

A Palaeographical Note on the Corrections at the Pseudo-Platonic *Demodocus* 380b in Its Two Oldest Manuscripts A and O¹

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Codex Vaticanus 796, including the *Laws*, *Epinomis*, *Epistles*, *Definitions*, and *Spurious Works*,² was collated by Bekker as Ω ,³ but relocated by a librarian after the Napoleonic War and lost.⁴ On the basis of Bekker's apparatus criticus, Peipers argued that it arose from the same origin as codex Parisinus graecus 1807 (A), ninth century,⁵ whereas Jordan concluded that it was derived from A;⁶ in quest of primary sources other than A, however, Immisch studied its variant readings in the margin,⁷ as Campbell had studied codex Venetus 185 (D) and codex Caesenas Malatestianus D. XXVIII. 4 (M)⁸ and Burnet codex Vindobonensis 55 suppl. gr. 39 (F),⁹ for the *Republic*. With Rabe's rediscovery of Ω as codex Vaticanus graecus 1 (O)¹⁰ (formerly registered as a codex of the ninth to tenth century, but now dated to the tenth century¹¹), its variant readings in the margin were directly confirmed as independent of A.¹² Then, on the basis of the scrutiny of the tradition of the text, Post not only proved that the text of O has readings independent of A before *Laws* 746b8 but argued from the corrections and supplements, common to A and O, which were

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¹ Reference is made according to the pagination and section in Stephanus' edition (1578) and to the line in Burnet's edition (Burnet, 1914).

² The codex is truncated after the first seven lines of the *Axiochus*.

³ Bekker, 1826a, cliii.

⁴ Schanz, 1874, 4; n. 1; Immisch, 1903, 48; Rabe, 1908, 237–238; Clark, 1918, 395–396; Souilhé, 1949, xxix.

⁵ Peipers, 1863, 1–45.

⁶ Jordan, 1877, 161–172.

⁷ Immisch, 1903, 48–61; C. G. Cobet had advocated the ultimate authority of A with codex Bodleianus MS E. D. Clarke 39 (B) (Cobet, 1875, esp. 195–198) whereas M. Schanz had already referred to some readings in Ω independent of A (Schanz, 1878, 306–307).

⁸ Campbell, 1894, II 67–164.

⁹ Burnet, 1902; id., 1903.

¹⁰ Rabe, 1908.

¹¹ Wilson, 1960, 200–201.

¹² Alline, 1915, 205–215, 286–287; Clark, 1918, 395–398.

made by a single hand coeval with the codices (A³ = O³) that it is a direct copy of A after *Laws* 746b8.¹³ O's derivation in text from A after *Laws* 746b8 was accepted but Clark had already from O's supplements corresponding to A's lacunae in the *Laws* argued against its direct derivation.¹⁴ Allen and Souilhé were skeptical.¹⁵ There is, in effect, no visual characteristic of a change of exemplar after *μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν* (*Laws* 746b8) in the middle of line 17 at fol. 50^v. However, this assumption still prevails.¹⁶

On the text of the *Demodocus*, one of the *Spurious Works*, which Post implied is a direct copy of A,¹⁷ however, he referred only to two peculiarities in O as mistakes made during the copying of A.¹⁸ In what follows I will discuss his general proposal by analysing a correction in the *Demodocus*.

One can observe a second hand's similar correction at the same passage, *Demodocus* 380b4–5 εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη ἀφ' ἧς, in each of the codices. I offer below an electronically-made reproduction of the part under discussion in each manuscript¹⁹ and under the plate I transcribe it by underlining the ligatures and simulating the spacing and the characters.

Pl. 1 codex Parisinus gr. 1807, fol. 328^r col. 2 l. 22

ἡμῶν ἡμῶν, πρὸς οὐ
 εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη ἀφ' ἧς
 ἰατρικὸν ἴδιον ἐστὶν
 εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη ἀφ' ἧς

As a revision of Burnet's, Souilhé's and Greene's descriptions,²⁰ I propose as follows: εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη A^{ms}: εἰ δέ τις**μη A^{ac}: εἰ δέ τι***μη O^{ac}: in ras. ἐπι et s.l. στη A^{pc}: s.l. σ et επιστη

¹³ Post, 1934, esp. 14.

¹⁴ Clark, 1918, 397–398.

¹⁵ Allen, 1928, 75–76; Souilhé, 1949, xxviii–xxix.

¹⁶ E.g. Alline, 1915, 287; Greene, 1938, xviii; des Places, 1951, ccvii; Moore-Blunt, 1985, vii; Boter, 1989, 81.

