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Notes on the Sources of the Aldine Edition of Menander Rhetor

Summary – A detailed study of the Logos Basilikos text by Menander Rhetor leads us to propose connections between the Aldine edition and some recentiores.

The discussion of the possible sources of the editio princeps of Menander Rhetor (*Rhetores Graeci*, I, Venice 1508/1509)¹ has, to date, highlighted two main models: Paris. Gr. 1656, copied by Zacharias Kallierges, and Vindob. phil. gr. 60, copied by Georgios Trivizias. Both manuscripts are also directly related to another which is also well known as one of the main sources of the text of Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, Paris. Gr. 1741 (= P), from the 10th century. The latter manuscript is the main representative, according to D. Russell and N. Wilson, of the first branch or family of the manuscripts of Menander Rhetor,² alongside Z (Paris. Gr. 2423, 13th c.). In addition to Menander Rhetor, the first volume of the Aldine edition contains other texts of rhetoric content in the following order: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Demetrius Phalereus, Alexander, Phoebammon, Menander Rhetor, Aristides, Apsines and Minucianus.

¹ Renewed interest in the figure of Aldus Manutius is evident from the latest book published by N. G. Wilson, *Aldus Manutius, The Greek Classics*, Cambridge 2015.

² D. A. Russell - N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor*, Oxford 1981, XL/XLI. A description of P can be found in D. Harlfinger - D. Reinsch, *Die Aristotelica des Parisinus Gr. 1741*, *Philologus* 114 (1970), 28–50. F. Cairns, A note on the Editio Princeps of Menander Rhetor, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 138/139, corrects the order and content of the Aldine edition given in Russell-Wilson and concludes (139) that „the manuscript used by the Aldine compositors must have belonged to the P Z family“. In addition to the first family of manuscripts, according to Russell-Wilson there are another two: the second, represented mainly by M m W Y X, and the third, by p. The equivalents for all of the sigla can be found in the final conspectus siglorum. We have taken this edition as the basis, with some corrections, for our collatio, and added to this the evidence given by the manuscripts not used by Russell-Wilson. Our research has been carried out as part of official research project „Greek Manuscripts in Spain and their European Context (II)“, FFI2015-67475-C2-2-P. We would like to thank Dr Olivia Cockburn for reviewing the article in English. We are also grateful to the reviewers of Wiener Studien.

When it comes to the possible models of the Aldine edition, we can summarise the status quaestionis as follows: in his 1836³ edition of Menander Rhetor, Ch. Walz linked the Aldine edition to Paris. 1656. In 1881, W. Tröbst⁴ reached the conclusion that the Aldine edition, Paris. 1656 and Vindob. 60 all came independently from the same source, whilst in 1917/1918⁵ W. Schmid linked the Aldine edition to the Vindobonensis, meaning that three other codices would derive from this one: Paris. 1656, Palat. 66 and Marc. 429. In his 1974 edition of Menander's chapters on the „monody“,⁶ J. Soffel was somewhat tentatively inclined to consider Vindob. 60 as the main source of the Aldine edition of the two Treatises attributed to Menander. In 1992, P. Harsting⁷ concluded that the Vindobonensis manuscript was the only source for the Aldine, and, in 1997, M. Sicherl⁸ also suggested that the model of the Aldine edition could be a copy of Vindob. 60. In his overall study in 2002 on the recentiores of Menander Rhetor, however, E. Ares was of the opinion that Vindobonensis was not the only source for the Aldine edition, since he also found significant textual coincidences between the Aldine and Paris. 1656 (referred to by him as F) and with Palatinus gr. 66 (= D).⁹ In his study two years later, in 2004, on the

³ Ch. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. IX, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1836, VIII, 415: „Paris. 3 (= 1656) cuius primum caput speciminis causa contulit, consentit cum Aldina.“

⁴ W. Tröbst, *Quaestiones Hyperideae et Dinarcheae I*, Prog. Hameln 1881, 9–20.

⁵ W. Schmid, *Die sogenannte Aristidesrhetorik*, *Rheinisches Museum* 72 (1917/1918), 113–149.

