⁸ excludes that the *Bibliothēke* is an early work of Photius.⁶⁹

68) Canfora (n. 1) li.

69) This is supported also by Canfora’s convincing argument on dating the composition of the *Bibliothēke* after Photius’ condemnation on the 8th Ecumenical Council (869/70) – with the help of a metaphorical interpretation of the πρεσβεία ἐπ’ Ἀσσυρίους (see n. 28 above). As opposed to various interpretations of this expression *ad litteram* (for a survey cf. L. Canfora [n. 28] 40–42 and L. Canfora, *La Biblioteca di Fozio*, in: *Cristianità d’Occidente e cristianità d’Oriente*, secoli VI–XI, 24–30 aprile 2003, Spoleto 2004, 93–125, 98–100), Canfora (n. 1) xxx–xli argues in favour of a Pauline and patristic understanding of πρεσβεύειν in the meaning “to bear witness”, especially “for Christ” (ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, cf. e.g. 2 Cor 5, 20 and Eph 6, 20) and ἐπ’ Ἀσσυρίους as “against” (cf. the striking preposition ἐπί c. acc. instead of the usual εἰς that was, therefore, conjectured here by E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and the Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, IX, London 1907, 369 n. 114: “Εἰς Ἀσσυρίους can only mean Bagdad ...”) “the infidels” who the Assyrians *a minore ad maius* stand for; this name implies, however, also a connection to the ‘Assyrian, i.e. Babylonian captivity’. Photius’ personal ‘Babylonian exile’ took place after his removal from the patriarchy see on 24 September 867 until his reappointment on 26 October 877 at least partly in the monastery τῆς Σκέπης (on the identification cf. P. Varona Codeso / Ó. Prieto Domínguez, *Deconstructing Photios: family relationship and political kinship in middle Byzantium*, REB 71 [2013] 105–148, 127 n. 107). Not only answers the situation in the preface letter strikingly to Photius’ description of his banishment in the Amphilochia: he has difficulties to find a scribe, his books are confiscated, and he disposes only of the σχεδάρια (cf. Amphilochia [n. 64] 5,78,13: τῶν ὑπογραφέων τὸ ἄπορον, and 148,40–42: Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ σχεδαρίων ὡς ἠδυνήθημεν μετεγράψαμεν, τὰ δὲ βιβλία, ὡς καὶ ἡ σὴ ἀρχιερατικὴ τελειότης συνεπίσταται, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ὧν ἦν δυνατὸν ζῆν ἢ αἰχμαλωσία λάφυρον εἶθετο). Canfora’s claim is also strongly supported by the fact that “the decision of the embassy” is mentioned before “the decree of the emperor” (τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ). This is possible only in the context of a(n ecumenical) council where the decision of the clerical legates is ratified in a second step by the emperor (Canfora [n. 1] xxx and xxxiii). Therefore, to relate a metaphorical πρεσβεία ἐπ’ Ἀσσυρίους to the situation after Photius’ banishment and ἀνάθημα, pronounced at the 8th Ecumenical Council (870), seems to be the only possibility to solve the *vexata quaestio* and bring into agreement the formulation of the preface letter with historical circumstances and palaeographical evidence. Before then, only a few scholars were seriously arguing for a late dating of the *Bibliothēke* (cf. Canfora [n. 28] 34–36), most convincingly F. Halkin, *La date de la ‘Bibliothèque’ de Photius remise en question*, in *AnalBoll* 81 (1963) 414–417, 416–417 who demonstrated that ch. 252 (Life of Saint George) is dependent on a source that was accessible to Photius only after the year 875/6. Halkin’s opinion was

However, if **A** really is the starting point of the manuscript tradition of the *Bibliotheke*, how can **M** be free of the omissions of **A**?⁷⁰ As Stefano Micunco has pointed out, this must be explained then in the fact that **M** (or better: its ancestor) had access to the sources of **A** (σχεδάρια), too, at least for certain chapters. Otherwise we would have to argue that two totally individual operations concerning the σχεδάρια – by **A** and (an ancestor of) **M** – led to nearly the same result, i. e. basically the *Bibliotheke* as presented in **A**; this, however, as a matter of course can be excluded *a limine*.⁷¹ Since the omissions of **A** listed by Martini, mostly concerning *homoioteleuta*,⁷² can be observed almost exclusively in the second part of the *Bibliotheke*, i. e. concerning not the ‘words of Photius’, but excerpts taken from the writings of primary authors,⁷³ the most plausible assumption is that the **M**-text depends on **A**, but was corrected and enriched to a certain degree on the basis of original material, the σχεδάρια.⁷⁴ And, since the ‘redactor’ of **M** apparently did not revise all the chapters in **A** (in the same way), it should not be surprising to come across different stemmatical situations for the single chapters,⁷⁵ depending on the ‘contribution’ of **M**.

met with scepticism, cf. e. g. B. Hemmerdinger, Le ‘Codex’ 252 de la bibliothèque de Photius, BZ 58 (1965) 1–2 or P. Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantin, notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au 10e siècle, Paris 1971, 190 n. 48. In favour of Halkin, only Mango (n. 7) 40.

70) Martini (n. 20) 50–53 lists 25 cases of omissions in **A** and the case of ch. 185, missing in **A** (not because of later material damage). Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii argues that already due to the fact that the omissions in **A** listed by Martini are caused for the greatest part by homoioteleuton (Martini [n. 20] 50) “l’assoluta indipendenza di **M** da **A** non è dimostrabile”. Now, whereas it is correct that an omission by homoioteleuton does not bear any ‘leading’ qualities as a conjunctive error (for it could have occurred twice by coincidence), an omission can be very well important in terms of a ‘separative error’ (I thank Oliver Primavesi for this observation). This is the case, especially, if we can exclude that scholars of the period in question were able to heal the omission *per coniecturam* (P. Maas, Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen, BZ 37 [1937] 289–294, 289).

71) Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

72) See n. 70 above.

73) According to Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii and lxxxiv n. 93 and 94 only two cases are to be found in the first part, one of which is regarding again not the ‘summary of Photius’, the other seems to be rather a gloss in **M** than an omission in **A**.

74) Canfora (n. 1) xli–xlili as well as Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

75) Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

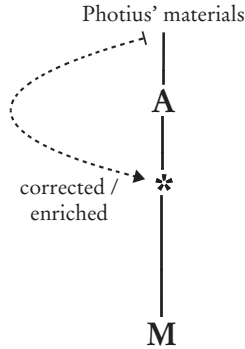


Fig. 2: Simplified illustration of the origins of Photius' *Bibliothēke* and the relationship between **A** (Marc. gr. 450) and **M** (Marc. gr. 451) according to Micunco (n. 34) LXXIII.

The consequences of this new picture of the transmission for the constitution of the text remain to be drawn.⁷⁶ The crucial question here is, obviously, to what extent the editor is entitled, or forced to, make use of manuscript **M**. Now, it is already apparent, in view of Micunco's general picture, that in order to answer this question the editor must determine, as far as possible for every single chapter of the *Bibliothēke*, of what kind the 'contribution' of the **M**- to the **A**-redaction is.

In this context, expressions for describing the nature of **M** as "una fase redazionale della *Biblioteca* più avanzata e più completa"⁷⁷ or a "sistemazione editoriale"⁷⁸ might be misleading, even though they are correct. Why does research not speak more clearly, first of all, of a general dependence of **M** on **A**? The reason seems to lie in the fact that the '**M** redactor' introduced into our *Bibliothēke* not only the text of more or less short 'omissions' in **A**,

76) Although the new results on the transmission are, for the most part published the first time as an introduction to the recent Greek-Italian edition of the *Bibliothēke* by Bianchi / Schiano (n. 19), the new text, revised by more than thirty scholars, is an only slightly corrected version of Henry's edition, in no way methodically influenced by the new evidence.

77) Acquafredda (n. 22) 52.

78) Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

but also the entire ch. 185⁷⁹ and, as commonly assumed,⁸⁰ ch. 279. However, if one really interpreted the version of **M** not just as an enriched and corrected ‘**A**’, but also as a more mature redaction, the consequences for the editor would be quite serious:⁸¹ instead of merging two versions more or less arbitrarily, the text would have to be based, after a preliminary decision of the editor, exclusively on one redaction, usually the most advanced one,⁸² i. e. in our case manuscript **M**. However, it becomes apparent immediately that in this case a sort of *eliminatio inversa* would affect *horribile dictu* codex **A** although it has been recognised as the very primary synthesis of the *Bibliotheke*. So, this certainly cannot be accepted as a practicable method for the *constitutio textus*. Furthermore, looking at the nature of the version transmitted by **M**, the idea of a generally more advanced **M** text quickly meets resistance: First, already the *pinax* of **M** simply does not correspond with the content of the manuscript completely, but reflects much more the situation in codex **A**.⁸³ Furthermore, it can be stated that ch. 185 (dealing with an otherwise unknown medical author Dionysios ὁ Αἰγεύς⁸⁴) is nearly identical with ch. 211, which is present in **A** and **M**:⁸⁵ there-

79) According to Zorzi (n. 22) 51–52, quoted by Acquafredda (n. 22) 31 n. 44, there are absolutely no signs for a secondary mechanical loss of this portion in **A**. Such evidence is given in the case of the (partly) missing chapters 238, 240, 278, and 280 of **A** (Martini [n. 20] 9–10 with n. I and see n. 22 above).

