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On two Rediscovered Witnesses of the Scholia on the *Anthologia Planudea*

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Abstract: In this article, two witnesses of the scholia on the *Anthologia Planudea* which had previously been declared missing are identified and studied. One witness can be found in the Universitätsbibliothek of Berne, while the other is in the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Keywords: *Anthologia Planudea*, textual criticism, paleography, Paris, Berne, Cambridge, Janus Lascaris, Antoine-Auguste Renouard, Aldus Manutius, Andreas Wechel.

The scholia on the *Greek Anthology* still awaits a critical edition. They were partially entered in the margins of the *Planudean Anthology* by an anonymous scholar in 1600 in the edition printed by the heirs of Andreas Wechel, alongside the Latin commentaries of Vincentius Obsopoeus and Joannes Brodaeus.¹ According to a note on f. ii, the editor transcribed the scholia from two copies of Janus Lascaris's edition, his *Florilegium diuersorum epigrammatum in septem librum diuisum*, Florentiae: per Laurentium Francisci de Alopa Venetum, 1494. One of these scholia belonged to Franciscus Pithoeus (1543–1621) and it is today held at the Médiathèque de Troyes Champagne Métropole (Inc. 277). The other was owned by Paulus Petavius (1568–1614) and has yet to be identified.

Several of the notes were also quoted in the critical apparatus of Hugo Stadtmüller's edition, who used the copy of Lascaris's edition available to him, that which is held in the Universitätsbibliothek of Berne,² and by the beginning of the

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¹ See *Epigrammatum Graecorum annotationibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis, nec non Vincentii Obsopoei & Graecis in pleraque epigrammata scholiis illustratorum libri VII* (Francofurti: apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, 1600). Both Latin commentaries had already been published separately: *In Graecorum epigrammatum libros quatuor annotationes ... Vincentio Obsopoeo autore* (Basileae: in officio Nic. Brylingerii, 1540), and *Epigrammatum graecorum libri VII, annotationibus Ioannis Brodae ... illustrati* (Basileae: apud H. Frobenium et N. Episcopium, 1549).

² See H. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea* (Lipsiae: in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1894) vol. I, XI. In the third volume (see vol. III, p. VI) he also entered the notes found in *Monacensis* gr. 130, ff. 191–302. According to Pontani, they are not scholia, but a "parafrasi esegetica greca degli epigrammi del libro I della Planudea" ("Per l'esegesi umanistica greca dell'*Antologia Planudea*: i marginalia dell'edizione del 1494", in V. Fera–G. Ferrai–S. Rizzo, edd., *Talking to the Text: Margi-*

20th century, Aristide Calderini had quoted the differences between the scholia published by the heirs of Wechel and those copied in the manuscript *Ambrosianus* gr. F 30 sup. (333).³

These scholia have remained unpublished since then, except for the first five pages of a late manuscript, *Parisinus* suppl. gr. 316, which were edited by Anastasios C. Lolos.⁴

In a seminal article published in 2002, Anna Pontani pointed out that a complete “censimento” of all the witnesses is still needed.⁵ Following this proposal, I deal here with two witnesses that have been previously declared missing.

The first witness is precisely the copy used by Stadtmüller for his edition mentioned above, the incunable of Berne, which Luigi Ferreri affirms is “ormai perduto”,⁶ although it remains at the Universitätsbibliothek of Berne with the signature MUE Inc. III 87⁷.

This copy is a good witness of the scholia, since it has handwritten notes covering most of the pages. A careful collation reveals that these notes are richer and more numerous than those printed in the *editio wecheliana*, and that they seem more similar to the version of λ, called *lascariana* by Gallavotti,⁸ than to that of μ. For instance, Be presents a long scholium to the addressee of AP 16.27, Σαρδανάπαλος (f. Πiiii^v), which coincides word for word with Xe, while it is completely absent in the *editio wecheliana* (p. 315).⁹ Indeed, in this scholium μ quotes here almost *verbatim* schol. ad Arist. Au. 1021b–c (from Σαρδανάπαλος up to τοῦτο τὸ ἐπί-

nalia from Papyri to Print. Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 26. September–3. October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records, Messina, 2002, II, 566, n. 1).

3 See A. Calderini, “Scoli greci all’*Antologia Palatina*”, *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche* 22 (1912) 227–280.