⁶ J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede*, hrsg., übers. und kommentiert, Meisenheim am Glan 1974 (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 57), 112: „Offenbar hat Al. nur diese beide Hss. benutzt ... Der Vergleich der Varianten zeigt, dass Al. die Wiener Hs. V der Pariser vorgezogen hat.“

⁷ P. Harsting, *The Golden Method of Menander Rhetor. The Translation and the Reception of the Peri Epideiktikôn in the Italian Renaissance*, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 20 (1992), 139–157, 156 n. 29: „After having compared the Aldine with the Viennese manuscript I am convinced that this was the sole source for the Menandrian text of the editio princeps.“

⁸ M. Sicherl, *Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius*, Paderborn 1997, 325: „Die Vorlage der Aldina dürfte dann ebenfalls eine Kopie des Vindobonensis gewesen sein.“

⁹ E. Ares, *Los recentiores del rétor Menandro*, Madrid, Diss. Universidad Complutense 2002, 372: „Ni D (= Palatinus gr. 66) ni F (= Parisinus gr. 1656) parece que hayan sido la única fuente de la edición. D omite el texto de 366.17/18 que la Aldina y F mantienen junto con el resto de manuscritos; de la misma forma, F omite el texto de 357.5, junto con los demás manuscritos ... De todas formas, lo que sí parece claro es que I (= Vindobonensis gr. 60) no ha sido la única fuente de la edición Aldina.“ This information has been of key importance for our study.

treatise attributed to Alexander Numenius, *De figuris*, A. Jaewon¹⁰ returned to the initial thesis proposed by Walz (Parisinus 1656 as the model for the Aldine) and believed, just as Schmid did, that Parisinus could be a copy of the Vindobonensis.¹¹

Bearing the above in mind, we would like to suggest here other possible connections. We have recently carried out a study of the textual transmission of one of the main chapters of the *Treatise II* attributed to Menander Rhetor, the extremely influential *Logos Basilikos* (368.1–377.30),¹² including the information on all of the recentiores by Menander that Russel and Wilson did not make use of in their edition. Working from the most general to the most specific groups,¹³ we are able to confirm the following:

1. The Aldine edition (Al) and the recentiores normally follow P, as we would expect:

368.10 καθήκας Z p B : καθήκα P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v D
A a q Al : οὐ καθήκα F Q¹⁴ : καθ' ἡμᾶς W m X Y V T

¹⁰ A. Jaewon, *Alexandri De figuris sententiarum et verborum*, Diss. Georg-August-Universität Göttingen 2004, XXI: „Nach meinen eigenen Kollationen ist aber sicher, dass die Aldina aus dem Paris. 1656 entstanden ist.“

¹¹ XXII: „In dieser Zeit könnte der Paris. 1656 auf Veranlassung des Musuro aus dem Vin. 60 in Padua abgeschrieben worden sein.“

¹² F. G. Hernández Muñoz, *The Logos Basilikós text of Menander Rhetor*, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* N.S. VIII (2013), 371–385. A new edition of this speech can be found in TH ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΜΟΥ ΕΛΛΩΣΑΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ. Homenaje a la Profesora Penélope Stavriano-pulu, Berlin 2013, 305–311 (Part I), and *Philologia, Universitas, Vita. Trabajos en honor de Tomás González Rolán*, Madrid 2014, 461–473 (Part II). We have now been able to correct and add to some of the information provided in these studies.

¹³ As we all know, special attention must be given to agreements in probable mistakes. However, it is not always easy to identify an erroneous reading in a manuscript tradition, especially in those authors whose *constitutio textus* is still the subject of debate, such as Menander Rhetor. We therefore consider the text edited by Russell-Wilson to be correct. In the examples cited below this edition appears first, before the readings from the other manuscripts and the Aldine edition, which almost always share the same errors. However, it is important to bear in mind that a text deemed correct (for example, the Russell-Wilson edition) may be considered erroneous by other editors (e. g., Walz, Spengel, Bursian), or viceversa. Some dubious examples may include: 368.5 ἀμφίδολον : ἀμφίδοξον, 371.7 <τοῖς> τοιοῦτοις, 373.3 εὐρήσεις : ἐρεῖς, 374.30 ἄρξαντας : προἄρξαντας, 375.27 νόμοι : γάμοι and 376.11 ταύτην : ταύτην καὶ μόνην.

¹⁴ For information on this and other manuscripts, we would like to thank Beatriz Muruzábal, who is at present preparing a new edition of Menander Rhetor as her doctoral thesis at the Universidad Complutense.

369.16 οἶον Russell-Wilson, prob. Browning : λοιπὸν Z W X Y p B T : post διαποροῦντος V Rhak. : om. P m V C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q Al fort. seclud.

