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Some Remarks about the Relationship between the Primary Witnesses of the *Corpus Demosthenicum*

(1.) PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The main goal of the stemmatic method is the *eliminatio codicum descriptorum*.¹ Still, by means of this method, together with the aid of other disciplines such as palaeography, codicology, prosopography, and so on, it is sometimes possible to draw detailed *stemmata* of the extant manuscripts.² This is particularly true when we are dealing with the low branches of the genealogical tree for two good reasons: first, comparatively few manuscripts are lost and, second, it is sometimes possible to determine the origin of the contamination. This is not the case with the high branches of the genealogical tree: when we try to elucidate the relationship between the extant primary witnesses, we can make a clean sweep of the *apographa*, but then we find ourselves at a dead end, unless of course we are dealing with a closed recension. However, this is quite seldom the case, and the textual tradition of the *Corpus Demosthenicum* is certainly not one of those rare exceptions.

¹ Of course the *eliminatio* needs to be handled with some important methodological cautions: see PASQUALI 1952, 25–40; the discussion between TIMPANARO 1985 and REEVE 1989 (now in REEVE 2011, 145–174); ORLANDI 1994 (now in ORLANDI 2008, 63–94).

² In other words “la critique des textes” and – I add – the drawing of a *stemma* “doit être historique” (IRIGOIN 1981, now in IRIGOIN 2003, 19–36). I think that investigations on the texts and their history can be performed in the best way by means of a reconciliation between MAAS’ Textkritik and PASQUALI’s Storia della tradizione: to sum up, we should “leggere il Maas per imparare le regole e il Pasquali per le eccezioni”, keeping in mind that “in campi come il nostro le eccezioni hanno importanza anche maggiore delle regole – ma pur sempre in quanto eccezioni, cioè tali da far riferimento a regole” (ORLANDI 1994, 29 n. 87 = 2008, 87 n. 87; see CHIESA 2008, 823). A complete theoretical commentary on MAAS’ Textkritik is now available in MONTANARI 2003 (discussed by CHIESA 2004). The importance of the stemmatic method is stressed by ORLANDI 1995 (now in ORLANDI 2008, 95–130). Canfora’s right remarks about this topic (CANFORA 2002, 28–35; 2008, 60–75) tell us just one side of the story.

No archetype can be envisaged, and the three surviving complete Byzantine collections (S, Paris. gr. 2934 [s. IX/X];³ A, Monac. gr. 485 [s. IX];⁴ F, Marc. gr. 416 [s. XI]⁵) go back to three different late antique editions featuring heterogeneous material.⁶ The relationship between these editions and the other primary manuscripts should be examined on a case by case basis; different sections of the *Corpus*, and sometimes even different speeches, are likely to yield different results.⁷ This is due to extensive contamination dating back to the early stages of the transmission, although its origin is very hard to pin down.⁸

In this paper I am going to show and discuss the results of a fresh collation of mss. S (Paris. gr. 2934; figg. 1–2), A (Monac. gr. 485; fig. 3), F (Marc. gr. 416; fig. 4), D (Ambr. D 112 sup. [s. X ex./XI in.]; fig. 5)⁹ and Q (Marc. gr. 418 [s. X/XI]; figg. 6–7¹⁰) for a couple of counter-indictments (*paragraphai*), i. e. *Against Zenothemis* (32) and *Against Apaturius* (33). Leaving aside the question of the possible independence of the *recentiores*, my aim is to elucidate – if possible – the relationships between the primary witnesses for a part of the more

³ See CANFORA 1968, 48–49 (nr. 152); PRATO 1986 (now in PRATO 1994, 1–11); PERRIA 1994; PRATO 2000, 705–706. Ernst Gamillscheg, in this volume, 191–198, argues for a Constantinopolitan origin of S. See also Jana Grusková, in this volume, 267–270.

⁴ See CANFORA 1968, 45 (nr. 127); CAVALLO 1995, 267 and n. 11 (now in CAVALLO 2002, 197 and n. 11); LUCÀ 1990, 48–52. Brigitte Mondrain, in this volume, 201–205, casts new light upon the date and the origin of A. See also Jana Grusková, in this volume, 270–273.

⁵ See CANFORA 1968, 64 (nr. 240); AVEZZÙ 1979; MIONI 1985, 175–177. See also Jana Grusková, in this volume, 278–281. On the annotations in F see GRUSKOVÁ 2012.

⁶ This could be the case for Y (Paris. gr. 2935), as well (on this ms. see Jana Grusková, in this volume, 273–276). The best sketches of the vicissitudes of the *Corpus Demosthenicum* in antiquity are still PASQUALI 1952, 269–294, and CANFORA 1974, 63–93. See also CAVALLO 1986, 120–126 (now in 2002, 104–112) and CANFORA 1995, 164–168, 172–178. A brief up-to-date discussion in DILTS 2002, v–viii. See also HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ 2008, 48–54.

⁷ For the results of recent inquiries on others orations see, e. g., CANFORA 1971, 49–53; IRMER 1968; IRMER 1972, 92–99; CANFORA 1974, 90–93; CLAVAUD 1974a, 41–50 and CLAVAUD 1974b, 55–82 (see also the review by L. CANFORA in *Gnomon* 47 [1977], 252–257; 257); PASSWEG 1975, 2–11; CLAVAUD 1987, 69–90; RADICKE 1995, 60–66 (see also the review by K. A. KAPPARIS in *JHS* 117 [1997], 220–221); KAPPARIS 1999, 60–69; MACDOWELL 1999, 48–57; MACDOWELL 2000, 34–40; DILTS 2002, xv–xvii (with further bibliography); MCGAY 2005, 4–25; LEGANÉS MOYA - HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ 2008, 29–55.

⁸ See CANFORA 1974, 93. This is the kind of contamination against which, to use Paul Maas' wording, "ist kein Kraut gewachsen" (MAAS 1960, 30). For a discussion of this passage of Maas' *Textkritik* see MONTANARI 2003, 446–457.

⁹ See CANFORA 1968, 43 (nr. 108); BENEDETTI 2006/2007. See also Jana Grusková, in this volume, 281–282.

¹⁰ See CANFORA 1968, 65 (nr. 242); MIONI 1985, 179–180. See also Jana Grusková, in this volume, 283–284.

or less compact *corpusculum* of the *paragraphikoi logoi*, in particular for two speeches that arguably had a limited circulation: a scarcity of quotations, along with the circumstance that, to date, no relevant papyri have appeared, may suggest that much. Moreover the speech *Against Zenothemis* is the only one in the whole *Corpus* featuring a mutilated ending, and one could think that this is further evidence of limited circulation, which in turn might have prevented contamination. Nevertheless, as we shall see, this will prove true only in part.

(2.) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRIMARY MSS.
OF THE *AGAINST ZENOTHEMIS*

My recent collation of the primary manuscripts of the counter-indictment *Against Zenothemis* has yielded the following results:

First of all, we have a few mistakes shared by all the manuscripts:

2.1 (106.7) τουτωι Blass : τούτωι S A DFQ; 3.2 (16) προσέσχετε Reiske : προσέχετε S A DFQ; 15.5 (110.3) λέγοντος A^{pc} : λέγοντα S A^{ac} DFQ; 15.6 (4) οὖν del. Blass : habent S A DFQ; 16.6 (14) αὖ Reiske : ἄν S A DFQ; 19.2 (111.2) βεβαιῶν Lamb^c] βεβαιούν S A DFQ; 26.4 (113.2) περὶ (Reiske)] ἐπὶ S A DFQ

A passage should be added in which the editors accept an emendation by Reiske, designed to correct two wrong readings in the manuscripts: 19.3 (111.3) προησόμεθ' Reiske] προήσομεν S DFQ : ποιησόμεθα A.

To be sure, the number and the quality of these common mistakes cannot prove the existence of an archetype. To this end, the loss of the end of the speech is no proof either. Rather, as Luciano Canfora maintains: “se il discorso Contro Zenotemide è mutilo in tutta la tradizione, questo, lungi dal testimoniare un archetipo della tradizione demostenica [...] significherà semplicemente che era mutilo in fine il rotolino in cui il discorso circolò, magari da solo, magari sin dal principio, dopo l'impiego nel processo.”¹¹

The existence of a common source of D F and Q is proved by a large number of innovations shared by these three manuscripts:

2.6 (106.12) δὴ S A : δὲ DFQ; 3.1 (15) ὅμων πάντων S : ὅμων ἀπάντων DFQ : πάντων ὅμων A; 3.5 (19) οἶμαι S A : οἴομαι DFQ; 5.3 (107.6) συγγραφῶν S A : γραφῶν DFQ; 5.5 (8) δανείσαντας S A : δανειστάς DFQ (cf. 12.6 [109.7]); 6.5 (18) ἄξιος ἦν S A : ἦν ἄξιος DFQ; 7.3 (22) ἀλλ' ἐκ- A : ἀλλὰ ἐκ- S : ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ-

¹¹ CANFORA 1974, 91.