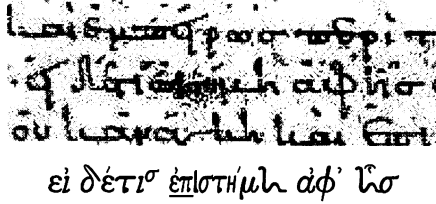
¹⁷ Post, 1934, 12–14, 52.

¹⁸ Post, 1934, 14, 52.

¹⁹ For codex Parisinus gr. 1807, from a copy in microfilm acquired from Bibliothèque nationale de France, I electro-optically made finer, and photocopied, the part under discussion by the microfilm reader FUJIX DDIP6200 at the Josai International University Library, and furthermore, electronically scanned it into a PDF version. For codex Vaticanus gr. 1, I acquired a copy in PDF from the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. According to the scale in the French microfilm, the size of a handwritten Greek letter is nearly that enclosed by a square of a three-to-four-millimeter-long side.

²⁰ Burnet, 1907; Souilhé, 1930; Greene, 1938, 403.

Pl. 2 codex Vaticanus gr. I fol. 176^v l. 30



in ras. **OP^c**.²¹ By this proposal I imply that the two corrections in the same passage in **A** and **O**, apart from their temporal order and interdependence, retrieve the original reading there.²²

On the erasure of **A**, although the area looks rather stained with residual ink of the original letters erased, the ligature *επ* and the I-type of iota of double height from the base line can be observed distinctly. So can the H-type of eta in the space above the erasure. However, none of them appears in the same word-sequence *ἐπιστήμη ἀφ' ἧς* four lines back at 380b3; nor do they in the text of the *Demodocus* or in the word *ἐπιστήμων*²³ or any of the eleven cases of *ἐπιστήμη*²⁴ in the *Definitions*. Hence, one may conjecture a very low frequency of their use in the text.²⁵ However, one can observe all of them in variant readings in minuscule in the margin. Therefore one can conjecture that the correction is a later hand's but not the scribe's.

However, the issue is a little more intricate. Burnet, who did not collate the *Republic* of Codex **A** himself,²⁶ nevertheless proposed that the text and some of the additions to the text, although

²¹ Abbreviations here and below for any codex "X": **X^{ac}**: lectio codicis X ante correctionem; **X^{pc}**: lectio codicis X post correctionem; **X^{mg}**: lectio codicis X in margine; **X^{sl}**: lectio codicis X supra lineam.

²² The corrections under discussion are not reported in the editions, translations or studies as follows: Biponti, 1787, 480; Bekker, 1823, 297; id., 1826b, 215–224, 294; Stallbaum, 1825, 496; Ast, 1827, 436; Winckelmann, 1841, vii–xvi; Schneider, 1846, iv–vii; Hermann, [1853]; Cobet, 1854; id., 1858; Susemihl, 1865, 684.

²³ *Def.* 415c1.

²⁴ *Def.* 411d6, 413a1, 413b11 bis, 413c6, 414a11, 414b2, 414b5, 414b7, 414b10, 416a29.

²⁵ The H-type of eta appears like *ἀρετῆς* in the title of *περὶ ἀρετῆς* (*De Virtute*) at the beginning and the end of the text (fol. 326^v col. 1; fol. 328^r col. 1), but as other titles in **A** show, the scribe would have used it as capital letter. In the text it also appears, but mostly in correction probably by a later hand (Boter, *op. cit.*, 85), as in the sequence *ἀποκρινῆ* with an awkwardly lower placed iota at fol. 7^r col. 1 l. 42 (*Rp.* 337c8), in the sequence *ἀκριβολογῆ* with an awkwardly shaped iota at fol. 8^v col. 1 l. 16 (*Rp.* 340e2), the sequence *ζῶη* with an iota above the omega at fol. 10^r col. 2 l. 7 (*Rp.* 344e3), which, as Burnet reported, corrects *ζων* of the *μ*-type nu, the lower placed *H* and iota *adscriptum*, following the sequence *μαντεύ*, at fol. 11^v col. 2 l. 40 (*Rp.* 349a3), the lesser *H* and iota *adscriptum*, following the sequence *διανο*, at fol. 11^v col. 2 l. 44 (*Rp.* 349a7) and the sequence *προηρείτο* with an iota above the line at fol. 335^r col. 1 l. 27 (*Eryx.* 393d3).