80) See above n. 34.

81) On the problem and methods of editing a text in the case of multiple authorial versions cf. e. g. Trovato (n. 52) 161–164, M. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart 1973, 70, and O. Primavesi, *Philologische Einleitung*, in: Aristoteles, *De motu animalium*, Über die Bewegung der Lebewesen, Historisch-kritische Edition des griechischen Textes und philologische Einleitung von O. Primavesi, Deutsche Übersetzung, philosophische Einleitung und erklärende Anmerkungen von K. Corcilius, Hamburg 2018, xi–cxliv, esp. xxxiii–xxxv.

82) As examples I refer to the editions of the medieval Greek-Latin translations of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* in the *Aristoteles Latinus*; cf. e. g. Aristoteles Latinus (XXV 3.1/2), *Metaphysica lib. I–XIV*, *Recensio et Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, Praefatio et Editio textus, ed. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Leiden 1995 and Aristoteles Latinus (XVII 2.II–III), *De Progressu animalium, De motu animalium*, *Translatio Guillelmi de Moerbeka*, ed. P. De Leemans, Bruxelles 2011.

83) Acquafredda (n. 22) 51–52.

84) H. von Arnim, Dionysios (124), RE V,1 (1903) 975.

85) On the problem regarding the number of chapters and the skipping of no. 185 in the text of **A**, see below, ch. 6.

fore, we are not dealing with new text introduced by the ‘**M**-redactor’, but apparently only with the same Dionysios-σχεδάριον, used twice for some reason.⁸⁶

As far as ch. 279, Helladius, is concerned, we are going to present evidence in the next chapter for the fact that, contrary to the assumption of scholars, this portion of the *Bibliotheke* was also once part of codex **A**. If our claim is true, it can be stated that there is no chapter the text of which was introduced only by the ‘**M**-redactor’, but that our *Bibliotheke* was already ‘complete’ in the codex **A**. That would imply that **M**’s dependence on **A** is a quite general one – which must have a clear effect on the method of the *constitutio textus*.

4. Ch. 279 (Helladius): the version of *A* rediscovered

It is of crucial importance for the *constitutio textus* of the Helladius chapter (279) itself as well as for the clarification of our general picture of the transmission of the *Bibliotheke* that three hitherto ignored manuscripts from the 14th and 16th c. have preserved the Helladius epitome in a version strongly different from the **M** text. Thanks also to historical evidence, there is no doubt that Meursius’ mysterious copy mentioned above belonged to this very group of manuscripts.

First, Aubrey Diller pointed in 1962 to the miscellany manuscript Cambridge, Trinity College, O.I.5 (1029)⁸⁷ (see pl. I) – henceforth referred to as **I**⁸⁸ – which was, however, not taken into account in the edition of Henry in 1977.⁸⁹ Diller brought it to scholars’ attention that the Helladius excerpt occurs in the main part in the *Cantabrigiensis* without traces of the marred passages in the *Marcianus M*, and, for this reason, the manuscript has primary value for the text of ch. 279; in Diller’s opinion **I** must have been copied from **M** before the codex was damaged by water.

86) Canfora (n. 1) xvii and Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

87) Diller (n. 21) 395.

88) This is the only capital letter not used by Martini (n. 20) as siglum for the manuscripts of the *Bibliotheke*. I became aware during my work that also Acquafredda (n. 22) 56 assigned for the same reason **I** as siglum for codex Paris. Suppl. gr. 907, containing, however, only the *pinax* of the *Bibliotheke*.

89) On Henry’s problematic edition, see above n. 47.

In the course of our research, it turned out that codex **I**, written around 1330–40⁹⁰ possibly in Salonika,⁹¹ testifies to 75 % of the Helladius chapter (as known from **M**).⁹² Furthermore, the *Cantabrigiensis* lacks the title and beginning⁹³ and offers the ὄτι-paragraphs partly in different order. The scribe of this manuscript copied the Helladius excerpt another time, in the codex Vat. gr. 2222⁹⁴ (**v**), which contains even 81 % of the text. Not only the title and the same amount of text at the beginning are missing, but also two paragraphs present in **I**.⁹⁵ The text in **I** and **v** differs from **M**, in addition, regarding several peculiar readings:⁹⁶ in the light of the palaeographical background and the fact that there are different passages missing in **I** and **v**, it is obvious that we are dealing with two copies taken from the same (lost) model (**α**). Putting the text of the Helladius chapter in **I** and **v** together, one achieves 85 % of the text transmitted in **M**.

The third manuscript to be mentioned is codex Cambridge, Trinity College, O.5.23 (1304)⁹⁷ (**c**). Although the folia in question

90) There is only one watermark in the codex, “Letter ‘L’ Unadorned”, very similar to Piccard online, no. 28595, a. 1335 (<http://www.piccard-online.de/?nr=28595;17/04/2018>). The Vat. gr. 2222 (see below), written by the same scribe, testifies to watermarks from the years 1311–1337; S. Lilla, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 2162–2254 (Codices Columnenses)*, Città del Vaticano 1985, 268.

91) The hand, also responsible for copying the codex Cambr. Trin. Coll. O.1.2 and perhaps Urb. gr. 142 (cf. A. Turyn, *The Byzantine manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*, Urbana 1957, 194), can be located within the so called “tendenza triclinaiana” (L. Perria, *Γραφίς – Per una storia della scrittura greca libraria [secoli IV a. C.–XVI d. C.]*, Roma 2011, 151; cf. also E. Crisci / P. Degni, *La scrittura greca dall’antichità all’epoca della stampa. Una introduzione*, Roma 2011, 193–196 for further literature) named after Demetrios Triklinios, classical scholar active in Salonika in the first quarter of the 14th century.

92) There are missing the following ὄτι-passages: 529b27–29, 530a20–27, 532a6–12, 12–15, 532b14–17, 533a14–17, 24–29, 29–31, 35–38, 533b34–37, 534a2–12, 31–33, 535a34–41, 535b6–9, 9–14, 14–16, 26–39, 535b39–536a7, and 536a8–22.

93) The text starts with the second ὄτι-passage (529b29 ὄτι Διονύσιος φησι).

94) The manuscript is mentioned first in the list of Eleuteri (n. 21) 137.

95) The following ὄτι-passages are missing (paragraphs not contained in **I** either, in italics): 529b27–29, 530a12–14, 530a20–27, 27–29, 532a6–12, 12–15, 532b14–17, 533a14–17, 24–29, 29–31, 35–38, 534a2–12, 31–33, and 535a34–41.

96) See below n. 107.

97) Diller (n. 21) 395 n. 48 points first to this manuscript as copy of **I**.

(f. 66r–68v) were copied directly from the *Cantabrigiensis* I,⁹⁸ c must not be eliminated as a whole, since it can replace I in case of its last, faded folio (f. 56v; 535a41–536a34). In the marginal note written on f. 66r the Scottish scholar <Patrick Young>⁹⁹ (1584–1652¹⁰⁰) identifies the scribe in question with his great-uncle Henry Scrimgeour¹⁰¹ (1505?–1572¹⁰²). It is obvious from a letter of Young’s written to van Meurs on 31 October 1624,¹⁰³ that Young attached a copy of the Helladius chapter “ex Codice Henrici Scrimgeri magni avunculi mei”.¹⁰⁴ In the light of Young’s note, there can be no doubt that Scrimgeour’s manuscript is the *Cantabrigiensis* c – and not, as claimed by Diller, its model I.¹⁰⁵ Since Young apparently supplied Meursius not with an entire codex, but only with a loose handwritten copy of the Helladius chapter, it is hardly surprising that

98) Codex c testifies to exactly the same text as I but adds its own errors (e.g. 530a35 ἐρμείας] ἐρμείαορ c | 531a9 ἐν] om. c | 531b28–29 παράλογόν ἐστι φησὶ] παραλόγον ἐστὶ c etc.). Both manuscripts, I and c, came to the Trinity Library in 1738 as part of the collection of the Gale family (M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. III, *Containing an Account of the Manuscripts Standing in Class O*, Cambridge 1902, v–xiii).

99) James (n. 98) 325 identifies his hand on f. 44. In view of this, Young wrote also at least ff. <49^v–51^r>, <57^r–63^v>, <70^v> <72^v–75^v> <76^v> and the marginal notes on ff. <2^r>, <66^r–68^r, 69^r> (cf. the typical χ and λ).

100) E. Boran, Young, Patrick (1584–1652), ODNB, online edn, 2012 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com.001268b00506.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/30276;18/04/2018>).

101) Young notes, regarding the (erroneous) title given to the Helladius excerpt (κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτομὴν (ἐπιτομὴν a. c.) τινὰ ἐκ τῶν διονυσίου τοῦ ἀττικιστοῦ): “[...] fragmenti huius inscriptio magni auunculi manu scripta [...]” and then, “[...] magnus auunculus m(eus) ... Scrimgerus Scottus.” Since it is the hand of the title that also copied the text, it can be stated that the f. 66r–68v are the work of Scrimgeour himself.

