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Peter Allan Hansen, The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch's
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C O R R I G E N D A :

page 4, note 11. For on, read: once

page 7, line 16. Read: e.g. αἴρου^{\~2}

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF PLUTARCH'S DE MALIGNITATE HERODOTI.

Peter Allan Hansen.

Seven treatises from Plutarch's *Moralia*¹ have come down to us in two MSS only, viz. the Planudean corpus Paris. Gr. 1672 ("E", of a date shortly after 1302) and Paris. Gr. 1675 ("B", containing but a selection of the *Moralia* and probably dating from the 15th century). During the last twenty years there has been lively discussion as to whether B is derived from E or is an independent text witness². The former view seems to have been widely accepted³, but that the matter has by no means been finally settled appears from Mr. Lionel Pearson's statement in 1965 about B that "whatever its source, it cannot be ignored by an editor, since it contains many readings that are certainly correct"⁴. The discussion has so far been carried out on the basis of external evidence and a very small number of passages in the text. It seems that a fresh approach is needed, and the only way is the simple one of a careful and detailed reexamination of the two MSS. Far from all evidence to be gained in this way has been brought into the discussion yet, and some of that which has already been used, has been misinterpreted.

1. Nos. 70-76 of the Planudean corpus, viz. *Amatorius*, *De facie in orbe lunae*, *De Pythiae oraculis*, *Adversus Coloten*, *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos*, *De genio Socratis*, *De malignitate Herodoti*.—The transmission of no. 77, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, is different.

2. G. R. Manton, *The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch's Moralia* 70-7, CQ 43, 1949, pp. 97-104 (B derived from E through an intermediary link); K. Hubert, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung für Plutarchs Moralia* 70-77, Rh. Mus. 93, 1950, pp. 330-336 (B not dependent on E, supporting the old view of M. Treu and the Teubner-editors of whom he is one himself); R. Flacelière, *La tradition manuscrite des traités 70-77 de Plutarque*, Rev. Ét. Gr. 65, 1952, pp. 351-362 (supporting Manton against Hubert); Plutarque, *Dialogue sur l'amour*, ed. by R. Flacelière, Paris 1952, pp. 34-38; K. Hubert, review of the last-mentioned book, Gnomon 25, 1953, pp. 556f. (against Flacelière); L. Pearson, *Notes on the Text of Plutarch, De Malignitate Herodoti*, AJP 80, 1959, pp. 255-275 (inconclusive and unclear, but apparently inclined to believe that Manton is right).

3. E. g. in P. Maas, *Textkritik*, 4th German ed., 1960, pp. 4 and 31, and K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos*, 2nd ed., 1964, p. 333.

4. *Plutarch's Moralia*, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 11, p. 6.

For reexamination I have chosen to start with no. 76, De Malignitate Herodoti. I maintain that the conclusions proffered below hold good for this treatise, but although my assumption is that the tradition is the same for the other six pieces, I do not pronounce anything on this point, thus leaving open the possibility that E was the source of B for some pieces but not for others. This will have to be proved or disproved for each treatise singly.- Whenever a statement in the following does not comply with what has been said in one of the articles, etc., mentioned in note 2, it is to be understood that I am contradicting the article, also when I do not say so explicitly.

No one will deny that in a number of passages where B differs from E, the reading in B is due to more or less successful conjecture⁵. But this explanation is not possible for all passages, and I shall now consider nine instances offering conclusive proof that B has preserved the genuine tradition in cases where there is no trace of it in E.

In 856F Plutarch twice quotes Herodotus 1.4.2. The first time our two MSS have the form ἐβούλοντο, but the second time E has ἐβουλεύοντο, B ἐβουλέατο. In the texts of Herodotus we find ἐβούλοντο, but a glance in the apparatus will show that the consensus has ἐβουλέατο⁶. Whether this is the correct form in Herodotus or not, there is no doubt that it is the one Plutarch found in his copy of Herodotus, and that the source for E and B had ἐβουλέατο^{οὐτο}; the Verschlimmbesserung is not continued in B; by the scribe of E it was misunderstood. It is not possible to understand the reading in B as in any way derived from E, and the assumption that a scribe knew the Ionic form (and inserted it in the quotation the one time but not the other) would be very far-fetched⁷, whereas it is quite in keeping with Plutarch's way of quoting that he should make this

5. E. g., τοῖσι θυρείοις 858D, ἄγγελον 859D, συγκεχυμένην 861B, σὺ δὲ 861F, κατατίθησιν 870C, τροπαίοις 873B.

6. This strange form is also found in Herodotus 3.143.2. See further Kühner/Blass 2 p. 77; the mention in Schwyzler 1 p. 672 is not very helpful.

7. Cf. note 9.

variation⁸. In 862C, τῆσι νηυσί in B against τῆσι ναυσίν in E is a similar instance of B preserving an Ionic form while the reading in E is extremely unlikely to have aroused suspicion and caused an alteration⁹.