370.5 γοῦν P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q Al : καὶ γὰρ Z : γὰρ W m X Y V p B T

370.22 καταπέμπονται Z W m V X Y T : παραπέμπονται P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q Al : πέμπονται p B

376.3 γὰρ Z W X Y p B T : δὲ P C R H Ma K a Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A Q q Al

376.10 : βασιλῆς Z W m X Y V p B T : βασιλεία P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q (sed βασιλεία sic) Al : βασιλεια Valesius

376.12 καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλο οἶδε γυναικεῖον φύλον W m X Y : καὶ οὐ σύνεστιν ἄλλη· μετὰ τὸ γυναικεῖον φύλ(λ)ον P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o I N v F^{s.l.} (ἄλλοις ante corr.) D A a Q q Al : καὶ οὐ σύνεστιν ἄλλη· μετὰ τὸ γυναικεῖον δὲ φύλον Z : καὶ οὐδὲ εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλο τὸ γυναικεῖον φύλον οἶδεν p B : καὶ οὐδὲ εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλον γυναικεῖον φύλον οἶδεν T : καὶ οὐ σύνεστιν ἄλλη· μετὰ γυναικεῖον φίλον L : ἄλλη. τὸ γυναικεῖον φύλον Valesius.

1a. Worthy of mention are those passages in which all of the recentiores, the Aldine and P omit the text given by other manuscript families:

374.1 ἐκφράσεις μάχας Z W m X Y p B T : om. P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a r Q q Al

375.14 οἱ Ἀσκληπιάδαι ... καθάπερ om. P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a r Q q, Al (“saût du même au même” supra καθάπερ ... καθάπερ)¹⁵

2. There are also passages, however, in which the recentiores and the Aldine do not coincide with P, but with manuscripts from other branches. In some cases, they even transmit readings that differ from any others known to date:

368.5 ἀμφίβολον Z p B : ἀμφίδοξον V C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q Al, fort. recte : ὡς ἀμφίδοξον P : πρὸς ἀμφιδόξον W m Y T : ὡς ἀμφίδολον X

368.12 ἑαυτοῦ Z W m X Y p T : αὐτοῦ P : σαυτοῦ C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a o r Q q Al : αὐτοῦς L

¹⁵ In previous studies, we mistakenly referred to both passages as omissions that were exclusive to recentiores because in the Russell-Wilson edition it was not mentioned that P also contained these omissions. A direct analysis of this manuscript has allowed us to correct some information on the readings of P, as well as others linked to elements considered exclusive to some of the recentiores.

369.21/22 προθήσεις p : προσθήσεις W : παραθήσεις Z : προθῆς X Y : προθῆς Walz : προσθῆς V m C R H Ma K Sc E b G T a L o : προθεῖς P : προσθεῖς I N v F D A r Q q Al

369.27 μὴ (ante ἤ) V X Y p T r q Al : μηδὲ P Z W m : καὶ μὴ C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o Q

371.11 ἦ καὶ P Z W m X Y V p B T, Bursian : εἶναι C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v F D A a Q q Al : ἦ Walz, Spengel

372.20 ὡς περὶ P Z W m X Y T, Walz : ὥσπερ p C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q Al

375.5/6 μεταβήση m X : μεταθήσει(ς) P Z W Y p : μεταθήση T : μεθήσει I N v F D A r Q q Al : μεθήσεις C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o

375.9/10 τὴν . . . φιλανθρωπίαν p : τῆς . . . φιλανθρωπίας P Z W m X Y : τῆς δὲ . . . φιλανθρωπίας C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F D A a L o r Q q Al

376.22 γνώμων P W X Y p T : γνώμην Z m C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q Al

3. Given our aim, it is even more interesting to focus our research on the group of recentiores and their relationships with each other. In some passages the readings of the recentiores (except for T) and the Aldine contain the same errors:

368.15 ἦ om.

368.15 ἄτοπον] ἄδοξον

370.11 ἦ] εἴη

371.7 <τοῖς> τοιούτοις

371.13 τὸ om.

371.30 τοῦτο] τούτω

372.5 ἦθους] ἦ θεοῦ

372.5 περιέχει] περιάγει

372.33 ἀναγκαίως] ἀναγκαῖα

374.11 χώρα] χαρά

374.14 εἰ ποιητικὸς ἦν ὁ Ἴστρος] ἦ ποιητικοῦ τινος ὁ Ἴστρος

375.11 τὸν om.