102) On Henry Scrimgeour see M.-C. Tucker, Scrimgeour, Henry (1505?–1572), ODNB, online edn, 2012 (<http://www.oxforddnb.com.001268cp03e1.eme dia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/24968;18/04/2018>).

103) Cf. Diller (n. 21) 395.

104) J. Kemke, Patricius Junius (Patrick Young), *Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I. und Carl I. von England*, *Mitteilungen aus seinem Briefwechsel*, Leipzig 1898, 85,51–52: “[...] Grammaticos, quos a me postulas, lubens transmittō, et ex Codice Henrici Scrimgeri magni avunculi mei excerpta quaedam Διονυσίου Ἀττικιστοῦ adiungo, quae cum reliquis, si ita tibi visum fuerit, non inepte prodire possunt.” That Scrimgeour attributed the *excerpta* to Dionysios Attikistes (see n. 101), has its reason in the fact that the text of I/c begins with the words ὅτι Διονύσιός φησι ... (529b29), i. e. with the second ὅτι-paragraph.

105) Diller (n. 21) 395.

this writing has not yet been discovered, and it would not be at all unusual for it simply to have perished.¹⁰⁶

As far as the textual quality of the new witnesses is concerned, contrary to Diller's expectations, neither **I(c)** nor **v** show clearly wrong or weak readings of **M**, instead, they transmit superior variants in terms of language and/or content.¹⁰⁷ In the light of the readings of ascertained *apographa* of **M**¹⁰⁸ and the character of the scribe of **I** and **v**,¹⁰⁹ these variants cannot be explained by simple conjectures. Thus, we may conclude that **α**, as known to us, cannot be simply an excerpt copy (and **Iv** descendants) of **M**, taken from it before the water damage. Rather, since **M** is not only generally more complete than **α** – 12 **ὄτι**-paragraphs, in addition to the introductory phrase, are only contained in **M** –, but also contains some larger erroneous omissions in **α(Iv)** amid the text,¹¹⁰ **α(Iv)** and **M**

106) It seems unlikely that the f. 66–68 of **c** itself could be Meursius' copy, which then would have had to be removed from the codex and passed back to Young again later. Furthermore, the expression "excerpta ... adiungo" refers to the aforementioned "Grammaticos ... lubens transmittō" (see n. 104), which seems to imply that Young considers the copy in question rather as a real and definitive 'transmission' than only as an item of loan.

107) Examples of peculiar errors of **M** (in the light of the readings of its descendants, see above n. 35): 529b30 **ἀντ'** **α(Iv)** : om. **M(EKTX)** | 530a2 **κῆρῆβια** **α(Iv)** : **κηρύβια** **M(TX)** : **κυρίβια** **E** : **κηρώβια** **K** | 530b40 **μοῦσῶν τινὰ** **α(Iv)** : **μαϊοῦσαν τινὰ** **M(EKTX)** | 531a15 **μὴ κηρὶ** **α(Iv)** : **μηκήριον** **M(EKTX)** | 532b30 **θυείας** **α(Iv)** : **θύσας** **M(KTX)** : **θύϊας** **E**.

108) On Maas' observation about significative errors and conjectures, see above n. 70. As it can be seen from the readings of **M**'s descendants in n. 107, none of the scribes corrected these readings, not even Estienne (**X**) who made several conjectures in the chapter and barely committed mistakes. Full collations for ch. 279 have confirmed that **E** and **X** are direct copies, **K** and **T** indirect descendants of **M** (cf. Martini [n. 20] 36–42, 92–105, and 113–119 with the corrections of Canfora [n. 31] 33 and 128–129.) Since also the *editio princeps* offers the clearly correct **α**-reading in case of 529b30, 530b4, and 531a15 it seems probable that also Höschel had access to this branch of the tradition in some way.

109) The scribe of **I/v** does not feel any calling to simplify or make better sense of problematic passages, but modifies very rarely only common expressions, as e. g. in 530a29–30 **ὅτι ἀνθρακεὺς ὁ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλούμενος καρβωνάριος** (**καλούμενος** **MI** : **λεγόμενος** **v**).

110) Cf. the sauts du même au (quasi-)même 534a20–23 **περιεχόμενον ἰδῶς** ___ **περιεχόμενον** **M** : **περιεχόμενον** **α(Icv)** and 535a19–20 **νυκτὸς καὶ ἐπενθέσει τοῦ τ νυκτὸς** **M** : **νυκτὸς** **α(Icv)**. On the significance of omissions as "separative errors", see above n. 70.

must stem from a common source. On closer examination of the ὄτι-passages present on both sides, however, it can be observed that the divergences between **M** and **α(Iv)** are strikingly similar to the typical differences of the nature of **M** and **A** as described by Severyns:¹¹¹ **M** is (arbitrarily) revised; **α(Iv)**, in contrast, is simpler and ‘more authentic’.¹¹² Furthermore, the errors of **α(Iv)** against **M** can be explained, as Micunco has shown for **A**, either as simple scribal omissions (*per homoioteleuton*),¹¹³ explicative glosses in **M**,¹¹⁴ or are errors that, in any case, could be corrected without difficulty *per coniecturam*.¹¹⁵ In a nutshell, this ‘brother’ of **M**, **α(Iv)**, shows the same textual nature that **A** in Severyns’ description generally does. But, how is it possible to bring into agreement the existence of a hitherto unknown ‘A-like’ version of the Helladius excerpt with the fact that this chapter is neither contained by the **A**-Apographon *Parisinus B* nor mentioned by the *pinax* of **A** itself?

111) See above ch. 1.

112) Cf. Severyns (n. 7) 62–255, esp. 62–84 and 231–239 and the following examples from the Helladius chapter. Repeatedly addition of not necessary καί: 532b38 δὲ, **α(Iv)** : δὲ καὶ **M** | 532b40 δὲ, **α(Iv)** : δὲ καὶ **M** | 533a40 δὲ, **α(Iv)** : δὲ καὶ **M**. Addition of forms of τί(ς)/τι(ς) for stylistic reasons: 531b35 τινὲς δὲ **M** : οἱ δὲ **α(Iv)**. Replacing of δυεῖν by δυοῖν : 530a32 δυεῖν **α(Iv)** : δυοῖν **M** | 531b30 δυεῖν **α(vI)** : δυοῖν **M**.

113) See above n. 110, esp. 534a20–23.

114) 531b8–9 μεθ’ Ὀμηρον δὲ σαφῆ τῆ χρήσει γεγονότα **α(Iv)** : μεθ’ Ὀμηρον δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις σαφῆ τῆ χρήσει γεγονότα **M**; obscure expressions in the Homeric poems have become clear after Homer through the usage of these works, i. e. for the later authors. 533a22 τὸ γὰρ τητᾶσθαι **α(Iv)** : τὸ γὰρ πένεσθαι καὶ τητᾶσθαι **M**; although πένεσθαι (“to be poor, have need”) can be understood as a synonym of τητᾶσθαι βίου, “lacking the necessary things of life”, it has nothing to do with the mentioned change of the consonants τ <> θ which can be observed in τητᾶσθαι (< θής, “the serf”), but even destroys the train of thoughts through its position before τητᾶσθαι in **M**. Thus, it can only be explained as a secondary explicative gloss.

115) 530b17 τῆ κλητικῆ **M** : τῆ δοτικῆ **α(Icv)**; in this context the ‘dative’ does not make any sense; it is obvious that the correct reading must be the ‘vocative’. 532b12 ἀλαζονεύεται **M** : ἀλαζονεύεσθαι **α(Icv)**; Helladius explains that τὸ βρενθύεται, i. e. “the word ‘he/she brags’” is a synonym for τὸ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι (**α**), i. e. “the bragging”, or for τὸ ἀλαζονεύεται (**M**), i. e. “the word ‘he/she/it brags’”; it is no question that the form ἀλαζονεύεται must be understood as the *lectio facilior* due to an obvious linguistic smoothing.

5. *The mutilated end of codex A*

The key for the solution to this contradiction lies in a detailed consideration and synopsis of all the indications on the final section of codex **A**, namely ch. 278 (Theophrast), 279 (Helladius), and 280 (Eulogius). As such, there are to be mentioned: (i) The textual extent of codex **A** itself. (ii) The textual extent of *Parisinus B*, *apographon* of **A**. (iii) The textual extent of the new manuscripts **I(c)** and **v**. (iv) The *pinax* of **A**.

(i) Codex **A** breaks off in ch. 278 (Theophrastus) in the middle of a sentence (527b34 *ταχέϊαν*) at the end of folio 537v: ch. 279 and 280 are missing completely.