²⁶ Burnet, 1907¹ and 1914², *Praefatio*; Clark suggests the possible identity in script (Clark, 1918, 387); Slings accepts Burnet's conjecture (Slings, 1987, 36–37).

different in ink, belong to the same hand. Boter confirmed Burnet's proposal by observation *in situ* and argued that both the text and part of the additions to the text, which includes scholia in majuscule, variant readings in minuscule, and corrections in majuscule, although both different in ink, belong to the same hand, by applying the rule of transitivity to the observations that the three subparts of the additions are the same in ink and that the text and the variant readings in minuscule are the same in script.²⁷

Therefore a sound decision requires observation of the difference in ink. However, my reproductions are in black and white. So I can only make a suggestion here from the difference in script.

First, A's manner of correction by extending a vertical bar to the space over the words can be observed also at fol. 99^r col. 2 l. 29 (*Rp.* 583d7). Burnet, who did not collate the *Republic* in A, ascribed the correction there to A², following Adam.²⁸ If its hand were identified in ink with the scribe-corrector of A, i.e., A², and in the manner of correction with the corrector under discussion in the *Demodocus*, the scribe of O must have seen the reading *post correctionem* ἐπιστήμη before him if A were his exemplar. However, this is improbable. Therefore either the vertical extending would have been not by the scribe-corrector of A or O is not a direct copy of A.

Second, Burnet, who collated the *Spurious Works* himself, ascribed the correction under discussion in the *Demodocus* to Constantine, but Souilhé, as his criticism of Burnet's arbitrariness on the hands of corrections suggested,²⁹ may have corrected Burnet and ascribed it to the scribe.³⁰ However, the use of the H-type eta in minuscule is a feature not of the scribe, as argued above, but of a corrector, not of the fourteenth century, as Greene reported, but of the tenth century (A³),³¹ as in the sequence ἐπιτηθευ in the extralinea correction at fol. 270^v col. 1 (*Lg.* 920b1).

Pl. 3 codex Parisinus gr. 1807, fol. 270^v col. 1 extra l. 17

²⁷ Boter, 1989, 81–86; contrast des Place, 1951, ccix–ccx.

²⁸ Adam, 1902, *ad. loc.*

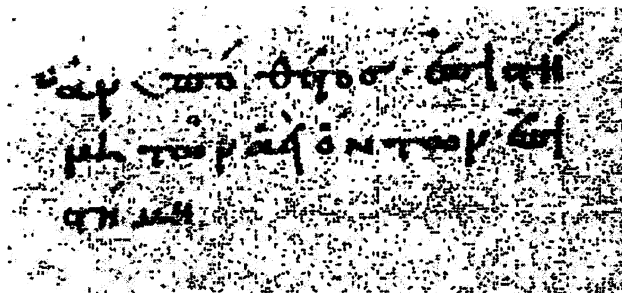
²⁹ Souilhé, 1949, xxviii–xxix.

³⁰ Souilhé is ambiguous about the responsibility for erasure and correction unlike at *Virt.* 376d2–3, although he distinguishes between the scribe and correctors. In using a round bracket for describing erasures, he may report that the erasure concerned belongs reasonably to another hand in the manuscript or otherwise that it belongs to the scribe.

³¹ Post, 1934, 7.

Likewise, on the erasure of **O**, also spotted with residual ink, a double-height I-shaped iota and a H-shaped eta can be observed but one can find each of them very rarely in the text of **O**.³² However, both types are used by a corrector. Above all, whereas neither appears in those aforementioned cases of *ἐπιστημ-* in the *Definitions*, both appear in the two cases in the scholion by **O**³ of a variant reading, such as **A**'s reading, on the entry *σοφία* at *Def.* 414b5, as follows:

Pl. 4 codex Vaticanus gr. I fol. 172^r



ἀνυπόθετος ἐπιστήμη / τῶν ἀεὶ ὄντων ἐπιστήμη

Therefore the correction would be not the scribe's, but a corrector's. Souilhé does not make clear the responsibility for the erasure and correction. Greene judged the corrector to be of the tenth to eleventh century, **O**², probably by the difference in ink as he described it.³³ However, if compared in script, the correction would be by **O**³.

Of those two corrections, whether one depends on the other or which one antedates the other is hard to determine, but if both codices had been made for Arethas in his scriptorium,³⁴ and if Arethas, who died before 932 CE, or anyone instructed by him had corrected both as **A**³ and **O**³,³⁵ and even the *Demodocus* passage under discussion, and if the scribe of **O** had not made a mistake during the copying, would there have been the same reading in Codices **A** and **O** before correction? It is probable because of a single person's possession of the codices concerned with

³² At fol. 181^r (the *Sisyphos*) the H-type eta appears suddenly four times. In the word *ἐπιστήμων* at fol. 172^v l. 24 (*Def.* 415c1) a double-height iota appears. In general, the iota tends to be placed higher than usual after a gamma or tau or when the proposition *ἐπί* is cursively written.

³³ Greene, 1938, xvii–xviii.