375.25 νομοθετεῖ] νομοθετεῖται

375.29 ὑπολάβη] ὑπολάβοι

377.28 εὐχὴν] εὐχὰς

4. However, there are also other passages that can be divided into two main subgroups within the recentiores (C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o // I N v F D A r Q q). We should highlight in particular those passages in which the

Aldine agrees with the subgroup I N v F D A r Q q,¹⁶ offering at times readings that do not seem to be documented in other branches of the tradition:

- 370.28 κρείττων] κρεῖττον
 372.1 ἡλικίων] ἡλικιῶν
 372.21 τούτων] τοιούτων (τοιούτην r)
 372.23 και] τὰ
 372.27 προθήσεις] προσθήσεις (προσθήσης q)
 372.28 ταύταις] ταύτης
 373.1 τὰ] τὸν
 373.3 ἐρεῖς] εὐρήσεις, fort. recte (εὐρεῖς v)
 373.6 μέλλης] μέλλη
 374.19 ἐπάξεις] ἐπάξει
 375.4 ἐνδείξεται] δεῖξεται (ἐνδείξεται r)
 375.5 μεταβήση] μεθήσει
 376.25 τύχης] τέχνης (τύχης v)
 376.31 ἀντεξετάζων] ἀντεξετάζειν
 377.24 ἀμειδόμενοι] ἀμειβόμενοι (ἀμειδόμενοι v ut vid.)

4a. Of particular interest within this subgroup are the coincidences between the Aldine and q and the Aldine and D A:

4b. Coincidences with q, a very late manuscript (18th c.) which seems to be a copy of the Aldine:¹⁷

¹⁶ We also find coincidences outside of the Logos Basilikos, albeit less frequently, with the other group:

343.6 δεῖ C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o Al : δὴ P I N v F D A r Q : δοκεῖ Z

343.23 ἀλλὰ τὸν Jacobs : ἀλάττων P : ἀλλάττων I N v F D A r : ἄλλαττον C R H Ma K Sc E b G a o Q Al : ἔλαττον L : ἀλλὰ τῶν τῷ ὕμνω Z

349.16 πεδία W M m C R H Ma K Sc E b T a L o Q q Al : παιδία P G I N v F D A r : πεδινά Heeren

401.28 νηκτῶν P W m p T : νῆ Δία C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o Q^c q Al : νῆ (lac.) I v F D A r Q^a (νῆ Δία Aldus add.^{ms})

¹⁷ Outside of Basilikos, q Al also tend to agree:

353.1 τὰς δὲ W M m T : τὰς P Z C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o^{ms} r Q : καὶ τὰς q Al

363.31 συνοικήσεων W M m : συνοικεσιῶν P Z : συνοικεσίων C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L Q : συνοικεσέων o : συνοικίσεων q Al (etiam T r) : σινουκισίων R

390.24 προφητῖν p Cumanudes : προφητείαν P Z W m Y C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F D A a L o r Q : προφητίαν q Al

398.3 ἀπίθανον P p C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A L o r Q : ἀπίθανος W m T Walz : ἀπήθανον a : ἀπέθανον q Al

371.2 παρελευσόμεθα] παρελευσόμεθα

372.32 ἕξεις] ἕξει

375.19 κατὰ] κατὰ τὰ

In some passages the same graphical or phonetic error has been made in q and Al:¹⁸

369.22 πρὸ] παρὸ (sic, fort. pro παρὰ)

375.5 ἐπιθείς vel ἐπιτιθείς] ἐπιτηθείς (etiam Q)

404.21 ἐντειναμένους p : ἐντεινομένους P W m T : ἀντιτεταμένους r : ἀντι (lac.) μένους q Al : ἀντ (lac.) μένους I v F D A Q : ἀνατεινοντας C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : ἀντεινοντας μένους N

419.29 σύμβολα P W M p T Walz : ὠδίνος σύμβολα J C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o (-δαιν-) : ὠδινῶς, σύμβολα I N v F D A r Q : ἐνδινῶς σύμβολα q Al

425.13 μὲν P W m p T, prob. Finckh : ποῦ Spengel : τίνα C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o : lac. I v F D A r Q : που q Al Walz

428.30/31 ἐπιβαλεῖς W m p T Q : ἐπεισβαλεῖς P C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r : εισβαλεῖς q Al

434.31 διασώσει P m p C R H K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r : διαδώσει Ma : δυνήσεται διασῶσαι W T : διασώση q Al (etiam Q)

¹⁸ Outside of the Logos Basilikos, there are also passages in which q corrects errors from the Aldine or agrees with other manuscripts. This suggests that it may have come from another model:

352.22 ὑψηλὴ μὲν, στενή W M m T : ὑψηλαὶ μὲν, στεναὶ P Z : ὑψηλαὶ μὲν, στεραὶ C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q : ὑψηλὴ μὲν, στερεαὶ o : ὑψηλὴ μὲν, στεναὶ r Heeren : ψηλαὶ μὲν, στεραὶ Al