(ii) Codex *Parisinus B* terminates in ch. 278 a few Bekker lines before the forced end of its model **A** (with 527b24 *εὐθηνήσωσιν*); **B** proceeds, without any visible space, only with the end of the chapter (from 528b37 *ὅτι οἱ παῖδες* until the end, i. e. 529b23). Directly after this, ch. 280 follows, which, however, breaks off with the end of a *ὅτι*-passage in the middle of a page (p. 359, with 540b7 *αὐτοῦ*).¹¹⁶ Therefore, it is obvious that the passages of chapter 278 and 280 transmitted by **B** were still part of codex **A** when **B** was copied in the second half of the 13th century. Thus, it cannot be a coincidence that in ch. 278 the scribe of **B** copied only exactly until the last complete *ὅτι*-paragraph in **A** before jumping to the end of the chapter. This leads to the conclusion that the mutilation of **A** in the case of ch. 278 was already the same when **B** was copied as we can observe today, but the other passages of ch. 278 and 280 transmitted in **B** were still available in some way in codex **A**. A note from the second half of the 13th century to be found at the bottom margin of the last folio of **A** (537v)¹¹⁷ seems to confirm that certain fragments of **A** were preserved with the codex for some time, for instance, as loose sheets enclosed at

116) Cf. also Micunco (n. 33) 98, 101, and 119 (Tav. III). The Paris manuscript is paginated.

117) Zorzi (n. 71) 837. On the disputed attribution of this hand to the corrector "**A**³" of the *Marcianus* and on its suggested identification by Martini (n. 20) 13–15 with Theodoros Skutariotes (~ 1230–after 1282) in this context we only point to the crucial contributions of R. Tocci, *Bemerkungen zur Hand des Theodoros Skutariotes*, *BZ* 99 (2006) 127–144, 131–132 and 135–136, M. Losacco, *Niceforo Gregora lettore di Fozio*, in: D. Bianconi (ed.), *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, Roma 2014, 53–100, 73 and Micunco (n. 33) 108 n. 71.

the end of it: λείπει φύλλα ιζ – “there are missing 16 sheets”.¹¹⁸ Since this indication is quite precise, it seems probable that the annotator had a secure point of reference for his note: Already Martini claimed that the quantity of the sheets was not calculated but deduced from available fragments of the mutilated end of codex A.¹¹⁹

(iii) The new textual witnesses **I(c)** and **v** start in the Helladius chapter without an actual beginning, and only with the second ὄτι-paragraph. As mentioned, the *Vaticanus* contains some more paragraphs than the *Cantabrigiensis*, namely the whole end (missing in **I(c)** until 535b26).¹²⁰ Now, it is of extraordinary importance that **v**, transmitting all kinds of pagan texts,¹²¹ in addition testifies to only one other piece of the *Bibliotheke*: a short passage of chapter 278 (528a40–b22), Theophrastus, however, strangely set not before, but (directly) after (!) the Helladius excerpt, i. e. after ch. 279.¹²² If we look at a synopsis of the textual extent of the last three chapters in the manuscripts **M**, **A**, **B**, **I(c)**, and **v**, it surprisingly turns out that the new codices transmit text only where the *Parisinus B*, copy of **A**, does not and the other way round.¹²³

118) 16 sheets in the case of the *Marcianus*, consisting almost purely of quaternions (cf. E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum, Codices Graeci Manuscripti, Volumen II, Thesaurus Antiquus, Codices 300–625*, Roma 1985, 224), correspond exactly to two complete quires (f. 537 is the last sheet of a full quaternion).

119) Cf. Martini (n. 20) 10, whereas Micunco (n. 34) lxvi is thinking rather of a “stima di massima”. The extent of the missing piece is generally confirmed by a simple calculation: Ronconi (n. 58) 253 n. 24 and Ronconi (n. 55) 96 n. 20 concludes on the basis of the average number of letters on one page in **A** as well as the number of letters of the section missing in **A** (measured against the edition of Henry, i. e. the extent of the **M** version) that the portion in question would have fit on approximately 18 sheets in **A**.

120) Since codex **I** ends with the very Helladius excerpt, one could wonder if it also once contained the end portion of the chapter, transmitted by **v**. As it appears from the original numbering of quires, η–κδ, **I** originally was part of a much larger codex of which at least the subsequent section can be identified as codex *Cambr. Trin. Coll. O.1.2* (James [n. 98] 1–2; also see above n. 91), which bears the quire numbers κε–λ. Since the last quire of **I** and the first one of *O.1.2* are complete and the latter starts with Michael Synkellos’ *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως*, it can be excluded that the end of the Helladius chapter was once transmitted integrally in **I**.

121) *Lilla* (n. 90) 261–267.

122) It is the matter of fragment 362A in Theophrastus of Eresus: sources for his life, writings, thought and influence, ed. W. W. Fortenbaugh et al., Leiden 1992, II, 154–157 (reprint of Henry’s edition).

123) The following table does not aim to mirror the relative proportion of text passages in question.

	M	A	B (s. XIII ^{pm})	I (s. XIV ^{pm}) (c; s. XVI)	V (s. XIV ^{am})
Cap. 278: THEOPHRASTUS (525a30–529b23)	<i>habet</i>	<i>habet usque ad</i> 527b34 ταρχεῖαν (δῆτ 1–18 partim) <i>des. mutille</i> (f. 537v)	<i>habet</i> (p. 35f) <i>usque ad</i> 527b24 εὐρηνησοσιν (δῆτ 1–17) <i>deest</i> (<i>sine lac.</i>) <i>usque</i> <i>ad</i> 528b37 αἰτίας (δῆτ 18–24) <i>habet usque ad finem</i> (δῆτ 25–35)	<i>deest</i> <i>deest usque ad finem</i> (δῆτ 23–35)	<i>deest usque ad</i> 528a39 πληδων (δῆτ 1–21) <i>habet</i> 528a40 <i>usque ad</i> 528b22 ἀποδυναῖ (δῆτ 22) <i>deest usque ad finem</i> (δῆτ 23–35)
Cap. 279: HELLADIUS (529b24–536a22)	<i>habet</i> (<i>titulus</i> / δῆτ 1–79 / <i>finis</i>)	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest usque ad</i> 529b29 (<i>titulus et</i> δῆτ 1) <i>habet</i> (<i>partim, desunt</i> δῆτ 10, 31, 32, 40, 46, 48, 49, 51, 60, 63, 65, 70, 73, 74, 75)	<i>deest usque ad</i> 529b29 (<i>titulus et</i> δῆτ 1) <i>habet</i> (<i>partim, desunt</i> δῆτ 8, 10, 11, 31, 32, 40, 46, 48, 49, 51, 63, 65, 70)
Cap. 280: EULOGIUS (536a23–545,23)	<i>habet</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>habet usque ad</i> 540b7 (p. 359) αὐτος (δῆτ 1–18) <i>des. media in pagina</i> (p. 365)	<i>deest, finis</i> , ab 535b26 (δῆτ 78, 79, <i>finis</i>)	<i>deest</i>

The ‘A-character’ of $\alpha(\text{Icv})$ as well as the perfectly complementary distribution of fragments of the last three chapters of the *Bibliotheke* in **B**, **I(c)** and **v**, can hardly be coincidental. Instead, a simple explanation suggests itself: the end of codex **A**, available for the scribe of **B** to a certain extent, contained originally more text, especially ch. 279, and survived in various witnesses (**B**, **I**, **v**) in different portions. Particularly, the absent beginning of ch. 279 in $\alpha(\text{Iv})$ perfectly fits the scenario of an *antigraphon* in the state of disintegration. Therefore, since we know that the end of **A** was damaged by leaf loss no later than the 13th century and parts of ch. 278 and 280 were conserved more or less loosely with(in) the codex, we must conclude that other single fragments complementary to these and of the same textual character should be traced back to the same source, i. e. codex **A**, if there are no serious objections. Thus, the reconstruction of the mutilation of **A** would assume that before **B** was copied, parts of ch. 278/280 not contained in **B**, especially the Theophrastus fragment of **v**, and ch. 279 had fallen out.¹²⁴ The various fragments would have experienced different fates, independent of the *Marcianus*, but survived at least partly in the codices **B**, **v** and **I**.¹²⁵ The fact that the Theophrastus passage in **v** does not

124) Since **B** is transmitting the very end of ch. 278, it cannot be excluded that, together with the last Theophrast part, the title and the beginning of ch. 279 were also at the scribe’s disposal who, however, refrained from copying this short passage, perhaps also because Helladius was not mentioned in the *pimax* of **A** either.