³⁴ Allen, 1893, 48–55; cf. Wilson, 1960, 200–201.

³⁵ The identity of **O**³ in script and supplement with **A**³ of the tenth century (Allen, 1928, 73–76) is supported by Post (Post, 1934, 7), Greene (Greene, 1938, xviii–xix), des Places (des Places, 1951, ccxii–ccxiv) and Moore-Blunt (Moore-Blunt, 1985, vii) but their identity with Arethas by des Places (*ibid.*) and Diès (Diès, 1956a, *Conspectus Siglorum*; id., 1956b, *Conspectus Siglorum*) alone, not by Post (*op. cit.*, 9), Greene (*op. cit.*, xxii–xxiii) or Moore-Blunt (*op. cit.*, vi).

him but not necessary.

I will first offer support for the probability. In other corrections in the *Laws*, *Epistles*, and *Spurious Works* of **A** and **O**,³⁶ **O** sometimes has the original reading of **A** before correction and sometimes vice versa. Let me give some examples.

Ep. III 319b2 ἔτι **O^{Pc}**: ἐπεὶ **AO^{ac}** (πε ut v.)

Ep. VIII 352d2³⁷ ἃ τοὺς **O^{Pc}** (ὀ et τ puncto notavit et supra α spiritum addidit): ὀ τὰ τοὺς
O^{ac}: ὀ τοὺς (τ* exp.) **A^{Pc}**: ὀ τ* τοὺς **A^{ac}** (τ ut v.)

Ep. XIII 362d9³⁸ δοκεῖ****ξυμβο*λον **A^{Pc}O^{Pc}** (ν et αἰς puncto notavit): δοκεῖν αἰς ξυμ-
βο*λον **O^{ac}**: ... ξύμβουλον **A^{ac}** (ν ut v.)

Virt. 379d4³⁹ μεγαλοπρεπῶς **ΘM₁**: μεγαλοπρεπ*ς **A^{Pc}**: μεγαλοπρεπῆς **OA^{ac}** (ε ut v.)

Demod. 380c6⁴⁰ δύνασθε edd.: δύνησθε **ΘM₁**⁴¹: δύν*σθε exp. **A^{Pc}**: δύνασθε **OA^{ac}** (α ut v.)

Demod. 380c6 ὑμῖν **O^{Pc}**: ἡμῖν **AO^{ac}ΘM₁**

Demod. 380d1 δὲ (poster.) **A^{ac}OΘM₁**: οὐδὲ **A^{Pc}A^{mg}**(utrubique litt. οὐ ligat.)

Demod. 384a1⁴² οὐ **M₁**: οὐν **Θ**: οὐ† **A^{Pc}O^{Pc}**: οὐ* **A^{ac}O^{ac}**

Demod. 385b7⁴³ τοῦ οὐν **A^{mg}O^{Pc}**: τί οὐν **AΘM₁**: τ* οὐν **O^{ac}**

Demod. 386c7⁴⁴ σὺ νομίζεις **AM₂Θ**: συνο μίζεις **O**

Also, the scribe of **O** might sometimes have seen the corrections in **A**, made later by a corrector

³⁶ Cf. des Places, 1951; Diès, 1956a; 1956b; Souilhé, 1949; Moore-Blunt, 1985.

³⁷ **O^{Pc}** is not reported by Bekker or Burnet; **A^{ac}** is not reported by Bekker.

³⁸ **O^{Pc}** is not fully reported by Bekker; Burnet wrongly reported about **O^{ac}** (cf. Souilhé and Moore-Blunt).

³⁹ **O** is not reported by Burnet; **A^{ac}** is not reported by Bekker, Burnet or Souilhé.

⁴⁰ Pace Bekker and Burnet, a corrector of **A** blotted out the original letter.

⁴¹ In reference to other traditions, I add a report on the readings in codex Vaticanus gr. 226 (Θ) and codex Caesenas Malatestianus D. XXVIII. 4 (M), in which two different hands, **M₁** and **M₂**, alternate. Reference to the line of the text is made according to Burnet's edition.

⁴² Pace Bekker, Burnet and Souilhé, the circumflex accent remains. The corrector of **A** blotted out the final letter but it does not look like a μ-shaped nu, which is usually used for οὐν in **A**. The corrector of **O** certainly erased the final letter but from the vestige of something vertical it does not look like a u-shaped nu, usually used for οὐν in **O**. The remaining circumflex accent implies that the scribe in each manuscript at least had intended to write οὐν, but it is least likely that each scribe coincidentally stopped shaping the final letter or that the scribe of **O** miscopied the correction of **A**. The intention is, if the ink of the circumflex accent is the scribe's, linguistically compelling, whereas reading something deleted is less certain, if not arbitrary. Therefore one may explain that despite the present optical impression of the deleted letter, each scribe originally wrote οὐν.