360.20/21 γὰρ τοῦς Russell-Wilson, prob. Classen : γὰρ οὖν P Z W M C R H Ma K Sc b G T I N v F D A a L o r q Heeren : γὰρ m E Q : γὰρ, οὐ Al

363.8 ἀδικοῖεν . . . ἀλλήλους m Heeren : ἀδικοῖεν . . . τοὺς ἄλλους C R H Ma K Sc E G a L o : ἀδικοῖντο . . . τοὺς ἄλλους P Z I N v F D A r q : ἀδικοῖον . . . τοὺς ἄλλους b : om. W M T Q : ἀδικεῖντο . . . τοὺς ἄλλους Al

387.19 εὐτυχήσαντας P W m Y p C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F D A a L o r Q q : εὐτυχήσαντος Z : εὐτηχήσαντας Al

390.30 προτρέπουσι W m Y T : προτρέπονται P p C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q : προτρέποντες Al

394.10 τροφίμους P W m Y C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F D A a L o r Q q : om. P : τροφήμους Al

431.10 ἐπαινέσει B Bursian : ἐπαινέσεις P W m Y p C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F D A a L o r Q q, prob. Nitsche : ἐπεινάσεις Al

As usual, q also has its own errors and even lacunae in the text:

372.27 προσθήσεις Al : προσθήσης q

376.10 βασιλεία Al : βασιλεία q

437.9 καὶ ὅτι p : διὰ τῆς καὶ ὅτι P I N v F D A r Q Al : διὰ τῆς (lac.) καὶ ὅτι q : διὰ τῆς ὅτι W : καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι καὶ C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : δι' αὐτοῦ ὅτι m : δι' αὐτῆς ὅτι T

4c. Coincidences with D A (and q):¹⁹370.26 καταβολήν] μεταβολήν D A q Al (etiam G^a)

374.2 ὡς] ὥσπερ D A q Al

376.27 κατορθοῖ] κατορθοῦται D A q Al (etiam Q^{mg})

5. The passages with omissions and lacunae with blank spaces (lac.) in the Aldine deserve to be dealt with in their own section in order to see how they compare with the recentiores. In 376.30 εὔνοι is omitted with a blank space in I N v F D A r Q q and in the Aldine. It is also omitted by the rest of the recentiores but without this blank space.²⁰ In 377.27/28 the recentiores give us the following:

αἱ δὲ (lac.) καὶ τιμωτέρας τῆς Al q

αἱ δὲ σ (lac.) καὶ τιμωτέρας τῆς F Q

αἱ δὲ σου (lac.) καὶ τιμωτέρας τῆς N

¹⁹ Outside of the Basilikós, coincidences with D A Al (and q):

342.10 +εντ . . . ουσαν+ Russell-Wilson : εντ . . . ουσαν P : εν . . . ουσαν C R H Ma K Sc E b G v a L : ἐνοῦσαν I N F o r Q : καὶ ἐνοῦσαν D A Al : καὶ ἐνώσαι Jacobs, pace Bursian : ἐνισῶσαι vel τεχνολογῆσαι Hernández : καὶ οὖν παρ' Heeren : τοῦτο Z

349.15 προβαλλομένη ἐν πεδινοῖς ἐστὶν Walz, prob. Bursian (ἐν <τοῖς> πεδινοῖς) : προβαλλομένη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν W M T : προβαλλομένη m : προβάλλομεν αὐτοῖς P C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F a L (-λ-) o r Q : παραβάλλομεν αὐτοῖς D A q Al : περιβαλλομένη ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ἴδρυνται Heeren, prob. Finckh

350.15 κορυφῆς P W M m C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F a L o r Q Heeren : κορυφαῖς D A q Al

386.26 ἐπιρροάς Z W m Y p T : ἐπιρρύας P : ἐπιρροίας C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F a L o r Q : ὑπιρροίας D A q Al

389.6 οικοδομημάτων P Z W m Y p C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F a L o r Q : οικοδομημάτων καὶ D A q Al

389.16 ἐκλεγόμενοι p : εἰ λέγομεν P Z W m Y C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F a L o r : ἐκλέγομεν D A q Al : om. Q

391.25 ἐγκωμιάσεις (post ποτὲ) W m Y p T, prob. Finckh : ἐγκώμια ὅσα P C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F a L o r Q : ἐγκώμια D A q Al

399.1 οἶος δὲ Finckh : οἶ δὲ P : οἶδε I N v F Q : εἰ δὲ r : δὲ W m p T : ἦει a o : ἦει δὲ C R H Ma K Sc E b G L : εἰ οἶδε D A q Al : οἶος (δι) ἦει Hernández (cf. 427.11)