4 “Antike Scholien zu *Anthologia Graeca-Palatina*”, *Ἑλληνικά* 33 (1981) 376–381 (reproduced at the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* [<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>]). This manuscript was transcribed by Andreas Darmarios in 1579 (see subscription on f. 123v) and it is today held at the Bibliothèque Nationale of France. On Darmarios’s copies, see G. Galán Vioque, “Notas sobre las copias manuscritas de Andrés Darmario de los escolios de la *Antología Planudea*”, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 76 (2014) 286–290.

5 See Pontani, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), 573.

6 See L. Ferreri, “Scoli umanistici all’*Antologia planudea*. Un nuovo testimone posseduto dalla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli e la formazione del corpus di scoli confluiti nell’edizione wecheliana (1600)”, *Medioevo e rinascimento* 19 (2005) 89.

7 In this article, I use the sigla previously assigned by C. Gallavotti, “*Planudea* III”, *Bollettino dei classici* 3 (1981) 3–27, and Ferreri, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), 81–114: *Vaticanus* Inc. III 81 (Va), *Vaticanus* Inc. III 78 (Xe), *Vaticanus* Inc. III 79 (Vu), *Vaticanus* Inc. III 80 (Ve), Paris BNF Rés. Yb 484 (Pa), Troyes, Médiathèque Inc. 277 (Tr), Berne UB MUE Inc. III 81 (Be), *Marcianus* gr. IX 38 (Ma), *editio wecheliana* (We). To these I now add Cambridge, Trinity College Grylls, 11.313 (Ca), and Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. K 4.2 (Ox) (see G. Galán Vioque, “On a New Witness of the Scholia on the *Planudean Anthology*”, *Mnemosyne* 72 [2019] 1041–1045). For clarity, I will use μ to the consensus of Va, and its followers Ve and Vu (Ca often agrees with this group, although it has very few scholia), and λ when Be, Mr, Na, Pa, Tr, We and Xe agree.

8 See Gallavotti, *loc. cit.* (n. 7), 12, Pontani, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), 570, and Ferreri, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), 84–94.

9 It is also absent from Tr and Pa.

γραμμα), while Be, Na, Ox, and Xe reproduce the beginning of this scholium on Aristophanes's *Birds*, with minor changes (from Οὔτος υἱὸς Ἀνακυνδαράξου until τῷ σήματι ἀλλόκοτος), followed by Ath. 8.336f.18–337a.27, and Plu. *de laude ipsius* 546a10–11, where Plutarch quotes AP 7.326 (Crates, fr. 10 Diehl).¹⁰

On the other hand, the copyist of these notes seems to be the same of Ox, identified by professor Nigel G. Wilson as Constantine Mesobotes, who was active in Padua around 1508–1533¹¹. Furthermore, Be and Ox present similar mistakes and common readings, which causes us to suspect that they are copies of the same original.¹²

The other rediscovered witness was, until very recently, more elusive. I refer to the copy of Lascaris's edition owned by Antoine-Auguste Renouard (1765–1853). The French bibliophile carefully described it in his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris 1803) I, 67, and in his *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'un Amateur* (Paris 1819) I, 1^{er}, 129. It seems that this copy fell into the hands of Guglielmo Libri (1802–1869), whose books were auctioned in 1859. This volume was sold to an unknown “Leslie” for 8.8 pounds.¹³

Later Pierre Herbert (1812–1872) owned and described it, pointing out where he found traces of the relation of its manuscript notes with Marcus Musurus. He affirmed that he found Musurus mentioned in a note to an epigram in the seventh book (“Hoc audiui ... a Marco Musuro uiro optimo Patauii 1506”), and again in another note to an epigram of the third book, this time abbreviated as “M.

¹⁰ On Plutarch in these scholia, see G. Galán Vioque, “Plutarco en los escolios a la *Antología Platonuda*”, in: J. F. Martos Montiel, *et alii*, eds., *Plutarco, entre dioses y astros. Homenaje al profesor Aurelio Pérez Jiménez de sus discípulos, colegas y amigos* (Zaragoza 2019) I, 285–309.

¹¹ See “Bod-Inc Online”, viewed 10 December 2018: <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/record/A-308>. On this prolific copyist, see E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten* (Wien 1981–1997) I, 124–126, no. 224; II, 123–124, no. 315; III, 138–139, no. 363.

