

PROLEGOMENA TO A CRITICAL EDITION OF
THE ARISTOTELIAN MAGNA MORALIA

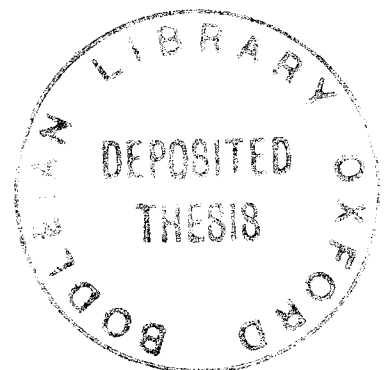
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ABSTRACT

Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Aristotelian Magna Moralia

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The first two chapters discuss the Greek manuscripts of M.M. and their stemmatic relationships. I argue that there are six independent manuscripts from which all others are descended.

Chapter three lists readings which scholars - usually from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - have conjectured, but which have now been found to exist in Greek manuscripts written centuries earlier.

Chapter four discusses the indirect tradition. In this section I analyze seven Latin translations of M.M. I argue that Susemihl, the last editor of M.M., attached too much weight to the translation of Giorgio Valla because he was not reading Valla's translation, but a revision of Valla's translation. I examine three mediaeval translations of M.M. II.8. I provide editions of two of these, one of which has not been printed for 500 years, and the other of which has never been printed.

Chapter five reviews Greek editions of M.M. The Aldine edition (1498) was the basis for Greek texts until Bekker's edition (1831). I evaluate what is the best edition yet of M.M. - Susemihl's edition in 1883.

Chapter six consists of the stemma codicum that I have argued for in chapters one, two and four. I also include a copy of the previous stemma, suggested by Brockmann.

The next two chapters contain collation of the mss.

After a chapter which discusses editorial difficulties, in chapter ten, the largest chapter, I argue line by line what reading should be accepted.

In an appendix I provide a record of interesting marginal notes in the manuscripts.

PREFACE

Many people have helped me with my doctoral thesis. The chief debts are to my two supervisors, Nigel Wilson, who oversaw the part which deals with the Greek manuscripts and the indirect tradition, and Prof. Michael Frede who supervised the 'textual' part of the thesis. Both pointed me in the right direction, encouraged me and saved me from mistakes. It would be difficult to find two people better qualified to supervise a thesis of the sort that mine is, and I am deeply grateful to them both. Nigel Wilson also kindly checked a reading for me in the Viennese manuscript at 1205a19.

Older debts are to my school teacher, John Hart and to my tutor Laetitia Edwards. I have welcomed and warmly appreciated their continued support and advice.

The project of examining the text of M.M. was suggested to me by Jonathan Barnes, and although the task proved a big one, I have enjoyed grappling with the problems that this curious treatise gives rise to.

I have been helped financially during the last four years by the British Academy, the Craven Committee, the Erasmus project, and by St. Hugh's College, Oxford University. To all of these bodies I am grateful.

To the librarians at the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, the British Library, the Biblioteca Laurenziana, the Vatican Library I am indebted. While I was in Berlin as a guest of the Aristoteles Archiv, all the resources of the library, and of the microfilm collection were kindly put at my disposal by Christian Brockmann.

I have benefited from discussion over the last four years with Jonathan Barnes, Christian Brockmann, Stephen Everson, Jacqueline Hamesse, Dieter Harlfinger, Tom Harrison, Sir Anthony Kenny, David Sedley, Jürgen Wiesner and Roland Wittwer.

My examiners, Sir Anthony Kenny and Dr. D.B. Robinson, made helpful and constructive comments during the viva, and I would like to record my thanks to them for reading with such attention this sometimes turgid piece of work.

A special thank you is due to my mother and late father, who encouraged me to pursue an interest that they did not share, and to the late John D'Arcy.

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CONVENTIONS ADOPTED

I believe that the author is not Aristotle. To avoid the long-winded term ‘the author of M.M.’, I either use ‘M.M.’ or the masculine pronoun ‘he’ when referring to the author. The balance of probabilities is that the Peripatos was male-dominated. From 1203a32 we can infer, perhaps, that if he was male, he was also heterosexual.

I do not cite the bibliographical details every time I refer to the translations of M.M., nor every time I refer to Dirlmeier’s commentary. Dirlmeier’s commentary is the modern work which I cite most. There are two annoying things about the lay-out of Dirlmeier’s commentary. The first is that it has no indices, so it is hard to follow up a given theme (Dirlmeier’s views on Stoic influence on M.M., say) and the second is that his commentary is numbered not according to the lineation of Bekker but to the page numbers of his own translation. This makes the process of finding the commentary on a given line much slower. I cite page numbers from the 1983 edition of his commentary.

Other works which I cite without full bibliographical details every time are J.D. Denniston, The Greek Particles (Oxford, 1950); R. Kühner/B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache (Hannover, 1898); H.G. Liddell/ R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1968)

I use abbreviations from L’Année Philologique. In addition: ‘B.L.’ = British Library, ‘B.L.C’ = British Library Catalogue, ‘TLG’ = Thesaurus Linguae Graecae computer programme.

I refer to the ‘common books’ - the books common to E.N. and E.E. - by their ‘Nicomachean’ reference. I am, however, convinced by Kenny, [1978], that the common books were originally ‘Eudemian’, and think that M.M. provides important evidence for this.

I distinguish between 'Aristotelian' (= of Aristotle strictly) and 'aristotelian' (= of Aristotle and his followers'.

I refer to the line numbers in Susemihl's text - which is based on, though not identical to Bekker's lineation. Often I do not use the first two digits in references to M.M., so, for example I use '84b30' refer to 1184b30 and '02a17' to refer to 1202a17.

INTRODUCTION

Over one hundred years has passed since the last critical edition of M.M. In those hundred years much valuable work has been done on the text. In the 1920s and 1930s, when the dispute about the authenticity of the treatise was at its height,¹ two books were devoted entirely to M.M. by students of Jaeger,² and von Arnim replied in a series of articles to anyone who doubted his view that M.M. was authentic. A commentary on M.M. appeared in 1958 by Franz Dirlmeier. In 1965 Donini devoted a book to the study of the philosophy of M.M., and argued, on the basis of an analysis of the thought of M.M., that the work is by an undistinguished peripatetic. Reception of Donini's book has been various: Cooper³ says: '[Donini] accepts somewhat mechanically the traditional view of the work's authenticity...'. But Becchi⁴ says that Donini's book represents 'in certo qual modo il coronamento filosofico di parecchie generazioni di studiosi'. Donini has done what Dirlmeier, whose interest is more linguistic, did not do so well - analyse in detail the thought of M.M.

A new critical edition can be based on a more comprehensive understanding of the manuscript tradition, thanks to the work of Christian Brockmann in Berlin, who has worked out a stemma codicum for all the Greek manuscripts.

Although interest in M.M. has focused on the question of its authenticity, discussion of its textual problems has not been neglected. The conjectures of Jaeger, von Arnim, Kassel, Donini, Dirlmeier, Becchi, Kenny, Armstrong, Stock have all been made since Susemihl's edition. We are now also in a position to know of some emendations which were made before Susemihl's edition, but which he did not know

¹ Chroust [1965] gives a lively account of the argument between Jaeger (spurious) and von Arnim (authentic), an argument that became intensely personal, rather than scholarly. Dirlmeier (pp.110-147) gives a fuller account than is possible here of the history of the progress that scholarship has made in investigating the origin of M.M.

² Walzer [1929] (spurious) and Brink [1933] (spurious).

³ Cooper [1973] 327n.3.

⁴ Becchi. [1980] 201n.2.

about: Nicasius Ellebodius and Weit Amerbach are authors of valuable contributions which will help the next editor.

Whoever wrote this book M.M. is an important document for the study of Aristotle. In it, we have either genuine early Aristotle or genuine Aristotle through the eyes of an intermediary, or a peripatetic writing a work on ethics, close to, but not entirely dependent on Aristotle's Ethics, who provides us with an interpretation and, in places, with criticism of Aristotle. So M.M., regardless of authorship, is an important document. If it is genuine, its importance is obvious; if it is genuine, but filtered through some intermediary, then its importance for understanding Aristotle is still substantial (although it would have to be used cautiously⁵); and if it is the work of some peripatetic, we nevertheless find in it an interesting criticism of Aristotle - not just elucidation of Aristotle, but, in places, an extension of the theory. The content is broadly Aristotelian, and, at the very least, study of its doctrines offers scholars a contemporary treatment of Aristotle's philosophy.

A new critical edition of M.M. should be the basis on which the questions of authorship and the relation to the two other main ethical works can be answered. It will also permit a more solid basis for discussion of the ideas with which it is concerned.

⁵ Cooper, [1973] 349, says: '...the Magna Moralia can only be used with care in giving an account of the genesis and content of Aristotle's moral theory; but it can and must be used'.

THE INDEPENDENT MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts of especial interest to an editor are those which are independent. Hence, although I have looked at parts of microfilm copies of all 43 of the Greek manuscripts which contain M.M., my attention has focused on the top of the stemma. There are five manuscripts of M.M. which Brockmann¹ thinks are independent. He divides them into the C P family, the A L family, and the K family. It is the independent manuscripts which will form the basis of the text an editor will print. It is crucial to know how these manuscripts are related - only so can it be known what weight to attach to agreement between manuscripts - in a way that it is not crucial to know how precisely the descripti are related to each other.

Cantabrigiensis II v 44 (C) and Vaticanus gr.1342 (P)

The relationship between C and P was suspected by Susemihl to be that of twins.² On palaeographical grounds, the scribe of C was identified by Stewart and Harlfinger³ as the copier of P. C was written in 1279 in Messina by Nicholas of Oria, a town between Tarentum and Brindisi.⁴ We do not know when P was written, but it was written by Nicholas.

There are occasional additions and corrections dating from the 15th or 16th century in C. P has many corrections and sometimes this manuscript's margins are the only authority we have for good readings. Precisely because P is so thoroughly corrected - sometimes what was originally written has been erased and sometimes alternative readings are given in the margin - P is hard to read in silver-print copy. Both manuscripts have many abbreviations, but C far fewer than P.

One interesting palaeographical feature common to both the Messina manuscripts is the way the words $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ and $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ are written. If these words are shortened, which they are far more frequently in P than in C, only two compendia are used: $\pi\epsilon\backslash$ and $\pi\alpha\backslash$. The first of these is uncontroversially $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$. Usually the second is used for $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$. In our two manuscripts, however, this cannot be the case. Out of the 23 times that P has this second compendium, 12 times C

¹ Brockmann, [1993] 51.

² Susemihl's edition of M.M., p. vi, n.1.

³ Stewart, [1882] 52-3; Harlfinger, [1971] 6-7.

⁴ Jacob, [1985], argues that the scribe of both is to be identified as Nicholas of Oria.

gives $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ in full, 8 times C also writes the compendium $\frac{\epsilon}{\pi}$, and three times C reads $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ in full (each time where the sense demanded is $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$). The one time that C reads $\frac{\epsilon}{\pi}$, where P does not, P has $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$. The weight of the evidence suggests, then, that we should acknowledge a new way of writing $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$. It may even be a distinguishing feature of Nicholas d'Oria.

Brockmann, [1993] 51, states the problem for the relationship between these manuscripts:

Zahlreich sind die gemeinsamen Lesarten der Nikolaos-Kodizes, zahlreich auch die Trennfehler des Cantabrigiensis. Im Vaticanus jedoch ließen sich trotz umfangreichen Textvergleichs kaum schwerwiegende Sonderfehler aufspüren. Sollte das Zwillingsverhältnis, das für E.E. und die E.N. gilt, ... für die M.M. doch nicht feststellbar sein? Zu bedenken ist aber, daß Nikolaos auf den Vaticanus viel größere Mühe verwandt zu haben scheint.

Brockmann collects faults which both manuscripts share - and there is no shortage of these. The most obvious of these are the large omission at 11a5-b8⁵ and the addition in 88a31-2. The apparatus makes their agreement clear on every page. Nor is there a shortage of faults in C which are not present in P. But the lack of places where C provides the right reading, but P a bad one, left Brockmann unable to assert with certainty that they are twins.⁶ (He finds five places where the first hand of P errs, but where C does not, and, of these readings of P, three are not certainly right - they are reported as 'ut vid.' readings.) Fuller collation of both of these manuscripts has enabled the hypothesis that these two manuscripts, both written by Nicholas of Oria, were made from a single (now lost) manuscript to be made more definite:

i) I agree with Brockmann's reports of P erring where C does not. Additional instances of such errors in P¹:

⁵ The length of this omission is 43 Bekker lines, which is a significant number, because K makes an omission of 88 lines E.N. 1176a11-77a30. Stewart, [1892] Vol. I, 526-7, suggests that the archetype of K 'had leaves containing each about 43 lines'. The archetype of α , or α itself, will have had a leaf missing.

⁶ Victor, [1983], argues that for Oeconomica, rather than being twins, C and P are first cousins. i.e. he would posit one manuscript between P and α , and another between C and α .

82a11 πρώτος] πρώτον; 85b10 γὰρ] μὲν; 89b34 οὐθὲν + ἐν; 91b31 transp. παντὶ post δεῖ; 92a23 παρὰ¹] περι; 92a24 δὴ + ὀρθῶς; 95b8 οὐκ] οὐδ'; 97a15 εἰς] εἰ; 99b30 τὸ] τῷ; 01a8 om. ἐποίουν; 01a35 δ' ἢ] δὴ; 01b33 οἶδα] οἶδεν; 03a12 ἦ] ἦ; 05a4 γὰρ ἐπὶ] γὰρ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ; 05b7 ἴδιον] ἡδιον; 07a36 ἔνεστι] ἐν ἐστὶ; 08a22 ἔστι] ἔτι; 09a37 φίλος] φιλία; 12a17 ἄρα] ἄρα; 12a22 ἄρα] ἄρα; 12a19-20 οὐχ ἦ νοοῦσι] οὐχὶ νοοῦσι; 12a20 τῷ ταυτὸν νοεῖν] τῷ ταυτὸν ἐννοεῖν C, τῷ τὸ ταυτὸν ἐννοεῖν P.


ii) Readings of C which are wrong, but which agree with other manuscripts:

91b19 δοκιμάζοντα P, δοκιμάζοντες C A L K B; 91b22 δὲ δὴ P, δὲ δεῖ C L K; 03a34 τοῦ¹ om. C A L; 03b22 οἶός τε P V, οἶος γὰρ C, οἶός γε A L K; 07b19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ] ἐπεὶ δε C A L

These may be coincidental, but they may also reflect variants in α.