⁴³ **O^{Pc}** is not reported by Burnet; nor is **O^{ac}** by Bekker or Burnet.

⁴⁴ At 386c7 both **A** and **O** have a comma after οὐν and only **O** has a three-letter-long space after it. But, pace Souilhé, there is no vestige of correction. Also, **O** has an awkward letter-sequence συνο μίζεισ but this is perhaps due to the same letter-sequence without spacing in **A**.

or immediately by the scribe. Furthermore, as Clark showed, **O**'s omissions by *homoeoteleuton* as in at *Demod.* 386a3–4 (τοῖς τύχουσιν) often cover just one or two lines in **A**.⁴⁵

However, even in the *Demodocus*, **O** has some different readings and punctuations from **A** and, perhaps, *pace* Post (*op. cit.*, 13), even **A**'s corrections.

- 380b3⁴⁶ ἐπιστήμη **AO**^{pc} (supra ἐστιν puncto notavit) **OM**_I: ἐστιν ἐπιστήμη **O**^{ac} **A**^{mg} (Burnet: **A**² (≡ **A**¹)⁴⁷); δὲ **A**^{sl} **O**^{sl} **OM**_I: om. **AO**
- 381b3 μὴ **AO**^{sl} (s.l. μH) **OM**_I: om. **O**
- 382a7⁴⁸ ἱκανούς **O** (litt. ou ligat.) **A**^{pc} **OM**_I: ἱκανός **A**^{ac}
- 382c5⁴⁹ ὑμῶν; οὐδὲ **M**_I (post ὑμῶν signum interrogandi⁵⁰ punxit): ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ **OO**: ὑμῶν,

⁴⁵ Clark, 1918, 396–397.

⁴⁶ **O**^{pc} is not reported by Burnet or Bekker.

⁴⁷ See *Appendix* below.

⁴⁸ The scribe of **A**, because he would write -οσ not cursively but separately letter by letter and because the space here is two letters wide, would first, as Burnet reported, have written ἱκανοσ. But *pace* Burnet, he did not add the grave accent; for it is not placed over the omicron. If the Burnet–Boter theory of the interchange of the scribe with a corrector is right, the scribe would next have taken the role of corrector and, *pace* Souilhé, inserted between ο and σ the γ-shaped vertical ligature ου with a grave accent over it as in the word στω (οὔτω) included in the correction at fol. 158^v col. 1 l. 23 (*Lg.* 633d4), but probably found extra omicrons and corrected this excess by blotting out the lower part of the ligature. As in the correction at 380d1 (see p. 6), the user of this ligature might well be, as Burnet judged, Constantine, not the scribe, because, as far as I observe, it almost never appears in the masculine plural accusative ending in the text of **A** (not never, though (ἀδυνάτωσ at *Rp.* 551d9 (fol. 87^r col. 1 l. 9); ἐθελόδελωσ at *Rp.* 562d7 (fol. 91^r col. 2 l. 21))). However, the scribe could, and did, use it. It appears in the subtitle in majuscule at the beginning and end of the text of the *Demodocus*: ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΣ ΣΥΜΒΩΛΕΥΕΘΑΙ and also in the word γενωσ at fol. 323^v col. 2 l. 35 (*Def.* 414d10) and elsewhere (fol. 43^v col. 1 l. 44; fol. 75^v col. 1 l. 43; fol. 106^v col. 2 l. 41 s.v.). Therefore the scribe as corrector could have used the ligature for the correction. On the other hand, the scribe of **O** also used the same ligature here. However, I can estimate from the texts of the *Epistles* and *Spurious Works* that the ligature appears in the masculine plural accusative ending less than once in 250 cases (here and in the word ἐτέρωσ at fol. 181^r l. 20, *Sisyph.* 390d4). He usually used the ligature ωσ for the ending. Also, he did not use it in the subtitle like the scribe of **A**. And yet no vestige of correction can be observed here in **O** (Bekker might have doubted it since he reported, “ἱκανὸς pr **A**.Ω”). Therefore this ligature, salient for the scribe, might have been used in the exemplar of **O**, but if the scribe of **O** had seen the correction of **A**, he would not have used the ligature in that ending instead of using the ligature ωσ as he usually did. In the two cases above, where the scribe of **A** used the ligature ου, the scribe of **O** used the ligature ωσ.

⁴⁹ The mark is not reported by Bekker, Burnet or Souilhé.