¹² For instance, they have similar *lacunae* in the scholion on AP 9.357.3 and on 11.317 (both omit *ut coronatus*, testified in other incunables [Pa and Tr]); both read δλων instead of ὀλοὸν in Nic. Th. 326, quoted in the scholion on AP 9.233 (Xe also has δλων *post correctionem*); and both omit σῆθος at Hom. Il. 14.412, quoted in the scholion on AP 9.204.4. It seems unlikely that Be or Ox are one the copy of the other since both have scholia absent from the other.

¹³ See A. Claudin, “Vente des livres de choix de M. G. Libri faite à Londres le 1^{er} Août [1859] et jours suivants”, *Archives du Bibliophile* 2 (1859) 436 n. 107, *Catalogue of the Choicer Portion of the Magnificent Library Formed by M. Guglielmo Libri* (London 1859) 15 n. 107, and *The Libri collection of books and manuscripts. Prices and purchasers' names* (London 1868) 14 (see Pontani, *loc. cit.* [n. 2], 594 n. 1). “Leslie” might well be a pseudonym of William Grylls himself (see below), his bookseller, or someone who acted at the auction on his behalf, since almost all the books he bought at this auction are to be found today in Cambridge Trinity College as part of his legacy. Moreover, some of these books are unique, such as a copy of the *editio princeps* of the *Anacreontea* which belonged to Daniel Heinsius and later to Theodore Jansen ab Almeloveen (*Catalogue of the Choicer Portion* [quoted above], 14 n. 100 and Grylls 3.85[1]), and the 1541 Venetian edition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* that belonged to Marco Foscarini (Grylls 7.121 and *Catalogue of the Choicer Portion* [quoted above], 25 n. 186). Others have excerpts from Libri's sale catalogue pasted to the inside of the front cover (see Grylls 3.344, and 6.113). The same occurs when other volumes bought by “Leslie” in other auction catalogues are inspected (see, for instance, the Bodleian copy of *Catalogue of the 1st Portion of the ... Library ... Rev. Phillip Bliss* [London] 1878 [Mus. Bibl. III 8° 716], 274 n. 3852 [Grylls 3.431], 276 n. 3882 [Grylls 1.136], n. 3878 [Grylls 31.256], and 278 n. 3902 [Grylls 17.300]).

M.”. He also stated that, in a scholium on one of the epigrams of the section Εἰς οἶνον of the first book, there is a handwritten note with the date “1509”.¹⁴ Moreover, he wrote that he planned to donate this copy to the National Library of France. However, it is highly probable that he, or his heirs, failed to do so.¹⁵

This copy was declared missing decades ago. In 1975, Elpidio Mioni affirmed: “Questo esemplare, un tempo di proprietà del Renouard, non so dove si trovi”.¹⁶ Seven years later Anna Meschini [Pontani] included it in a list of three lost witnesses that in her opinion “avrebbero avuto grande valore documentario”.¹⁷ Two decades later, in her 2002 article, she affirms: “Della copia ora perduta dell’incunabolo fiorentino che a detta di Antoine-Augustin Renouard ...”,¹⁸ and she even dedicates an appendix to this missing copy, pointing out the importance of this lost volume for our knowledge of Aldus Manutius’s first edition of the *Anthologia*: “Saremmo ben ragguagliati sulla genesi della prima aldina della Planudea (1503), se fosse ancora reperibile la copia dell’incunabolo fiorentino posseduta da Antoine-Augustin Renouard”.¹⁹ Along the same lines, in her study on Gian Francesco d’Asola, known as Asulanus, Annaclara Cataldi Palau said: “L’esemplare indicato da Renouard non è questo [in reference to Paris, Bibliothèque National Rés Yb 484] e non so dove possa essere”.²⁰

However, by 1876 this volume had been described by Robert Sinker, who identified it as Renouard’s copy.²¹ In recent times, this identification was omitted by Anthony Grafton, who, in a study of copy editing techniques in the Renaissance, mentioned a copy of Lascaris’s *Greek Anthology* held at Cambridge Trinity College with signature Grylls 11.313, a volume that came to Trinity College Wren Library among the more than 14,000 books, including 288 incunabula, bequeathed to the college by the scholar and Westcountry Clergyman William Grylls after his death

¹⁴ All these notes were later reproduced by J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the year 1800* (New York 1835) 155 n. 2, and 172. The date “1509” is also attested in the scholium on *AP* 9.435 (Leonid.) in Va, Ve, but it is absent from Vu, and λ.