In 857B we read in B οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα νηυσὶν ἰθὺ ἐπὶ λιβύης, while E for νηυσὶν ἰθὺ has νηυσὶ νήειν¹⁰. In Herodotus we read ... τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης in all MSS. Hude (in the OCT ed.), following Valckenaer, assumed that an original ἰθὺ in the text of Herodotus had been replaced by ἐπὶ, and that what we have preserved in Plutarch is the original word followed by the gloss. Plutarch, if this explanation is right, read ἰθὺ ἐπὶ in his copy of Herodotus. This can be supported by reference to a similar case in Xenophon's *Historia Graeca* 1.2.11, where all MSS have ἐπὶ, but a papyrus gives εὐθὺ. Obviously, in this case the less common εὐθὺ was glossed, and the gloss replaced the original word. Another explanation is that Plutarch read what we read in Herodotus but did not recall the wording quite precisely when he wrote the sentence down, which is in keeping with Plutarch's way of quoting. He therefore made the sentence hyper-Herodotean in two respects: by omitting the article and

8. Plutarch's quotations are listed in: W. C. Helmbold/ E. N. O'Neill, *Plutarch's Quotations*, 1959.

9. A considerable number of non-Ionic forms in the Herodotus quotations are retained in E and B alike, e. g. κῶγμα instead of κῆγμα in 857B.

For the nu ephelestikon cf. also that the scribe of B found no reason to omit it three words earlier in ἐοῦσιν (the reading in both MSS in spite of the statement to the contrary in the Loeb ed.).

The only instance in which B seems erroneously to introduce an Ionic form is in the elegiac couplet quoted in 870F, which in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.250) is attributed to Simonides. The last three words as given in B are λαοῖ μνάματα ναυμαχίας, whereas E and the MS of the *Palatine Anthology* have -ίας. However, the explanation is more likely to be quite the opposite. Anyone who thumbs through the *Anthology* can very rapidly provide scores of examples of epigrams with mixed vocalisation (one random choice: 7.164). The alteration into ναυμαχίας is very easy indeed both as a slip and as an attempt at correction, and on the assumption that the reading in B represents the tradition (whether right or wrong), one can either assume that the alteration was made independently in E and in the MS of the *Anthology* or that the scribe knew the form with α from the *Anthology*.

10. Although it may seem from photographs that the reading in E is νηυσὶν ἥειν, inspection of the original shows indisputably that no breathing was ever intended over the eta.

by writing ἰθὺ ἐπὶ instead of ἐπὶ¹¹. Whichever explanation is true, it remains that ἰθὺ in B belongs in the tradition. This is not invalidated by the fact that it seems impossible to find a reasonable explanation of the corruption in E¹².

In 858A the text in B is ἀνθρωπίνων περὶ πραγμάτων, which cannot have been conjectured from the reading in E ἀνθρωπῆων πράγματα¹³. That the correction did not come from Herodotus is seen from the position of περὶ which comes after πραγμάτων in Herodotus¹⁴.

In 867C B has the certainly correct ὄθι, while E has ὡς οἱ, which is intelligible and faultless Greek but very much inferior and certainly wrong. On no account can ὄθι be a conjecture on the basis of the reading in E. If it does not represent the tradition of this passage, it must therefore have been derived from somewhere outside De Malignitate Herodoti by the scribe of B or the Vorlage of B (henceforth called β). If the epigram had been well known from the Anthology etc., one might imagine it being known to the scribe. However, to my knowledge, it is known from nowhere outside Plutarch, who seems to have been rather fond of it, since he used it four times in the surviving part of his writings. But in ch. 8 of the Life of Themistocles all MSS have the very easy corruption ὄτι, from which there is no way back to ὄθι. In Mor. 350A the first word is missing altogether, and it is only in 552B that ὄθι survives. I do not think one can seriously assert the likelihood of the scribe of B or β knowing and remembering the correct form from the last-mentioned passage, especially as the treatise that contains

11. The hiatus is permissible in a "quotation". Herodotus uses ἰθὺς ἐπὶ on (5.64). For other similar phrases see LS s.vv. ἰθὺς, εὐθὺς.

12. Mr. Pearson's explanation in AJP 80 p. 264 is much too ingenious, not very lucid, and apparently in disagreement with his omitting ἰθὺ from the Loeb text.

13. Here and in five other instances the otherwise unused iota subscript appears in E for obscure reasons. The other instances are: πέρσῃσιν 862 C & F, καλλίῃ 863A, τῆσι γυνάμῃσι 865E, πλαταιῇσιν 872F; it will be noticed that all five instances are Ionic forms. - In B I have found no iota subscript.

14. The accentuation περὶ has misled Mr. Pearson to follow Herodotus's word order in his edition, on the assumption that the anastrophe is a reminiscence of that order. However, περὶ preceded by the adjective and preceding the noun should not trouble anyone. Cf., e.g., Kühner/Blass 1 p. 334.

it in B follows De Malignitate Herodoti with three other pieces in between¹⁵.

In 873F the certain correction is ἐν ἔκαστῳ, and while E has ἐνέ-
καισε (cf. the following word καίρων), B gives ἐνέκεισε. This cannot
be an attempt at a correction of E since it makes no kind of sense,
and it is nearer the correct reading than the reading in E is. This
is not explicable on the theory of B being derived from E¹⁶.