DFQ; 7.7 (26) τοῦτ' ἐπιτελεσθεῖη S A An.Bk. (-το ἐ-) : τουτὶ τελεσθεῖη DFQ; 8.3 (108.1) μισθοὺς A : om. S : post ναῦν transp. DFQ; 8.5 (3) καὶ S A : om. DFQ; 9.4 (11) οὗτος S A : τοῦτον DFQ; 11.6 (25) οὗτος A : οὐτοσὶ S : οὗτος ὁ DFQ; 11.7–8 (26–27) γὰρ νῦν S A : μὲν οὖν DFQ; 11.8 (27) ἀκούομεν ἡργολάβηκεν S A : ἡκούομεν ἡργολάβηκέναι DFQ; 11.8 (27) κατεπήγγελλται S : κατεπήγγελλται DFQ; 12.8 (109.9) ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν S A Q^{yp.mg} Harp. : ἀλλ' οὐδ' DFQ; 12.9 (10) ὑμῶν S A : δ' ὑμῶν DFQ; 13.4 (17) ἤδη S A : δὴ DFQ; 14.4 (23) ἐνθὲνδε S : ἐνθάδε DFQ; 14.6 (25) ἦκεν οὗτος S A : οὗτος ἦκεν DFQ; 14.6–7 (25–26) πεμφθέντα πρεσβευτήν S : πεμφθέντα πρεσβύτην A : πρεσβευτήν πεμφθέντα DFQ; 15.2 (28) εὐθέως S A : εὐθέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος DFQ; 15.6 (110.4) προῖεμένοις S A : προεμένοις DFQ; 15.7 (5) εἰ S A : εἰ καὶ DFQ; 16.4 (12) ὁ] om. DFQ; 16.5 (13) ἔδωκας] δέδωκας DFQ; 18.10 (111.1) καὶ] om. DFQ; 19.3 (3) δὲ ταῦτ' ἐθέλοντος] δ' αὖ θέλοντος DFQ; 20.4 (12) ἐνθὲνδε μὲν] ἐνθάδε DFQ; 21.3 (16) ὑπέλαβεν] ὑπελάμβανεν DFQ; 21.8 (21) ταῦτ' ἦν A : ταυτα ἦν S : ἦν DFQ; 23.2 (112.1) τοῖς (et An.Bk.)] om. DFQ; 23.6 (5) ψηφίσαισθε] ψηφισθε S A (ψηφί-) : ψηφίσασθαι DFQ; 23.6 (5) δῆτ' δῆτα A : δηπου γ' S : δῆπου DFQ; 24.2 (11) οἶομαι] οἶμαι DFQ; 24.3–4 (12–13) συντεθεικότος] συντεταχότος DFQ; 24.6 (15) ἐνδοῦναι] μὴ ἐνδοῦναι DFQ; 27.2 (113.8) ἐξελήλεγτο ἂν A : ἐξεληλεγτ' ἂν S : ἐξήλεγτ' ἂν FQ : ἐξήλεγτο ἂν D; 27.8 (14) ἐστι] εἰς in S *post correctionem* : εἶη DFQ; 28.2 (16) αὐτοῖ] αυτοὶ sic A : om. DFQ; 28.5 (19) ἐκώλυεν S : ἐκώλυσεν DFQ : σε κωλύσειεν A; 29.7 (26) λήψει] λήψῃ DFQ; 30.3 (114.3) γενήσεσθαι] γεγενῆσθαι DFQ; 31.1 (6) ἐστὶν ἐλπίς] ἐλπίς ἐστιν DFQ; 31.3 (8) Δημοσθένην S A F^{pcsl} : δημοσθένη DF^{acit}Q; 31.5 (10) ὦ] om. DFQ

These passages, together with the separative errors of S against A DFQ and of A against S DFQ, prove the primary status of S A and the common ancestor of DFQ:

S vs A DFQ

4.6 (106.25) δ' ἐκείνος A : δὲ ἐκείνος DFQ : δὲ οὗτος S; 5.7 (107.10) δυοῖν A DFQ : δυεῖν S; 5.8 (11) εἰς A DFQ : ἐς S; 6.5 (18) οὖν A DFQ : om. S; 8.4 (108.2) post νεῶς (sic) add. ὡς S; 9.2 (9) Κεφαλληνία] κεφαληνία S; 11.9 (109.1) τουτῷ DFQ : τουτῷ (sc. τούτῳ) S (A is missing); 12.3 (4) γε] om. S; 17.3 (110.18) ὁ¹] om. S; 21.4 (111.17) καταλιπεῖν] καταλείπειν S; 22.5 (26) ἔπειθεν] ἐπειθον S; 24.1 (112.10) παρεγραψάμην] παρεγεγράμην S; 24.3 (12) ἀκούσεσθε τοῦ σοφοῦ] et S^{pc} : ακουσεσθαι (et DQ) σοφ(ῆν) S^{ac}; 25.2 (19) ἐλθόντα ποιήσιν, ἀντείχετο] ἀντειχετο ἐλθόντα ποιήσιν S; 26.7–8 (113.5–6) συγχωρεῖ] συγχωρεῖν S; 27.9 (15) ἦ] om. S; 29.2 (21) ἡμετέρας] ὑμετέρας S; 30.2 (114.2) τὴν] om. S; 30.4 (4) δ' οὔτε] δ' ου S; 30.5 (5) κλητεύσεις] κλητεύεις S

S vs A | DFQ

4.8 (107.2) ὦν A : ὥς S : ἦν DFQ; 8.3 (108.1) μισθοὺς A : om. S : post ναῦν transp. DFQ; 11.6 (25) οὔτος A : οὔτοσι S : οὔτος ὁ DFQ; 23.6 (112.5) δῆτ'] δῆτα A : δηπου γ' S : δήπου DFQ

A vs S DFQ

2.6 (106.12) τουτὶ S DFQ : καὶ τουτὶ A; 4.1 (20) post οὔτοσι add. ω^A A; 4.5 (24) ἐδανείζετο] ἐδανείζοντο A; 4.5 (24) οὔτος] οὔτοσι A; 4.7 (107.1) οὔτος] οὔτοσι A; 4.8 (2) ἔχειν αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν ἔχειν A; 8.2 (28) ἐαντιωθέντος] om. A; 10.3 (108.17) ἄνδρες δικασταὶ (αν^A δικασταὶ Q)] ω^A A; 11.2 (21) πρεσβευτήν] πρεσβύτην A; 11.3 (22) οὕτως] οὕτως A; 11.4 (23) οὐδέν] οὐδενὸς A; 11.5 (24) τὸ] τό γε A; 11.8–9 (27–109.1) αὐτὸς ... πράττων] om. A (*saut du même au même*, if we suppose in A οὔτος *pro* αὐτός); 12.8 (9) ἐλπίδα] ἐλπίδας A; 14.7 (26) τὸν] om. A; 15.2 (28) τοῦνομα] ὄνομα A; 17.5 (110.20) αὐτὸν ἐγὼ] ἐγὼ αὐτὸν A; 18.3–4 (22–23) τὸν σίτον ἐκείνος] om. A; 18.6–7 (25–26) καὶ τάλαντον προσλαβεῖν] om. A; 18.7 (26) ταῦτ'] τοῦτ' A; 19.2 (111.2) διεμαρτύρετο] διεμαρτυρατο A; 20.3 (11) ἂ ὁ] ὁ A; 21.1 (14) καὶ] om. A; 21.8 (21) δεξάμενος τὴν πρόκλησιν] τὴν πρόκλησιν δεξάμενος A; 23.5 (112.4) ὄλω] om. A; 24.1 (10) τοῖνυν ἐκ] τοῖνυν δικαίως ἐκ A; 24.5 (14) δίκαιον ἑαυτοῖς] δίκαιον αὐτοῖς DFQ: αυτοῖς δίκαιον sic A; 24.8 (17) νῦν] νυνὶ A; 26.2 (25) Ἀθηναῖοι] δικασταὶ A; 26.6 (113.4) τούτων] τούτου A; 28.3–4 (17–18) ὁ Πρώτος] ὁ om. A; 29.2 (21) λίπη] λίπει S : λείπη A; 29.3 (22) γὰρ μὴ] μὴ γὰρ DFQ : γὰρ A; 29.8 (114.1) ἦει] in F vid. ex corr. : ἀπήκτο sic A; 31.3 (8) ἐμὲ] με A; 31.3 (8) ἐξάγειν] ἐξαγαγεῖν A; 31.5–6 (10–11) ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Δημοσθένης] ὁ δημοσθένης A; 31.7 (12) ὀμνυμι] ὀμνύω A; 32.2 (13) δ'] om. A; 32.4 (15) δεῖ (et vid. A^{ac})] διὰ A^{pc} vid.; 32.4 (15) μέντοι] μέντοι σε A; 32.5 (16) ἀφ'] ἐφ' A; 32.6 (17) λέγειν ἡρξάμην] ἡρξάμην λέγειν A

A vs S | DFQ

3.1 (106.15) ὑμῶν πάντων S : ὑμῶν ἀπάντων DFQ : πάντων ὑμῶν A; 14.6–7 (109.25–26) πεμφθέντα πρεσβευτήν S : πεμφθέντα πρεσβύτην A : πρεσβευτήν πεμφθέντα DFQ; 28.5 (113.19) ἐκώλυνεν S : ἐκώλυσεν DFQ : σε κωλύσειεν A

Much less numerous are the separative errors of D, F and Q:

D vs S A FQ

12.1 (109.2) τοῦ S A FQ : om. D; 12.7 (8) ἑαυτοῖς S FQ Harp.^{ep}(DE) : αυτοῖς sic A : ἑαυτοὺς D Harp.^{pl} Suidas; 16.2 (110.10) ἀπάντων] om. D; 18.9 (28) αἵρεσις] ἡ αἵρεσις D; 30.2 (114.2) ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν D; 30.4 (3) κλητεύσω] οὐ κλητεύσω D