125) At this point, it seemed useful to examine other fragments of ch. 278 and 280 mentioned in Eleuteri’s index of manuscripts containing (parts of) the *Bibliotheke* also, in order to detect other possible pieces of the lost end of **A**. The fragment in the Paris. gr. 2383, f. 3r–6r comprises ch. 278 until 527a19 *ταραχὴν* (cf. Eleuteri [n. 21] 129, no. 65) and was written – as the whole chapter in the Harl. 5593, **X**, f. 196r–202v – by Henri Estienne (<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723866f/f12.image>; 17/05/2017); this is neither mentioned in E. Gamillscheg, et al., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, I–III*, Wien 1981–1997 (I, 116bis = II, 148 = III, 192), nor with Martini (n. 20) 47, nor in Eleuteri’s list. A sample collation shows that the *Parisinus* contains a text version mixed out of **A** and **M**. Since **X** is a copy of **A** with the **M** readings *in marg.* (Stephanus as well), it is probable that Stephanus copied this chapter again from **X**, combining main text and notes according to his judgment. Codex Athos, Vatopedi 286, dated by Eleuteri (n. 21) 114, no. 5 to the first half of the 14th century, contains on f. 62v–64v a paraphrastic and fragmentary version of ch. 280 (Eulogius), from 536b21 (Ὅτι τὸ μακάριον) until 543b43 (ἀπόφασιν). According to my opinion, the codex is to be related to the “cambio grafico” (cf. G. Cavallo, *Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio*

testify to any noteworthy textual divergence from **M** is not decisive in this respect, since it is extremely short (528a40–b22). Much more striking is the fact that the passage is situated anonymously after ch. 279 and it ends in the middle of a sentence (528b22 λόγον ἀποδοῦναι :~) followed in the next line by an anonymous *Collectio verborum Atticorum*.¹²⁶

(iv) The *pinax* of **A** (f. 1v–4v), written simultaneously with the production of the codex, does not mention ch. 279, Helladius. However, the title originally meant to be the last in the *pinax* was not the one of ch. 280, Eulogius, but of ch. 278, Theophrastus. On the one hand, the double point with festooned paragraphos (: ~), marking a clear end, can be observed in the *pinax* only once, after the Theophrastus title (at the end of f. 4v; see pl. II).¹²⁷ On the other hand, it is true that the afterwards following Eulogius title was written by the first hand, but it is clearly a more informal, faster and more compendious expression of the scribe's writing (see pl. II; l. 1–3 from below).¹²⁸ This implies that at a certain point of the composition process of the *Bibliotheke* in **A** the Theophrastus chapter was originally considered to be the last chapter and everything that follows must be regarded as a sort of extension.

As a consequence, the 'argument of the *pinax*' loses its validity, since in the case of a secondary amplification of the end passage of the *Bibliotheke*, one can think of various scenarios that could explain easily why only one of two chapters, included at the last

tra i secoli XI e XII, in: G. Prato [ed.], *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca [Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998], Firenze 2000, I, 219–238, esp. the description of the “polo dominante” / “polo di attrazione d)”, 233) and was probably already written in the 12th century (I thank Rudolf Stefec for his estimate who, in a first approach, excludes the 14th century at all and thinks of the 12th–13th cent. as a possible dating; private correspondence, 25/05/2018). As far as the textual character is concerned, however, the *Athoniensis* – despite its paraphrastic character – clearly follows codex **M**, which becomes apparent especially in the case of passages where *Parisinus B* is extant (e.g. 536b21 ἀφείθησαν **B** : ἀφέθησαν **M** Ath.; 536b39 ἐξῆς **B** : τὰ ἐξῆς **M** Ath.). Many thanks are due to Marwan Rashed and Erich Lamberz for aiding me in getting access to photographic reproductions of the manuscript.

126) Lilla (n. 90) 266.

127) Cf. Ronconi (n. 58) 258–259, Ronconi (n. 55) 124–125, and then Acquafredda (n. 22) 45. According to Martini (n. 20) 11 a characteristic sign in codex **A**.

128) The darker strokes go back to the interventions of a later hand.

minute, was registered afterwards in the index. Although we can only speculate about the reasons involved,¹²⁹ the irregularities at the end of the *pinax* compel us to attribute the Helladius epitome, the ch. “279”, as transmitted in I(c) and v to the codex A in its original state – as a ‘fragment’ with a textual version typical for A and complementary to the passages transmitted in A and its copy, the *Parisinus B*. In other words, the anonymous model of v and I, α, can be equated with a lost part of codex A, and therefore shall be called A[†].

However, the conclusion that the Helladius chapter was once part of codex A is strongly supported also by the programmatic number of 279 κεφάλαια named three times by Photius.

129) A possible scenario should not ignore the possibility that there existed a (more representative and calligraphic?) copy of A, the lost ‘Exemplar of Tarasius’ as the main goal of the ‘operation *Bibliotheke*’ (see also below n. 144). In this case the amplification of A beyond ch. 278 could have been prepared and accomplished e. g. simultaneously to the copying process of this exemplar. Thus, possibly the attention was not ultimately aimed at the completion of codex A and its *pinax*, but first of all on the Tarasius-exemplar. A simple skipping of the Helladius title can not be excluded either, nor is it clear what role the lack of space at the end of the second column of the *pinax* on f. 4v might have played.

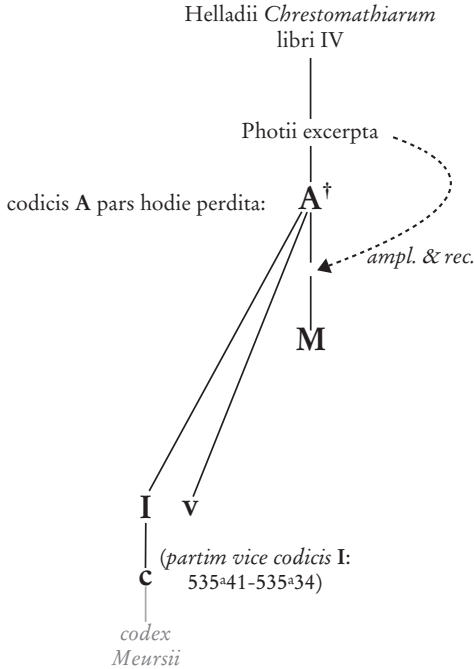


Fig. 3: Structure of the ‘independent’ transmission of the Helladius chapter (no. 279) of Photius’ *Bibliothēke*.

A = Marc. gr. 450 | M = Marc. gr. 451 | I = Cant. Coll. Ss. Trin. O.I.5 | c = Cant. Coll. Ss. Trin. O.5.23 | v = Vat. gr. 2222.

6. 279 κεφάλαια

Photius intentionally emphasizes the number 279: He mentions it first in the introductory letter to Tarasius, then in the original title of the *Bibliothēke*, and finally in the epilogue – always as the calculation 300-21.¹³⁰ There has been some discussion about

130) In the introductory letter (1,4–5): ταῦτα δέ ἐστι πεντεκαίδεκάτω μέρει τῶν τριακοσίων ἐφ’ ἐνὶ καὶ οὐ πλέον ἀπολείποντα. In the original title which, however, occurs in A and M after the *pinax* and before ch. 1 (not, as Bekker in p. 1 before the introduction letter; cf. Canfora [n. 1] xxvii): Ἀπογραφή καὶ συναρίθμησις

the meaning of this special rendering and about the significance of the repeated number 300¹³¹ and much confusion as to what the programmatic cipher 279 is referring to at all. Aside from the deeper (enigmatic?) sense,¹³² it has become clear by now that the number 279 cannot bear upon the quantity of authors treated in the *Bibliothēke*, their works or further subdivisions as “books” (λόγοι), or upon the books (βιβλία) or volumes (τεύχη) read by Photius and his circle:¹³³ for one counts considerably fewer than 279 authors, but more than 279 works, books or volumes that are compiled in the *Bibliothēke*.¹³⁴ The *Bibliothēke* is the collection of the text of 279 σχεδάρια compiled by him or his reading circle. However, it is not a case of 279 different σχεδάρια: as Canfora underscores,¹³⁵ one and the same σχεδάριον was not only treated twice in the case of ch. 185 and 211, but also in 14 other cases.¹³⁶ Therefore, the number of σχεδάρια involved in the compilation of the *Bibliothēke* must have been beyond doubt less than 279. Without commenting on the topic of the possibly deeper significance of the figure ‘279’, this number in its proper sense is referring first of all simply to the number of sections dividing the *Bibliothēke*, hence the κεφάλαια (chapters), no matter how many σχεδάρια were part of their formation process. This fact is certainly also mirrored in the expression used by Photius for the original title of the work:¹³⁷ It is in fact a κεφαλαιώδης διάγνωσις of the books Tarasius asked for.

τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἡμῖν βιβλίων ὧν εἰς κεφαλαιώδη διάγνωσιν ὁ ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Ταράσιος ἐξητήσατο. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα εἴκοσι δεόντων ἐφ’ ἐνὶ τριακόσια. Ἰn the epilogue (545,15–16): εἰς τοσοῦτον, οἶμαι, συνάγεται πλῆθος, τριακοσιοστῶ καὶ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ μέρει προελθεῖν ἄχρι τῶν τριακοσίων [τριακοσίων Henry] κωλύομεν. For a mathematical illustration, cf. Ziegler (n. 1) 691–692.

131) Ziegler (n. 1) 691 and esp. Canfora (n. 1) liii–lvi.

132) Canfora (n. 1) liv.

133) Canfora (n. 1) xli–xlii.

134) Canfora (n. 1) xlii. For instance, it can be excluded that books (λόγοι) 32–40 of the *Bibliothēke* of Diodorus Siculus treated in ch. 244 were contained in only one volume. On the other hand, Photius reports about reading Appian’s *Historia Romana* in three volumes, treated in the only ch. 57.

135) Cf. e. g. Canfora (n. 1) xlii–xliii.

136) On these ‘doublets’ (15/88, 43/240, 44/241, 49/169, 61/264, 70/244, 76/238, 144/191, 159/260, 165/243, 181/242, 185/211, 213/250, 214/251), cf. especially Treadgold (n. 4) 41 (with n. 13). In one case even three chapters (182/208/280) deal with the same topic (Eulogius).