(i) and (ii) are sufficient to show that C was not copied from P.

One interesting feature of C is that it is much less accurately copied than P: there are eight significant (i.e. of approximately one line's length, usually ex homoeoteleuto) omissions in C that are not in P: 84a9-10 om. μηθενὸς — παραγενόμενου; 88a28-9 om. ἀκρατεῖς — οἶ; 89a24-5 om. ἐπεὶ — προαίρεσις; 89b33-4 om. ποιῆσαι — ἄλλο; 07a29-30 om. καὶ — φάμεν; 09b6-7 om. καὶ¹ — φαύλος; 10b15-6 om. ὑπερέχει — φιλότιμος; 13a3-4 om. τὸ — ἄτοπον. And there are many other less big but equally wrong readings unique to C.⁷ The possibility, not considered by Brockmann,⁸ that the frequency of errors in C can be explained by positing a lost manuscript as the twin of P, and then claiming that C was copied from that manuscript, rather than from the model used for P can, I think, be ruled out by three considerations.

First, a palaeographical quirk. At 94a2-6 πάλιν — ὀλίγα both C and P change the style of hand writing considerably (f.10^v, the last 4 lines, in P, and f.11^r, lines 17-20 in C).⁹ The passage has a large number of π's (21), which is striking visually, but the change goes deeper: the letters become squarer, neater and smaller - tau for instance, standardly written in both manuscripts as , in these lines is often written simply as T. This passage is the only

⁷ It is perhaps worth pointing out how careless C is with regard to iotacism. C writes ἀρχητέκτων at 98a35 and 98a36; ἔγκλιμα 13b11, b22, b23, b27; μονομώτατον 00b36; ἐκρατίθη (02a4). C cannot spell Euripides' name: εὐρυπέδης (10a13), εὐρυπίδης (09b35).

⁸ But espoused by Victor for the *Oec.* See n.6.

⁹ C moves into the new style slightly earlier than P, namely at 93b38 (ὡς γὰρ).

place where such a change appears. One must presume that the archetype of these manuscripts was also written in a different style. Although it is not impossible that there was a manuscript between α and C, which also carried this change in script, it seems more plausible to suppose that this copying of styles only took place twice rather than thrice.

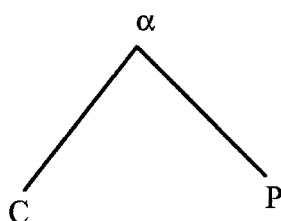
Secondly, there are two places where the scribe corrects what he has written. At 03a14 in both manuscripts we find Nicholas of Oria writing ἀγαθὸν ἔχων but then himself *clearly* reversing the order of these two words by writing an alpha above the second word and a beta above the first. Presumably the reversal of words occurred in the exemplar, α , and in that manuscript the correct order was signalled in such a way that a copyist would only realise that the two words needed to be inverted once the second word had been read. On the hypothesis that C and P are twin brothers we need only suppose that Nicholas was caught out twice in the same way. On the hypothesis that I am trying to reject, we would have to suppose that the scribe of the lost intermediary manuscript was caught out and, importantly, that he made the signal for correcting the order as late in his manuscript as the signal which had, by its lateness, caused him to make a mistake.

A similar thing happens at 99a26-7: after παρακολουθεῖν C and P add τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν φρόνησιν. In both manuscripts Nicholas corrects what he has written. In P all five words are crossed out, and the text continues with τῷ ἀδίκῳ. In C the last four words are crossed out and τὸ corrected to τῷ, and the text continues with ἀδίκῳ. The error was present in α , and came about because in the line above (a25-6) are the words συμπαρακολουθεῖν τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν φρόνησιν. The scribe of α either made the mistake of dittography himself or inherited it from his exemplar. A corrector of α may have spotted the error, but again marked the error too late, so that Nicholas was caught out twice, and only realised the error once he had written the extra unwanted words. Or perhaps Nicholas himself saw that the text of α was faulty, but only when he had copied it out. Again, to suppose that there was a lost intermediary manuscript between C and α would commit one to believing that there too the error was signalled too late - there is no danger that a copier of either of the Nicholas manuscripts would repeat the mistake, since the purpose of the lines through the extra words is clear.

These two places, together with the example commented on by Brockmann, [1993] 52-3, on 85b9-10, suggest either that the exemplar of C and P (or one of its ancestors) had been corrected with the help of another manuscript, or that Nicholas had access to a second manuscript when he made his two copies of M.M. Given the large number of significant errors uncorrected in the first hands of C and P, the first alternative is more likely.

Thirdly, although we do not know the precise date of the Vatican manuscript, we do know that it must have been made at approximately the same time as the Cambridge one, given that it is made by the same scribe. It is prima facie unlikely that Nicholas would have used a newly made copy as his exemplar if the older manuscript were still available.¹⁰

With Brockmann's arrangement of this part of the stemma I am in agreement:



If it is right that C and P are twins the question arises what the likely provenance of their parent, α , is. Harlfinger¹¹ thinks it is likely to have been a manuscript from Constantinople. Since Harlfinger's suggestion, though, an alternative has been suggested by Cavallo,¹² namely that the tradition may be derived directly from, or may reflect, a separate tradition developed in the Greek-speaking South of Italy. On p.ix of Susemihl's introduction, the reading $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, which is found in C and P, is noted as being a reading which is likely to have arisen as a result of the similarity of A to Λ in the majuscule script - the other two families read $\kappa\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. This would mark the split of the Messanensis recension to earlier than the eighth century.¹³ This seems likely. And the big divergences between this family and the other two could perhaps be explained by geographical separation of the families.

¹⁰ Rather than saying with Brockmann, [1993] 51, that 'Nikolaos auf den Vaticanus viel grössere Mühe verwandt zu haben scheint', it may be more plausible to suppose that α was corrected in the interim between it being made copied for C and its being copied for P. This suggestion is tentatively made by Harlfinger, [1971] 8.

¹¹ Harlfinger, [1971] 9.

¹² Cavallo, [1980] 228-9.

¹³ Brockmann, [1993] 50, adds three further places where errors in K are best explained as being 'Majuskelfehler': 98a2 $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$] $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ K; 99b36 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$] $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ K; 03a1 η $\omicron\upsilon$] $\pi\omicron\upsilon$ K.

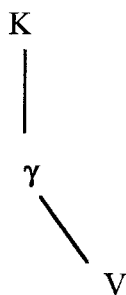
Laurentianus 81,11 (K) and Vindobonensis phil. gr.315 (V)

I have collated the first from the facsimile of this manuscript¹⁴ and then checked some problematic passages in the original in Florence. Susemihl's respect for the manuscript (and Bywater's reverence for it in his edition of E.N.) was based on its age (c.900), some three hundred years older than any other manuscript containing M.M. But if the stemma which Brockmann proposed, or that which I suggest is right, then it must be seen as one witness out of many.

Palaeographical characteristics of M.M. in K are i) an abundance of the superfluous ephelcysic nu¹⁵ - a corrector has gone through the text and deleted most of these redundant letters. ii) K regularly does not place a breathing on words formed by crasis: (e.g. καγαθόν, καθέν, κακεῖνος, κάν, καπί, ταγαθόν, ταληθές, τανδρεία, τουναντίον, τούνομα). iii) More than any other manuscript, K omits accents: e.g. γαρ (82b25, 94a9 11b4), ἐπι (88a19, 00b2, 12a34), ἦ (very often), και (98a1¹), μεν (91a8, 00b15), μη (07b38), ὑπερ (82b16, 83a26, 01b9).

I have collated the Viennese manuscript from a silver-print copy, and have not had the opportunity to see the manuscript in the original. Nigel Wilson, who looked at the manuscript for me, suggests a more precise date for the manuscript than Brockmann who thought it was from the 11th or 12th century, and would date it to the early part of the 12th century.

The relationship of Vindobinensis phil gr.315 (V) to Laurentianus 81,11 (K) was thought by Brockmann (pp.53-4) to be that of a grandson, with a lost, corrected intermediary (γ):



¹⁴ Ashburner, [1927]. For bibliography for this manuscript see Moraux (ed.), [1976] 267, 484, and add to that bibliography: Bywater, [1892] 13-21; this lists sixteen types of errors found in the part of the manuscript which contains E.N., with illustrations of each. A similar list could be drawn up for its version of M.M.

¹⁵ Moraux, [1965] CLXXV, notes that another old manuscript (Paris gr.1853) had ephelcystic nu unnecessarily. Kassel, [1976] vi, reports that Paris gr.1741 (10th C) does the same thing.

V shares many errors with K, has some new errors of its own, and yet occasionally gets things right that K got wrong. These data are consistent with Brockmann's hypothesis, but are also consistent with the hypothesis that V is not derived from K, but that they derive independently from a common ancestor.

It is hard to prove one way or the other, and the question is complicated by the fact that the old part of V extends only from 1193b19 (ὥς) -1213b5 (φιλεῖν). We do, however, have an important witness to the complete V, namely Barberinianus gr.75 (B). The following considerations weigh in favour of the second hypothesis:

1) No error in V springs from the nature of K. One might expect, if Brockmann's hypothesis were right, that some of the errors in V would be explicable from K (e.g. from omission of a whole line in K, or from misreading a word which was unclearly written in K).

2) There are a number of places where K has extra words which are not in C P A L, and not in V either. This would demand an exceptionally rigorous system of correction in the lost γ , or else coincidence. For the extra words in K are not obviously wrong. Given the large number of errors that would have been uncorrected in γ (V still has many mistakes), such rigour is ruled out. C P A L V make the following omissions of words in K: 95b17 om. οὐδὲ — ἄρα; 98a31 om. καὶ²; 07a22 om. μὲν; 07b21 om. τὰ; 09a38 om. ὁ¹; 12b14 om. καὶ.

3) Another telling reading is at 02b5 where C P A L have δεῖσαι before ψεκτὰ and omit δεῖ. V shares the omission of δεῖ but does not have δεῖσαι. If K and V are brothers, (or V is a nephew of K) then the discrepancy between K and V's readings would be explained by saying that their parent had omitted δεῖσαι, and that δεῖ was added conjecturally by the scribe of K. On Brockmann's hypothesis, however, we are asked to imagine a corrector who spotted that δεῖ was wrong, and was content to delete it, leaving a sentence with no main verb, and an unconstruable infinitive.

4) Two significant readings occur in B at places where V no longer survives: at 87a17 the extra δὲ in K is absent in B (with C P A L); at 93a7 τῆς is absent in B (with C P A L), but present in K. Both of these extra words in K, were, if the second hypothesis is right, conjecturally added in K. Again, the rigour of correction we asked to imagine in the intermediary manuscript, γ, is beyond what we should expect.

We can ascertain certain characteristics of the parent of V. For V is peculiar in several ways. Sometimes the peculiarity is visible today only in B because parts of V are missing.

1) Fourteen times where the right reading is ἔσται, V gave ἄν. ἔσται → ἄν: {B: 82a3, 82a7, 82a9 × 2, 87b29, 90a26, 93b9} V: 94b30 corrected in V (and ἔσται in B), 01a5, 04a9, 06a6, 08a11, 11a35, 12a29.¹⁶ The explanation for this is a compendium which was used to write ἔσται. The abbreviation looks like an alpha with a downwards squiggle after it. Sometimes the diacritics are present, sometimes they are not. This abbreviation is found in many of the manuscripts of Arethas (eg. D'Orville Euclid (888), Clarke Plato (895), Lucian Harleian 5694 (c.900), but is not exclusive to them.¹⁷ It is also found in tenth century Aristotle manuscripts (Paris gr.1853, Venetus 201). I have not come across a report of a reading from a manuscript derived from any of these where the compendium was mistaken for ἄν, but I should be surprised if there are not other instances.¹⁸ In most cases ἄν is such nonsense in the context that I suspect editors do not bother to record the reading in the apparatus.

2) V had problems reading πρὸς.

i) Where πρὸς is right we find εἰς: {B: 90a9, 90a10, 90a12, 90a13, 90a17 × 2, 90a19, 90a23, 90a24, 90a28, 90b5, 91a6, 91a20, 92b37 × 2, 92b38 × 2, 93a3, 93a22, 93b15, 93b17, 93b19} V: 93b31, 93b36, 93b39 × 2 corrected in V (πρὸς in B), 94a4 corrected in V (πρὸς in B), 94a4, 94a5 corrected in V (πρὸς in B), 94a6, 94a15 corrected in V (πρὸς in B), 94a20 corrected in V and πρὸς in B.

¹⁶ I do not record these mistakes in the apparatus.

¹⁷ See Allen, [1974] 135n.1, 148-9; Cereteli, [1969], table IV s.v. ἔσται.

¹⁸ At E.N. 1113b13 there is the same manuscript divergence and at 1103a2 the variation in what the mss. read may have a similar origin.

ii) In B we find $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ where $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ is right at: 83a11, 85a35, 86a29 \times 2, 86a30, 86a32, 86b30 \times 2, 87b33, 89a9, 89a25, 90a4 (wrongly still in the text of Susemihl)

The readings of B giving $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ where $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ is right, may stem either from a corrector of V, who objected to the sense of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in these passages, or from an earlier stage in the scribe of V's bafflement with the abbreviation. It is to be noticed, however, that not every case of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ undergoes a transformation: at e.g. 83a19, 84a31, 85a31 B rightly has $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. And at e.g. 94a31, 94a32, 94a35, 94b5 V rightly has $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. This shows that the changes of the preposition were not systematic conjectures, but were mistakes. It is also to be noted that from about 90a5 the mistake of writing $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ stops, and that this is just the point where the mistake of writing $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ begins. It is thus likely that one undeciphered symbol is the cause of both mistakes.