F vs S A DQ

7.7 (107.26) ἡ] et F^{pc ras} : ἡι F^{ac}; 12.5 (109.6) ἐπιπλέων S A DQ : ἐπιπλέον F;
 17.3 (110.18) Πρώτου] et F^{pc} (sine nominis signo) : πρώτου F^{ac}; 18.3 (22)
 Συρακουσίων] συρακουσίων F; 21.2 (111.15) οὐδεῖς] et F^{pc} : οὐδεῖς F^{ac}; 31.7 (12)
 μὴν] et F^{pc} : μὴν F^{ac}

Q vs S A DF

11.8 (108.27) αὐτὸς] αὐτος sic S : αὐτὸν DF^{sl} : αὐτὸ F^{it} : αὐτῷ Q; 17.4
 (110.19) δ' οὐκ] δὴ οὐκ Q

In nine passages A (or A^{pc}) alone transmits the correct reading:

S DFQ vel S | DFQ vs A (A recte)

7.4–5 (107.23–24) ἐμβαίνειν ... ἐκλείπειν A : ἐκβαίνειν ... ἐκλιπεῖν S DFQ;
 8.2 (28) ἐμπλέοντος A : συμπλέοντος S DFQ; 10.4 (108.18) ἐργαστήριον A :
 ἐργαστήρια S DFQ; 11.6 (25) οὗτος A : οὐτοσὶ S : οὗτος ὁ DFQ; 15.5 (110.3)
 λέγοντος A^{pc} : λέγοντα S A^{ac} DFQ; 17.2 (17) ἀντείχετο A : εἶχετο S DFQ
 (cf. 32.25); 18.4 (23) ἐκείνῳ A : ἐκείνου S DFQ; 18.5 (24) ἡξιούμεν A : ἀξιούμεν
 S DFQ; 18.9 (28) ἡμᾶς A : om. S DFQ

In nine passages S alone transmits the correct reading:

A DFQ vel A | DFQ vs S (S recte)

8.3 (107.1) διασώσειαν S : διασώσαιεν A DFQ; 11.3 (108.22) ἦν S : ἦν
 τοιοῦτος A DFQ; 14.6–7 (109.25–26) πεμφθέντα πρεσβευτήν S : πεμφθέντα
 πρεσβύτην A : πρεσβευτήν πεμφθέντα DFQ; 14.7 (26) ἡμφεσβήτει S^{ac} : ἡμφι-
 σβήτει S^{pc} A DFQ; 16.5 (110.13) συγγραφήν S : βιβλίον συγγραφήν A DFQ;
 28.5 (113.19) ἐκώλυν S : ἐκώλυσεν DFQ : σε κωλύσειεν A; 28.5 (19) εἰ S : εἰ δὲ
 A DFQ; 31.2 (114.7) παρακρούσεσθαι] παρακρούσασθαι A DFQ; 31.5 (10) ἐστὶ
 μὲν] ἐστὶν A DFQ

Possibly due to the editors' tendency to view S and A as the best witnesses, we never find the common ancestor of DFQ or one of these three manuscripts transmitting the correct reading. Moreover, we find a series of confusing combinations:

AD vs S FQ

11.2 (108.21) καταπλεύσεται Blass : -σηται S FQ : -σεῖται A D; 21.3
 (111.16) τούτου (et A^{pc})] τούτον A^{ac} D; 22.2 (23) ψηφιεῖσθε τούτῳ] et S^{pc} :
 ψηφιεῖσθαι τούτῳ S^{ac} : τούτῳ ψηφιεῖσθαι F : τούτῳ ψηφιεῖσθε A D : τούτῳ
 ψηφιεῖσθαι Q

FQ vs S A D

8.4 (108.2) ἐπαγγεῖλαμένου (et F^{pc ras?}) : -ους F^{ac}(?)Q

AF vs S DQ

28.2 (113.16) ἔχει] ἔχη A F

S DQ(F^{sl}) vs AF^(it)

30.2 (114.2) ἔκδειαν A F^{it} : ἔνδειαν S DF^{sl}Q

SQ vs A DF

3.3 (106.17) προσέχειν A DF : προσχέιν S Q; 8.4 (108.2) νεῶς] νεῶς S Q; 10.2 (108.16) καὶ ἐλήλυθεν F^{it} : καὶ ἐλήλυθε A : κατελήλυθεν SQ : τ' ἐλήλυθε DF^{sl}

DF vs S A Q

5.2 (107.5) ἀπέστελλον S A F^{sl}Q : ἐπέστελλον DF^{it}; 18.5.6 (110.24–25) τάλαντον S A Q et, ut vid., F^{pc} : ταλάντων D et fortasse F^{ac}; 23.7 (112.6) τί παραγέγραμμαι S A Q (the word ΠΑΡΑΓΡΑΦΗ follows immediately) : τί προγέγραμμαι DF : τὰ παραγεγραμμένα Dobree; 28.3 (113.17) ἡδίκηκεν S A Q : ἡδίκησεν DF

DQ vs S A F

12.6 (109.7) ἐπρίατο] ἐπριᾶτο DQ; 16.4 (110.12) πρὸς τινα] πρόστιμα D : πρόστιμα Q (the exchange between *my* and *ny* is a common Greek minuscule mistake and may suggest that the common ancestor of DFQ had a minuscule *antigraphon*); 29.6 (113.25) παρ' ὧν] παρῶν DQ

The first two combinations (AD vs S FQ and FQ vs S A D) may suggest a contamination of the immediate *antigraphon* of D with a manuscript akin to A (if not A himself): this is a phenomenon already noted for D in this section of the *Corpus*.¹² The two passages in which F (or F^{it}) goes with A are of no importance: the first is very trivial and the second merely confirms the right reading. Moreover, the last combination (DQ vs S A F) may be the result of an easy correction *inter scribendum* by the scribe of F. The combinations SQ vs A DF and DF vs S A Q may suggest a contamination between Q and S(A); nonetheless, we must be cautious in postulating a contaminated *Zwischenstufe* between the common ancestor of DFQ and Q himself, because, as Clavaud has noticed about the textual tradition of the *Epitaphios*, “F comporte des leçons interponc-

¹² See, e. g., DILTS 2008, vii. For D's contamination in orr. 59 and 61 see KAPPARIS 1999, 67–68, and CLAUD 1974a, 92.

tuées, que Q a le plus souvent incorporées dans son texte [...]; ils descendent du même modèle, sans doute directement transcrit de l'onciale et muni de ces variantes interponctuées de type ancien que seul F a conservées.”¹³ This conclusion fits well speeches 32 and 33, whose text I have collated, except for the direct transcription of the ancestor of DFQ from a majuscule manuscript. On the limited basis of the brief portion of text I have collated, what happens in 16.4 (110.12 πρὸς τινὰ] πρόστιμα D : προστιμα Q) may suggest that the common ancestor of DFQ was copied from a minuscule manuscript.

Here are the passages in which F has corrections which sometimes Q incorporates in the text and may suggest double readings in his ancestor:

5.2 (107.5) ἀπέστελλον S A F^{sl}Q : ἐπέστελλον DF^{it}; 8.4 (108.2) ἐπαγγελ-
λαμένου S A D et, ut vid., F^{pc ras} : -ους Q et, ut vid., F^{ac}; 10.2 (16) καὶ ἐλήλυθεν
F^{it} : καὶ ἐλήλυθε A : κατελήλυθεν SQ : τ' ἐλήλυθε DF^{sl}; 11.8 (27) αὐτὸς S A :
αὐτὸν DF^{sl} : αὐτὸ F^{it} : αὐτῷ Q; 18.5.6 (110.24–25) τάλαντον S A Q et, ut vid.,
F^{pc} : τολάντων D et fortasse F^{ac}; 28.2 (113.16) διακρινεῖσθε D et, ut vid., F^{pc} :
διακρίνεσθε S A : διακρινεῖσθαι Q e fortasse F^{ac}; 30.2 (114.2) ἔκδειαν A F^{it} :
ἔνδειαν S DF^{sl}Q (see fig. 4, col. 1, l. 23); 31.3 (8) Δημοσθένην S A F^{pc sl} : δη-
μοσθένη DF^{ac it}Q (see fig. 4, col. 1, l. 31)

A final remark about stichometry: for the text of *Against Zenothemis* no manuscript features a stichometrical note at the end of the speech. In S we find a complete marginal stichometry (from A to Γ), in F and Q there is only the first marginal note (A). A and D have no stichometrical notes.

(3.) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRIMARY MSS. OF THE *AGAINST APATURIOUS*

Considering the results of the collation of the primary manuscripts of the *Against Apaturius*, the following observations could be made:

Just like in the *Against Zenothemis*, there are few mistakes shared by all the manuscripts. Except for one, they are all very trivial:

20.2–3 (120.24) Ὀφρυνεῖω] ὀφρυνίω S A FDQ Harp.; 23.6 (121.28) Μουνι-
χιῶνος ... Βοηδρομιῶνος (Paoli)] Βοη. ... Μου. S A FDQ; 23.6 (28) Μουνιχιῶνος
(Blass)] μουνιχιῶνος S A FDQ; 25.10 (20) πρωπέρυσιν (Dindorf 1879)] προ-
περυσιν S A FDQ; 26.4 (24) ἡ πρωπέρυσιν (Dindorf 1879)] ἡ προπέρυσιν S A
F^{unc yp. mg}Q^{2yp. mg}D (om. FQ); 34.4 (125.8) ἡ delevit Dindorf : habent S A FDQ

¹³ CLAUDAUD 1974a, 42.