Three instances can be treated briefly although they are no less
certain. Their common feature is that E gives a text which makes
sense and is impeccable or possible Greek. The text in E can there-
fore not have aroused suspicion and called forth conjectural cor-
rection; but in spite of this B gives a better form which must be
called simply le mot juste in the three passages. The passages are:
857A μύσος B : μῦσος E; 867C(fin.) τοῦτο κέρας B : τοῦτο τὸ κέρας
E; 867E ὑπὸ B : ἀπὸ E.

Anyone maintaining that the scribe of B or β corrected from Hero-
dotus, only eliminates two or three of my nine certain instances
from B of true readings that cannot be due to conjecture. At the
same time he will be obliged to explain why the same scribe did
not fill in some of the lacunae (see below) that could very easily
have been removed by means of a copy of Herodotus.

Six less certain examples from B that point the same way are the
following: 857B(fin.) μύσασθαι; 859F ἐς before τὴν νῆσον (this
is the reading in B though reported in no ed.; E has εἰς); 863F
κυθούους; 864A ὁμολογίη; 867B ἀρτεμισίου; 873E κάρνεα. The list
can easily be amplified.

It has been alleged that two short blanks placed inconspicuously
at the end of a line in E might prove the dependence of B on E,
since they are not marked in B¹⁷. In 861F a word is missing before
διχομηνίας, either ἐκ or οὔσης. Mr. Pearson says that there is a

15. Mr. Manton states (p. 102) the case correctly but draws the
opposite conclusion.

16. The orthography of E and B is extraordinarily good: either
MS has only two or three misspellings due to the pronunciation of
the vowels, and the rest of the orthography, including accents and
breathings, is on an equally high level. It is therefore justified
to use this example; but even if someone rejects it, more than
enough material remains to prove my solution.

17. AJP 80 p. 265f.

short lacuna of about three letters in E. This is not so. The scribe of E does not end at precisely the same spot on every line, and the truth is that there are a number of "spaces" which are just as wide as this one¹⁸. In 859A ὅσῳ δὴ in a quotation from Herodotus is missing, but only E indicates a lacuna; this lacuna, though at the end of a line, is very clear and conspicuous and very unlikely to have been passed over by mistake by the scribe of β. Unless perhaps the scribe of B or β considered that nothing was missing, the very simple explanation is that in B the word before the lacuna ends a line and that therefore the scribe on passing from one line to the next forgot to leave the space¹⁹.

At this point someone might observe that perhaps B does derive from E, the true readings in B being corrections in β that had, e.g., the Vorlage of E for their source. In order to refute this we must consider the nature of the two MSS and of B in particular²⁰. E is an enormous parchment MS of noble execution²¹. Its script is archaistic. In most places it obviously reproduces its Vorlage with great fidelity²², though it has a number of slips.

18. Cf. fig. 1. How carefully the scribe of E avoided any doubt of whether a space had been left or not, is seen on fig. 2. A lacuna of three letters was to be indicated, and the space at the end of the line was adequate, but the scribe preferred to leave also the beginning of the next line blank.

19. Later in this article it is stated that the Aldine edition probably stems from β, and as the Aldine too leaves the lacuna unindicated, it might be objected that in this case the explanation is not valid unless we are to imagine that β had the same line division and the omission stems from β. B seems to follow β so meticulously that there is nothing strange in assuming that it reproduces it line by line, a procedure not at all unknown. But we need not use this consideration for an answer: a considerable number of words and phrases have been left out by mistake in the Aldine, and the same lack of care has caused three other lacunae to be left unindicated (in 857C, 871C, 873C). Thus it is not in the least surprising to find this one unindicated, and one does not have to seek a special reason.

20. On the orthography of E and B see note 16.

21. The consideration in Rh. Mus. 93 p. 336 n. 6 (that the precious MS E is very unlikely to have been handed over to a scribe for copying) is of course quite inconclusive.

22. Cf., e.g., κα..τ'ἑνσιν in 870B.

There are nine additions over the line²³, but all of them are simple corrections made in scribendo. B is a much more modest MS written on paper, but it was written with great care, and the fact I mention in the second half of note 25 shows that it adheres meticulously to its source. It contains 29 additions over the line and two γρ. (both γρακτέον?) in the margin²⁴. Of these a few are no doubt immediate corrections of quite accidental errors in B, e.g. ἁπλοβόντα in 858B. But the rest are of much greater interest because they represent variant readings, which in modern terms means that the MS contained a critical apparatus. This apparatus was made by the same hand as the text, and in scribendo. That the readings were added in scribendo and not after the completion of the several sentences or of the whole treatise, is shown not only by their general character and complete uniformity with their surroundings (including the colour of the ink), but also by an accent occasionally having been placed so as to make room for the variant reading, e.g. αὐτό (870D fin.)²⁵.

If E were the Vorlage of β, then β would have been transcribed from E continuously and the variant readings been added afterwards from e.g. the Vorlage of E (in so far as they are not conjectures). Thus any true reading in B where E does not have the truth, would have appeared as a reading above the line in β, and as the scribe of B very meticulously preserves an obvious error in some cases,

23. Viz., καὶ after ἴσως 855E, περιλαβὼν^{βαλ} 858B, ἀλυ^ατην 859F, ἀνα-
πεῖσαι 860C fin., διὰ before μηδὲν ἄλλο 861C, ἐκα^ατην (no accent)
862A, μὲν before φευδῶς 864D, ὁ ἄν^βος ἐν πολλοῖς^α 870C, πλαταῖδς
871F fin.