¹⁵ See E. Jovy, *Pierre Herbert et ses travaux inédits sur l’Anthologie de Planude* (Vitry le François: Typographie V. Tavernier et fils, 1899) 108–110.

¹⁶ E. Mioni, “L’Antologia Greca da Massimo Planude a Marco Musuro”, in *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano* (Bologna 1975) 298 n. 74.

¹⁷ A. Meschini [Pontani], “L’Antologia greca fra codici e incunaboli”, *JÖB* 32/6 (1982) 166.

¹⁸ Pontani, *loc. cit.* (n. 2) 559–560, and p. 562: “nella copia ora perduta dell’incunabolo posseduta da Aldo Manuzio ...”

¹⁹ Pontani, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), 593.

²⁰ A. Cataldi Palau, *Gian Francesco d’Asola e la tipografia aldina. La vita, le edizioni, la biblioteca dell’Asolano* (Genova 1998) 590 (see also 41–42).

²¹ See R. Sinker, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1876) 109.

Furthermore, to the first blank pages, an unidentified owner glued the description of this copy made by Renouard in his *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*,²⁷ and in his *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque d'un Amateur*, and the description printed in the catalogue of the auction of Libri's library.

Obviously, this copy also has the pages added at the end with the texts mentioned by Renouard in his description, and the notes and marks for the printer, both attributed by Renouard to Aldus Manutius himself, but instead to the humanist Johannes Cuno by Speranzi.²⁸ For instance, on f. Niii, a folio reproduced in Grafton,²⁹ there are several 'τοῦ αὐτοῦ' written in the margin to epigrams *AP* 11.204, 149, 151, 142, and 350, and this is also printed in Aldus Manutius's 1503 edition (see Nii^v). Moreover, from f. Σι, the annotator – whoever he was – started to mark with horizontal strokes between lines in his 1494 copy where each new page should begin in the forthcoming edition³⁰.

As regards the study of the scholia, this volume has corrections and Greek and Latin glosses all over the volume but features very few scholia, whose origins can be traced to Musurus.³¹ It is interesting to remark that these few scholia agree with Va instead of following the version of λ. This is the case, for instance, with the scholion to *AP* 9.323.6 (f. Aiii), where Ca and μ include the quotation from E. *And.* 25 and both add another quotation from Ae. *Pr.* 897³², while λ, except for Xe, omits the quotation from Aeschylus and mentions the quotation from Euripides without quoting the text. To the best of our knowledge, this volume is the first witness of the scholia of μ outside the Vatican, although, unfortunately, in this copy, the Greek scholia are very few.

27 See A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (Paris 1803) I, 67.

28 See Jovy, *loc. cit.* (n. 15), 108–110, Renouard, *loc. cit.* (n. 27), I, 67, and Speranzi, *loc. cit.* (n. *), 41–42. The printed text ends on f. ΘΘviii^v (*AP* 5.256.4). These handwritten pages are dated by the colophon to the year 1506, and contain the texts usually printed at the end of Aldus Manutius's editions (*Anth. Gr. App.* VII 2.2 [Euclid]; Leo Magister's poem on the Pythian hot springs, wrongly attributed to Paul the Silentiary as in Planudes's *Marcianus* gr. 481, ff. 81v–82; *Anth. Gr. App.* III 147 [Theon. Alex. or Hermes]; *Anth. Gr. App.* III 146 [Theon Alex.]; and *Anth. Gr. App.* IV 47 [Hermes Trim.]). On this additions, see M. D. Lauxtermann, "Janus Lascaris and the Greek Anthology", in S. de Beer, *et alii*, eds., *The Neo-Latin Epigram: A Learned and Witty Genre* [Leuven 2009] 49), and a selection of epigrams found ἐν ἄλλοις ... ἀντιγράφοις (ff. ΛΛν–vii), whose inclusion in future editions is recommended by the copyist. These epigrams are also mentioned in the *Epidióρθosis* of the first Aldine edition (1503), together with numerous corrections, and were included in the second Aldine (1521) in the position described in these handwritten pages.

29 See Grafton, *loc. cit.* (n. 22), 102.

30 On this way of indicating the transition from one page to the next, see L. Hellinga, *Texts in Transit. Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden 2014) 58.