We may add a few passages, insofar as the editors emend the text of the manuscripts:

7.7 (116.30) προειμένον (Wolf)] προιέμενον S A : προειρημένων FDQ; 24.2 (122.5) ἀπεχθέσθαι (post Felicianam corr. Dindorf)] ἀπέχεσθαι S FDQ : ἀπεχθάνεσθαι A; 24.6 (9) ἡγγυημένος (Dindorf)] ἔγγεγυημένος S FDQ : ἔγγυημένος A; 29.2 (123.20) ἡγγυήμην (Dindorf)] ἔγγεγυήμην S : ἐνεγεγυήμην A FDQ

In one passage, recent editors usually accept the common form ἔγγειου, which is actually found in a quotation by Suidas (s. v. ἐγγείου, ε 55 Adler). Rennie's and Gernet's apparatuses claim that the reading ἔγγειου is found in D as well, whereas according to Dilts's the form is found in S.¹⁴ Yet all the primary manuscripts (except A in which we find a different wording: οὐτ' ἐμπορικοῦ οὐτ' ιδιωτικοῦ instead of οὐτε ναυτικοῦ οὐτ' ἐγγείου) read the less common form ἐγγαίου, which is likely to be correct:

3.7 (115.21) ἐγγαίου S FDQ : ἐγγείου Suidas edd.

As in the case of the *Against Zenothemis*, nothing compels us to postulate an archetypus. Even the switch between the names of the two months at 23.6 – certainly a less trivial mistake – may be very ancient and cannot prove the existence of an archetypus.

As in the *Against Zenothemis*, the existence of a common source for D F and Q is proved by a large number of innovations shared by these manuscripts:

2.2 (115.8) καθισταμένοις] καθεσταμένοις FDQ; 2.3 (9) μηδεῖς συκοφαντῆται] μὴ συκοφαντῶνται FDQ; 3.6 (20) ἄλλου δέ (et F^{pc ras})] ἄλλ' οὐδὲ F^{ac}DQ; 3.8 (23) τουτουσὶ] τούτους FDQ; 4.4 (116.5) ἥδη χρόνον] χρόνον ἤδη FDQ; 4.4 (5) τῆς² (et D^{pc})] τὴν FD^{ac}Q; 6.1 (15) ὁ] om. FDQ; 6.7 (21) οὗτος] οὐτοσὶ FDQ; 7.2 (25) οὖν] om. FDQ; 7.4 (27) ἐμὲ] με FDQ; 7.5 (28) τι] om. A FDQ; 16.3 (119.16) δέομαι δέ] δέομαι δὲ ὑμῶν FDQ; 18.6 (120.5) ἦν (et Q^{2yp. mg})] ἐστὶν FDQ^{it}; 20.4 (26) συμπεσοῦσης] καὶ συμπεσοῦσης FDQ; 21.7 (121.11) ἂν] ἂν τις FDQ; 23.5 (27) τοῖς ἐμπόροις τῶν δικῶν] τῶν δικῶν τοῖς ἐμπόροις FDQ; 23.7 (122.1) δὴ] δὲ FQD; 25.5 (15) ἐγένετο] ἐγεγόνει FDQ; 27.3 (123.4) μάρτυρά μοι φημι (et F^{unc mg}Q^{2yp. mg})] μαρτύρομαι F^{it}DQ^{it}; 28.5 (13) συνέβαλεν] συνέβαινεν FDQ; 28.9 (17) εἰσπράξας] εἰσπᾶξει FDQ; 29.4 (22) ἅς] ἅς καὶ FDQ; 29.8 (26) ἐγὼ] ἔτι FDQ; 30.5 (124.7) γενήσεσθαι] om. FDQ; 30.12 (14) ἐμοὶ] μοι FDQ; 34.2–4 (125.6–7) εἰς εἶναι] εἰσιεἶναι FDQ; 35.2 (17) ψευδῇ] ψευδῇ μοι A :

¹⁴ RENNIE 1921, app. ad loc.; GERNET 1954, 135; DILTS 2008, 115.

ψευδῇ μου FDQ; 36.4 (26) ἢ αὐτοῖς] ἑαυτοῖς FDQ; 36.4–5 (26–27) ἐπανελ-
θοῦσιν] ἐπανελθωσιν FDQ; 37. 7 (126.6) μὲν] om. FDQ

And as in the text of the *Against Zenothemis*, these passages, together with the separative errors of S against A DFQ and of A against S DFQ, prove the primary status of S A and the common ancestor of DFQ:

S vs A DFQ

2.1 (115.7) μὴ] om. S; 4.3 (116.4) ὑμῖν] ἂν ὑμῖν S; 6.1 (15) ἐμπορίῳ] εμπο-
ρειῳ S; 6.9 (23) ἐμπορίῳ] εμπορειῳ S; 15.11 (119.13) ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ] ΜΑΡΤΥ-
ΡΙΑ S; 18.4 (120.3) ἀπολωλεκῶς] ἀπολελωκῶς S; 24.8 (122.11) με] μετὰ S; 26.5
(25) μοι] om. S; 28.1 (9) ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν S; 28.4 (12) ἀπηχθανόμην] ἀπηχθόμην S;
29.9 (27) παραλιπὼν] παραλείπων S

A vs S DFQ

1.2–3 (115.2–3) θεσμοθέτας] νομοθέτας A; 3.7 (21) οὔτε ναυτικοῦ οὔτ'
ἐγγείου] οὔτ' ἐμπορικοῦ οὔτ' ἰδιωτικοῦ A; 5.6 (116.12) ὡς λέγω] ὡς ἐγὼ λέγω A;
6.1 (15) προσιόντες] προσελθόντες A; 6.3 (17) ἐπὶ] ἐν A; 7.6 (29) τούτων]
τούτῳ A; 8.3 (117.2) ἔξει (et A^{ac})] ἔξει A^{pc}; 10.8–9 (25–26) κατηγγύησα]
κατενηγγύησα A; 11.4 (30) αὐτῷ] om. A; 12.7 (118.9) μνῶν²] om. A; 14.2 (26)
ἐπιorkήσαντι] ἐπιorkήσονται A; 14.2 (26) τὸ] τοῦ A; 16.5 (119.18) ἔσται φα-
νερόν] φανερόν ἔσται A; 17.2 (23) ὁ] om. A; 17.3 (25) δὴ] δε A; 18.6 (120.5)
Ἐρυξίας] ἐρυξις A; 19.6 (14) καὶ] τὸ A; 19.11 (20) συνδιαιτητῶν] διαιτητῶν A;
20.6–7 (121.1–2) διαμαρτυραμένον] διαμαρτυρομένου A; 20.8 (3) συνδιαιτη-
τῶν] διαιτητῶν A; 21.2 (6) αὐταῖς] om. A; 21.2 (6) ὅτι] ὅτε A; 23.6 (122.2) μὲν]
om. A; 27.3 (123.3) ἰσχυρίζομαι] διισχυρίζομαι A; 28.5 (13) τούτῳ (et S^{1pc it}) ?
S^{ac} : om. A; 28.5 (13) ὑπ' ὑπὲρ A; 28.8 (16) ποιῆσαι] ποιήσιν A; 28.10 (18)
αὐτὸς] αὐτοῦ A; 29.3 (21) ἦν μοι] μοι ἦν A; 29.9–10 (27–124.1) τὴν οὖσαν
μοι] μοι τὴν οὖσαν A; 30.3–4 (5–6) ὄντων αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς ὄντων A; 30.6 (8)
γράφεσθαι] om. A; 30.7 (9) ἐνῆν] om. A; 30.7 (9) ἐτέρων] ἐτέρων ἐνδέχεται A;
32.6 (27) ὅτι] ὡς A; 33.4 (125.1) ἀπάραντος] ἀπαίροντος A; 34.2 (6) ὠμολογεῖ-
το] ὠμολόγητο A; 35.4 (19) τοῦτο ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν τοῦτο A; 37.6 (126.5) ἀπολωλέναι]
ἀπολωλεκένας A; 37.6 (5) λάβω ἐγὼ] ἐγὼ λάβω A; 37.7 (6) ἐμοὶ] ἐμοῦ A; 37.8
(7) γραμματεῖον] γραμματίον A; 37.8 (7) αἰτιάσασθαι] ἂν αἰτιάσθαι A; 38.2 (9)
τούτου] τούτων A; 38.3 (10) αὐτάς] ταύτας A

As in the text of the *Against Zenothemis* D, unlike F and Q, features a number of *lectiones singulares*. Moreover, all of the few mistakes of F were corrected by a *diorthotes*, as well one of the two errors of Q.