The confusion will stem from the script of the parent of V. Consultation of Allen's tables¹⁹ provide the explanation. $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ was often written with an abbreviation which looks like an epsilon or a capital sigma with a grave accent, $\Sigma^{\grave{}}$. The dates of such an abbreviation being used are similar to the $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ abbreviation. The only manuscript Allen records as having both the $\xi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ abbreviation and the $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ abbreviation is the D'Orville Euclid (888). But his selection of manuscripts is too small to rule out the abbreviation being common. But a date of c.900 for the parent of V would not be unexpected. Sometimes this abbreviation will have been mistaken for the not dissimilar abbreviation for $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\Sigma^{\grave{}}$ and sometimes for a contraction of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$.

3) $\pi\rho\sigma-$ in compounds becomes $\pi\rho\sigma-$: 01a2, 02b2; 03b2, 04b24. This is an easy confusion. $\pi\rho\sigma-$ was often written as $\pi\rho^{\circ}$.

4) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi$ mistaken for π . 10b3, 10b30

¹⁹ See also Cereteli, [1969], table 9, s.v. $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$.

5) ἄρα is written as ἔ at 10a4.²⁰ At 82b30, where V does not survive, B has οὐδὲ instead of οὐδ' ἄρα, and the cause could easily be that V wrote ἄρα with this abbreviation. See also below (p.35n.13) for another possible instance of B having read ἔ at 86b23. At 90a33 B has περὶ παντελοῦς instead of ἄρα παντελῶς. At 95b37 V has εἰ ἄρα where ὅτι is correct. A standard abbreviation for ὅτι resembles a sigma with the top stroke rising at an angle of 45 degrees, and diacritics above.²¹ This is not that different from the symbol for ἄρα.

6) οἶονται is not correctly written in V at 04a25 (δέονται), 08b27 (οἶόν τε),²² 12a34 οἶόν τι. At 83a32 B, a descendant of V, has οἶόν τε.

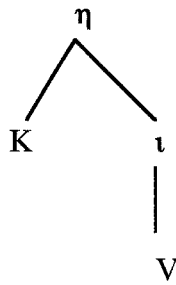
The parent of V does not bear the hall-marks of a corrected manuscript, except at one place, 08a13. Susemihl prints ἔνεκεν ἐστίν with C P A L, but K gives ἔχομεν ἔνεκεν. V has ἔχομεν ἔνεκεν, ἔστιν, which does look as though it originated from a misunderstanding of a variant in the margin. But the acknowledgement that V's parent was corrected does not mean that that parent was a descendant of K. Below I will argue that the many links which V has with A L are only partially to be explained by correction among their ancestors.

If it is right that V is independent of K, it remains to ask whether they are brothers or whether their relationship is that of uncle to nephew. An answer to this will hinge on whether we can believe that the scribe of K was at ease in reading the compendia that led the scribe of V into difficulty. K gets ἔσται and πρὸς right. If it is too much to expect that K could read the compendia without difficulty, we will have an arrangement of the manuscripts as follows:

²⁰ See Cereteli, [1969], table 9, s.v. παρό. In addition to the manuscripts cited by Cereteli as using the abbreviation, we can now add Marcianus 4.1, and Paris 1808 - both written by the same scribe in the eleventh/twelfth century. See Brockmann, [1993] 58n.48 and his [1992] 157n.9, 172. Further, Laur. 81,18, in its copy of E.N. has the same abbreviation at 1169b22, 1173b11, 1179a30, and its reading at M.M. 1193b30 is probably to be explained in the same way. See also Allen, [1974] 8 and Plate II. Lehmann [1965], §49, 89-91 and table 9, gives more examples and discusses the origin of the abbreviation.

²¹ See Cereteli, [1969], table VIII, s.v. ὅτι.

²² The same error occurs at E.N. 1172a8 in K, and in Paris gr.1853, according to Moraux, [1965] CLXXIII. Both these manuscripts date from the 10th century. The opposite error, οἶονται being written where οἶόν τε is correct is found in C at E.E. 1238a10 and in K at E.N. 1099b21.



The positing of ι also explains the greater frequency of error in V than in K. Errors arose at both stages of copying from η.

At 01a33, 01b7, 05a21, 08a39 and 12a7 V is the source of readings accepted by Susemihl, but I argue below that they are not right.

Ambros. B.95 sup. and Laur. 81,18

These two manuscripts form the biggest stemmatic puzzle in M.M. Brockmann argues that they are brothers, but also thinks that they form a third independent family. If the results of Brockmann were accepted, then the task of finding out what was in the archetype, ω, would be easy: where any two of the three families agree, we could be sure that that reading was the reading of ω. Before looking at the relationship between A and L, and the relationship between them and the other independent manuscripts, I will note certain palaeographical features of each of these manuscripts.

Ambrosianus B.95 sup. (A)

This is a manuscript dating from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. Its importance was discovered by Brockmann. There are three interesting palaeographical points worth remarking on in the transcription of M.M. in this manuscript.

1) The word ἀποῦ often causes the scribe trouble. It is certain that the manuscript from which A was copied used a rare shorthand sign for this word which looks like a capital iota with a smooth breathing and a circumflex above it.²³ It is equally certain that the scribe of our manuscript was flummoxed. Ten times in M.M. the symbol is reproduced for us (84b20, 87b36,

²³ The symbol is no. T 831 on p.178 (also example 21, p.24) in Chionides/Lilla, [1981].

91b15, 98b2, 12a26, 12a38, 12b12, 12b15, 13a3, 13b17).²⁴ Several times, instead of reproducing the symbol, he writes δέκα or a part of δέκατος, mistaking the symbol for the similar (and standard) sign for the number ten - 84a25, 94a19,²⁵ 04b28, {11b17}, 11b37. The short-hand system to which this sign belonged originated in the 10th century, and the manuscript from which the symbol is illustrated in the article mentioned above (n.23) is Vaticanus gr.1809 which is dated to c.970. This provides us with an approximate dating for β.

2) εἶναι must also have been written in a way that was not intelligible to the scribe of A. Often, especially near the beginning, where the text demands εἶναι, and all other manuscripts give εἶναι, A gives nonsense: at 81a28 we get τίς; at 82a6 and 84a34 we get τῆς; at 84a18 we get τε; at 90a16 we get οὖν,²⁶ at 92b10 it is omitted. There is a shorthand sign for εἶναι in a manuscript from the ninth century, recorded by Cereteli²⁷ which may have been the cause. This was fairly common, so the puzzlement evident in A is not easily explained.

3) περί/παρά. As in the manuscripts written by Nicholas, the way that this pair of prepositions is written is not straightforward. Most of the time the scribe of A writes περί in the same way as Nicholas wrote παρά: $\overset{\epsilon}{\pi}$. This is orthodox. Twice he writes παρά in the usual way - with the backwards sloping epsilon above the pi (at 94a22 and 97a9, and in these cases the other mss. also read παρά).

Ambiguity: there are places where the epsilon slopes *slightly* back and the received reading is περί: e.g. 85b37, 86a35, 90b8, 90b9, 90b10, 92a27, 96b5 (the first), 12a21 and 12a25. And there are places where the same ambiguous compendium is used, but where παρά is the reading of other manuscripts e.g. 88a20, 88a21, 96a36, 97a5 (twice), 97a8, 07a15.

Mistakes: there are places where the other manuscripts read παρά, but where A gives the compendium it uses elsewhere for περί, i.e. where A provides a genuine *varia lectio*: 85a6, 85a22, 97a6, 07a27, 08b4-5, 08b31, 10a32 (agreeing with C), 11b28, 11b31, 11b32, 13a27.

²⁴ In the last four cases ἀδοτοῦ is written in the margin of A by a later hand.




²⁵ Here the correct reading is τὸ ἀδοτοῦ ἔργον. A gives τὸ ἀδοτοῦ δεκάεργον. The scribe of A has misunderstood an explanatory gloss in his exemplar.

²⁶ The last of these examples could well have a different explanation. Anyway, in the case of the εἶναι compendium, our scribe seems to have learnt how it should be deciphered, since there are no parallel errors in the last two thirds (nine tenths if we exclude the last example) of the text.

²⁷ See Cereteli, [1969], table IV, s.v. εἶναι, number 24.

Also, on one occasion the epsilon slopes backwards in A and so we would expect *παρά* but the rest read *περί*, namely at 85b29. Here too we must recognise that A disagrees with the rest of the tradition. Once, at 11b34, A reads *περί* in full when *παρά* is right.

Whether the ambiguous compendium should be reported as *περί* or as *παρά* is unclear. The best explanation of the difficulty is that, as in the case of *εἶναι* and *αὐτοῦ*, the scribe of this manuscript was himself confused.

4) At one point (99a17 = folio 18^v, line 11) the scribe of A writes the prefix *ἀπο-* is written in an unusual way: . I have not found a precise parallel for this, but it may be a version of the compendium from the same short-hand system that occurred for *αὐτοῦ*. Vat. gr.1809 writes *ἀπό* as  or as .²⁸ Cereteli²⁹ gives examples of a similar form of the abbreviation in a manuscript written in 986.

5) *ὅταν* causes A problems. Instead of *ὅταν* we find *ὅτι* in A at 86a21, 87a25, 08a19, 09b6, and 82b32 where *ὅτι ὅταν* is the correct reading, A just has *ὅτι*.

Laurentianus 81,18 (L)

Brockmann, [1993] 49-50, has shown that L must date to the end of the 12th century, rather than to the previously supposed date of the 14th century. It stems from the scriptorium of Ioannikios.³⁰ This manuscript is the product of three scribes' work, two of whom were involved in M.M.. Orthographical niceties: *έάν* is written as *έάν*. *οὐχ* as *οὐχ*. *οὐθείς* and *μηθείς* become *οὐδείς* and *μηδείς*. Also, where the sense demanded is *αὐτόν*, and the manuscripts are unreliable - more often than not giving *αὐτόν*, L fairly consistently gives *έαυτόν*.

L is badly damaged in places. Some of the damage had occurred before the text was written. On f.87^r there is a hole in the ms. after *δει* (85a39), through which one can read *μα* and *λασσια* from f.88^r (which are parts of the words *μάλλον* (86b30) and *ἀκολασία* (86b32)),

²⁸ Symbols T807, T777, in Chionides/Lilla, [1981].

²⁹ See Cereteli, [1969], table II, s.v. *ἀπό*; and Allen, [1974], plate 2.

³⁰ Cf. Wilson, [1983] and [1991].

and which must have been there when the ms. was written, since the scribe of L has written his text around the hole. But there has also been subsequent damage.

L has omissions not present in the other mss. There are omissions of more than one word at 95a10 οἶον — ἐστί; 98b2 καὶ — ὑπηρετικός; 02a24-6 λέγονθ' — τοῖς; 03b14-16 τάυτας — ἐπιθυμιῶν; 04a25-6 οὐ μόνον — ἡδονῆς; 07b32-4 ἀγαθά — ἀπλῶς. There are changes, made consciously or subconsciously, of words in which the sense is maintained, and where the error is not to be explained palaeographically by the similarity of what was read to what was written. Examples of this are 85b1 ὑπὲρ] περὶ; 86a7 ἐνεχθείη] ἀχθείη; 86b17 μαινομένου] ἐξεστηκότας; 87a18 πράττειν] πρακτά; 88a12 ἀκολουθεῖ] ἐπακολουθεῖ; 91b23 and 94b4 ὑπὲρ] περὶ; 95a21 πολέμιον] ἐχθρὸν; 97b29 σοφίας] φιλοσοφίας; 97b35 τοὺς λόγους] τὰς σκέψεις; 99a31 ποιητικὸν] περιποιητικὸν L; 01b26 γίνεσθαι] εἶναι L; 02b11 ἀκρασία] ἀκολασία L; 02b13 προθύμως] ἐτοίμως L; 03a5 ἐφ'] πρὸς L; 04a29 ὑπὲρ] περὶ L; 04b5 λύειν] διαλύειν L; 06b35 ὑπὲρ] περὶ L, 08b14 ὅμοιον] οἶκει sic L, but there is a hole above the words where the diacritics would be (οἶκεῖον?).

The independence of β

Collation of both A and L has enabled the existence of a manuscript, β, which Brockmann hypothesised, to be confirmed. Brockmann cites eight instances of A and L sharing faults (p.51), and this pattern occurs regularly throughout the text of M.M. To give further examples: 83a6 om. καὶ; 83b26 οἶον + αἶ; 83b31 transp. αὐτῶν post ἕκαστον; 84a10 μόνον] μόνης; 87b36 om. ἐστὶν; 87b39 om. οἶον; 90a6 σφάλλεσθαι] σφάλεσθαι; 92b30 om. τε; 96b26 om. ἄρ'; 97b18 om. τὰ; 99a15 om. οἶον; 02a20 om. οἶον; 04a1 om. ἄρα; 04a27 om. ἡμῖν; 05b15 om. οὐκ; 07a9 om. τῆς; 09b29 τὸ] τοῦτο; 10a27 om. μὲν; 10b29 transp. ἄλλου post ἄν; 11a16 om. νῦν; 11b27 om. ἐστὶν; 12b26 om. καὶ; 13b26 ἦ] ἧ. Both A and L have faults which are not in the other. I have listed above some of the errors of L, namely the peculiar synonymous ones, and also some of the interesting ones in A. Many more can be found in the apparatus.