31 This is the case, for instance, of the scholia to *AP* 9.357.4 (f. Aii); 9.322.1, 9.322.9, and 9.323.6 (f. Aiii); 9.233.6 (f. Aiii^v); 10.38 (f. Biii^v); 7.247 (f. Oiii), 16.27 (f. Piii^v); and 7.217.3–4 (f. Pv).

32 μ, Xe, and Ca quote Ae. *Pr.* 897 as: καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεΐ· μηδὲ τινὶ τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πλαθεῖην ἐν γαμετῆ (sic) [ἐν γαμετῆ om. Vu] (cf. schol. ad Ae. *Pr.* 894a: μηδὲ πλασθεῖην, καὶ προσπελάσω καὶ προσεγγίσω, ἐν τινὶ γαμέτῃ τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ).

It is especially remarkable the scholium to *AP* 9.357.4 (f. Aii), which agrees with μ and Xe, while λ (except for Xe) has another shorter version. This scholion allows us to conclude that Ca was copied from Va earlier than the versions of Ve, and Vu, since when quoting *Call. Aet. fr.* 59.6–9, transmitted at *Plu. Quaest. conu.* 677b1–5, at l. 6 Ca has $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, as does all Plutarch’s manuscripts, while in Va wear has rendered this passage unreadable, Ve (and also Xe) proposed $\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, and the copyist of Vu preferred to leave the space blank.

Something similar happens in this same scholium when dealing with the word $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\alpha$. The scholiast quoted *Tim. hist. fr.* 118, which he read at *Plu. Quaest. conu.* 676d2–11. Va has lost certain letters in the upper right-hand corner of the page and has $\omicron\iota\omega\nu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu[] / \rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$, while Ca was probably copied before the loss and agrees with the text of Plutarch’s manuscripts ($\omicron\iota\omega\nu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$), while Ve, Vu and Xe adopted different solutions: $\omicron\iota\omega\nu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu[] / \rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ Ve: $\rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ Vu: $\omicron\iota\omega\nu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \rho\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ Xe.

Furthermore, in the layout of Ca, the scholiast anticipates a correction to *Plu. Quaest. conu.* 676d.6, usually attributed to the *editio Basiliensis* (*Plutarchi Moralia opuscula* [Basileae: per Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, 1542] 706) and Adrianus Turnebus (*Plutarchi Opuscula LXXXII* [Venetiis 1509] [BNF, Rés. J. 94] 843): $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ Ca: $\tau\omicron \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ *Plu.* ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ *Basil. Turnebus*): $\tau\omicron \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ [Va: $\tau\omicron \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\iota$ Vu: $\tau\omicron \dots \nu\omicron\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$ Vu Xe.³³

The scholium on the *AP* 9.437.7–12, printed as $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ by Lascaris is also worthy of note.³⁴ In Ca, the scholiast wrote in the margin: “ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ut patet in propriis libris Theocriti” (f. Bviii^v) (plate 5), which constitutes a clear allusion to the famous *codex Patauinus*.³⁵

³³ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is also written *in margine* in Donato Gianotti’s copy of the *editio princeps*, which is preserved in the Institute for Advanced Studies Library, Princeton University, with bookshelf “Rosenwald”. This conjecture is attributed to Nicolò Leonico Tomeo (see *Plutarchi opuscula LXXXII* [Venetiis: per Aldum Manutium, 1509] 843, available at <https://archive.org/details/PlutarchOpuscula1509/page/n445>). See M. Cuvigny, “Giannotti, Turnèbe, Amyot: résultats d’une enquête sur quelques éditions annotées des *Moralia* de Plutarque”, *Revue d’histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 65–70; L. Lesage Gárriga, “Aldinas anotadas: una puesta al día de la contribución de los humanistas a través del estudio de *De facie*”, *CFC Egi* 28 (2018) 247–248; and 253–255; E. Sciarra, “I copisti e la stampa. Interazioni tra testo e margine nelle cinquecentine della raccolte romane”, *Segno e testo* 9 (2011) 266–267; and Galán Vioque, *loc. cit.* (n. 10), 298 n. 60.

³⁴ Planudes provides no information regarding its authorship; neither does he classify this epigram as $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ (see *Marcianus gr.* 481, f. 83).

³⁵ See C. Gallavotti, “Intorno al codice *Patauinus* di Teocrito”, *Illinois Classical Studies* 6 (1981) 116–135. In Ca, the scholium to *AP* 9.435 ($\Lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$) (f. Bviii^v) presents only $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