D vs S A QF

3.9 (116.1) ΝΟΜΟΙ] ΝΟΜΟΣ D; 10.8 (117.25) ἐνείησαν] ἐνήσαν D; 11.4 (30) εἰ] ἡ (scil. ἡ) S FQ : ἡ D; 12.2 (118.4) ἄν] om. D; 12.11 (13) τοῦτον] τοῦτο D; 14.1–2 (25–26) αὐτῷ συνείσονται] συνείσονται αὐτῷ D; 16.3 (119.16) ταῦτα] om. D; 22.6 (121.17) ἀνεδεξάμην] ἂν ἐδεξάμην D; 24.5 (122.8) χρέως] χρεός D; 31.5 (124.20) συνδιαιτητῶν] διαιτητῶν D; 31.6 (21) τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ] τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ D

F vs S A DQ

10.8 (117.25) πράξας (et F^{pc})] πράξας F^{ac}; 15.8 (119.10) θέσθαι, τίθενται παρὰ τῷ] om. F^{it}, sed add. F^{mg}; 17.2 (23) διαιτητῆς (et S^{1pc sl}, et F^{pc})] διαιτητῆς S^{ac}: διαυτητῆς F^{ac}; 29.10 (124.1) ἡγγυησάμην] ἐνεγυησάμην A F^{it}DQ : ἐνηγγυησάμην F^{sl}; 29.11 (2) ἦλθον] ἀνήλθον A F^{sl}DQ (αν- A) : ἀπήλθον F^{it}

Q vs S A DF

31.5 (124.20) ἀπόρρησιν (et Q^{1sl})] ἀπόρησιν Q^{it}; 32.5 (26) ἀπελογεῖτο] ἀπ-
ωλογεῖτο (sic) Q

In five passages A alone transmits the correct reading:

14.6 (118.30) ἐπιτρέπουσιν A : om. S FDQ; 18.2 (120.1) οὐδέπω A : οὐπω S FDQ; 18.8 (7) ἀπολωλέναι A : ἀπολωλεκέναι S FDQ; 36.7–8 (125.29–30) πιστεύοιτο A : -τε S FDQ; 37.8 (126.7) Ἀπατουρίῳ A : ἀπατούριον S FDQ

The passages in which S alone transmits the correct reading are eleven:

2.6 (115.12) τουτονι S et Q^{ac} : τοῦτον A FDQ^{1pc it} (*inter scribendum*); 7.5 (116.28) τι S : om. A FDQ; 12.4 (118.6) πᾶσαν S : ἅπασαν A FDQ; 20.1 (120.23) τῷ S : τῷ μὲν A FDQ; 21.3 (121.7) ἡμφεσβήτησεν S : ἡμφισβήτησεν A DFQ; 23.7 (122.3) ἐπράττετο S : εἰσεπράττετο A FDQ; 27.3 (123.4) ἡγγυησάμην S : ἐνεγυησάμην A^{pc ras} D^{pc ras} Q : ἐνεγγυησάμην A^{ac} : ἐνηγγυησάμην FD^{ac}; 29.11 (124.2) ἦλθον S : ἀνήλθον A F^{unc sl}DQ (αν- A) : ἀπήλθον F^{it}; 34.6–7 (125.10–11) ἂν ἀνεβάλλετο S : ἀνεβάλλετο A : ἀνεβάλλετο FDQ; 35.2 (17) ψευδῇ S : ψευδῇ μοι A : ψευδῇ μου FDQ; 37.6 (126.5) φησὶν S : φήσει A : φήσει. τότε D : φησι τότε FQ

In one passage F alone transmits the correct reading:

31.1 (124.16) ἀπηγόρευσεν F : ἀπηγόρευεν S ADQ

We never find the right reading either in D or in Q or in the common ancestor of FDQ, possibly due to the editors' tendency to view S and A as the best witnesses as well as in the case of *Against Zenothemis*.

Among the many confusing combinations we found in the text of *Against Zenothemis* (AD vs S FQ; FQ vs S A D; AF vs S DQ; S DQ(F^{sl}) vs AF^(it); SQ vs A DF; DF vs S A Q; DQ vs S A F) only two (FQ vs S A D and DF vs S A Q) appear in the text of the *Against Apaturius*:

FQ vs S A D:

26.4 (26.24) ἡ πέρυσιν ἢ πρωπέρυσιν] ἡ πέρυσιν F^{it}Q^{it} : ἡ πέρυσιν ἢ προπέρυ-
σιν F^{unc γρ. mg}Q^{2γρ. mg}; 31.3 (124.18) δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς] δ' αὐτὸς A : δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς F^{unc γρ. mg}
D : δὴ Q^{it} (et Q^{2γρ. mg}) : δὲ F^{it}; 31.4 (19) τὰ γράμματα (et F^{unc γρ. mg}Q^{2γρ. mg}) om.
F^{it}Q^{it}; 31.4 (19) ἔδει (et F^{unc γρ. mg}, et Q^{2γρ. mg}, καθὰ *pro* καθ' ἃ)] δεῖ F^{it}Q^{it}; 37.6
(126.5) φησὶν S : φήσει A : φήσει. τότε D : φησι τότε FQ

DF vs S A Q

21.5 (121.9) ἀπορρηθὲν] ἀπορηθὲν DF; 24.2 (122.5) αὐτὸς (et F^{pc sl})] οὗτος
F^{ac}D

The errors common to DF vs S A Q, may suggest a relationship between Q and S, but the evidence is too poor.

When we have FQ vs S A D, D is possibly contaminated with S or A or with both of them, and one passage suggests the A (or a manuscript akin to A) may be the source of the contamination:

37.6 (126.5) φησὶν S : φήσει A : φήσει. τότε D : φησι τότε FQ

Of course shared right readings do not allow to draw certain conclusions; nevertheless that could be a plausible explanation of these phenomena. Moreover, the passage just quoted (37.6) is surely a telling one: D actually shares wrong readings both with FQ and with A. This conclusion fits well with the one we drew for the text of the *Against Zenothemis* and with that suggested by Dilts for this section of the *Corpus*.¹⁵

Both in F and in Q correctors dating from the age of the scribes add in the margins variant readings drawn from a manuscript akin to S and A. I call F^{unc} this corrector in F, because he normally uses majuscule letters (this is the first

¹⁵ DILTS 2008, vii.

corrector in the stratigraphy proposed by Engelbert Drerup¹⁶ and by Guido Avezzi [F¹]¹⁷, whereas Q², according to Drerup, is identical with the scribe of the first part of the manuscript (see figg. 6–7), where he added a number of variant readings as well. Moreover, as in the text of the *Against Zenothemis*, F features some corrections marked with a little dot on either side (I call them F^{pc} or F^{sl}), which probably were already in the ancestor, as Clavaud noticed.¹⁸

Taken together, some of the corrections and variant readings introduced by Q² and by F^{unc}, or by F^{pc}/F^{sl}, clearly point to a relationship with A and S, or with texts very close to A and S.

1.1 (115.1) ὁ ἄνδρες δικασταί S Q^{2yp. mg} : ω^o (scil. ὁ ἄνδρες ἀθηναῖοι) A (cf. 16.3–4) : ω^Δ α^o (scil. ὁ ἄνδρες ἀθηναῖοι) D Q^{it} : ὁ ἄνδρες ἀθηναῖοι F [Q² with S]

3.6 (20) ἄλλου δὲ S A F^{pc ras} : ἄλλ' οὐδὲ F^{ac}DQ [F^{pc} with S A]

17.2 (119.23) ἀμφισβητεῖν S DF^{it}Q^{it} : διαμφισβητεῖν A Q^{2yp. mg}F^{unc yp. mg} [Q² and F^{unc} with A]

17.2 (24) ἔφησεν S Q^{2yp. mg} : ἔφη A FDQ^{it} [Q² with S]

18.5 (120.4) κατασκευάζων S Q^{2yp. mg} : συγκατασκευάζων A FDQ^{it} [Q² with S]

18.6 (5) ἦν A S Q^{2yp. mg} : ἐστὶν FDQ^{it} [Q² with S A]

26.4 (122.24) ἡ πέρυσιν ἢ πρωπέρυσιν] ἡ πέρυσιν F^{it}Q^{it} : ἡ πέρυσιν ἢ προπέρυσιν F^{unc yp. mg}Q^{2yp. mg} [Q² and F^{unc} with S A D]

27.3 (123.4) μάρτυρά μοί φημι (et F^{unc mg} Q^{2yp. mg}) μαρτύρομαι F^{it}DQ^{it} [Q² and F^{unc} with S A]

28.2 (10) ἡγγυησάμην S : ἐνεγγυησάμην A F^{it}DQ : ἐνηγγυησάμην F^{sl} [F^{sl} alone, but influenced by S]

29.10 (124.1) ἡγγυησάμην S : ἐνεγγυησάμην A F^{it}DQ : ἐνηγγυησάμην F^{sl} [F^{sl} alone, but influenced by S]

29.11 (2) ἠλθον S : ἀνήλθον A F^{unc sl}DQ (αν- A) : ἀπῆλθον F^{it} [F^{unc} with A DQ]

31.3 (18) δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς S : δ' αὐτὸς A : δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς F^{unc yp. mg}D : δὴ Q^{it} (et Q^{2yp. mg}) : δὲ F^{it} [F^{unc} with D, but also with A (δὲ) and S (ὁ)]

31.4 (19) τὰ γράμματα (et F^{unc yp. mg}Q^{2yp. mg}) om. F^{it}Q^{it} [Q² and F^{unc} with S A D]

31.4 (19) ἔδει (et F^{unc yp. mg}, et Q^{2yp. mg}, καθὰ *pro* καθ' ἃ) δεῖ F^{it}Q^{it} [Q² and F^{unc} with S A D] (see figg. 8a–8b)

¹⁶ DRERUP 1899, 558.

¹⁷ AVEZZI 1979, 53–54.

¹⁸ CLAVAUD 1974a, 42.

Since the correctors belong to the age of the scribes, two possibilities are at stake:

(a) on the margins of Q and F they are copying corrections and variant readings that were already found in their ancestor but were overlooked by the main scribes;

or

(b) Their corrections or variant readings are drawn from some other manuscript akin to A and S (if not from A and S themselves).