137) See above n. 1.

As far as the incongruence of the fixed number of 279 and the modern reckoning of 280 chapters is concerned, different explanations have been put forth. Konrat Ziegler solves the problem by referring to the fact that chapters 88 and 89 in the printed editions form only one κεφάλαιον in the manuscripts, πη' (88), whereas the cipher πθ' (89) was simply skipped and the transmission continues with the numeral ϑ' (90).¹³⁸ Canfora, however, prefers another approach, referring to the case of the 'doublets', ch. 185 and 211: since ch. 185 is missing in codex **A**, according to him, this chapter was not counted and Photius speaks of 279, whereas the systematic numeration arrives at 280 κεφάλαια.¹³⁹ Before getting back to these arguments, it must be clarified that after the recent findings about the origins of the *Bibliothèque* and the nature of codex **A**, every debate about the compatibility of the given number 279 and the real quantity of chapters must naturally rest upon the evidence found in the *pinax* and the text of codex **A**, not other manuscripts or even modern editions. If codex **A** really was the 'Ur-*Bibliothèque*' and the number of 279 sections goes back to the indications in the same codex, if at all, we should expect to be able to explain this number on the basis of the content of **A** itself. Thus, the crucial question can be formulated as follows: Does the number of κεφάλαια named three times as '279' correspond with the number of chapters of codex **A** in its original state?

It is clear from the content of the *apographon* of **A**, *Parisinus B*, and the codicological condition of **A** itself that most of the chapters or passages missing today in the manuscript were extant in its original state and had fallen out later: this concerns chapters 238, 240, 278, and 280.¹⁴⁰ If one sums up the (once) extant chapters in the light of this and takes into account that an actual ch. '89' is missing and ch. '185' was not present in **A** from the beginning, and also omits ch. '279' (Helladius) – not contained in **B** and not mentioned in the *pinax* – the quantity of chapters amounts only to 277. Also – all counting errors aside –, how can it be that the very last entry of

138) Ziegler (n. 1) 692–693, followed by Acquafredda (n. 22) 23 n. 11. Codex **A** omits the cipher πθ' in the text, but πη' in the *pinax*. In a second attempt, a later hand (A²?) interpolates the missing πθ' in the text (Acquafredda [n. 22] 28–29 and 95–97).

139) Canfora (n. 1) xvii.

140) On the details regarding the chapters in question, see above n. 22.

the *pinax*, by the first hand (for the added Eulogius chapter), bears the number σση' (278), whereas the preface, title and epilogue accentuate the cipher 279? In other words, neither the full number of chapters indicated in the *pinax* (278) nor the reconstructed number of chapters contained by codex **A** in its original state (277) seems to be identical with the programmatic number, 279. From that we can certainly conclude that Photius neither took over the number of chapters mechanically from the *pinax* nor did the scribe of the *pinax* try to adjust the list insistently to an announced and confirmed 'target' of '279'. So, whether or not there is a deeper significance in it, the number 279 named in the text of the *Bibliothēke* is in some way 'independent' of the *pinax*, which causes the *pinax* to lose, therefore, its argumentative validity in this context entirely. But, on the other hand, understandably, the number 279 must have a significant relation to the quantity of chapters present in the original codex **A**. In fact, we should consider the possibility that one or more of the three chapters or numbers not included in the reckoning – ch. '89', ch. '185' and ch. '279' (Helladius) –, could be added after all with good reasons to the 277 chapters. In this case, there is no doubt that the Helladius chapter must have been part of the reckoning process, since only the absence of the Helladius title in the *pinax* was contradictory to this necessary consequence of the new findings, i. e. to the discovery of an **A**-version in the manuscripts I(c)v. However, since it has already been shown that several reasons can be brought up to explain why this title is missing in the *pinax*, and the *pinax* as a whole apparently cannot be considered as reliable aid in reconstructing the 'true 279' chapters either, it can be stated now that the Helladius chapter ('279') was not only part of the original codex **A**, but was especially also one of Photius' 279 κεφάλαια.

There is some probability that we have to consider ch. 185 as the other κεφάλαιον still missing from the quantity of 279 κεφάλαια, even if it was not present in **A** from the beginning. Contrary to the case of ch. 89, a κεφάλαιον was inserted by the redactor of **M** (or better, its model) in the case of ch. 185, even if it is a doublet of ch. 211. However, it is not at all true that ch. 185 is missing from **A** without any trace – this is correct only from a material perspective:¹⁴¹ There is very clearly an irregularity in the numbering in

141) See above n. 79.

the text of **A** which jumps at this very point (on f. 124v) from ρπδ' (184) to ρπζ' (186).¹⁴² Now, the fact that the insertion of ch. 185 in **M** coincides with the lack of a number in codex **A**, and also that there was not any text already included in **M** in the case of the missing chapter or number 89, seems to justify the assumption that the redactor of the **M** version had some information at his disposal indicating that an addition was necessary or intended (only) in the case of ch. 185. Accordingly, the situation concerning 'ch. 89' would be the result of an erroneous skipping of a number. So, not only is it possible to reach the number of 279 κεφάλαια on the basis of codex **A**, but, basically, this explanation is also in congruence with the *Bibliotheke* as presented in the **M** version: 277 chapters of **A** plus ch. 185 and ch. 279, not present (today) in **A**. With that, in the end, the conjecture of Ziegler reported above turns out to be correct regarding the skipping of number '89'.

7. Conclusions: *The iambic trimeter as text-critical criterion in the Helladius chapter*

The insight that the Helladius chapter was once part of codex **A**, leads to several important consequences: (i) as far as the picture of the transmission of the *Bibliotheke* is concerned; (ii) for the *constitutio textus* of the Helladius chapter in particular and the *Bibliotheke* in general.

(i) First of all, the new results concerning the Helladius chapter invalidate the only important argument against a general dependence of codex **M** on codex **A**, the primary synthesis of the *Bibliotheke*. We have been able to demonstrate that the text of the only σκεδάρτιον present today in codex **M** alone, i. e. the text of the Helladius σκεδάρτιον, was after all already extant in codex **A**. Not only have chapters 238, 240, 278, and 280 (partly) fallen out of codex **A** later, but so has ch. 279 (Helladius), too. Ch. 185, only present in **M** was missing in **A** from the beginning, but is almost identical to ch. 211, contained in both codices. Therefore, since no

142) Acquafredda (n.22) 31. Only the *pinax* proceeds correctly, which invited the scribe A² in the 12th cent. to correct the following ciphers, partly (for ch. 186/185–199/198) *per rasuram*.

new chapter, i. e. *σχεδάριον*, was introduced or used for the **M** version, the conclusion becomes inevitable:¹⁴³ the constitution of the **M** version can be described for the whole *Bibliothèque* as the text of **A**, revised and enriched, at least for certain chapters, with material from Photius' *σχεδάρια*.¹⁴⁴

(ii) It is self-evident that this picture of the transmission must have methodological implications for the *constitutio textus*; for it is the transmission as it is available to the editor which conditions his answer to the decisive question: what text, precisely, is he aiming to edit? Is it the reconstructed (and eventually corrected) text of an archetype of the whole tradition, the text of one certain version, the text of one manuscript, etc.? In the case of the *Bibliothèque*, the new insights have proven that there is no archetype as assumed by Martini, Severyns and also Henry. Instead, we still have the manuscript, codex **A**, in which the work was conceived and layed out. However, we also possess codex **M** that depends on **A**, but generally speaking contains more text and in several cases testifies also to a superior reading.¹⁴⁵ It is clear that the goal of the *constitutio textus* here must not be the fusion of the two versions according to subjective editorial opinion, nor is it satisfying and methodically justifiable to edit the text of only one of the two codices in question.¹⁴⁶ It is crucial to keep in mind that we are dealing with a compilation of texts of primary authors, collected in the single *σχεδάρια* that were used by Photius and others to compile the *ὑποθέσεις* (basically ch. 1–233) and the excerpts (basically ch. 234–280).¹⁴⁷ Therefore, the aim of an edition of the *Bibliothèque* can be the constitution of 'a text Photius wrote' only in the case of the *ὑποθέσεις* formulated by himself, but certainly not for the excerpts taken from primary literature. Since, however, the recon-

143) Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii speaks still cautiously of "[l']ipotesi più verosimile".

144) The enriched copy of **A**, *antigraphon* of codex **M**, could have been, for instance, 'Tarasius' exemplar' or some other early copy of **A** written when the Hel-ladius chapter was still extant (see n. 129).

145) Cf. e. g. the list of passages in H. Erbse, Review of: Photius, *Bibliothèque*, Tome I, Codices 1–83, *Texte établi et traduit par R. Henry*, Paris 1959, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 608–618, 610–612 in the case of which **M** would offer "einen besseren Wortlaut" (p. 610).

146) See above p. 205.