Brockmann thinks that, whereas Susemihl had thought that there were just two families, in fact there are three. The first had K at the head, the second the twin manuscripts P and C

(from these same manuscripts stems the recensio Messanensis³¹ for the E.E.), while the third is descended from another pair of brothers - A and L. In establishing this third family as independent, Brockmann, [1993] 49, says:

Laur. 81,18 [L] und Ambr. B.95 sup. [A] nehmen eine Mittelstellung zwischen Laur. 81,11 [K] und der Vorlage der beiden Nikolaos-Kodizes (α) ein. Während sie die Charakteristika der *Recensio Messanensis* [α] in der Regel nicht erkennen lassen, insofern also eher Laur. 81,11 [K] verwandt zu sein scheinen, sind sie andererseits frei von zahlreichen Fehlern, größeren und kleineren Auslassungen in K.

In the conclusion to Brockmann's article some doubt is expressed about whether A L do derive from an independent hyparchetype:

Durch vollständige Kollationen ... sollte sich definitiv entschieden lassen... ob Laur. 81,18 [L] und Ambr. B.95 sup. [A], wie ich nach meinen Untersuchungen vorschlage, einen dritten Hyparchetyphen rekonstruieren, oder ob sie enger zu K gehören, also gemeinsam mit [K] auf einen von nur zwei Hyparchetyphen zurückgehen.

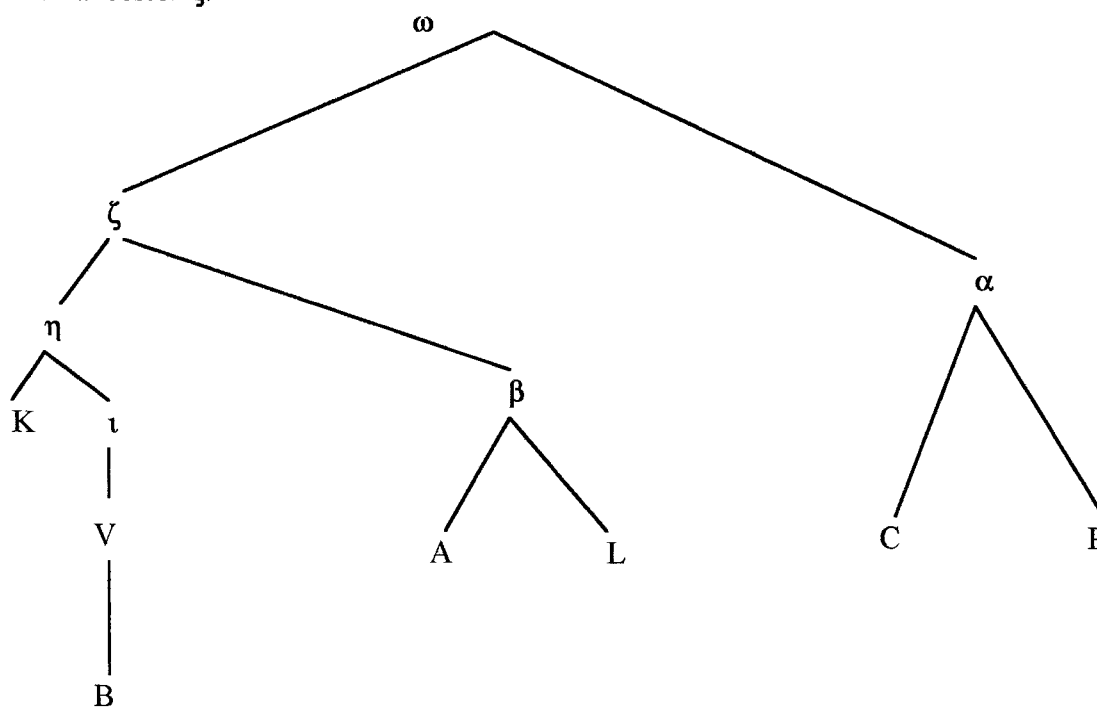
I think that there are a sufficient number of agreements in error between A L and K V to accept the latter hypothesis, that these four manuscripts do descend from one hyparchetype. Susemihl's bias in favour of K means that it is rare that he accepts a reading of C P when K is supported by other manuscripts. Nevertheless, Susemihl rejects the following readings of A L K V/B: 82a5 ἔσται] ἔστι; 83a36 ὅτι] ὡς ὅτι; 83a38 add. φησὶ; 84b37-8 om. καὶ τέλειον τέλος; 86a16 om. καὶ; 87a11 om. δ'; 87b18 add. καὶ; 92a26 συνειδότων] εἰδότων; 92a37 σαλακωνείας] ἀλαζονείας; 92b2 σαλάκων] ἀλαζών; 92b3 σαλάκων] ἀλαζών; 92b15 om. τ'; 92b18 om. ἐπι-; 93b14 om. ὀ²; 93b14 om. ὀ³; 95a25 om. καὶ; 95a33 πίνειν] πιεῖν; 97a28 om. τε; 98a25 διότι] διὰ τὸ; 00a29 om. ἡ²; 00b22 om. καὶ ἐναντιουμένων; 01a11 πότερον] πρότερον; 02a15 add. οὐ; 02a31 om. καὶ; 02a37 om. ἐστίν; 04b16 om. ἐστὶ; 05a6 om. ἡ; 06a31 om. δὲ; 08a1 om. τι; 08a18 om. πρὸς τὸ; 09b26 οὐδ' οὐδὲν; 12a31 ἐστίν] ἔσται.

³¹ See Harlfinger's stemma in his [1971] 30; reprinted in the Walzer/Mingay edition of E.E. (Oxford, 1991), p.ix.

Here we find agreement in error between A L K V.³² Brockmann, acknowledging that the coincidence of errors does not fit his stemma,³³ provided examples of such agreement. To these we can add those places where C P are right but were not thought to be right by Susemihl. e.g. at 02a4-5 A L K V wrongly have ἀπολλαγέντες — εἰσιν; at 03a23 A L K V omit ἡ εὐμόθης; at 05a23 A L K V do not have the name ‘Neleus’.

These readings enable the hypothesis that A L K V are derived from one hyparchetype to be established. No one of these four manuscripts derives from any other of these four, as Brockmann has shown.

η, the common ancestor of K and V, and β, the common ancestor of A and L, each have errors that the other does not. Neither are descended from the other. Let us call their common ancestor ζ.



But this representation of the relationships between the manuscripts cannot be the whole story. It is possible that β, the manuscript from which the shared errors in A and L were inherited, is not an immediate parent of both A and L, or that, if it were, it had undergone correction in the meantime. For A and L diverge in a way that points not to a straightforward brotherly relationship. There are several places where their readings diverge, and a pattern inconsistent with Brockmann's stemma emerges.

³² A few of the readings in A L K V I will defend.

³³ Brockmann, [1993] 52: 'Es gibt jedoch einige Lesarten, die sich diesem Schema nicht recht fügen wollen'.

A L differing in their allegiances to K V

There are important affinities between A L and V (but not K):

i) 93b22 ἀδικεῖν (ἀδικον K); 95a9 τὸ² + τῶ; 95b11 om. δ'; 97a4 τι K] τὸ; 99a30-1 κατ' ἰατρικὴν K] κατὰ τ' ἰατρικὴν A, κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν L V; 01a7-8 ἄτοπὸν τι γὰρ] ἄτοπον γὰρ τι; 01b16 transp. αὐτὸν post ἐστίν; 05a27 om. ἦ; 05b34 om. καὶ; 11a22 βουλόμεθα] βουλοίμεθα.

And between A, L and B (but not K):

ii) 84a29 ἄλλ' om. K; 85a30 κὰν K] καὶ εἰ; 91a33 πλεῖον K, πλησίοι A L, πλεῖστοί B; 93a32 transp. αὐτῶ post ὑπαρχόντων.

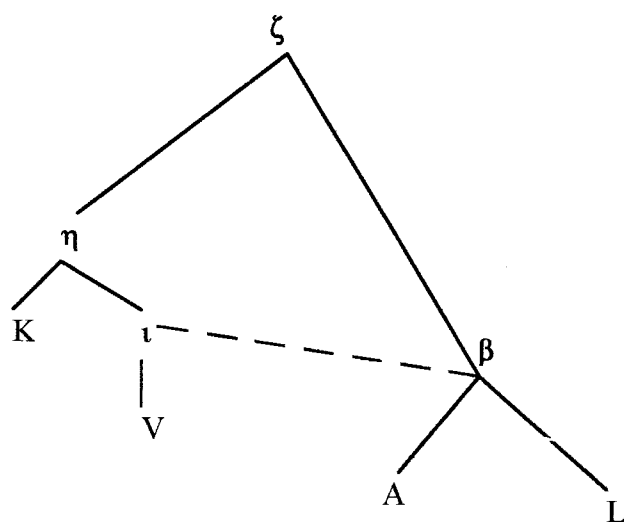
Where this occurs we might be tempted to conclude that the readings derive from ζ, but in some of these cases, namely where C P K are right (95a9, 95b11), we would have to conclude that ζ was right, but that contamination had occurred between, say, β and ι, or between β and η (η would have been corrected after K had been copied from it). How else could K have regained the truth, once ζ had gone wrong? It would be possible to revise the stemma so that β was not copied from ζ, but from ι. Support could be adduced for this thesis from the other links between V/B and either A or L:

A and V share the following errors. 95b24 ἀδικοῖντο] ἀδικῶνται; 98a29 εἰ] ἦ; 01a12 transp. αὐτὸν post ἔχειν (a13); 01a15 οὐκ ἔτι ἔσται] οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι; 04a31 εἴπωμεν] εἶπομεν; 05b8 om. ἦ; 06a26 transp. ποιεῖ post ἐπιστήμη; 11b31 παρὰ] περὶ. We can also suppose that A and V agreed at: 85b20 δὲ] τὲ A B.

L¹ and V¹ share the following errors: 94a29 καὶ τὸ L V] καὶ A K, om. C P; 94b13 om. ἄν; 99a4 om. γε; 00a19 τῆς L V] om. C P A K; 02a23 transp. ποτε post φασι; 02b1 om. ὡς; 03a7 οὖν + οὐ; 05b29 om. ὅτι; 06b24 ὕστερος] ὕστερον; 11a5 ἐστίν] εἰσιν. We can also suppose that L and V agreed at: 82a21 ἄλογον] ἀνάλογον L B; 83a8 om. οὗτ' L B; 86b2 om. καὶ ὁ ἐν L B; 87b36 ἔστιν + μὲν L B; 90a35 κρεῖττον] κρεῖττονα L B; 92b38 πρὸς] εἰς L B.

The following readings are peculiar to A L K: 05a3 om. ἦ; 07a25 om. τὰ; 07a31 ὑπάρξαι] πρῶξαι; 08b9 γὰρ + ὁ; 09b36 transp. κακῶ post γὰρ. And A and K share peculiar readings at: 87b19 ὅτι + καὶ; 94a29 om. τὸ; 04b5 transp. τοῦτον post λύειν.

But the link between A L and V is more significant. It is so significant, indeed, that we are obliged to acknowledge that contamination has happened within the family. The pattern of agreement cannot be explained otherwise. A and L, we have seen, form a unit, and must (at least partly) be derived from a common ancestor, β. But they cannot both have been copied from the same manuscript, in the same state. Their differences point to sporadic contamination from ι:



But even this representation is problematic. There are two further sets of data about the readings of A and L which do not fit this representation. The first involves the C P family; the second involves the sporadic excellence of β.

Contamination between L and the C P family³⁴

The following are examples of L agreeing with C P, against A K V/B:
 83a27 τὰγαθοῦ C P L, ἀγαθοῦ A K B; 84b15 καὶ om. C P L; 89a1 om. δὲ C P L; 89a22-3 om. ἐπεὶ — προαίρεσις C P L; 90a21 καὶ προθετικὸν καὶ ποιητικὸν C P L, καὶ ποιητικὸν καὶ προθετικὸν A K B; 91b24 μὲν habent C P L, om. A K B; 93b9 τελείως] τέλειος C P L; 98a18 add. ἂν post κελεύσειεν A K V; 00a6 προστάττει] πράττει C P L; 00a37 καὶ om. C P

³⁴ There is only one trace of contamination between A and C P: see the apparatus at 95a22.

L; 03b18-9 om. ὀρθόν C P L; 05b7 ἐκάστω C P L] ἐκάστου A K V; 06a27 om. οἱ C P L; 06b23 om. τοῦ C P L; 10a14 post πέδον add. ἦ C P L; 12a19 πρακτοῖς C P L, πρακτικοῖς A K¹ V; 13a27 τὰ habent C P L, om. A K V.

Here we have evidence of contamination between an ancestor of L and the ancestor of C P. There is one further place where L shows dependence on α : At 85b⁹³⁵ Susemihl prints τὰς τοῦ [τὸν] λόγον ἔχοντος. The manuscripts give:

τὰς τὸν λόγον ἐχούσας, τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντας [sic], C,
 τὰς τὸν λόγον ἐχούσας, εὐδεις τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντι P,
 τὰς τὸν λόγον ἐχούσας, L,
 τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος A,
 τὰ τουτὸν λόγον ἔχοντα sic ut vid. K¹,
 τὰς τοῦ, τὸν λόγον ἔχοντας ut vid. K²
 τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος K³

Here, again, L has a reading only found in C and P, while C P seem to have been aware of the A K reading.

These readings further emphasise that A and L cannot simply derive from one manuscript. It appears that contamination between L and C P has occurred. There seems no way of telling for certain which direction the contamination went - in or out of the tradition represented to us by the Sicilian manuscripts, C and P. It may even have happened in both directions. It would be surprising, though, if much influence of L had come into C P, given the number of serious omissions in C P.

Brockmann, [1993] 52-3, gives separate reasons for thinking that contamination between the different traditions may have taken place. He finds places where variants are given in both C and P, and where these variants are written by Nicholas himself. This succeeds in showing that α had variants, and hence that some contamination had taken place between traditions, but the extent to which contamination is present is likely to be more complicated than α being corrected with the help of one manuscript.