419.31 ἔθουον P p B (ut vid.) : ἔθουε J W m C R H Ma K Sc E b G T I N v F a o r Q : ἔθουε D A q Al (etiam L)

430.22 Ἀλκίνοον W T r : Ἀλκίνουον P m Y p C R H Ma Sc E b G v a L o : Ἀλκίνοϋ D A q Al : Ἀλκίνο (lac.) K : Ἀλκίνην I N F

In 341.16 D A differ: τὸν Λόγον Διὸς P C R H Ma K Sc b G I N v F A a L o r Q : τὸν λόγον τοῦ Διὸς D A l : τῷ λόγῳ Δία Z : τὸν Λόγον E

²⁰ The example would be similar, outside of the Basilikós, to 397.32 : om. τύχον καὶ (cum lac.) I N v D A r q Al : om. τύχον καὶ (sine lac.) C R H Ma K Sc E b G F a L o Q

αἰ δὲ σου (lac.) τῆς ρ

αἰ δὲ σου καὶ τιμωτέρας τῆς I D A²¹ v

αἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τιμωτέρας τῆς ο

αἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τιμωτέρας (vel ἀποτιμωτέρας) τῆς C R H Ma K Sc E b G
a L

αἰ δὲ που καὶ τιμωτέρας τῆς T V P cett.

As we can see, it is again the subgroup I N v F D A r Q q that maintains the Aldine's blank space here, although with different changes. Outside of the Basilikos, it is also this subgroup that tends to share the Aldine's blank spaces.²² In 357. 5, however, the Aldine does not have the same omission as

²¹ There is another lacuna with a blank space in I D A: 373.4 (post ἔτερ).

²² 357.25 διὰ τὴν Z : διὰ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς W M m T : δι' αὐτὴν (lac.) P : δι' αὐτὴν τὴν C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o Bursian : δι' αὐτ (lac.) I v F D A r Q q Al

358.6 νίκη m Bursian : νίκην W M T : νίκαις Heeren, Walz : ἔδωκεν ἐνίαις, νικῶν (Jacobs) : ἦ ἀεὶ P : (lac.) ἀεὶ C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q Al : om. Z

360.14 μῆς W M m T : μῆς πόλεως Z C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o : μι (lac.) αἰ lac. P I v F D A r Q q Al : num μι (ἄς ἀρχῆς)? Russell-Wilson (cf. 363.12) : νόμοις Jacobs : ἐμοῦ Heeren

366.13 ἄν Walz : ἄν εἶεν W : ἄν αἰ M m : πᾶσαι αἰ T : παν αἰ P : παν (lac.) αἰ I v F D A Q q Al : (lac.) αἰ r : ὅτι πάντα αἰ Z : πανύ C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o : εἰ αἰ (δαπαναί) Bursian : ἐπαινοῦνται Jacobs

380.6 καλῶς P Z W m Y p T : om. C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : om. (lac.) I N v F D A r Q q Al : secl. Bursian

380.10 πεφηνέαι P Z W m Y p T : ἔχειν γεγρονίας C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L (γεγονίας) o : (lac.) I v F D A r Q q Al

391.15 ὑπογούου P W Y p T : ὑπογούου Valesius : ὑποθέσεως C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o Lib. Merul. : ὑπο (lac.) I v F D A r Q q Al

392.1 κύσε δὲ ζεῖδωρον P W m Y p (sed κύρσε) T : δῶρον C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o^c Q : δῶρον o^a : (lac.) δῶρον I N v F D A r Q q Al

394.28 ἐρασθειή p Walz : ἐρασθεῖς P : ἐρασθῆ W m Y C R H Ma K Sc E b G T N a L o r : ἐράσθης v : ἐρα (lac.) τῆς I D A q Al : ἔραται τῆς F Q

397.32 καὶ (ante λόγων) W m p T : om. P : om. τύχον καὶ (cum lac.) I N v D A r q Al : om. τύχον καὶ (sine lac.) C R H Ma K Sc E b G F a L o Q

398.8/9 ἠλικιωτῶν μᾶλλον W m T : ἠλικῶν ἢ μᾶλλον P : ἠλικῶν μᾶλλον p : (lac.) ἢ μᾶλλον I v F D A r Q q Al : μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : μᾶλλον τῶν μᾶλλον N

402.2 νηκτῶν δὲ δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ P W m T : περὶ δὲ τῶν νηκτῶν δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ p : νη (lac.) δὲ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ C R H Ma K Sc E b G I N v F D A a L o r Q q Al : fort. νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δῆλον ὅτι αὐτὰ τε τὰ Spengel

404.21 ἐντειναμένους p : ἐντεινόμενος P W m T : ἀντιτεταμένους r : ἀντι (lac.) μένους q Al : ἀντ (lac.) μένους I v F D A Q : ἀνατείνοντας C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : ἀντεινόμενος N

F (καὶ λοχαγὸς ὅστις στρατιώτης).²³ In addition, in 366.17/18 (om. καταστησάντων . . . πανήγυρις) and 400.12 (om. ἄρξασθαι . . . διηγήματος) we see the same as with the omissions in D A.