24. In Appendix i I list these 31 readings.

25. Cf. fig. 3. - B contains a number of corrections made by erasure, and usually so carefully made that they can only be spotted in the original. The same applies to E, and both scribes used this method for correction where the space permitted. It is therefore practically certain that even an apparently quite trivial correction in B like τρ^ηχέως (867D) is a double reading.

Some of the readings above the line in B can hardly be anything but positive errors, and the scribe must have known so; there is only one reason that errors should appear above the line in B: the scribe of B found the erroneous reading in β with the correction written over it, and he accepted the correction into his text, but did not want to abandon the reading in the text of β completely; therefore, he put it above the line, just as a modern editor puts the errors of the MSS in his critical apparatus. Examples are ταῦ^ατης (857C) and φ^αρ^ατοῖς (857D).

we would have been entitled to expect e.g. the $\delta\theta\iota$ of B (867C; see above) to appear as $\omega\delta\theta\iota$. None of the true readings in B (where E is in error) that I have discussed above appear in a double reading. We can therefore safely reject the suggestion of deriving β from E and assuming that the true readings were added from some other source. It is in keeping with this that we find no correspondence between the two MSS in the following case: $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is either written in full or as $S^$ in both MSS, and there is no system in the alternation between the two ways of writing the word. $S^$ is found 55 times in E and 158 times in B. Of these only 19 coincide. If β had been copied from E we should have expected many more to coincide, unless we are to imagine that both E and B make use of $S^$ while it was unknown to β . I suppose it will be admitted that this is not very likely^{25a}.

We have now established that β , the Vorlage of B, was not transcribed from E, but represents the tradition independently²⁶. It will, however, be of interest to see what further information can be gained about the MS tradition.

The most conspicuous feature of the two MSS and the one most often commented upon is the indications of lacunae found in both MSS. The

25a. I mention here a small point that supports the independence of B, not because it is conclusive, but because it has wrongly been used to support the derivation of B from E (AJP 80 p. 256): $\theta\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu$ in B is hardly a partial correction of $\theta\acute{\eta}\gamma\omega\nu$ in E, since a scribe attending to the corruption and correcting the error is bound to know the accentuation of $\theta\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu$. It is much more likely that the common source of E and B had $\theta\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu$, and that this was reproduced in B, while the scribe of E tried to find a correction for the vox nihili; correcting in a superficial manner or possibly misled by the adjacent corruption, he chose to correct the spelling instead of the accent to make a word out of it. This explanation is supported by the same error appearing in other Greek passages. Two examples are Xen. Cyr. 5.1.16 ($\theta\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu\tau\alpha$, HAG, developed into $\theta\acute{\eta}\gamma\omega\nu\tau\alpha$, CED) & 6.4.9 ($\theta\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu$, consensus).

26. I state here that β cannot have been the common Vorlage of E and B. If it were, a few readings in E would be inexplicable on the basis of the corresponding double readings in β . They do perhaps not seem decisive when taken singly, but considered together they are unambiguous: 858F $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\nu\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ B : $\epsilon\pi\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ E; 861A $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ B : $\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ E (recte); 870D (fin.) $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tilde{\omega}$ B : $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ E (falsissime).

indications with very few exceptions coincide²⁷, and the blank space is in the most part roughly the same in E and B. The two MSS must therefore go back to a common source which was with some difficulty transcribed from its Vorlage. That the troublesome MS cannot in turn have been the independent ultimate source for E and B, is shown by their usually agreeing to the letter. This would not be the case if the derivation had been independent. One error informs us of the nature of the awkward MS: in 872F (bis) and 873D the two MSS have ἀπο + a lacuna (the third time the word occurs B fills in the lacuna with a wrong conjecture, but that does not pertain to the point being made here). We know from Hero-dotus that the word is ἀπεστώ, and the MS from which that word is continued as ἀπο + lacuna must be a majuscule one because of epsilon having been confused with omikron. As a lacuna is found three times in connexion with the same word, it cannot be a question of illegibility but of the word being unintelligible to the scribe. An ordinary scribe is not very likely to stop and consider whether the word he is writing makes sense and then indicate a lacuna when he decides that it does not. But one immediately thinks of the man who is transliterating a majuscule MS into minuscule. The picture

27. The exceptions are mostly where the scribe of B or β has through more or less successful conjecture filled in a short lacuna. Four examples have been mentioned in note 5. Add: ἀφικόμενους 862C, ἀπόλειψιν 873D. ὅσῳ δὲ in 859A has been discussed above.

In 873C B marks a lacuna where E has the word in very clear and quite unmistakeable lettering. Mr. Manton could just be right in stating (p. 104 n. 1) that the word was omitted because of the immediately following corruption, but it is not very likely, as none of the other corruptions have been treated in this way by the scribe of B or β. However, although this explanation is not accepted, the only conclusion permissible is that the word had become illegible in β, and that leads nowhere that is relevant in this connexion, though it shows the in itself interesting thing that the scribe of B imitated the practice of his Vorlage of indicating lacunae.