Be this as it may, there is some evidence for a contamination not only in the immediate *antigraphon* of D, but also in the common ancestor of DFQ.

A final remark about stichometry: once again, no manuscript features a stichometrical note at the end of the speech. S has a complete marginal stichometry (from A to Γ); Q only features the first two marginal notes (A, B); F only the first one (A). A and D lack any stichometrical notes.

(4.) CONCLUSIONS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR EDITORIAL TECHNIQUE

The above sketch has important consequences both for *Textgeschichte* and editorial technique. I will confine myself to some concluding thoughts about these two topics:

(a) *Textgeschichte*. If we compare the results of the collations in the two speeches I dealt with, we can notice that there are similarities as well as some differences. The two *stemmata codicum* are in general the same, featuring three independent editions directly dating back to the late antiquity: the first two are now represented by a single manuscript (S and A), whereas the third survives in three independent copies (DFQ), the ancestor of which was probably supplied with variant readings. Between one of these copies (D) and the common ancestor we should most probably suppose a *Zwischenstufe* contaminated with a manuscript akin to A. In both speeches both Q and F, unlike D, have hardly any separative errors: shall we conclude that F (Q seems a little bit later) is identical with the common ancestor of the group? Of course not. Furthermore in the margins of the *Against Apaturius* Q has one stichometrical note (B), which is absent in F and was certainly copied from the common ancestor. The simplest solution is to think that F copied most carefully his source, adding very few misreadings.

So far for the similarities. If we now compare, for example, the quality of the text transmitted by S and A, we can detect differences in the two speeches. In both speeches, A has a much higher number of peculiar innovations than S, but in the *Against Zenothemis* the best reading is transmitted by A and by S in the same number of cases (9), whereas in the *Against Apaturius* S is much su-

terior to A (11 cases vs 5). Moreover, in the *Against Apaturius* the lines of contamination in the third group of manuscripts (FDQ) are slightly less confused.

To sum up, the similarities are probably due to the mechanisms of the *Corpusüberlieferung*, whereas the differences are best explained in terms of *Einzelüberlieferung*. Even short speeches, a number of which could easily fit in a single roll or, later, in a little *codex-corpusculum*, went through their own *Einzelüberlieferung*. As a matter of fact, interaction between *Einzelüberlieferung* and *Corpusüberlieferung* is in my opinion a major factor determining contamination. Extensive ancient contamination, the nature of which is very difficult (if not impossible) to detect, is probably the cause of the *Bindefehler* between S and DFQ as well as of those between A and DFQ, which does not imply a common hyparchetype. On the contrary, the contamination between the common ancestor of DFQ and the other two ‘branches’ of the tradition is probably more recent and its nature is a little clearer.¹⁹ Leaving aside the peculiar features of the three late antique editions responsible for the three branches of the tradition, this difference might be accounted for as follows: in the case of A and S we have a single witness of a branch of the tradition, whereas in the case of the common ancestor of DFQ a comparison between three independent copies can tell us something about the perturbations of the model.

(b) *Editorial technique*. We may wonder if such background, however sketchy, should find its way into an *apparatus criticus*, the alternative being to record only those elements which are relevant to the *constitutio textus*.²⁰ To be sure, *Textgeschichte* and *Textkritik* are two distinct disciplines, both in their goals and in their methods. Nevertheless, the deeper we know the former, the better we perform the latter, at least in my opinion. Accordingly, a good *apparatus criticus* should obviously welcome all contributions coming from papyri and ancient quotations, as well as any interesting reading provided by the *recentiores*. At the same time, however, a good *apparatus* should not fail to record a complete collation of all the primary witnesses along with their most ancient correctors, who might prove to be primary witnesses as well.²¹

¹⁹ This contamination may suggest that at a very early date S and A (or their ancestors) were in the same place as the common ancestor of FDQ (most probably Constantinople).

²⁰ This is the editorial technique preferred by DILTS 2008, v–x.

²¹ In Dilts’s apparatus Q is quoted selectively for plausible or interesting readings not found in S A F or Y (which does not contain *orr.* 32 and 33), and D is cited “when it contains possible or plausible readings, but not for readings attested by S, A, F or Q” (vii). Nor do we find in Dilts’s apparatus a full collation of the ancient correctors of the primary witnesses.

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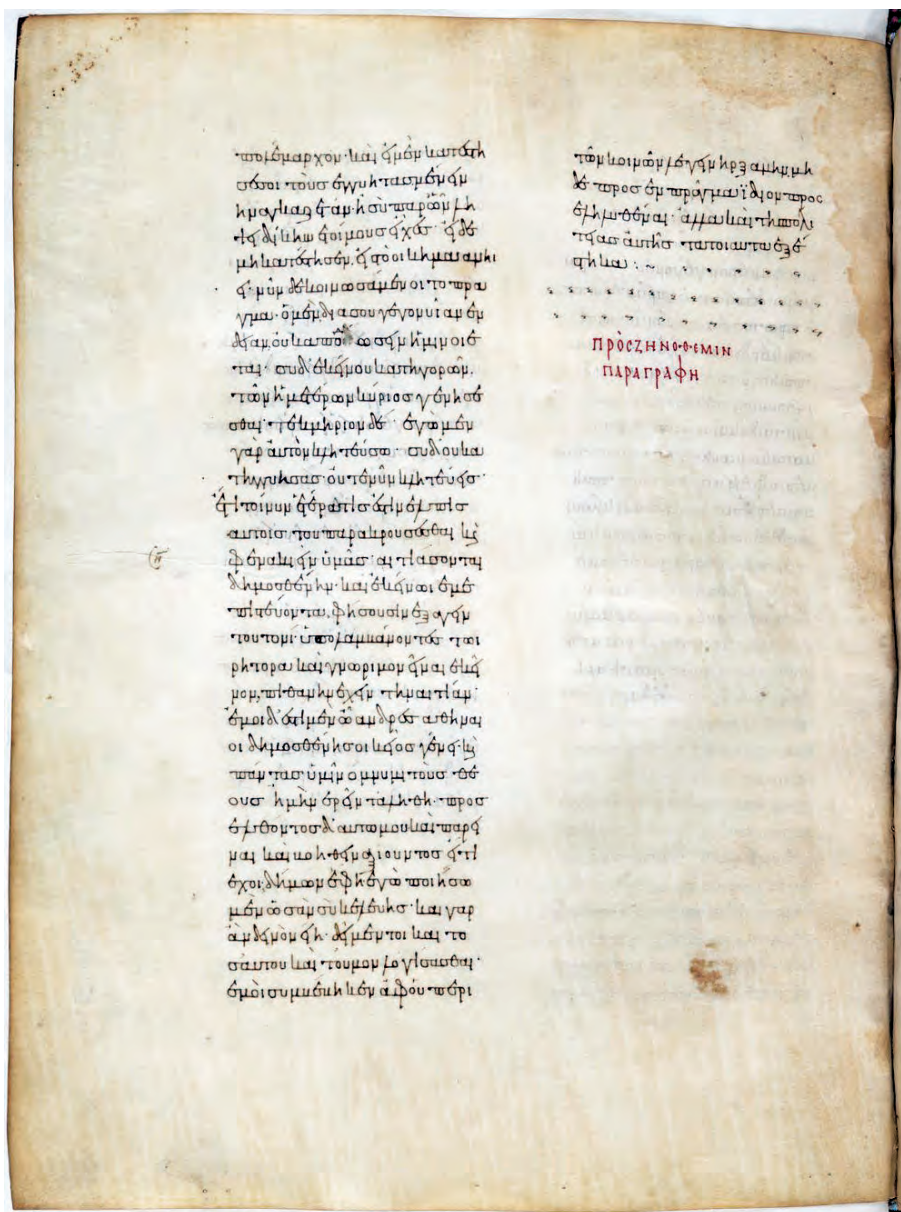
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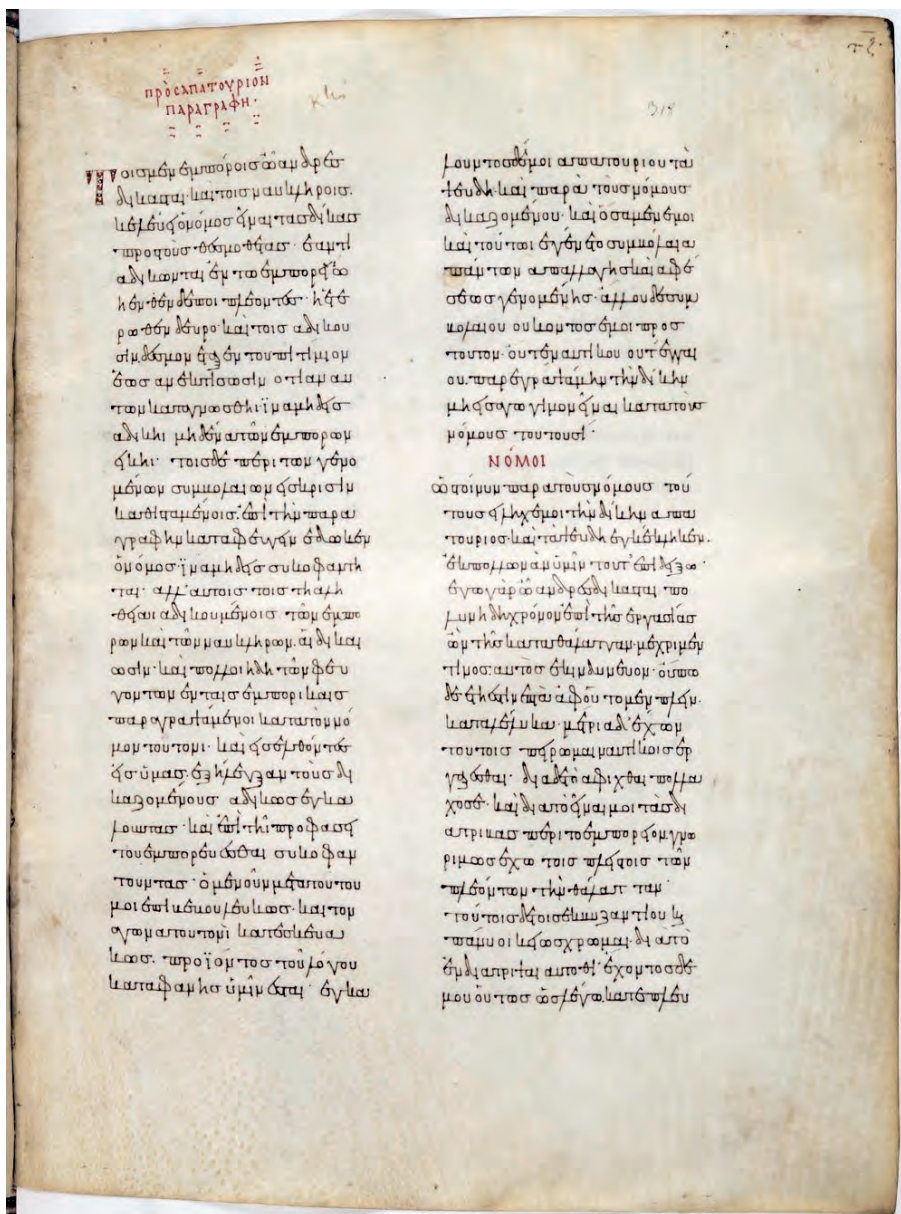
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ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1: Parisinus gr. 2934, f. 317^v
 Fig. 2: Parisinus gr. 2934, f. 318^r
 Fig. 3: Monacensis gr. 485, f. 350^v
 Fig. 4: Marcianus gr. 416, f. 191^v
 Fig. 5: Ambrosianus D 112 sup., f. 20^r
 Fig. 6: Marcianus gr. 418, f. 113^r
 Fig. 7: Marcianus gr. 418, f. 118^r
 Fig. 8a: Marcianus gr. 416, f. 193^v, col. II, 29–34
 Fig. 8b: Marcianus gr. 418, f. 122^v, ll. 15–21