147) See above p. 191.

struction of ‘the’ text of primary authors is often not even feasible in the case of direct transmission,¹⁴⁸ the object of the *constitutio textus* must be to find the earliest point in the tradition at which it can be reconstructed in a reasonable way. In the case of the single excerpt chapters in the *Bibliotheke*, i. e. also the Helladius chapter, this point is without any doubt the text of Photius’ *σχεδάρια*. But, the editor has to make a new methodological decision regarding the *constitutio textus* with every chapter even apart from the twofold nature of the *Bibliotheke* (ὑποθέσεις vs. excerpts): As Micunco has already pointed out,¹⁴⁹ there can be different ‘stemmatical situations’ within the *Bibliotheke*, or in other words, the divergences between the **A**- and the **M**-version can be totally different in the single chapters simply depending on the sort and intensity of the **M**-redactor’s intervention. In sum, textpassages, phrases and also single words extant only in the **M**-version are often a result not of a usual omission in **A**, but of the **M**-redactor adding them subsequently from the *σχεδάρια*; they appear regularly in the excerpt chapters. Methodologically, these cases therefore must be treated differently than those passages or words that are transmitted in both versions, but in different form (**A** : **M**): In order to reconstruct the text of the *σχεδάρια* in question, in the first case the reading of **M** can and (if not an obvious emendation of the redactor *suo ingenio*) even must be taken into the text, in the second case – the greater part of the *Bibliotheke* –, however, the **A**-version must be preserved as far as possible.

The Helladius chapter constitutes a very good example for this and for the features of the **M** text. With its special nature as a series of prose excerpts from an originally iambic text, the Helladius chapter offers sometimes a singular criterion for the evaluation of the readings in **A** and **M**: the metre. In the 19th century, scholars had already succeeded in detecting entire iambic verses in the Photian Helladius epitome.¹⁵⁰ Many of them can be found within

148) Cf. e. g. Primavesi’s edition of Aristotle’s *De motu animalium* in which the editor aims to reconstruct the text of the edition of Andronikos of Rhodes (1st cent. BC), but certainly not the text of ‘Aristotle himself’, even if he uses for this purpose the linguistic criteria of Aristotle’s language (Primavesi [n. 81] esp. lxii–lxiii).

149) Micunco (n. 34) lxxiii.

150) See above n. 15.

the 13 ὄτι-passages only transmitted in **M**,¹⁵¹ i. e. introduced by the redactor of the **M** version into the text of **A**.¹⁵² There is no question here that we are dealing with the original Helladius. These passages must be taken into the edition of the chapter on the basis of only manuscript **M**, since they contribute to the reconstruction of the text of the Helladius *σχεδάρτιον*. Now, in regard to the passages transmitted in **A** and **M** differently, it can be shown that the reading of the new **A**[†] text several times fits without any difficulty in the iambic metre – in contrast to the variant of **M**. However, the iambic variants of **A** do not always offer the better meaning! On the contrary, the **M** reading, as mentioned above,¹⁵³ is sometimes the superior one. In these cases it becomes obvious that the editor cannot automatically choose the more convincing **M** variant. This is, first, because in the case of the *Chrestomatheiai* we are not dealing with genuine poetry, but rather with a composition written to serve as a mnemonic aid.¹⁵⁴ Second, whereas it is perfectly understandable that the redactor of the later **M** version (as characterized already by Severyns) would correct and emend meaning and grammar of a given prose-excerpt transmitted in **A**, it can be excluded that a Byzantine scholar (**M**) would change a clearly superior reading to an inferior one out of concern for the metre. Thus, the criterion of preserving the iambus can ‘overrule’ the general criterion of the superior reading, but only so long as the iambic variant in question preserves reasonable grammar and meaning. In that case the metre will serve as protector of the original text.¹⁵⁵

151) Cf. the apparatus of Bekker: 534a3 ἔθος___b. 534a6 περὶ___ἄτερος. 534a9–10 ἀπὸ Ἀνδρόγεω (= ἀπ’ Ἀνδρόγεω)___τὴν λοιμικὴν. 534a11–12 αἰεὶ καθαίρειν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς φαρμάκοις. 534a14–15 τὴν ταῖν θεαῖν ἀνειμένην τῆς Ἀττικῆς. 535a38–40 οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ (39) τοῦ πρωτογόνου πεφηνέαι λέγουσιν ὡοῦ, [καί] μαρτυρεῖν (δέ) τοῦνομα. 535a40–41 διότι περ ἡμφίεστο κητώδη δοράν.

152) Since the two copies of **A**[†] in case of the Helladius chapter, **I** and **v**, omit only rarely different ὄτι-passages (see above n. 92 and 95), it seems probable that in **A**[†](**I/v**) – apart from the missing beginning – we are dealing with the original extent of the **A** version of the chapter.

153) See above, e. g. n. 145.

154) See above, p. 192 with n. 13 and 14.

155) See above, n. 14.

example 531b1–2:

$\cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup -$
πόδεσσιν ἔλλων εἶλε ποικίλον κύων πόδεσιν **M**
(Henry, Montecalvo)

This passage is alluding to the Homeric verse τ 228 ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἔλλόν (ed. West 2017). Only the **A**[†]-reading, πόδεσσι(v), is fitting into the iambic (and the dactylic!) metre. Though already Meursius restores on the basis of the homeric text πόδεσσιν,¹⁵⁶ Henry and Montecalvo retain πόδεσιν.

example 533b14–16:

Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ τοῦ περιπάτου προστάτης
 $\cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup \cup$
 ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἵππος **ὠνομάζετο**... ἐπνομάζετο **M**

August Meineke already in 1859 emended the reading ἐπνομάζετο to ὠνομάζετο on the basis of the metre,¹⁵⁷ what is now confirmed by the new **A**[†]-reading. A similar metrical approach can be excluded in the case of the Byzantine scribe of **I** and **v**.¹⁵⁸

example 533b3:

$\cup - \cup \cup \cup | - - \cup \cup \cup | - - \cup -$
 Ἄρην τὸν ἔφορον τῶν πολεμικῶν **ὀργάνων** ἔργων **M**

It is without any doubt more convincing to entitle Ares broadly as the “guardian of the deeds of war” (πολεμικῶν ἔργων **M**) than – with the new reading of **A**[†](**Iv**), πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων – more specifically only as “guardian of the tools of war”. However, since only ὀργάνων can be integrated in the iambus, and the combination of Ares

156) Meursius, *Χρηστομάθειαι* (n. 42) 50.

157) Meineke (n. 15) 21.

158) See also n. 109 above. It should not be surprising that Helladius in the first verse in question divides the first *breve* and does not stick to the *Lex Porsoniana* (see also 533b3) – both attested already in classical times outside of tragedy (e. g. B. Snell, *Griechische Metrik*, Göttingen ⁴1982, 21).

with the πολεμικὰ ὄργανα is still coherent, **A**[†](**Iv**) here seems to preserve the Helladius reading (ὀργάνων is chosen probably especially *metri gratia*). In other words, the variant ἔργων can be perfectly explained as a result of a secondary smoothing by the **M** redactor; by contrast, a later Byzantine emendation or error changing ἔργων to ὀργάνων seems quite implausible.

Conversly, there are passages where the **M**-reading seems to fit better in the iambic trimeter. However, since we can exclude again the possibility that the **M**-redactor consciously tried to restore iambic verses, it is not clear whether we are dealing with genuine variants from the *Chrestomatheiai* introduced en passant during the revision of the redactor or simply with coincidence:

example 531a32–33:

$\cup \cup \cup - | - - \cup - | \cup - \cup -$
 τί ποτε γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ τέττα **μέχρι νῦν** μέχρι τοῦ νῦν **A**[†](**Iv**)
 οὔπω συνομολογεῖται· ἀλλ' οἱ σεπτικῆν...

From this, it becomes clear that genuine readings from the Helladius σχεδάριον can be transmitted in both **A**[†] and **M**, especially where additions are made by the **M** redactor.¹⁵⁹ Methodologically

159) As to the redactor of the **M** version (see above p. 194f.), we can perhaps observe also in the case of the Helladius chapter a certain affinity between the **M** text and a scholion written by Arethas. According to Becker (n. 18) 66–68 and Severyns (n. 7) 343–344 Arethas annotated the Paris. gr. 451 (Clemens of Alexandria) and Lond. Harl. 5694 (Lucian) with at least four scholia taken from the Photian Helladius chapter: 1) From 532b13–17 (βρένθιον / μετάλλιον / πλαγγόνιον), Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus, ed. M. Markovich, Leiden / Boston 2002, 218,13–15 (= Clemens Alexandrinus, Erster Band: Protrepicus und Paedagogus, ed. O. Stählin, Leipzig 1905, 329,26–28). 2) From 533a31–33 (ἀστράβη / ἀστραβηλάτης), Scholia in Lucianum, ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1906, 191,21–27. 3) From 535a7 (εὐμενίδες), ed. Marcovich 195,184–185. 4) From 535b27–38 (Λοξίας), ed. Marcovich 208,48–57. In these testimonies, there can be observed, at least in one occasion, a congruence with **M**: 532b13 βρένθιον **M** Areth. : βρένθιον I(c)v : βρένθειον Etym. Gen. (cf. Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum, Symeonis Etymologicum una cum Magna Grammatica, Etymologicum Magnum Auctum, ed. F. Lasserre, N. Livadaras, II, Athens 1992, 246). Despite the problem of *iotacism*, the common reading βρένθιον possibly has some significance, because Helladius explains the verb βρενθύεται. Whereas a congruence in βρένθιον would not bear any validity, the ‘lectio difficilior’ βρένθειον might point to a conscious spelling. Furthermore, there is another

speaking, the metre of the original work of Helladius must be used, wherever possible, as the criterion for the correct reading in reconstructing the text of Photius' Helladius *σχεδάριον*. Where this criterion is applicable, we have a clear indication towards the correct reading. As to other divergences between **A** and **M**, according to the insights into the transmission, the text of **A** must prevail, unless its reading is untenable as far as content and language is concerned. So, in these cases there cannot be an *examinatio* between two equal readings: the **A** text must be approached like the reading of a reconstructed archetype; the **M** reading – or a conjecture of the editor – can only be put into play when the version of **A** has been proved to be unintelligible or grammatically false. Basing the edition of the Helladius chapter on these general rules, we face a deeply changed text: Not only is it complete, i. e. without gaps, for the first time since the composition of the *Bibliotheke*, but it has been corrected in comparison to the edition of Henry in about 110 essential cases.¹⁶⁰