³⁵ Unfortunately, in Brockmann's discussion of this passage (p.53n.39) he attributes the reading of P to C, and *vice versa*.

There are two possible explanations of the readings where L agrees contra A with C and P. We could suppose that β had these very readings, and that A was made from two manuscripts - β and, say, ι . However, we have already seen palaeographical evidence for A being copied from a manuscript which was difficult to read. This evidence in itself suggests that A was made from just one manuscript, otherwise where the scribe of A could not read what was in β , he could have looked at another exemplar.

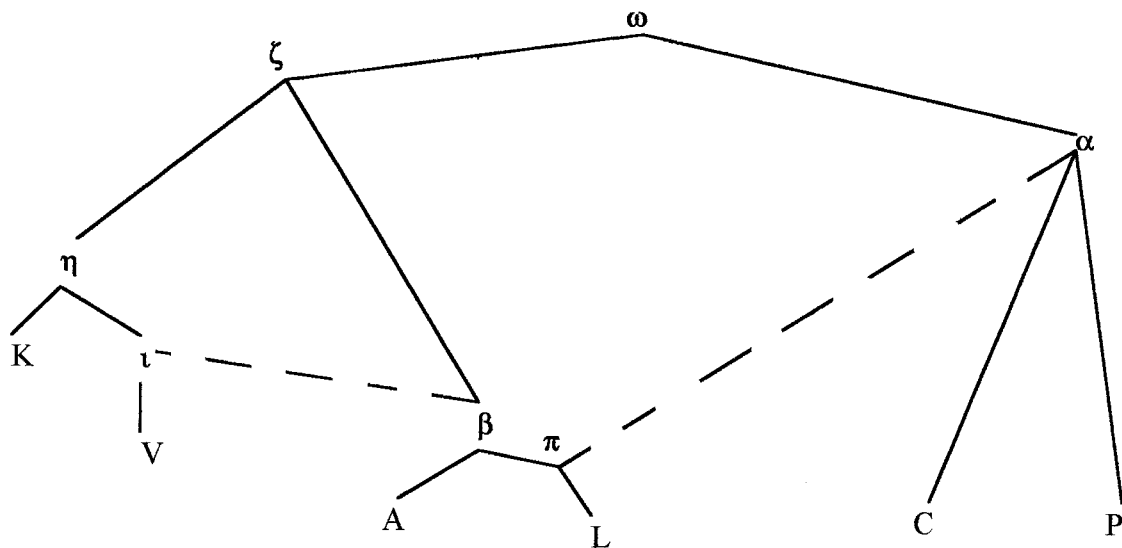
The alternative solution is to see L as the product of contamination between β and α . It is clear from the readings I have listed that β , at least in the form which the scribe of A had it, cannot be the only parent of L. Could we imagine β being corrected with the help of, say, α in order to explain the infusion of readings from the C P family? To imagine β being corrected after A was copied, would be to reverse the dating of A and L. If one of these manuscripts is made after the other, it is A that was made after L. Could α have been corrected from β , and this corrected version have been the parent of L? This possibility is ruled out by the fact that C and P were made after L, and this pair of manuscripts bear little sign of infiltration of readings from β .

We must, I think, posit a manuscript which was made from β , but corrected with the help of α . The next question is whether we have in L itself that contamination taking place, or was it in a now lost manuscript, π ? The omissions listed above and the synonymous substitutions which are characteristic of L suggest that L had only one manuscript as its exemplar. A scribe would have to be braver to over-rule two manuscripts than to over-rule one. This selection of readings, together with a large number of changes in word order, omissions of particles, additions of definite articles and connecting words, have the look not of some scribe carefully trying to establish, via the tradition, the original words of the author, but of a scribe wanting to create a text which would preserve the sense of his original at the expense of accuracy of the wording.

For these reasons, then, I prefer to posit a lost manuscript π and to say that it was in the copying of L from π that most of the 'synonymous' errors listed above³⁶ arose. If anyone is not happy with this reasoning, then for him π is L.

³⁶ p.16.

The positing of π , then, explains how A and L, while sharing many errors, diverge in the ways noted above.



Signs of independence in β?

Notice that on this stemma there is no direct line connecting β to ω . The third family, of which A and L are our only direct witnesses, is no longer independent. Is it right, though, that β was made only from ζ , with later infiltrations from a manuscript like ι ? There are certain readings in A and L which are good and which disagree with the reading found in C P and K V. We must look at these and see whether they are such as must have been inherited or were within the capabilities of a Byzantine scholar.

That we do not have in A L a family solely derived from α and ζ (which is what Susemihl meant when he said that Coislin. was mixti generis) would be ruled out by there being places in the text where good readings are only found in A L, where those readings were not the result of conjecture, but part of the tradition. Already accepted in Susemihl's text are:³⁷ 84b21 καὶ A L, om. C P K B; 87a19 οἱ ψόγοι A L, ψόγοι K B, οἱ ψόγοι οἱ C P; 87b39 om. οἶον A L, habent K B {C P}; 95b36 αὐτὸν A L] αὐτὸς C P K V; 98a15 οὗτοι A L] οὕτως C P K V; 05b14 οὐ A L] om. C P K V, 07b28 om. καὶ¹ A L; 11b27 om. ἐστὶν A L.

A and L, separately or together, also preempt several readings which are mentioned in Susemihl's edition only as conjectures by modern scholars. See 81b25, 82a17, 82a36, 82b19,

³⁷ I ignore cases where Susemihl knew the reading only from Cois., but where V shares the reading: 93b22 ἀδικεῖν A L V] δίκαιον C P, ἄδικον K (Brockmann, [1993] 52, mistakenly quotes the reading ἀδικεῖν in 93b22 as an example of A and L alone being right.); 94a29 add. καὶ τὸ L V] om. C P, καὶ A K.

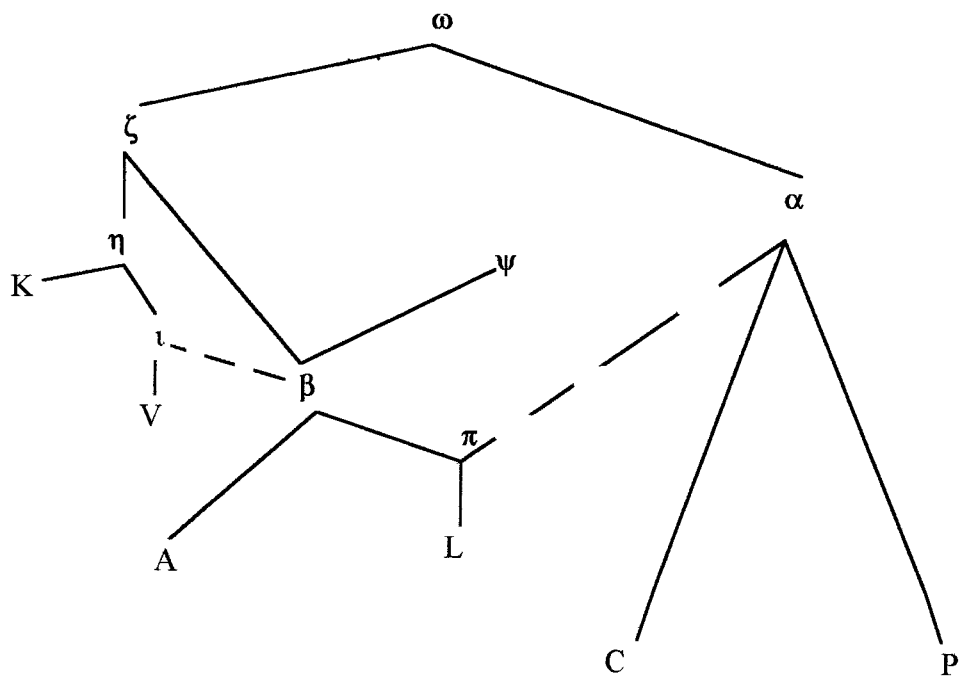
82b19, 91a28, 92a33, 95b25, 97a3, 98a29, 98b6, 02b11, 03b9, 03b18, 03b19, 05a22, 07b24, 11b27, 12a20.³⁸

Where, then, did the good readings come from? At the points where A alone provides the ‘good’ reading, I think it is fair to assume that that reading was in β . We have seen above (pp.13-14) that the scribe of A did not mind writing nonsense. If he was content to write δέκατος where in terms of grammar and sense gibberish was produced, we should reject the hypothesis that such a man would be capable of conjecturing these readings. We can explain their absence in L by saying either that the conjectures in β were made after the copying of π . Similarly, the ‘good’ readings found in A and L were in β . Finally the ‘good’ readings alone found in L are most plausibly explained in the same way that we explained the other idiosyncratic readings of this manuscript (cf. above p.16). The scribes of L had a sometimes dangerous propensity to emend, but nevertheless a certain critical acumen.

We are left, then, with a number of ‘good’ readings in β . How do we explain them? There are three possibilities. First that they are the result of conjecture, secondly that they are inherited from ω (and so the stemma should have, in addition, a line connecting ω to β), and thirdly that they derive from an otherwise lost part of the tradition. The second possibility is ruled out by the fact that K V would err so often in the same way as α - which should not happen by stemmatic principles. But can we believe that a Byzantine textual critic made these changes? None of the good readings that are only in β are so good that a Byzantine scholar could not have proposed them conjecturally.

In the stemma below ψ represents the ingenium of a Byzantine scholar. I do not write ψ into the complete stemma (below p.122).

³⁸ I list these more fully in chapter three.



The claim that the 'good readings' of β were not inherited from the manuscript tradition at all, and that these good readings are the result of conjecture, does not detract at all from the importance of β . It is just a shame that we do not know to whom to attribute the early textual criticism.

THE DESCRIPTI

Brockmann's important work on the manuscript tradition has again been my starting-point. Without his contribution (drawing attention to the important manuscripts, Ambros. B.95, Laur. 81,18, Vindob. Phil. gr.315, and discovering the arrangement of the manuscripts that were copied from the independent manuscripts), the work I have done would have taken much longer. In the Aristoteles Archiv in Berlin I concentrated on studying the descripti, using spot-checks to see if I agreed with Brockmann's findings. My attention focused particularly on Vindobonensis (thought by Brockmann to be descended from K, but I disagree - see pp.8-13), on the line of descent from Vindobonensis to the Aldine, on the ancestry of the Aldine, and on the line of descent from Vaticanus gr.1342 (P) to Venetus 213 (M). Other manuscripts in the stemma were looked at to a lesser extent, but were all examined in parts. My survey of the stemma proposed by Brockmann, therefore, is not equally thorough in the different areas of the stemma. Where I do not mention a manuscript, I am tacitly agreeing with Brockmann about its location in the stemma.

The stemma I print on p.121 below is the same as Brockmann's, except that:

- a) I include on the stemma three manuscripts, the location of which Brockmann argued for (and which I, roughly, agree with) but which were omitted on the stemma printed by Brockmann - Paris 1387, Berol. Ham. 41 and Reginensis 125.
- b) I adopt the changes I propose in this section (the location of the fifteenth century supplement to Vindobonensis, the relationship between Ambros. B.84 sup. and Matr. 4684, an intermediary lost manuscript between Cant. U.L. li. v. 44 (C) and Monacensis gr.635).
- c) I adopt the changes I have proposed about the ancestors of C P A L K V, the independent manuscripts.
- d) I include the Latin translations. Brockmann was principally concerned with the transmission of the Greek.

Interesting parts of the stemma which I am conscious have not been adequately investigated are:

- i) The two manuscripts copied from δ . δ , Brockmann argues (p.55), was copied from Vindobonensis at a time when it was complete. δ was then corrected, and then quite badly

damaged. Paris 1853 and Vaticanus gr.264 thus provide a text full of lacunae where δ was illegible, but it is possible that it retains good readings of Vindobonensis in parts which no longer survive in that manuscript, and where Barb. went wrong. Also, these manuscripts are witnesses to the corrections in δ . It is possible that those corrections were made from a now lost manuscript, or contain valuable conjectures.

ii) The contribution to the text made by Constantine Lascaris.¹ He wrote Matr. 4574 (N.37) and owned Matr. 4684 (N.54). One good reading occurs only in these two manuscripts and in their descendants (and in the Aldine), namely at 1213a15 ἡδιστον, where all other manuscripts give ἡδιστ' ἄν (except Ambros. B.84 which has ἡδιστ' ἄν). This will have originated in θ . It is possible that there are further places in Lascaris' manuscripts which would provide us with other good conjectures.

iii) Identification of the authors of the corrections in P. Susemihl, who spent more time looking at the manuscript than me (I collated it from microfilm and checked some readings in Rome) says that the identification of the hands is difficult: 'diversas has manus ubique et inter se et ab ipsius librari correctionibus recte discernere difficile neque omnino, si quid video, operae pretium est'.² The identification of the hands is not a pressing concern, but it would be nice to be able to work out who wrote what and where the reading came from. We would learn not about the text of the M.M. but about the whereabouts of manuscripts (the corrective manuscript must have been in the same room as the corrected manuscript at the time that the corrections were made), and it could be that such information would be important in the analysis of the stemmatic relationship between other texts in either of those manuscripts. Further, we could learn about the ability of the corrector if we knew what he read; we could evaluate his choice of readings - does he improve the text or make it worse? By looking at the work of correctors, known and unknown, we can learn about the capabilities of renaissance scholars.

iv) Better knowledge of Bartholomew of Messina's Latin translation. I have heard from Christine Pannier that she was close to completing such an edition under the auspices of Aristoteles Latinus in Louvain, Belgium, but that the project has come to a temporary halt.

¹ See Brockmann, [1993] 71.

² Susemihl, [1881] 3.

(See p.70n.36.)

v) Further knowledge of the texts of the de bona fortuna. (See pp.71-86)

vi) Manetti's translation. (See p.88)

The descendants of Laur. 81,11 (K)

Mut. α. P.6.10. (88)

Brockmann, [1993] 62, argues that this manuscript was copied from Laur. 81,11 (K).