To conclude, an analysis of the text transmitted by the recentiores and the Aldine in the Logos Basilikos and outside of this text, especially in passages with omissions and lacunae with blank spaces, provides us with confirmation of the textual value of manuscripts proposed until now to be models. These include Parisinus 1656 (F) and Palatinus 66 (D), but we can also add others, such as A, Q, q and r. Angelicus 54 (A) seems to be a copy of D,²⁴ some marginalia suggest that Q (Queen's gr. 20) has consulted the Aldine (and not vice versa)²⁵ and q (Parisinus 1163) is a very late manuscript copied from the Aldine. Riccardianus 68 (r), however, is a codex that dates back to around

412.27 χρώμενος p C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L, prob. Finckh : χρήμενος (sic) o : χρώμεθα W M m : χρόνος P : χρῶ F Q : χ (lac.) I v D A r q Al

413.23 οὐτω πως P p : οὐ π (lac.) I N v F D A r Q q Al : (lac.) C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o : οὐτως Walz

427.23 ἐπιδημεῖν P W m p T : ἐπιδημοῦντας C R H Ma K Sc E b G a L o Valesius : ἐπιδημ (lac.) I N v F D A r Q q Al

432. 4 ἄρμόσει p : δρομόσει P : διορίσθω vel similia W m Y T : προσήκει C R H Ma Sc E b G N a L o : προσόκει K : (lac.) I v F D A r Q q Al

In other passages, however, the Aldine does not show these lacunae. This suggests that other manuscripts have been consulted or that they have been filled in by the editor's own corrections:

399.27/28 ὅτι περ ἄν P W p : ὅπερ ἄν m T : ὅτι ποτε F Q q Al : ὅτι π (lac.) I N v D A r : ὅτι (lac.) C R H Sc E b G a L o : ὅτι (sine lac.) Ma K

401.28 νηκτῶν P W m p T : νῆ Δία C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o Q^c q Al : νῆ (lac.) I v F D A r Q^a (νῆ Δία Aldus add.^{ms})

425.13 μὲν W m p T, prob. Finckh : που q Al Walz : ποῦ Spengel : τίνα C R H Ma K Sc E b G N a L o : (lac.) I v F D A r Q

The lacuna filled in in the Aldine may also appear in the other subgroup of recentiores:

342.10 +εντ . . . ουσαν+ Russell-Wilson : εντ (lac.) ουσαν P : εν (lac.) ουσαν C R H Ma K Sc E b G v a L : ἐνοῦσαν I N F o r Q : καὶ ἐνοῦσαν D A Al : καὶ ἐνώσαι Jacobs, pace Bursian : ἐνισῶσαι vel τεχνολογήσαι Hernández : καὶ οὖν παρ' Heeren : τοῦτο Z

²³ In 368.10 it is precisely the addition of F Q, οὐ, that is not found in the Aldine edition: οὐ καθῆκα F Q : καθῆκα P C R H Ma K Sc E b G r o L I N v D A a q Al : καθῆκας Z p B : καθ' ἡμᾶς W m X Y V T. In 399.27/28 exactly the opposite is true, as we have seen in the previous note: the lacuna that appears in the recentiores, ὅτι π (lac.) vel ὅτι (lac.), has been filled in by the Aldine (ὅτι ποτε), perhaps after consulting F or in corrections made to this manuscript.

²⁴ Cf. Ares (supra n. 9), 309–314.

²⁵ 376.28 κατορθ' (vac.) Q : κατορθοῦται Aldus (Q add. in marg.); 401.28 νῆ (vac.) Q : νῆ Δία Aldus (Q add. in marg.), although the writing of the annotation may have been added at a later date.