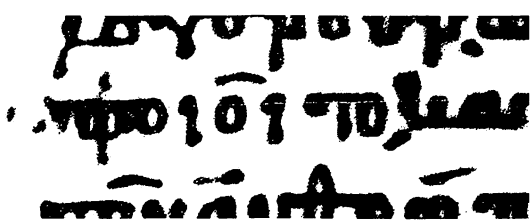
⁵⁰ The mark is a comma-shaped twist placed under a single-dot semicolon or a two-dot colon for a change of speaker. It is not fixed in the text. Also, in general, different hands often placed the marks of accents, breathings, and punctuation later than the text was originally copied. Above all, Plato had no punctuation. Therefore the mark may be regarded as irrelevant to the tradition of the text. However, it was already in use in the Patriarch's Codex as in the scholion to *Laws* III 685b5 (Codex **O**, fol. 24^v sinistra). Also, it was used to mark the speaker's intention, mainly by indirect means, to ask a question (A. Taki, 2008; 2009; 2010). Furthermore, there are some vestiges supporting its synchronicity with the text. At 384c2 in **A**, a comma-shaped mark is placed under the horizontal

⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮⋮ οὐδὲ **A** (cf. *Ep.* VII 339b8)

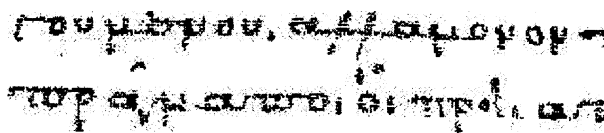
382c5⁵¹ οὐδὲ (poster.) **AOM**_I: om. **O**

382e9⁵² ποιῶι προκαταγινώσκων **O**^{ac} (ο post πρ parva littera scripsit): προιοίτο καταγινώσκων **A**^{ac} (π ut v.): ποιῶι το,καταγινώσκων **A**^{pc} (supra ρ puncto notavit et προιοίτο fecit); προιοίτο καταγινώσκων **OM**_I; ποιει ... **O**^{pc} (s.l. ε)

Pl. 5 codex Parisinus graecus 1807, fol. 329^r col. 2 l. 40 (*Demod.* 382e9)



Pl. 6 codex Vaticanus graecus I, fol. 177^v l. 40 (*Demod.* 382e9)



383a6⁵³ κρῖναι **O** (ι poster. atramento atriori ut videtur scripsit): κρίνας **AOM**_I

383b5⁵⁴ ἄν **AO**^{sl} (s.l. ἄν) **OM**_I: om. **O**

383b6 τὸ **AOM**_I: om. **O**

bar of the ending stroke of the sigma, but the beginning stroke of the mark is connected to the downward flowing round ink-pool of the end of the sigma (cf. Boter, 1989, 85). If the mark were not placed immediately after the sigma, such a connection could not happen. Also the mark might have been placed before the mark for a change of speaker, and therefore have been not newly added but copied from the original. At 384e2 in **O**, a two-dot mark for a change of speaker is placed a little higher than the base line and a comma-shaped mark is placed under it. If the scribe had not intended to add the comma-shaped mark to the two dots, he would not have placed them unusually higher.

⁵¹ **O** is not reported by Bekker or Burnet.

⁵² Of ποιῶι / προιοίτο, Bekker wrongly reported about **A** whereas Burnet did not mention **O**; of προκαταγινώσκων neither Bekker nor Burnet reported about **O** whereas Souilhé did not clearly attribute it to **O**.

⁵³ Burnet reported the correction in the manuscripts derived from **O** or **A**, but did not report **O**. Despite the difference in ink I cannot see in my reproduction of **O** a sigma *ante erasum* as Bekker implied, and Souilhé stated, it is seen there. Hence, they might have conjectured **O**'s correction from that in the derived manuscripts or Bekker might have seen the sigma through by observation *in situ*.

⁵⁴ Burnet's report of **A** is wrong.

383e4⁵⁵ δ' οὐκ ἐώσω **A**^{pc}**M**₁: **v*κ ἐώσω **O**^{ac} (v ut v.): δ' οὐκ αἰώσω **Θ** (οὐκαθώσω **Z**
(cod. Parisinus 3009))⁵⁶

384a5 ἐστὶν **A**^{sl} (s.l. v) **O****Θ****M**₁: ἐστὶ **A**

384c2 post ἤμαρτεν sign. interrog. punxerunt **A****Θ****M**₁: om. **O**

385e6 post ἄξιον sign. interrog. punx. **A**: om. **O****Θ****M**₂

386a3⁵⁷ ἀλλ' οὐ **O****M**₂: ἀλλὰ καὶ **A****Θ**; ἀλλ' / ἀλλὰ ... πιστεύειν interroganti attribuit
A**O****Θ****M**₂