In 863B E indicates a lacuna between ταραχᾶς and τῆς ἀλκμεωνιδῶν, while B indicates the same lacuna two words later, i.e. between ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν and διαβολῆς. There can be no doubt that the right place is the one indicated by E. Why B happens to have two words the wrong side of the lacuna, I do not know. Presumably it is a quite accidental error comparable to the wrong indication of the length of the last lacuna in 872F, where three letters are missing while E indicates a lacuna of about five and B one of as many as about nine (pace the figures in the Loeb ed.).

given by Mr. Dain²⁸ of the transliteration of Greek MSS makes it an organized and systematic process somewhat comparable to the work of the Alexandrians; it was the job of a philologist, who had to read the perhaps not very well preserved majuscule MS, and to divide the scriptio continua into intelligible words and sentences, adding at the same time accents and breathings, and probably often tidying up to a considerable extent the hopeless orthography of the dark age. There are other lacunae too, where it can with reasonable certainty be maintained that a blank space was left because the transliterator did not know the phrase and therefore assumed that something was wrong. Thus, his knowledge of the language of Herodotus must have been inadequate. E.g., the following phrases confused him: τὴν Ἰοῦν 856E (with the strange accusative); ὄσφ δὲ 859A; θῶμα (or θώμμα) δέ μοι 862F²⁹. In 864C he omitted two and a half perfectly intelligible words while leaving the corrupt beginning of the sentence, having located the corruption wrongly³⁰. Outside the Herodotus quotations it is often difficult to assess whether there was any textual difficulty that could have caused a blank to be

28. I am not entering into detailed general discussion of the part of the transmission that is connected with the transliteration, but refer the reader to the further discussions in A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 2nd ed., 1964, pp. 126-133.

29. On this background we can also attribute the majuscule corruption ἡλίκως instead of ἦν κως in 869E to the transliterator. His are, further, accentuations like αὐται instead of αὐταί (856F, bis); ἀλλ'ὡς instead of ἀλλως (862F); ἦ instead of ἡ (868E); ἀλλως γέ κως in 859E against ἀλλως γε κως in 873C, where the correct reading in both passages is ἀμωσγέκως. Of course, there are other majuscule corruptions where it is impossible to say whether they are due to the transliterator or someone earlier than him, e.g. €Κ instead of €Ι in 871F (cf. Dain, op. cit., p. 43). Further, a number of corruptions date right back to papyrus MSS, where the fibres in the fabric were easily confused with horizontal ink strokes, e.g. €ΠΙ instead of €ΙΗ in 869D (where all editors for obscure reasons correct €κί- into €στί). This lucid explanation of the type of error in question was given in B. A. van Groningen, *Traité d'histoire et de critique des textes grecs*, Amsterdam 1963 (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N. S. 70, no. 2), p. 89. The example from *De Malignitate Herodoti* (ΟCΙΟΤΗΤΑ > ΘΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ in 857A) is not very fortunate, as Cobet's correction is very far from certain; but any reader of *De Malignitate Herodoti* can easily supply nearly a dozen better examples. Also the confusion of μ and κ in Δείκνιστος instead of Ἀείμνηστος will be due to the papyrus part of the transmission.

30. αἰτίαν (for τῆς) in B is due to unsuccessful conjecture.

left, but when the scribe is writing the name Προσηφ and stops after ΠΡΟΣ, then the situation is unambiguous. On the other hand, there are also passages which are certainly to be interpreted as caused by illegibility in the majuscule MS. Examples are not very necessary, but I mention: the long lacuna in 854F; προδιδάσιν 862E; κα.τίζησιν 870E (filled in conjecturally in B); στρ.κ.σι 873B (filled in with a wrong conjecture in B)³¹.

Some minuscule corruptions found in E and B alike show that the Vorlage of E and β cannot have been the first minuscule MS ("l'ex-emplaire translittéré"). One example is προσέλευσιν instead of προσέλασιν in 866C, another (in 859B) is κύκλων instead of βύβλων in both MSS, where the transmitted word does not make sense while the correction is more than obvious. The basis for this corruption is a minuscule where beta and kappa are something like *u* and *u* respectively³². On the basis of the latter corruption we can say that most likely the first minuscule copy belonged in the earlier part of the period of minuscule writing, and this complies with Mr. Dain's theories. But we cannot at all be sure, as occasionally scribes used the early beta quite up to the time of the MS E; e.g., it so happens that it was used by Planudes (cf. fig. 5). Nor can we fix a terminus ante quem for the kappa³³. Having established a minimum of two minuscule ancestors for E and β, I am, on the other hand, hesitant to admit the possibility of more than two, because mostly the lacunae are, where with certainty we can fill them in, indicated

31. Mr. Pearson states (AJP 80 p. 266): "Illegible handwriting, ..., rather than unfamiliar language, is likely to have been the original cause of the trouble, ..." I do not see that the two causes should be mutually exclusive, so that one of them is to be the "original" one. In fact, they rank about equal. Mr. Pearson arrives at his incorrect conclusion because his point of departure is a note by Planudes (Paris. Gr. 1671 fol. 213 of the Moralia), which he has misunderstood entirely. I refer the reader to the Greek note, which is shown on fig. 5 (a transliteration can be found in A. Devr  sse, Introduction a l'  tude des manuscrits grecs, 1954, p.91) and to note 33 of this article.