This is correct. It is the only manuscript that we know of to have been made from K.

Agreement in error between K and Mut. can be seen at 93b3 προστάττει] πράττει K¹ Mut., κελεύει in mg. K², in mg. γρ. κελεύει Mut.; 93b22 ἀδικεῖν] ἀδικον; 95a8 οὔτω] οὐ; 95b17 οὐδ' ἐκὼν ἄρα; 96b14-5 λόγον...μόριον] λόγον ἔχοντος μορίου η Mut. (but V was corrected before Barb. 75 was copied (13th century), i.e. before Mut. was made), 98a2 τελέως] τόδε ὡς; 98a2 οὔσαι + in mg. οἶον σωφροσύνη ἢ ἀνδρεία K² Mut.; 98a37 δὲ] δὲ καὶ; 03a6-7 om. οὔτω — ἀκρατής; 03b9 ἀν ἰάσαιτο (Casaubon)] ἀνείσαιτο; 05b7 ἴδιον] ἠδίστη; 13b27 δὴ (Bonitz)] δὲ.

New faults which arise in Mut.: 88a20-1 om. ἀκούσιον — ἐπιθυμίαν, suppl. in mg. librarius ipse; 91a8 Ἐκτορα] ἄγγιον (ut vid.) in linea sed γρ. Ἐκτορα in mg.; 92b5 οἶδ] δ' οἶδ; 92b6 τοῦτο] τούτον; 94a13-4 om. τῶ — ὁμοίως; 97a25-6 om. καὶ τὰ — τὰς ἀρχάς; 00b14 om. κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐστὶ, suppl. in mg.

Mut. has also been corrected sparsely: 88a6 γρ. φασὶ in mg. Mut. (a reading not known in other manuscripts); 92b5 οὐ ante μεγαλείως (μὴ omissio K Mut.) add. in mg. Mut.; 96b15 λόγον] εὐλόγον Mut. K, but a corrector has changed this to ἐν λόγον (with α β V²); 98b16 ἐκκλείηται in linea, ἐκλύηται in mg. (a reading in L); 00a23 ποιοίη in linea, sed γρ. ποιήσει Mut. (unknown reading), 13a18 μανθάνομεν Mut.¹, corr. Mut.² (a correction that appears in V and in P).³

This evidence is consistent with Brockmann's discovery. The strangest reading is the one at 91a8 where we do not get Ἐκτορα - a word which is perfectly clear in K. It is possible that there was an intermediary manuscript between K and Mut., but even such a supposition

³ Further readings of Mut. are given in my discussion of Valla's translation of M.M. pp.95-7, below.

would not explain how ἄγγιον arose. On the present evidence Mut. was copied from K, as Brockmann says. I only record its readings in the apparatus at 12a20 and 13a18.

The descendants of Vindobonensis (V)

Paris 1387

Brockmann, [1993] 57n.46, asserts without providing evidence that this manuscript is copied from Vaticanus gr.264. I have verified this. The seven separate faults of Vaticanus which Brockmann notes (p.56) are all repeated in Paris 1387, with the exception of 94b4 δίκαιον — δὲ καὶ which cannot be read in Paris 1387 on the microfilm. Further separate faults which originate in Vaticanus and are repeated in Paris 1387 are: 85a3 ἐστι] ἔσται; 85a23 τούτου] τούτω; 98a2 προαιρέσει] προαιρέσεις; 05b19 ταύτας τε] ταύ + spatium; 07b18 om. οἶον ἀρτίως, spatio relicto (Paris 1853 has οἶον ὡς); 07b19 om. τοσαῦτα ἐπειδή, habent solum ταῦ + spatium (Paris 1853 has ταῦτα εἰ); 10a19 om. τοσαύτην spatio relicto (Paris 1853 has τοιαύτην); 10b27 om. φιλίας² spatio relicto (habet Paris 1853).

Examples of new faults in Paris 1387: 85a3 γὰρ¹] δ'; 85a23 om. εἴποι; 85b8 ἐπαινεταῖ] αἰπαινεταῖ sic; 10a1 ἄλλους ποιοῦνται om., spatio relicto, Paris 1387, om. ποριοῦνται Vat. gr.264.

The corrections in Vindob.

V only survives from 1193b19-1213b5. In this part of the text there are many corrections. Barb. 75, one of the manuscripts copied from V, incorporates most of the corrections made to V, but δ did not (Brockmann, [1993] pp.54, 57). (There are occasional instances of B not incorporating corrections in V e.g. at 94a39, 98b37, 02a15, 03a28, 12b4.) We can thus date the corrections, if they were all made at the same time, to the period between δ and Barb. being made.

Can we tell what manuscript was used to make the corrections to V? No single manuscript can account for all the corrections in V. There are, indeed, several corrections in V for which we have no other authority (excepting manuscripts which are derived from V):

94a32, 94b37, 96b14-5, 96b19, 98b37, 99b33-4, 01a24, 01b7, 02a22, 02a29, 05a21, 07a11,⁴ 07b1, 10a22, 12b13, 12b13, 12b14, 12b36. Of these, the readings at 96b14-5, 96b19, 99b33 and 01b7 are accepted by Susemihl, who knew them only from the Aldine.

Most of the corrections in V could have been made from any manuscript. For example, the mistake of writing εἰς where πρὸς is right is corrected six times in lines 93b39-94a22, the ἔσται/ἔσθι confusion⁵ is rectified at 94b29. The interesting cases are where the corrections can be pinned down to one particular family. It is to α that the connection is closest e.g. at 94b12, 00a29, 01a11, 01b7, 05a21, 08a18, 11a24.⁶ And, even more specifically, it is to readings found in P rather than C that the corrector in V had access at 12b4 (P β) and 13a18 (P² D). If the corrector of V had access to P, then the following corrections could also be explained, even though the readings are found in manuscripts other than P: 94a22 (α A), 94a35 (α A), 95b24 (α L K), 96b36 (α L K), 01a14 (α A), 01b7 (α A), 03a13 (α A K), 03b16 (α A), 03b22 (α K²), 04b18 (α β), 05b29 (α A), 05b34 (α K), 08a32 (α A K), 10a12 (α A K), 10b23 (α A K²). If V and P were in the same room at the end of the thirteenth century, this would explain the infusion of readings into V. Also this would explain how Bartholomew could have readings from both P and V. For we know that P was copied in Messina at about the time that Bartholomew who was born in Messina, rendered M.M. into Latin.⁷

But there are a number of places where V² does not agree with P:

V² agrees with β K at: 93b37

V² agrees with β at: 94a23, 00b15, 02a15, 08b34, 12a17, 12a26, 12b37

V² agrees with L at 98a2

V² agrees with K at 99b36, 01a24

V² agrees with C¹ at 09a13

I conclude that V was corrected from two manuscripts, P and L, or from manuscripts close to these. Only the last three readings mentioned are problematic on this hypothesis. Not

⁴ But Bf agrees with V.

⁵ See above p.10.

⁶ We can presume that at points where V no longer survives certain corrections had been made. At 88b18, 90b9, 92a3, 92b5 and 92b32 B has readings which we would not expect the first hand of V to have had - readings that appear in α, and which were probably corrections from α in V.

⁷ See pp.66-7.

all the corrections had manuscript authority, and those that did not we should treat as conjectures.

Barberinianus gr.75 (B)

Brockmann is right to see the relationship between V and B as that of father to son. The only passages where both B and V survive is 1193b19-1200a32 and 1207a26-13b5. They share errors for example at 94b31 μεταπέσοντα] μετατρεπτά; 99a4 om. γε; 99a5 om. ὄντα; 99a26 ἀγαθὸν] τάγαθὸν; 99a28 om. καὶ — ἀγαθὸν; 99b16 τούτων] τούτω; 00a23 τοῦτο οὐκ] οὐ τοῦτο; 08a9 post οὖν add. τὸ V B; 09a2 ὥστε] ἔστι δὲ; 09b25 οὐ] οὐδὲ; 11a11 om. ἐν; 13a29 om. δὴ; 13b1 post ἂν add. καὶ.

The following errors arise in B: 93b31 ἐγγίνεται] ἐγίγνεται; 94a5 om. μὴ; 94b12 οὐδὲ] οὔτε; 94b34 γε] γάρ; 95a4 νομίσωμεν] νομίσομεν; 95a26 ἀδικήσει] ἀδικήσοι; 95b5 om. δὴ; 96b26 om. τὰ; 96b28 αἰσθητὰ] ἐσθητὰ; 97b26 πορίσαι] πορίσασθαι; 97b34 om. καὶ; 98a15 πράξει] πράξει B (πράξη V); 98a28 ἂν] ἐν V, om. B K; 00a3 ἐλέσθαι] λέγεσθαι; 07a27 om. ὁ εὐτυχῆς; 07b20 om. καὶ; 08a11 ἔσται] ἂν V, ἐστὶ B; 08a17 ἐπιτελεῖν] ἐπιμελεῖν; 08a23 πυρέττοντι] πυρέσσοντι B¹ (πυρρέτοντι V); 08b15 ἄλλοις] ἄλλος; 08b31 om. δὴ; 08b33 om. δὴ; 09a20 om. καὶ B A¹; 09a34 om. καὶ; 09b22 φίλοι] φαῦλοι; 10b23 τάγαθὸν] τάγαθοῦ V¹, corr. V², τάγαθὰ B; 12b24 δ' ἂν] τ' ἂν; 12b32 διάξει] διάξει. One interesting error in B is a nonsensical comma after τὴν in 12a15 - the source of this error will have been the extra high placing of the smoothe breathing over Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ in the line below in V.

B incorporates in linea corrections in V at 97b1, 97b16-17, 98a2, 98b36-7, 99b33, 08a15, 12b14. Others B leaves in the margin (08b25), and others are s.l. (94a23)

But there are odd anomalies - readings which B has right, where V went wrong: 94a29 πεπονθὸς V, ἀντιπεπονθὸς B; 94b39 ἀριστερὰ² om. V, habet B (with α β K²) sed B hoc verbum ante οὔσα scripsit; 98a25 καὶ V P², om. B (with α β K); 09a7 ἦδεῖ V, ἦδὸ B (with C² P²); 99a15 ἦ V, ἦ B; 08a31 ἀρά] ἄρα V, ἀρα B; 09a19 τὸ V, ὁ B (with all other independent mss.); 11a38 τὸ V, τῶ B (with β K²); 12b20 διὸ V, δι' ὁ B (with K D).⁸ Of these

⁸ At 05a6 B no longer survives, but V had written οὐκ ἔτι instead of οὐκ ἔστι and Paris 2024 has οὐ ἔστι correctly. This passage could well be another example of B improving on V (but it might also be the case that B shared the error with V).

readings, most are improvements which could have been made conjecturally, but the addition of ἀριστερὰ in 94b39 is suspicious - it looks as though a correction has been misunderstood. I am not convinced, though, that we need to posit an intermediary manuscript between V and B.

The passages where we no longer have V (1181a24-93b19, 1213b5-30) are also of interest. Here it is not possible yet⁹ to tell which of the more obvious mistakes were inherited and which occurred for the first time in B.¹⁰ I record all readings of B where it is the only witness that I have looked at to V. Mistakes occur frequently - see my apparatus at 82a31, 82b15, 82b29, 82b32 etc. Sometimes B has a reading which we would not expect the first hand of V to have had. At such places V may have been corrected (cf. my apparatus at 82a21, 83a8, 83a12, 84a29 etc. and n.6 above).

B appears to have made the same mistake twice - at 00a3, where V survives and has ἐλέσθαι, B has λέγεσθαι; and at 87a9, where V does not survive, but the other manuscripts which do not derive from B give ἔλοιτο, B has λέγοιτο.

Thrice in quick succession B has ἀνὰ μέσων where all the mss., except V which does not survive at this point, have ἀνὰ μέσον: 92b36, 93a15, 93a24. At 91b24 B correctly has ἀνὰ μέσον, at 92b30 the crucial last letters are illegible. At 06a18 and 06a20 V has ἀνὰ μέσον correctly, but B does not survive.

Readings of B, which are first attested in B and are accepted by Susemihl occur at 94b12, 96b16, 07b20, 10a13.

Paris 2024 (24)

Paris 2024 was copied from B, Brockmann argues (pp.59-60). Most of the readings I surveyed in Paris 2024 are consistent with this hypothesis. Additional examples of errors that arise in Paris 2024 are: 94a1 om. πολλὰ — κεκτημένον; 95a20 οἰόμενος] εἰόμενος; 95a33 πίνειν] πιεῖν B, ποιεῖν 24; 97a11 πρακτὰ] πρακτικά; 97b1 ἐκείνω] ἐκεῖνος; 97b6 χείρων] χείρον; 07a31-2 om. καὶ — εὐτυχία; 08a5 om. δὲ; 08a10 λογιστικὸν] λογικὸν; 09b8 φίλοι P²] καὶ φίλος 24, φίλος ω; 13b17 om. καὶ.

⁹ Further examination of Paris 1853 and Vat. 264 will allow more certainty.

¹⁰ See above, pp.10-12, for some mistakes in B that originated in characteristic mistakes of V.

Where B does not survive (00a31-07a26), Paris 2024 has some errors which I have not been able to check (by looking at other descendants of B) to see if they were inherited from B: 00b15 om. μὲν; 01a32 ἐπὶ] ἐπεὶ; 01b27 ὑπὸ ταύτην] ὑπ' αὐτήν η, ἐπ' αὐτήν 24; 03a12 om. τὰ; 03b29 om. καὶ; 04a22 -χετραίνοντες; 04a28 διωρίσαμεν; 05b24 καθεστηκυίας] -υῖαι; 05b26 om. ὅτι; 07a16 om. καὶ 24 L.

Once (at 01b6) Susemihl follows a reading of 24 against the independent mss. But the question is only of the orthography of οὐθέν.