386b4⁵⁸ δεῖ **O**: δεῖν **A****Θ****M**₂

386b4 post τυχόντας sign. interrog. punx. **A**: om. **O****Θ****M**₂

Against those variants, could one reasonably defend Post's thesis? Through the alternation of scribe and corrector in Codex **A** and through the marginal references to a number of sources for variant readings in Codex **O**, one admittedly could sense with Post and others a dynamism of the ninth to tenth century textual criticism on Plato in these codices. Also, one might well retain Post's thesis and yet explain that almost all the variants above are the scribe's error (381b3, 382c5 (post.), 383b5, 383b6) or his deliberate alteration on the spot just before the exemplar **A** (380b3, 382a7, 382c5 (pr.), 383a6, 383e4, 384a5, 386a3, 386b4). Even **O**'s reading at 382e9 ποιῶ προκαταγιγνώσκων, one might further try to explain, is a psychological or deliberate conflation of the verb, inadequately in the middle voice here, ποιῶτο and the ungrammatical sequence προιοιτο, e.g., a metathesis arising either in reading and remembering the sequence π/ροιοιτο καταγιγνώσκων or in taking the sequence το before καταγιγνώσκων for the residual image προ.

However, just as a possible origin of **A**'s double reading in the correction here suggests, **O**'s reading could be a deliberate alteration not conjectured from a single source,⁵⁹ even if the scribe of **A**, alas, slipped in copying πο.⁶⁰ Therefore one would not have to abide by Post's hypothesis.

⁵⁵ In the text of **O** the inter-letter spacing of οὐκ after correction is wider than usual and the vestige of an erased upsign can be observed between the omicron and the upsign after correction.

⁵⁶ See Bekker; cf. Souilhé.

⁵⁷ Burnet did not report about **O**. As Bekker conjectured and as Souilhé showed, the extra spacing and stain after the sequence ἀλλ' οὐ in **O** suggests a vestige of correction, but I cannot see καὶ through in the erasure like Souilhé. If there is no difference in ink, the sequence αλλο will be the first hand's. Likewise, merely from the spots around the letters and space, although they are electro-optically reproduced almost all over the text, one may with Souilhé spot a correction around μάλα at 386a9.

⁵⁸ Pace Burnet, **A** has δεῖ, not δεῖν, at 386b3.

⁵⁹ προκαταγιγνώσκω is in use in the classical age (Th. 3.53.4.4; Ar. V. 919; And. 3.10; Antipho *Caed. Her.* 4.4, 85.10; Lys. 19.10.1, 20.21.1; Isoc. *Antid.* 273.1; D. *Cor.* 2.4; 21.227.1).

⁶⁰ Lifting the pen at the end of the line after copying πρᾶγμα, the scribe might have looked again at the exemplar

Then, how else could one explain those variants? If one did not abandon the hypothesis that **O** is derived only from **A** throughout after *Laws* 746b8, one might well assume that there was some intermediate manuscript, now lost, between **A** and **O**. However, if one did, one might assume that there was an exemplar close to, but independent of, **A** in the *Spurious Works* including the *Demodocus*. For (1) there is no reference (by **O**⁴) to the Patriarch's book and other sources after the *Definitions*, (2) in **Θ** and **M** and others, whereas the *Spurious Works* are arranged before the *Republic*, the *Definitions* is not copied, and (3) even among the manuscripts including the *Spurious Works* and the *Definitions*, their ordering varies.⁶¹

Therefore those variants in the *Demodocus* reasonably leave the possibility that the exemplar of **O** might have been not **A** but some other manuscript close to **A**. Of the *Demodocus* passage under discussion, however, it does not follow that the original reading of **O** is different from that of **A**. What exactly was in each manuscript before the erasures one cannot conjecture except the number of letters.⁶² All one has reason to say is that there could hardly have been a four-to-six-letter-long sequence such as *επισση* in the three-letter-long space there. The same letter-sequence could still originally have been there in **A** and **O**. Hence the scribe of **A** might have seen the same letter-sequence there as the scribe of **O**. However, the scribe of **A** might have read it differently or at least poorly. The word division there in **A** suggests that despite the similar word-sequence four lines back the scribe was poor at breaking down the original sequence into the right words.

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and caught *πρᾶγμα* instead of *ποιῶτο*, because of his slightly weakened retention of the sequence in the exemplar. Likewise, in reading and remembering afresh after the line end the passage in the exemplar, the scribe might have psychologically replaced *ποιῶ προκαταγινώσκων* with an alliterative and parisyllabic sequence including a more familiar compound verb, *ποιῶτο καταγινώσκων*.