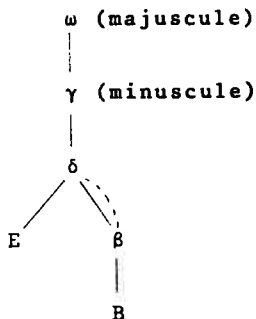
32. Cf. Dain, op. cit., p. 131, and contrast p. 47f. of the same book.

33. Concerning the age of the transliterated minuscule MS: The Planudean statement mentioned in note 31 of this article was taken by Mr. Pearson to have bearing on our transliterated MS. I shall here leave apart his further misunderstanding of the note and only assert that Planudes merely mentions that he had seen an old MS (καλαϊὸν β  βλον) with lacunae. There is nothing whatsoever to corroborate the theory that he is talking about the MS in question.

with a precision that nearly goes to the letter³⁴. There is probably a strict limit to the number of links through which precise indications of lacunae can be propagated. Also from general considerations of the chronology one would think it more likely than not that the number did not surpass two.

The only question that has not yet been decided is the precise origin of the variant readings in B. We are now able to return to them and interpret them in the light of the knowledge already gained. It is obvious from these double readings that the man who wrote B was something of a philologist (cf. note 25), and it can therefore not be disproved that before copying the text he checked through the whole treatise, or possibly through each sentence in turn, with another MS (only some of the readings admit of being explained as conjectures), adding the readings of that MS above the line in β , the MS he was copying. This other MS would have been δ (the Vorlage of E and β): it is unlikely to have been γ (the Vorlage of δ ; = the first minuscule copy) or a lost copy of γ , since none of the minuscule corruptions have been corrected in B. But if we know that someone at some point added readings from δ in β , then the obvious explanation, and the one to be adopted if - as here - nothing speaks against it, is that the readings were introduced in β during the normal process of correcting on the completion of the text.

To sum up, we can from the internal evidence of the two MSS establish the following stemma for *De Malignitate Herodoti*:



34. The lacuna in 869E is no exception; it should be filled in: [οἱ κατὰ]ζόμενος, pace the edd.

I shall not try here to place in the tradition the excerpts made in Marc. Gr. 517 by Pletho. For our piece they seem inconclusive, and their placing in the tradition therefore falls outside the scope of this article. They do not seem to preserve anything that can add to our knowledge of the tradition³⁵.

But it remains to place the editio princeps, the Aldine from 1509, in the tradition. The Cretan Demetrios Dukas³⁶ was in charge of the printing. Every page abounds with errors: iotacisms, omissions, inexplicable aberrations of all kinds. It has been maintained³⁷ that it must have been copied from a MS full of errors. Why "it is scarcely credible that a renaissance editor like Dukas can be held responsible for all of them", is entirely obscure to me, and the one trying to exonerate Dukas need not go beyond the preface to incur difficulties: the errors in it can hardly be attributed to anyone but him. Also comparison between the MS J (Ambros. 528) and the parts of the Aldine for which that MS is known to have been used will lead to the same result. It is more than obvious that the book was printed with incredible haste, and that next to nothing was done to correct the compositor's aberrations. On this background we should not look for an unknown MS source for wild readings like ἥραυ for ὄραυ in 865F, and we have no reason whatsoever to think that the Aldine could preserve evidence otherwise unknown to us. All the private readings in the Aldine go back to some kind of error, and it never has the truth against the consensus of E and B, with just one exception: in the epigram in 872D the end of the third line is in both E and B νέμονται (the edd. do not record this state of things). The Aldine gives the doubtless correct νέμονται. Since this correct private reading is unique, nothing can be built on it, especially in view of the ease with which it can have originated under the influence of the preceding ναίεται (and also ἴδεται). However, the direct source of the Aldine is a priori likely to be neither E nor B, be-

35. See AJP 80 pp. 259-262, and further Scriptorium 8, 1954, pp. 123-127 & 10, 1956, pp. 27-41.

36. On Dukas see D. J. Geanakoplos, Greek Scholars, Cambr. Mass. 1962, pp. 223-255; cf. also id., Byzantine East and Latin West, Oxford 1966, pp. 148f.

37. AJP 80 p. 258.

cause they both lack printer's marks corresponding to those in J. The Aldine shows no special affinity to E, but with very few exceptions agrees (where it does not have a private error) with B against E. The exceptions are not very significant, and one might at first be tempted to call B, if not the Vorlage, the Vorlage of the Vorlage of the Aldine. However, we have seen that B copies β very carefully, and thus it is no objection to deriving the Aldine from β that B has no significant private readings against the consensus of E and the Aldine. I have chosen the latter solution for the following reasons:

The haste and lack of care showing up continually in the Aldine does not leave room for variant readings having been considered carefully before either the text in B or the variant over the line was chosen for printing. Therefore, on the assumption that B was the Vorlage of the Aldine we should have expected that, unless the reading over the line was constantly considered as a correction and used in the text, the variants over the line were only used when they were obvious and necessary corrections, and not when they were quite clearly very much inferior to the text. Neither is the case, nor can the choice of readings be explained by assuming the existence of a reasonably careful intermediary MS, since that MS would have had either the state of affairs in B mechanically transferred, or a use of the double readings somewhat more considered than the one the Aldine would be mirroring. In 857D we find $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ ^{ap} in B and $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in the Aldine; why the Aldine should reproduce the reading over the line in this instance, where $\phi\theta\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ is le mot juste, is obscure, especially when it does not reproduce the correction in a case as obvious as $\mu\alpha\nu\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (860F). An even more decisive instance is $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau'\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\tilde{\omega}$ in B where the Aldine has $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ (870D fin.): no one, whether in a hurry or not, would reproduce $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\tilde{\omega}$ as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ in this context³⁸. The reading of the Aldine, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$, must go back to either $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ or $\alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ ^{ous} in the Vorlage of the Aldine. The latter form is very likely to have been in β , i.e., the reading from δ with a conjectural correction. In the case of $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ β will have had $\phi\theta\alpha\rho\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, a quite accidental error with the correction above it. As was explained above, double

38. Unless, as mentioned, he were on principle using all the readings over the line - which is not the case with the Aldine.

readings in β where the reading over the line is the correction may appear in B as still double but with the error over the line.

It is in keeping with this that, in spite of its mostly meticulous rendering of β , B has just a few private readings where E and the Aldine agree. B correctly spells $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu\nu\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ with two nu's, while E and the Aldine only give one; in 866C B has the true $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\nu$ against $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\nu$; in these cases a small correction was introduced in B. In 873E $\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ of the Aldine is probably better understood as a corruption of the true reading in E $\eta\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ than of $\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ in B. It is perhaps also unlikely that $\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ (for $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$) and $\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) in B (868A and 873A) should have been corrected in the Aldine with its very faulty orthography including innumerable iotacisms³⁹.

While we can thus establish that the Aldine was derived from β ⁴⁰, it is just as vain as it is lacking of any interest to try to decide whether there was a link between β and the Aldine. Most likely there was not, but even if there were, that makes no difference to anything stated above.

It has been maintained repeatedly that perhaps further information about the tradition can be gained from the Basle edition of 1542, from old marginalia, etc. I have not investigated this matter thoroughly, but from a number of probings I have become convinced that the special readings in the Basle edition are due to conjecture, and that the edition rests entirely on the Aldine; this can be seen from the passages where the corrections are improvements on private errors in the Aldine. This is the way in which the marginalia too betray themselves as conjectures. The only sets of marginalia that

39. I am keeping $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in E and the Aldine against $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ in B (859 F before $\tau\eta\nu\ \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$) out of the discussion, since the corruption of $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ into $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is very easy and can have taken place twice over independently, which I believe it has.

40. The omission, with indication of lacuna, of $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ in 856D cannot be cited against this placing of the Aldine: the reason for the lacuna is either that, although the careful scribe of B managed to read the word, it was not very clearly written, and with the usual haste it was given up in the Aldine, or that the word had become illegible in β after it had been used for B.

I have personal knowledge of are the ones made by Muretus⁴¹ and by Turnebus⁴² in copies of the Aldine. As far as I can see from the Copenhagen copy of Muretus's marginalia, every single reading rests on conjecture based on the Aldine with all its errors and omissions. The same applies to the marginalia in Turnebus's copy.

It is extremely unlikely that any fresh evidence for De Malignitate Herodoti will appear, and the only thing we can do is therefore to exploit the evidence already available to the highest possible extent⁴³.

41. These marginalia are found (or perhaps, were found) in at least three copies of the Aldine: one in Rome (Wytttenbach, Praefatio to Moralia, vol. 1, Oxford 1795, p. xc: Mureti exempla Aldina cum Moraliū tum Vitarum hodieque servantur Romæ inter eos libros qui quondam Collegii Jesuitarum fuerunt); one in Leyden (Wytttenbach, p. xci: inter libros Vossianos num. 159; this copy is also mentioned in Fabricius, Bibl. Gr., 3rd ed., vol. 5, p. 204); one in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. If Wytttenbach is right in calling the Rome copy Muretus's, then the two others must have been copied from it, including the note on the title-page printed by Wytttenbach p. xc; I mention that in Muretus's note codex means a) manuscript, b) printed text. Apart from the long note (with "non" preceding "apposita est littera Δ") the Copenhagen copy has on the title-page: a) "Juliani Bart. Del Bene.", b) "Colleg. Albiens. Societ. Jesv". Because of the word "Albiens." I am hesitant to assume that this could be the Rome copy having ended up in Copenhagen. I give these loose hints in order to arouse interest in this in itself very interesting passing on of marginalia in printed texts; I should also be extremely grateful for information of further copies of this set of marginalia.

42. Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. J 94.

43. My thanks are due to Dr. Jørgen Raasted of Copenhagen University, who accepted the subject of this article as material for discussion in a small class in the spring term of 1968. The other participants were Miss Lone Jacobsen, Mr. Henrik Nisbeth, and Mr. Wolf-Gerhard Möller. I have collated the MSS myself (first in photographic copies, afterwards the originals), and the solutions given are substantially my own; but there is no denying that the article would have been vastly inferior, had it not been for Dr. Raasted's detailed criticisms and numerous suggestions. Mr. Sten Ebbesen contributed some criticisms for which I am grateful; they also proved useful in those cases where I did not accept them. My thanks are also due to my wife who has corrected my English in numerous places.

APPENDIX I. A list of the double readings in B.