Based on the methodological application of the new results in editing the Helladius chapter, the following general rules can be formulated with regard to a new edition of the *Bibliotheke* as a whole.¹⁶¹ First, every single chapter of the *Bibliotheke* must be approached on its own, since the overwork of the **A** text conducted by the redactor of the **M** version – on the basis of the *σχεδάρια* and

scholion edited by Rabe from the Lucian codices Vat. gr. 1322 and Vind. phil. gr. 123 referring clearly to the **M** text of the Helladius excerpt, even if it was not written by Arethas: 535b38 (κνισῶν ἀγυιάς), ed. Rabe 97,22. κνισῶν ἀγυιάς **M** Schol.(ἀγυιάς) : κνισῶν ἀγυιάν α(v) ([[c] desunt) (For Becker [n. 18] 68 instead of a connection with Arethas the influence of some unknown lexicon is more plausible here). However, as already Hägg has pointed out (see n. 27 above) there are no congruences between Arethas and **M** (or **A**) in errors. Therefore, Arethas probably is to be associated not with the manuscript tradition of the *Bibliotheke*, but already with the sources of **A**, i. e. the *σχεδάρια*. On the problem regarding the **M** redactor and Arethas, see P. Isépy, Die Überlieferung der *Bibliotheke* des Photios und die Frage nach dem Archetypus, in: Lachmanns Erben. Vom Umgang mit Textvarianz in klassischer Philologie und germanistischer Mediävistik, ed. K. Bleuler / O. Primavesi, published as "Beiheft" in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie (forthcoming), ch. V. "Die mehrschichtige 'M-Redaktion'".

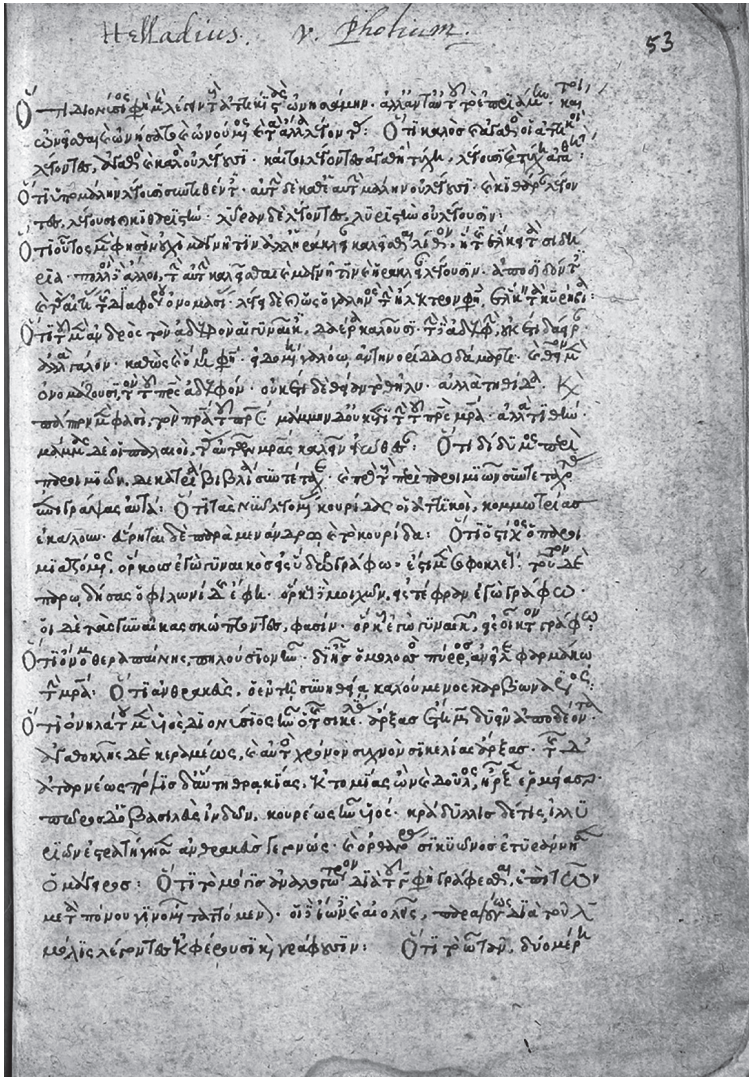
160) The text will be published in the series "Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker (SGLG)" with De Gruyter (Berlin).

161) For a more detailed discussion on the text constitution of the *Bibliotheke*, see Isépy (n. 159) ch. VII. "Die Methode der *constitutio textus*".

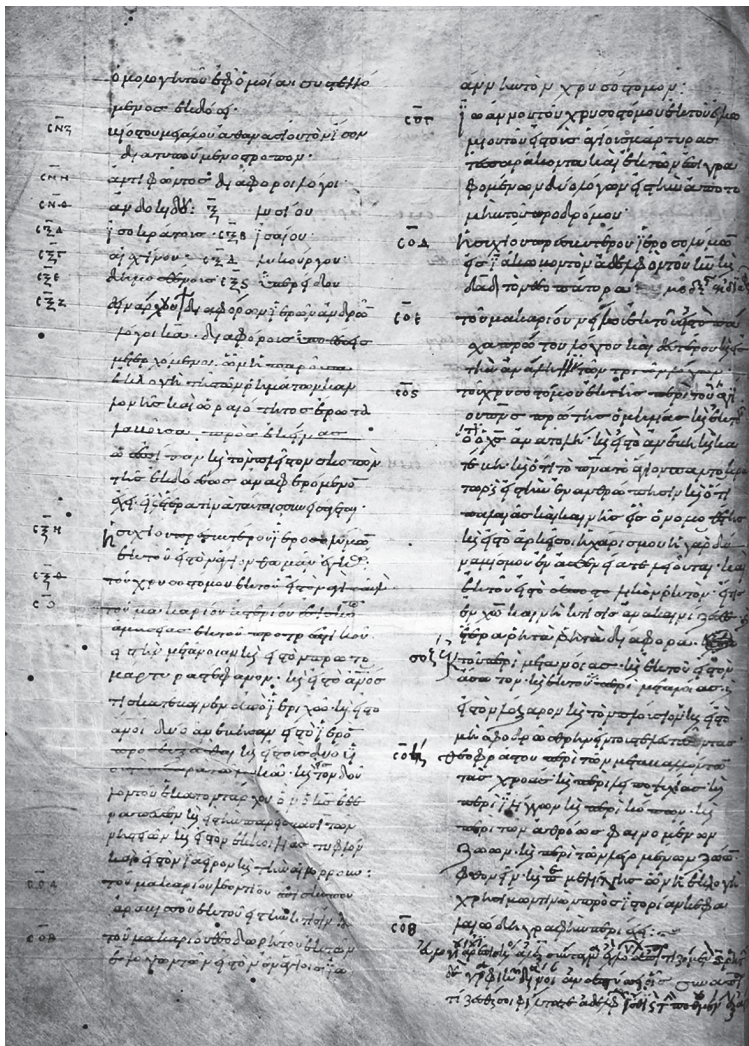
without them – very probably is quite inconsistent, depending on several factors, amongst others, the peculiarity of the primary author in question. Furthermore, the edited text must rest basically on codex **A**, a) until its text is reasonable, as far as the content is concerned, and grammatically correct; b) until it cannot be proven that the divergences of **M** are due to a recourse to Photian original material, i. e. to the *σχεδάριον* in question. In this regard, one should look out for adequate criteria for the single chapters, in any case the transmission of the work in question outside the *Bibliotheke*, in order to attain instruments for valuing the differences between **A** and **M**. For the purpose of comprehending the choices of the editor in reconstructing the text of the *σχεδάρια*, the *apparatus criticus* should mention very precisely throughout the readings of **A** and **M** as well as, if necessary, the textual witnesses, which can substitute missing or damaged passages in the two *Marciani*.

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Pl. I: Cambridge, Trinity College O.I.5 (1029) (I), f. 53r.



Pl. II: Venice, Marc. gr. 450 (A), f. 4v (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali – Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Divieto di riproduzione. 25/02/2019).