Fig. 1: Parisinus gr. 2934, f. 317^v (c. 345 × 255 mm) (46%)

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Fig. 2: Parisinus gr. 2934, f. 318^r (c. 345 × 255 mm) (46%)

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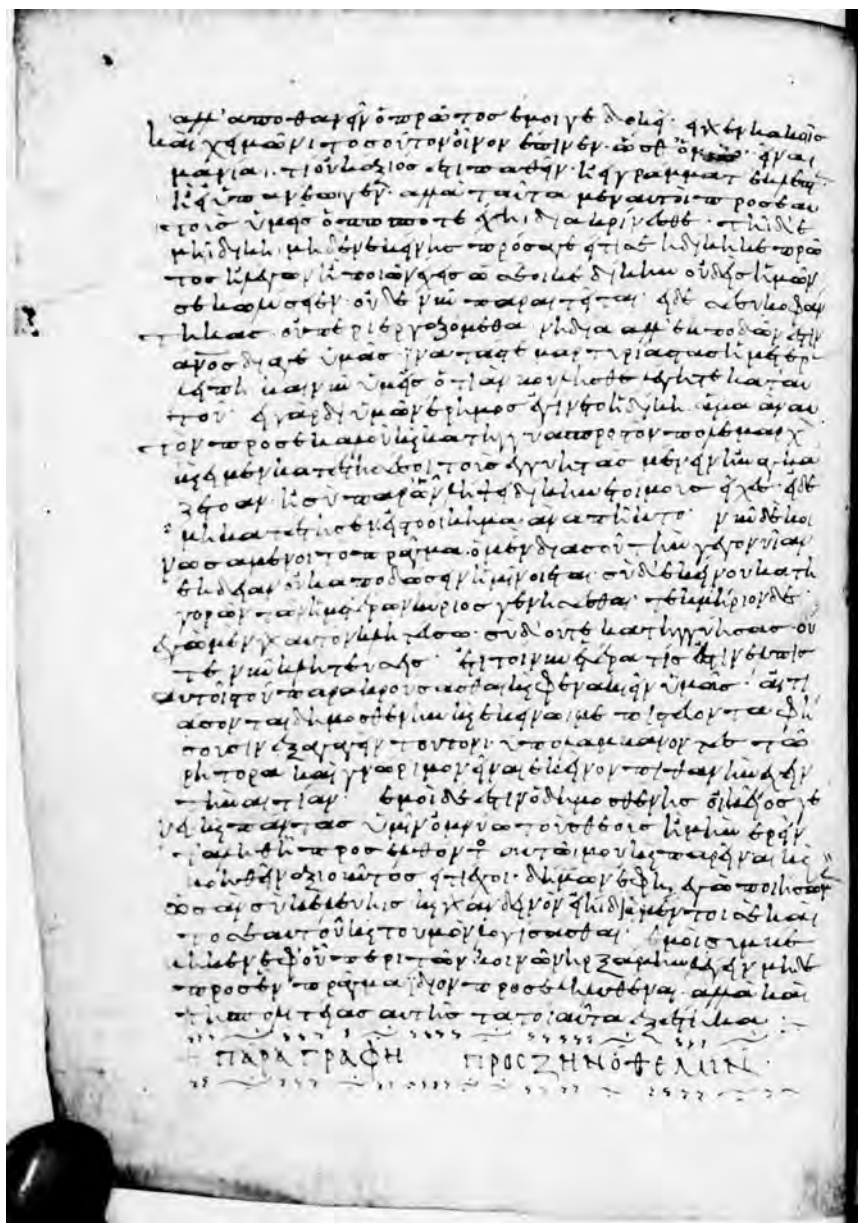
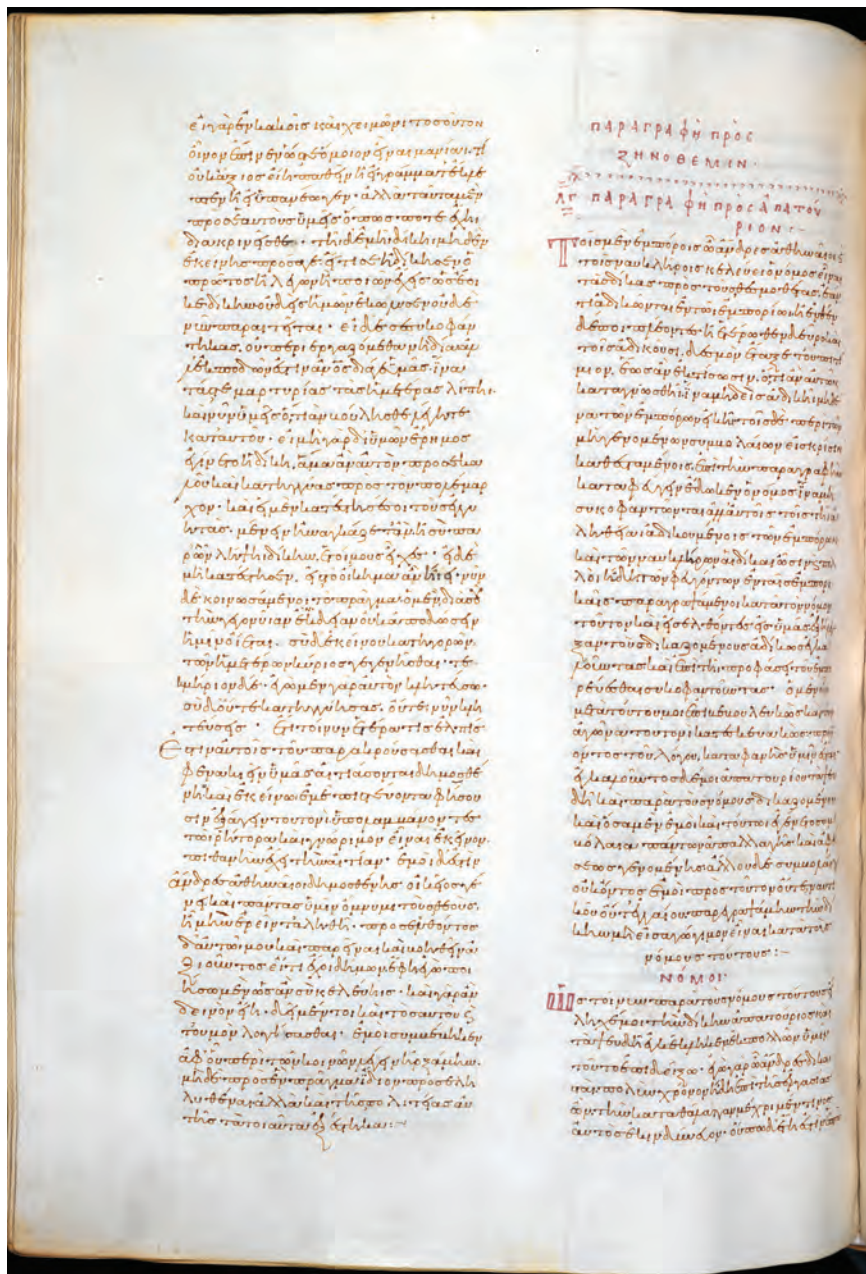
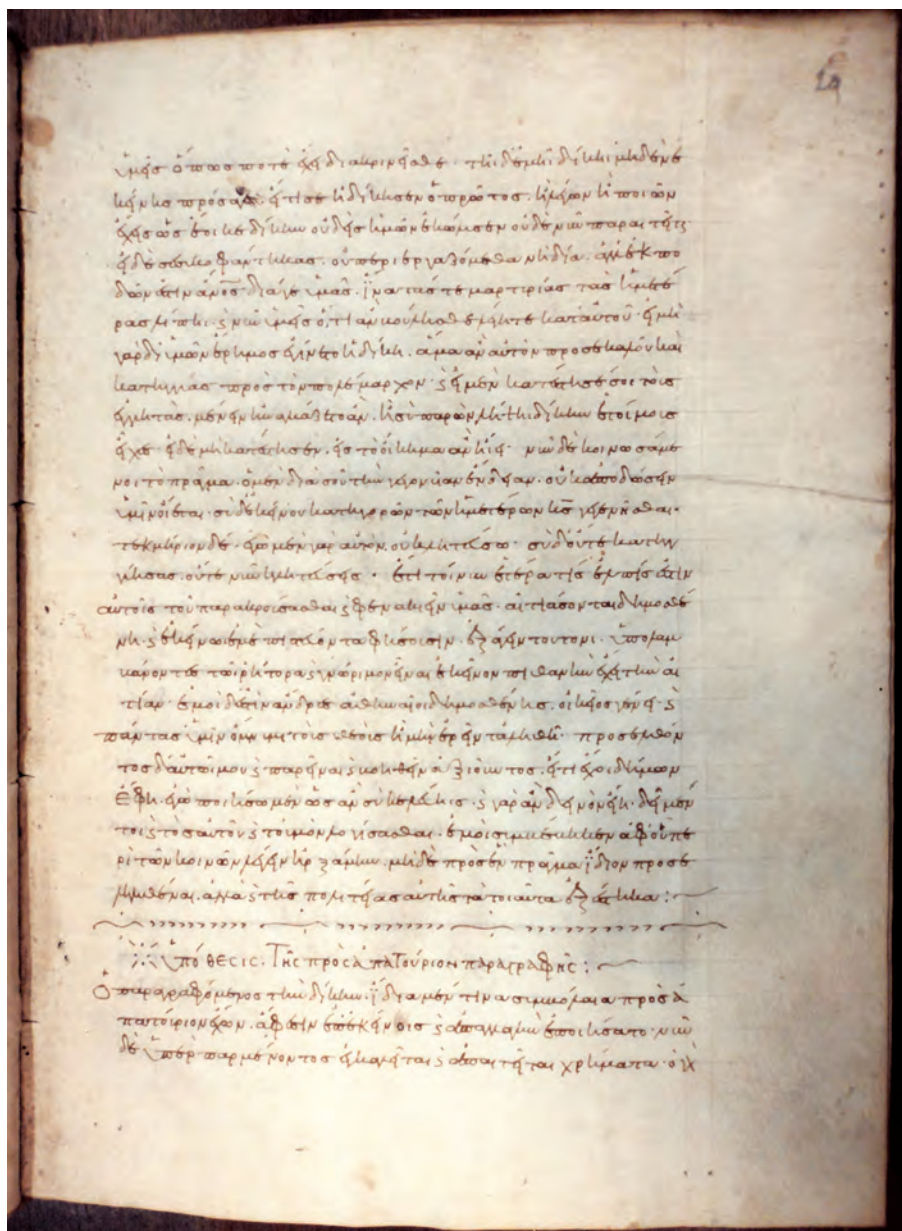