⁶¹ Post, 1934, 1–64, esp. 52–64; Wilson, 1962, 386–395.

⁶² Souilhé at reading *εἰ δ' ἐτι* there mistook the acute accent in **O** for a mark for elision, probably because the acute accent is placed against the left shoulder of the ε-shaped epsilon.

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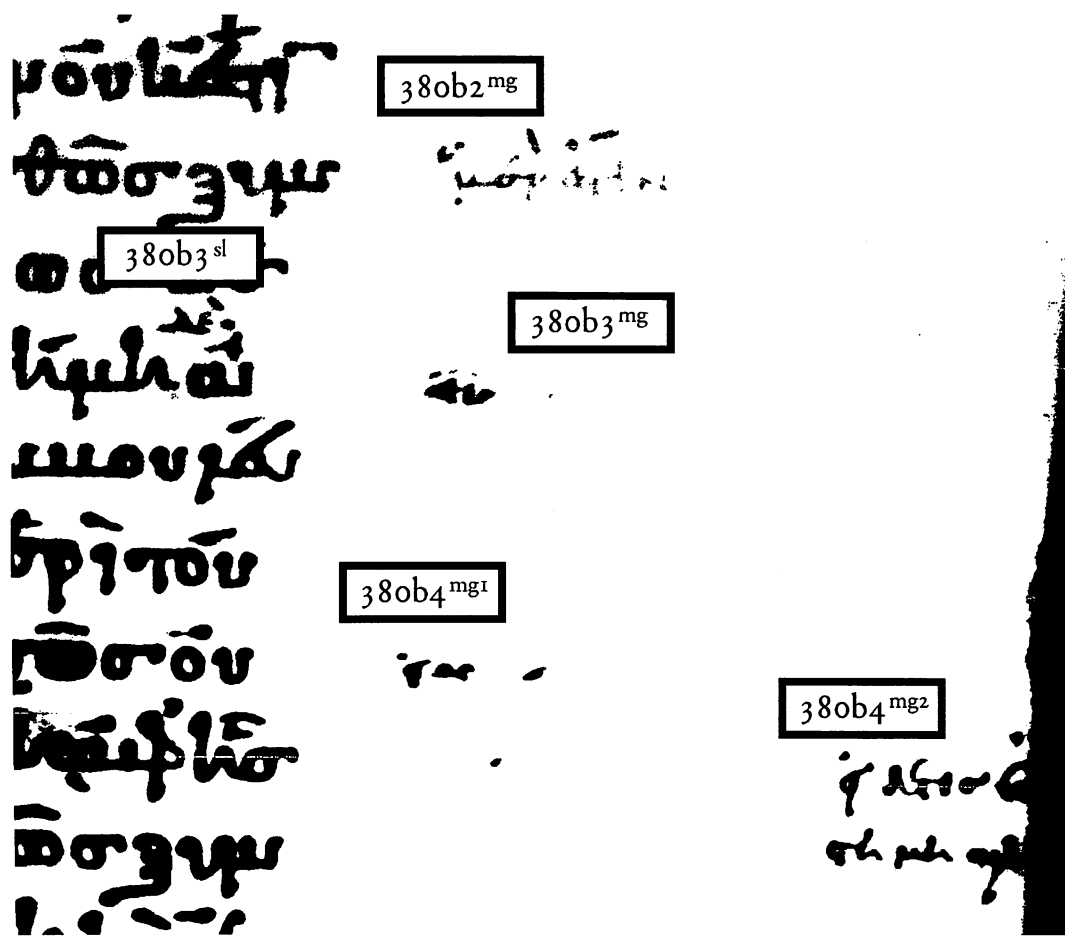
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Appendix: the variant readings in the right margin of Codex A fol. 328^r col. 2

The three variants, 380b^{3sl}, 380b^{3mg}, and 380b^{4mg1}, look similar in script and ink; the two variants, 380b^{2mg} and 380b^{4mg2} look similar in script except the epsilon and in ink. Burnet attributed the former three to A², the latter two to A³, and ἐπίοτη in the erasure at 380b⁴ to Constantine. Souilhé does not clarify the difference in hands except that he attributes 380b^{4mg1} to A². Bekker does not report fully about those readings. If the Burnet–Boter theory is right, O’s addition of ἐστίν at 380b⁴ might come from A’s addition immediately after the copying.

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Pl. 7 Codex A fol. 328^f col. 2



38ob2^{mg}: μὲν ἔστιν; 38ob3^{sl}: δὲ 38ob3^{mg}: ἔστιν; 38ob4^{mg1}: εἰ δε; 38ob4^{mg2}: εἰ δέ τις ἐπιστήμη ἀφ' ἧς