855A fin. δε^η857B ἀπο^α λαβόντα857C ταύτη^ας857E φθί^ατοῖς857F ἐχ^αησίοδος (unintelligible)

ib. fin. με added s. 1.

858F ἐπὶ νάφου

859F προθύμοι^ας

860F ἐλευθερίαν in the text with γρ. ἐλευθέρωσιν in the margin

ib. μαντηρίο^ασιν

861A ἐστὸρεῖται

ib. ὧ^αν λόγ^αω^αν862D ἀλκμαίωνιδ^αων

862E ἀλκμαίωνίδας

863A καλίνη

863C αὐτῷ^α (i.e. αὐτῷ + αὐτοῖς; the edd. suppl. οὕτω from Herodotus)864D οὐ^αχολάζειν867D fin. τρι^αχέως868C π^αλ^αδοῦ^αων870C ἐπεξεργασμέν^αοι^ας870D ἢ^α μὴ^α δὲib. fin. αὐτὸ^α (i.e. αὐτοῦς + αὐτῶν) (cf. fig. 3)871D ἐαυτοῦ^ας871E αὐτὸ^αν872A τεγεάτα^αις872B ὀλίγ^αω^αν

ib. ἀπολογουμένων

872C ἥρατον

ib. τοι added s. 1. (the edd. have τι from E)

873B fin. ^οεῖν (i.e. ἔχειν + ἐγγεῖν)

874A ψυχὰς μεταλαβόντες in the text with γρ. στολᾶς μεταβα (sic) in the margin.

APPENDIX II. On the edition.

The Teubner edition of De Malignitate Herodoti published by Bernardakis in 1893 can barely be used for any purpose, and it so happens that the only edition that is of any use is the one published in the Loeb series by Mr. Lionel Pearson in 1965; it is arranged as a critical edition, and I give here a list of corrections. Various comments on Mr. Pearson's edition can be found in my review of it in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 88, 1968, pp.179-181; I should add that my statement "that probing seems to show that the manuscript readings have been reported accurately" is somewhat modified by the list below. Additional MS readings and statements as to Mr. Pearson's choice of reading and general treatment of the text where he presents the material correctly, are suitably left for a critical edition of the text, which the author of this article hopes to be able to publish some time in the future. - For convenience I refer to pages, lines, and critical notes, of Mr. Pearson's edition.

10 n. 1. B has δὲ.

14 n. 3. Read: λέγων] λέγειν Reiske.

22 n. 1. The letter in E is quite unmistakeably an o.

22 n. 6. τὸν is in both MSS, τῶν comes from the Aldine.

24 n. 2. The reading is in B, E has ἐντομᾶς.

24 n. 3. E has νηυσὶ νῆειν.

24 n. 6. "Stephanus", read: Basle ed.

24 n. 7. "Bernardakis", read: Stephanus.

26 n. 4. ὄντας is Bernardakis's improvement, Madvig wrote εἶναι.

34 n. 4. The reading in B is unlikely to be a correction; it is quite in keeping with the scribe's habits of writing letters over the line.

36 n. 4. No lacuna is indicated in B.

40 n. 5. B has προθύμο^οις.

44 line 24. Why not κάγαθὴν in compliance with the orthography of the edition?

48 n. 1. B has ἐστὶν ὁρεῖται.

- 52 n. 3. The letter in E is quite unmistakeably an α.
- 56 n. 7. E has ἐοῦσιν.
- 62 line 20. The MSS have ἴν'.
- 86 line 20. Read: τινες.
- 88 line 17. Read: εἶτε (thus both MSS; the wrong εἶπεν stems from the Aldine).
- 90 n. 1. Both MSS have πρὸς.
- 90 line 19. Read: ἐπεμβαίνειν (error taken over from Bernardakis's ed.).
- 90 line 20. Why not δ' ?
- 92 n. 9. The Aldine has ἀντιλλημμένοις.
- 100 n. 7. "οὔτοι Herodotus", read: in Herodotus Bekker conjectured οὔτοι, MSS d have οὔτοι, a and P οὔτ'.
- 102 n. 2. E has κατεγέλων.
- 102 n. 5. E has διασκεδιᾷ.
- 104 n. 3. B has ἐπεξεργασμένους^{οἱς}.
- 104 n. 5. E has κα..τίθησιν.
- 106 n. 1. E has οἱ μὴ δέ.
- 106 n. 6. B has αὐτοῦς.
- 106 n. 8. "Wilamowitz", read: Favorinus (Dio Chrysostom 37).
- 108 n. 7. The MSS have διὰ.
- 108 n. 9. E has ἐλευθερί' ἀμφέθεντο.
- 112 n. 5. B has ἐαυτοῦς^{οἱς}.
- 114 n. 3. Read: αὐτόν^{ος} (i.e., αὐτον with the v.l. αὐτοῦ) B: αὐτον E.
- 116 line 22. Why δ' in a Herodotus quotation? The MSS have δέ.
- 122 line 21. Read: ἐκτινόμενων (with the MSS).

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Fig. 3. Par. Gr. 1675, fol. 487v.
Photo Bibl. nat. Paris.



Fig. 5. Par. Gr. 1671, fol. 213r.
Photo Bibl. nat. Paris.