Fig. 3: Monacensis gr. 485, f. 350^v (c. 225 × 160 mm) (72%)
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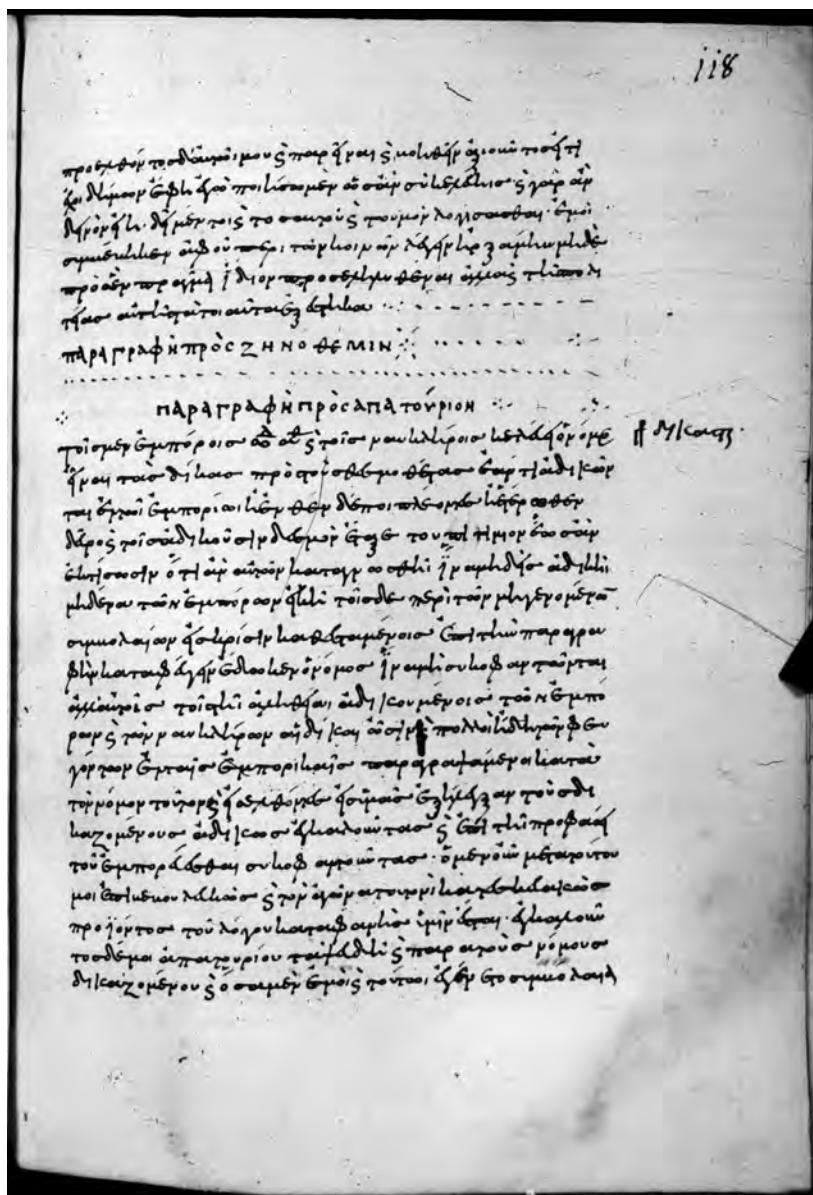
Fig. 4: Marcianus gr. 416, f. 191^v (c. 365 × 280 mm) (44%)

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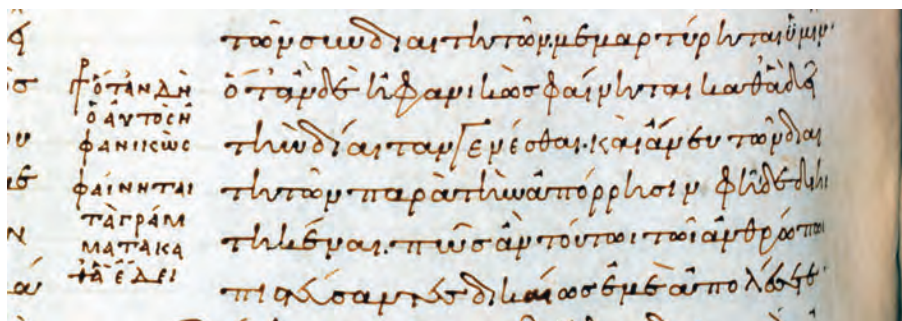
Fig. 5: Ambrosianus D 112 sup., f. 20^r (c. 295 × 215 mm) (54%)

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Fig. 7: Marcianus gr. 418, f. 118^r (c. 270 × 190 mm) (59%)

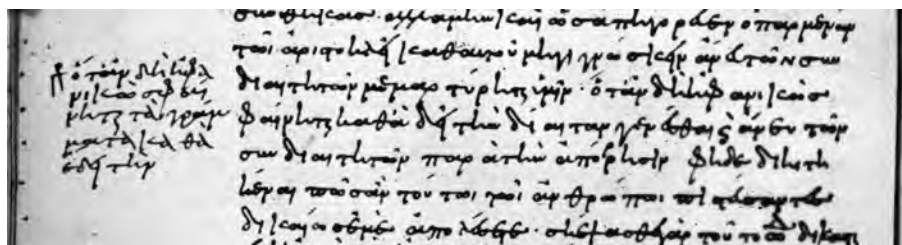
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Fig. 8a: Marcianus gr. 416, f. 193^v, col. II, ll. 29–34

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Fig. 8b: Marcianus gr. 418, f. 122^v, ll. 15–21

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