Just occasionally Paris 2024 shares readings with mss. other than B: 84b22 transp. τοῖνον post τοῦτο 24 β ε; 86b20 ἐστὶ] εἶναι K 24, ἐστὶ B¹ del. B²; 88a38 transp. τοῖνον post ἄν 24 L; 89b6 πρακτοῖς B] πρακτικοῖς 24 α; 96a28 ἀδίκημα, τῶν B] ἀδικημάτων η 24; 98a2 τελέως 24 P A, τέως B; 09a13 συμφέρων B] συμφέρον 24 V² C¹ D.

Certainly, Paris 2024 is descended from B. Brockmann cites the omission at 87b9-10 in 24 which constitutes a complete line in B. To this one can add that at 93b18 B writes the word καὶ as κ', and this becomes κατὰ in Paris 2024. Standardly, B writes κατὰ with the common abbreviation: κ'. At 94a38 Barb. correctly gives ἀντεκκοπήναι, but directly above the τ of this word is the iota subscript from ἐλευθέρω. Here 24 mistakes the iota subscript for an apostrophe and writes the nonsensical ἀντ' ἐκκοπήναι. At 07a31-2 Paris 2024 omits καὶ — εὔλογον which is a complete line in Barb.

The next section will provide evidence for there having been a manuscript between B and 24.

The fifteenth century supplements to Vindob. (1181a24-93b19, 1213b5-b30) (v)

Brockmann says that the supplement belongs to the branch of the tradition Vindob. to Berol.¹¹ Could the supplements have been made from the original Vindob., at a time when that manuscript was still just readable but in a bad state of repair? Seeing that parts of the manuscript were damaged, a librarian could commission a copy of the tattered start and end, and then the fresh version could be bound into the old manuscript. Certainly, the readings of the new parts of V are from the same family as the old part - are, that is, in the descendance

¹¹ 'Die Supplemente in Vind. aus dem 15. Jh. gehören auch in diesen Überlieferungszeit [Vindob. to Berol.], sie scheinen unbeeinflusst von der Fehlern zu sein, die erst nach Barb. 75 auftauchen.' [1993] 58n.48.

of the original Vindob.

It shares errors with Barb.: it has ἄν instead of ἔσται, and κατὰ or εἰς instead of πρὸς, the hallmarks of this part of the stemma.¹² B and v agree also at: 82a31 ἐφήψαντο] ἤψαντο; 82b15 om. τὸ¹; 82b29 οὐδεμίας] οὐ μιᾶς; 82b32 ὅτι ὅταν] ὅτ' ἄν; 83a5 τούτω] τοῦτο; 83a34 οὐχ] οὐ γάρ; 83b19 ἐπεὶ δ'] ἐπειδὴ; 84a11 transp. πολλῶν post προσδεόμεθα; 84a25 οὕτω πως] οὕτως; 84a29-30 transp. ἄν τις post ὀρθῶς; 84a37 om. ὁ; 84b5 transp. διώριστα post ἀγαθὰ; 85a5 ὅσον] ὄν; 85b5 μὲν] μὲν γάρ; 85b18-20 om. ἐπὶ τε — τε ὡσαύτως (corr. B²); 86a2 ᾧ] ὁ; 86a6 om. οὖν ἄνω; 86a19 οὕτω] οὗ; 86b5 om. ἦ²; 86b8 om. οὔση; 86b33 ἐπέσκεπται] ἐπισκεπτεόν; 87a9 ἔλοιτο] λέγοιτο; 87b8 om. τῶν ἄλλων; 87b13 ἀφ'] ἐφ'; 88a15 om. οἱ — ἀδικοῦσιν; 88a22 οὐδ' ἄρα] οὐδὲ παρὰ; 88b3-4 om. ἔστι — κάτω (corr. B²); 89a5 γε] τὲ B, τε v; 90a32 θη (Bekker)] θεις; 90b9 om. ἐστίν; 91a17 ἀνδρεῖον] ἀνδρείων; 91a33 πλησίον (Bekker)] πλεῖστοί; 91a36 om. οὖν; 91b4 om. τις; 92a6 om. ἄρα; 92b26 ὁ ἐπιχαιρέκακος] ἐπιχαιρεκάκω; 93a8 πάντως] πάντας; 93a10 om. καὶ ἃ δεῖ; 93b2-3 transp. ἐστὶ post νόμον; 13b27 δὴ (Bonitz)] γάρ; 13b29 χρήσασθαι B² v.

At no point does v get right what B gets wrong. This is sufficient to show that v was not made from the old (now lost) V, since B will have made some errors that were not in V.

v has bad readings unknown in B, 24, London, Laur. 81,13, Pal.148, Urb.43.: 82b17 om. τοῦ, 83a28 καίτοι] καὶ τι, 83b7-8 om. διὸ — τὰγαθοῦ (coincidentally with α), 83b35 om. ὅλως, 13b17 τῆ... ὀρμη] τῆς... ὀρμῆς.

Other errors in v, but not in B: 82a30 κἀκείνω] κἀκεῖνο; 82b11 ἀλλ' ὡς] ἀλλῶς; 83a22 αὖ τῆς] αὐτῆς; 83b37 εἶ τι] ἔτι; 83b38 τὰγαθὰ] ἀγαθὰ; 84a10 om. μὲν; 84a13 transp. τέλειον post τέλος; 84a19 δὴ] δὲ; 84a33 om. ἄν; 84b4 εἶ τι] ἔτι; 84b14 om. δὲ; 85a19 om. δὲ (suppl. v²); 85a22 transp. οὐθὲν post ἔχομεν; 85b1 om. οὖν; 85b23 ποιήσης] ποιήσει; 85b31 om. δὲ; 86a5-6 κάτω φέρεσθαι] καταφέρεσθαι; 86a9 transp. τοίνυν post τοῦτο; 86a17 μὲν + οὖν; 86a20 μέσως] μέσον; 86b2 περιέχεται] περιέρχεται; 86b18 ἀντιτιθέται; 86b38 ἦδη] ἦδει; 87a11 εἶ + οἱ; 87a23 transp. τοιαύτην post τινὰ; 87a26 ψέγομεν + μὲν; 87a32 γὰρ + τὰ; 87b4 ἀνθρώπου] ἀνθρώποις; 88a3 om. δὲ; 88a6 ἐπὶ] ἐπεὶ; 88a13 om. ὁ; 88a18 τὰ] καὶ; 88a21 παρὰ] περὶ; 88a31 ὅτι + τὰ; 88b8 δ' ἐν] δὲ; 88b13 ἐν] ἄν (sic); 88b31 ὄντος] ὄντως; 88b38 πίπτει] ἐπίπτει; 89b9 τὸ δὲ] τό τε B, τό γε v; 89b10 οὕτ' ἄν; 90a21 om. καὶ

¹² See above, pp.10-12.

προθετικὸν; 90a23 om. ἦ; 90a33 om. ἀρετῆς; 90b16 οὐδ' ἐν] οὐδὲν; 90b24 οἴδοσι] εἶδοσι;
 90b24 om. τόπω — τοιούτω; 90b34 ἀπειρίαν] ἐμπειρίαν; 91a35 ἀπέχειν] ἀπέχει; 91b1 om.
 τῆς²; 91b28 om. ἕξις; 91b37 μέσως] μέσος (with D); 91b38 om. ἦ; 92a7 om. εἰς; 92a23 om.
 τῶν²; 92a37 ἔστι + ὁ; 92b14-15 μεγαλοπρεπῶς] μεγαλοπρεπῆς πῶς; 92b26 τοῦ] τὸ; 92b37
 om. γὰρ; 93a14 σκόπτειν] σκόπτειν; 93a16 πάντως] πάντων; 93a26 αὖ] ἄν; 93a29 δὴ] δὲ
 (with C D); 93b18 om. τὴν²; 13b12 om. δὲ.

These data are consistent with v being made from B, or from any of B's descendants. But v is not descended from B because at 85b18-20 v omits ἐπί τε — τε ὡσαύτως ex homoeot. Strange things had happened in B at the same point: initially b18-19 ἐπί τε — σιτίων ὡσαύτως had been omitted, but the scribe realised his error and put the omitted words in the margin. More importantly for our purposes, folio 96^v in B ends with φθείρεται (b19) and the sentence continues at the top of the facing page, 97^r. So, for someone copying B, the omission which v makes is not naturally explained. Not only is the prominent supplement in the margin ignored, but the scribe's eye jumps from the bottom of one page to the top of another. Further, the agreements in error with Paris 2024, listed below, are unexplained if v and 24 were both made independently but directly from Barb.

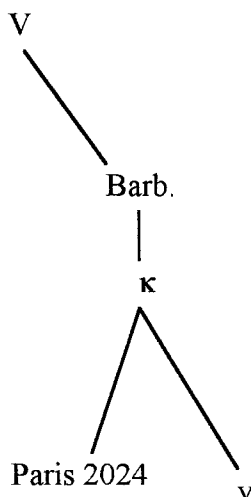
v is not descended from Paris 2024 because it does not share all its errors: 84a20 αὐτοῦ B v] αὐτῆς 24; 86a30 B has κατὰ instead of πρὸς², but above the line the scribe has written πρὸς. 24 has κατὰ too, but v has πρὸς κατὰ - an error which stems from B, not 24. 88a38 transp. τοίνυν post ἄν 24, non transp. B v, 13b17 καὶ om. 24, habent B v.

But v does share some errors with Paris 2024 that are not in B: 84b22 transp. τοίνυν post τοῦτο; 86b20 ἐστι] εἶναι; 86b23 ἄρα ἢ Barb.² (non legitur Barb.¹)¹³] ἦν; 89b6 πρακτοῖς] πρακτικοῖς; 89b20-1 om. ὅτι — Ἀρχικλέους; 90a1 βουλευέσθαι] βούλεσθαι; 90a8 om. ἦ; 90a13 προθῆται] πρόθεται; 93a18 om. ἄν; 93b13 om. τὰ; 93b18 καὶ τὴν] κατὰ τὴν.

This suggests that there was an intermediary manuscript between B and 24, and from this lost intermediary not only was Paris 2024 copied but also the new part of v. This would explain why v shares some but not all errors of Paris 2024. It would also explain the omission at 85b18-20: in the intermediary manuscript the supplement in B was incorporated into the

¹³ Here it is likely that the scribe of V used a large epsilon-figure set at an angle of 45 degrees, as an abbreviation for ἄρα. See above p.12. But note that by 10a4 Barb. can correctly have ἄρα, where V has the same compendium that had caused difficulties earlier.

text and the whole passage appeared in such a way that an omission ex homoeot. becomes an understandable error for the scribe of v.



In Paris 2024 there is an omission (at 87b9-10) of a complete line in Barb. This will have happened when Barb. was copied, and so will have occurred in the intermediary manuscript, κ. But v does not share the omission. If we are right to postulate κ, then we must also suppose that κ was corrected here between the time 24 was made and v was made.

Berol. Hamil. 41

Brockmann does not include this manuscript on his stemma. But he argues that it was made from V after it had been supplemented, [1993] 57n.48. Berol. was made in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It shares the faults of V (e.g. ἔσται] ἄν often; 95b27-8 om. τὰ φαῦλα — ἄρα αὐτὸς αὐτὸν; 99a28-9 om. καὶ τὸ — ἀγαθὸν²; 11a18-19 om. τὸ — ἕκαστα), but does not share the special readings of B (e.g. 97b26 πορίσασθαι, 00a3 λέγεσθαι), as Brockmann notes. Berol. has no affinity to δ: the bad readings of Vaticanus 264 and Paris 1853 which Brockmann lists (p.55) at 95b2, 98a2, 99a14-15 are not also in Berol.

The evidence therefore points to Berol. being copied from V. But what state of repair was V in? At three places (97b16-7, 98b36-7, 12a25-6) there is no trace in Berol. of the supplementations of large omissions in V. At 08a15 a corrector in V changed the mistaken τοῦτ' of the first hand to τότ', but Berol. still has τοῦτ'. In the same line the corrector of V added εἶδ after ἐροῦμεν, the extra word is not to be found in Berol. This is strange because these corrections to V are incorporated into Barb. 75, a manuscript copied over a hundred

years before Berol. Two explanations present themselves: either the scribe of Berol., Demetrios Sguropoulos, ignored the corrections in V, or there was an intermediary between Berol. and V. That lost intermediary would have been copied before the corrections were made to V. The second explanation is at first sight preferable because the corrections are good and are clear. Why pass them over?

Before deciding between these two options, let us look at the start of the text. Berol. shares some of the special readings of v:

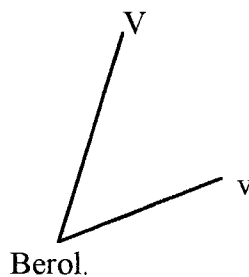
82a16 εἶπεν v¹] εἶπειν v² Berol.; 82b7 om. τοῦ; 83b37 εἶ τι] ἔτι; 83b38 τὰγαθὰ] ἀγαθὰ; 84a10 om. μὲν; 84a19 δὴ] δὲ; 84a33 om. ἄν; 84b14 om. δὲ; 84b33 om. ἡ¹; 85a22 transp. οὐθὲν post ἔχομεν; 85b1 om. οὖν; 85b23 ποιήσης] ποιήσει; 85b31 om. δὲ; 86a9 transp. τοίνυν post τοῦτο; 86a20 μέσως] μέσον; 86b2 περιέχεται] περιέρχεται; 86b18 ἀντιτιθέναι] ἀντιτιθέται; 86b38 ἦδη] ἦδει; 87a23 transp. τοιαύτην post τινα; 87a26 ψέγομεν + μὲν v in linea, s.l. Berol.; 87b4 ἀνθρώπου] ἀνθρώποις; 88a2 ἐπὶ δὲ] ἐπειδ' ἄν.

Since the corrections in V were made before v was made (for Barb. is aware of the first, but read an intact V, i.e. before v had to be made), the argument above that it is unlikely that a scribe would ignore the corrections in V must be wrong. Therefore we are not yet obliged to posit an intermediate manuscript between V/v and Berol.