1492–1495, when its scribe, Aristobulus Apostolis (1465–1535),²⁶ was in the city of Florence working for Janus Lascaris and alongside Aldus.²⁷ This may mean that it had an important role in the preparation of the first volume of the Aldine edition of the *Rhetores Graeci* (1508/1509), at least for Menander Rhetor’s *Logos Basilikos*.²⁸

Conspectus siglorum²⁹

- A : Angelicus gr. 54 (D.5.8), s. XV ex.
 a : Ambrosianus gr. M 92 sup. (537), s. XV ex. – XVI in.
 B : Bodleianus Barocc. 131, s. XIII
 b : Bodleianus Auct. Saib. T.3.13, s. XV
 C : Ambrosianus gr. B 164 sup. (158), s. XV
 D : Palatinus gr. 66, s. XVI
 E : Marcianus App. gr. VIII.10 (1349), s. XV ex. – s. XVI in.
 F : Parisinus Anc. gr. 1656, s. XV ex. – s. XVI in.

²⁶ Cf. D. Harlfinger in: *Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles. I. Alexandrien-London, untersucht und beschrieben von P. Moraux et alii*, Berlin-New York 1976, 350/351. Before I was aware of Harlfinger’s comments, I also suggested the same scribe for the codex Riccardianus 68 (and for another related codex of Menander Rhetor: the Scorial. Σ.III.15), in *Rheinisches Museum* 144, 2 (2001), 202.

²⁷ Cf. David Speranzi, *Giano Lascari e i suoi copisti. Gli oratori attici minori tra l’Athos e Firenze, Medioevo e rinascimento* 24 (2010), 337–377. The relationship between Aristobulus and Aldus was a complicated one. It seems that a letter by the scribe himself documents an end to their working relationship in 1499, although this does not mean that the Riccardianus – or an apographon – was not accessible to Aldus, cf. M. Manoussakas-Ch. G. Patrinoles, *Η αλληλογραφία του Ιωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου μετά του Μ. Μουσούρου, Α. Αποστόλη, Ζ. Καλλιέργη και άλλων λογίων της αναγεννήσεως χρονολογούμενη* (1494–1503), *Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού αρχείου* 10 (1960), 176/177. The lack of material evidence such as printer marks or fingerprints in r may suggest that there was a genealogical or indirect link between this manuscript and the Aldine, but not like one of the actual Druckvorlagen. On the topic of material evidence in manuscripts, see the recent book by L. Hellinga, *Texts in Transit. Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden-Boston 2014. I wish to thank David Speranzi for his valuable comments.

²⁸ Although not the only one, as is shown, for example, in passages where there are omissions in r that are not present in the Aldine:

- 369.6 ἀρεταῖς om. r
 370.2 καὶ om. r
 371.25 ὅτι om. r
 373.22 κατὰ ... βασιλέως om. r
 374.27 ἐν (lac.) r

²⁹ We have cited each manuscript extensively, although we are aware that some specifications (“gr.,” “App. gr.,” “Anc. Gr.”) are not strictly necessary.

- G : Guelf. Gudian. gr. 14, s. XV ex. –s. XVI in.
 H : Palatinus gr. 277, s. XV ex. –s. XVI in.
 I : Vindobonensis phil. gr. 60, s. XV
 J : Parisinus gr. 2996, s. XIII
 K : Ambrosianus gr. I 81 sup. (465), s. XV ex. –s. XVI in.
 L : Laurentianus gr. 59.11, s. XV
 M : Laurentianus gr. 56.1, s. XIV
 m : Laurentianus gr. 81.8, s. XIV
 Ma: Matritensis BN gr. 4738, s. XV ex. –s. XVI in.
 N : Neapolitanus gr. II.E.4 (139), s. XV
 o : Riccardianus gr. 15 (K.I.25), s. XVI
 P : Parisinus Anc. gr. 1741, s. X
 p : Parisinus Anc. gr. 1874, s. XII in.
 Q : Queen's gr. 20 (Horne 33), s. XV –s. XVI
 q : Parisinus suppl. gr. 1163, s. XVIII
 R : Rossianus gr. 981 (XI, 131), s. XV ex. –s. XVI in.
 r : Riccardianus gr. 68, s. XV ex.
 Sc: Scorialensis gr. Σ.III.15 (114), s. XV ex.
 T : Vaticanus gr. 728 (854), s. XVI
 V : Vaticanus gr. 899, a. 1393
 v : Marcianus Antic. 429 (861) , s. XV
 W : Vaticanus gr. 306 (989), c. a. 1300
 X : Vaticanus gr. 165 (710), c. a. 1350
 Y : Vaticanus gr. 108 (739), c. a. 1300
 Z : Parisinus Anc. gr. 2423, s. XIII

 Al : Editio Aldina (Rhetores Graeci I, Venetiis 1508/1509)

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