But v makes errors not in Berol.: 82b11 ἀλλ' ὡς] ἀλλῶς; 84a13 transp. τέλειον post τέλος; 84b4 εἶ τι] ἔτι; 86a2 ἐθίζεσθαι] αἰθίζεσθαι; 86a11 ἕξεις] ἕξις; 87a31 τοιαύτης] τοιαύτοις.

And Berol. has separate faults, which rule out its being the parent of v (or of any other known manuscript) - for these errors are peculiar to it: 82a8 εἰδέναι] εἶναι; 82a24 τὸ] τὸν; 82a30 οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ (with L); 82a30 τοῦτω] τοῦτο; 82a33 om. τι; 82b10 om. ἐστίν; post ὑπάρχον add. ἐν; 82b25 om. ὅτι (with α); 83a12 τὸ πότε] τί ποτε; 83a29 om. γε; 83b3 om. δὲ.

Berol. was made from the newly compounded manuscript V and v, and occasionally used another manuscript as a second exemplar. This would explain how Berol. can sometimes be better than v, while more frequently repeat the errors of v.



Laur. 81,13

This was copied from Paris 2024 (Brockmann, [1993] 60-1). Additional examples of errors which these two manuscripts share are: 95a4 νομίσωμεν] νομίσομεν; 95a20 οίόμενος] εϊόμενος; 95a33 πίνειν] ποιεῖν; 01b27 ὑπὸ ταύτην] ἐπ' αὐτήν; 04a22 οὐκ] οἶκ sic; 04a28 διωρίκομεν] διωρίσομεν; 04b22 πειῖν 24², Pal. 148, London², Urb.] ποιεῖν 24¹ London¹, Laur. 81,13; 04b22 οὐκ εἰσὶ] οὐκ ἔτι; 07a31-2 om. καὶ — εὐτυχία.

New errors in Laur. 81,13: 95a38 δ' ἦ] δη sic; 95b10-11 om. παραχωροῦσι — ἔχειν¹; 04a21 om. ζῆν; 04a31 ἄ] οἶ; 04b10 πειῖν Paris 2024, London] ποιεῖν (coincidentally with Urb., Pal. 148); 04b12 post καὶ add. ἦ (coincidentally with C and Rav.); 04b34 om. τι; The only problematic place I have found is at 04b26 where Paris 2024 (and London, Urb. and Pal.148) wrongly has ὡς, but Laur. 81,13 is right in giving ὦν.

The descendants of Laur. 81,18 (L) and Ambr. B 95 sup. (A)

Susemihl used Cois. 161 for his edition. He thought that it was of mixed descent¹⁴ but included it in his first family, Π¹, the family with K in it. Brockmann, however, thinks that this manuscript and its brother, Paris 2023, are part of the new third family, that they are both descended from ε.

ε

I have collated Paris 2023 (D) and checked certain readings of Cois. 161, which appear from Susemihl's collation to provide difficulties for the hypothesis that Cois. was made from ε.¹⁵ Was ε made from A and L? Generally, Cois. and D share the readings of A or L: 86a32

¹⁴ See below, p.50n.23.

¹⁵ Brockmann, [1993] 63n.66, notes only one place where the readings of Coislin. provides a difficulty for his

λύποι] λύπη A D Cois., λύπη L; 95a21-2 μέν τι L D Cois.] μέντοι cett.; 07a30 τῶ] τὸ L D Cois.; 07a33 λαβεῖν² + καὶ L D Cois.; 13a9 ἀλλ' ἀλλὰ τῆς L D Cois. Or of both: 87a28 post οὖν add. καὶ; 87b39 om. οἶον; 93b34 habent ἔν; 95a34 habent καὶ; 96b2 om. μὲν; 97b18 om. τὰ; 98a15 οὗτοι A L D Cois.] οὕτως cett.; 11b27 om. ἐστίν.

New errors that occurred in ε include 92b5 δεῖ] δὴ D Cois.; 96b10 om. ἐστίν D Cois.; 97b35 ἀλλοτρίως] ἀλλοτρίως L, ἀλλοτρίους D Cois.; 03a7 ἄν om. D Cois.

Corrections in ε

There are, however, places where D and Cois. share a reading which is better than that found in A/L. These must be corrections that were made in ε.

83a6 καὶ om. β] habent D Cois. α η; 85a10 καθεύδοι ζ] καθεύδει D Cois. α; 86a34 ἡδοναὶ A K² α, ἡδονῆ L] ἡδονή D¹ Cois. K¹; 90a6 σφάλλεσθαι β] σφάλλεσθαι D Cois. α η; 96a22 ἐαυτοῦ² L K, αὐτοῦ A] αὐτοῦ D Cois. α; 96b26 om. ἄρ' β] ἄρα D, ἄρ' α K Cois., ἄρ' V; 03a28 ἐν A α] φαύλη οὖν ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐν L, φαύλη οὖν ἐν D Cois. η; 07b21 συνθέντας K ε] συνθέντα α A, συντε^θ L, συντεθέντα V; 08a24 πτισάνην β] πτισσάνην D Cois. P V; 08b7 ἄ D Cois. η] δ α, μὲν A, om. L; 11a16 νῦν om. β D¹, habet Cois., add. s.l. D²; 12b14 ταύτη α η] οὐκ L, ταύτη γὰρ οὐκ A, ταύτη οὐκ V² D Cois.; 12b17 μάλιστα + κατὰ γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον A, καὶ L, lacuna circa octo litterarum Cois., nihil add. D; 12b17 om. γὰρ β, habent D Cois.; 12b20 δι' δ K B D Cois.] διὸ α β V.¹⁶

There is one reading found in D and Cois., but not in A and L, which is accepted by Susemihl, and which is not known to occur in any earlier manuscript: 92a23 τῶν ε M²] om. ω.

The extent of the correction is not such that we are entitled to say that ε was originally copied from A L and one other manuscript. The corrections must have been made before the time that Cois. (written in c.1390) was copied from ε. At 04a1 ἄρα is omitted by A L D, but Cois. has γάρ. The explanation of this reading may be that a correction in ε at 04a2 was misunderstood by the scribe of Cois.: in 04a2 (δὴ ὁ] δ' ὁ α A L D Cois., γὰρ ὁ η) there may have been a correction in the margin which the scribe of Cois. thought referred to 04a1. At 90b7 ἐπεὶ δὲ is not in A or L. D has ἐπεὶ οὖν alone, but Cois. has ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ. ε will have been

stemma: 1183a6. And one difficulty *is* likely to be coincidental, and hence not a difficulty. For misreportings of Cois. by Susemihl see below, p.118.

¹⁶ See also apparatus at 05a19.

conjecturally supplemented with alternatives.

ε is therefore better than A L in certain places. Some of the readings may have originated independently of other manuscripts (e.g. those at 85a10, 96a22, 08a24), but others seem to have been made from manuscripts outside the A L family.

Cois.161

Evidence that Cois. derives its readings not entirely from A L are: 84a34 τῶν add. B Cois., om. A L D et cett.; 85b11 τὸ A L D] τῶ P¹ Cois.; 91b23 καὶ Cois. K B] om. α A L D; 96a29 τὸ A L D K] om. Cois. α; 03a11 πρότερος α A L D K] πρότερον Cois. with V; 03a35 δόξειεν εἶναι A L D] εἶναι δόξειε(ν) Cois. K α; 04a1 οὖν om. K Cois;¹⁷ 08b33 om. δὴ B Cois.; 10a18 ἀντῶ α A L D] ἀντὸ Cois. K¹

Cois. shares readings with other manuscripts, but no obvious pattern emerges. Where the readings in Cois. derive neither from A/L nor from ε after it had been corrected, the most likely explanation will be that they are coincidental.

Corrections in Cois.

At 84a25 a correction in Cois. is the only source of accentuating ἄρα as a question. At 86a22 καὶ is deleted by a corrector in Cois., presumably on the authority of a manuscript derived from η. But the other corrections that I know of are uninteresting corrections of obvious mistakes, which could have been made from any manuscript.

Paris 2023 = D

That ε had recorded the reading of A and of L can be seen from the following cases: At 86a29 πρὸς² is omitted by L and by D, but the scribe of D records πρὸς as a γράφεται reading. At 89b17 D follows L in writing τὰ τοιαῦτα where the rest, including A, give διὰ τοιαῦτα, but in the margin the correct reading is given as a γράφεται reading.

Paris 2023 cannot wholly have relied on ε in the state ε was in when Cois. was copied

¹⁷ The omission of οὖν may have originated from a correction in ε which was not heeded by the scribe of Paris 2023. In the same line, as I have just argued, Cois. misunderstood a correction in ε from K.

from it. For there are places where D has an attested reading, but where that reading is not found in A L Cois: 83a16 τῆ D η, om. α A L Cois.; 87a21 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκουσίοις D α A L, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις η, γρ. D; 01a11 πρότερον D α K² V²] πρότερον A L Cois. η; 02a31 τὰ δ' α D] τὰ δὴ A L η; 03b22 δὲ α K² V² D, om. A L Cois. η; 07a9 τῆς om. A L Cois., habet D; 07b28 om. καὶ A L Cois. D¹, add. s.l. D² α η; 07b38 βλάψῃ ω] βλάψει P² D; 08a9 post οὖν add. τὸ D V; 09a13 συμφέρων] συμφέρον D C¹ V²; 10b25 πολλάκις + μὲν V D¹; 11b16 χείρων] χεῖρον D V; 13a5 κατασκοπῆται] κατασκοπέιται P D; 13a18 λανθάνομεν D V² P²] μανθάνομεν ω.

There is no way of telling whether Demetrios Chalcondyles, the scribe of D, got these readings from ε after it had been further corrected, or himself used another manuscript when he made D. What is clear is that much care has been taken in D. There are intelligent readings in this manuscript which are probably conjectures by the scribe, although they are not marked as such.

I only mention readings of D which are not in A or L in the apparatus. These readings should be taken to be intentional corrections, e.g. 81a27, 82b30, 83a31, 83b8, 83b9, 83b27, 83b31, 85a20, 85b2, 85b8, 86b18, 88a1, 90a13, 90b7, 90b33, 93b36, 94a29, 94b33, 95a3, 98b2, 01a3, 01a22, 02b25, 03a11, 03b30, 04a37, 04b17, 06a38, 07b21, 07b26, 08b11, 09a37, 10a15, 11a31, 11b16, 12a36, 12b3, 12b8, 12b14, 12b17). Unintentional errors, not worth recording in the apparatus, include: 82a16 om. οὐκ — οὗτος; 83a20 κατὰ + καὶ τὸ κατὰ; 84b12 ἔξεως] ὄψεως, ἔξεως in mg. libr. ipse; 85a27 ἐνέργεια] ἐνέργειας; 85a28 ἔσται] ἐστίν; 85a34 ἐνέργεια] ἐνεργεῖ; 86a7 om. ἄνω; 86b24 ἐναντιώτερα] -τερον; 88a31-3 om. ὁ — ἐστίν; 89b23 ὑπὲρ] περὶ; 90b4 ἔχει] ἔξει; 91b14 om. τὰλλα; 91b37 μέσως] μέσος; 92b27 κακῶς] κακός; 92b32 om. ἐστίν; 93a29 δὴ] δὲ; 94a17 πολιτείας + τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον συνέχει τὰς πολιτείας (repetitio); 94b17 ὡς δ' αὐτῶς] ὡσαύτως δ'; 95a15 πράττη] πράττει; 95b2 om. τὰ παιδία; 95b32 κατὰ] κακὰ; 95b33 om. φαῦλα; 95b36 om. δὴ; 96a17 αὐτὸν αὐτὸν; 96a20 ἢ τι] ἦτοι; 96a37 αὐτῶ] αὐτὸ; 96b20 transp. ἐτέρας post αὐτῶν; 96b33 τῶν et - τῶν om. (sed spatia trium litterarum relinquit); 96b37 om. ἐστίν; 97a23 om. ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς; 97b23 om. τὸ; 98a4 μικρὰ] μικρὸν; 98a32 πρακτικὴ + ἀρετὴ; 98a38 ἔχει] ἔχοι; 98a38 ἄλλων] ἄλλως; 98b36-7 om. τῶ μὴ — τοῦ νομοθέτου (coincidentally with V); 99a4 ταῦτὰ] ταυτὸν; 99a12 om. τοῦ om. D; 99b29 αὐτῶ] αὐτὸ; 00a19 χείρων] χεῖρον; 00b1 transp. αὐτὴ post

έστι; 00b33 ἦ] ἦ; 01b3 ἄτοπον + μὲν; 02b1 τῶ... ἀκρατεῖ] τῶν ἀκρατῶν; 02b7 ἀκρατῆς;
 02b17 τούτῳ] τοῦτο; 02b38 τις] τίς ὁ; 03a2 οἶος] οἶον; 03a15 ἐστὶν] δὲ; 04a21 om. γε; 05a1
 om. τούτου; 05a9 om. ταῖς; 05b20 om. δ' (with P¹); 06a21 καλὰ + μὴ;¹⁸ 06b12
 συμφωνήσουσι + τῶ λόγῳ; 06b25 ποιεῖ] ποιεῖν; 07a21 τῶν] τὸν; 07b3 ὅμοιον] ὁμοίως;
 08b11 om. ἀεὶ; 08b28 ἐνταῦθα + μὲν; 08b31 φιλεῖν] φίλον; 09a12 ὦν + ὁ; 09a36 om.
 κατὰ²; 11a12 δόξειεν] εἴξειεν; 11a20 εἶναι καὶ τὸ εἶναι] εἶ καὶ τὸ εἶναι L Cois., εἶ
 εἶναι καὶ τὸ εἶναι D; 11b4 ἐταίρων] ἐτέρων; 13a2 om. τι; 13a12 ποιήσης] ποιήσεις; 13a29
 om. γε; 13b3 transp. φίλους post ὀλίγους.

D is the first witness we have of other readings which were accepted by Susemihl without manuscript support at 82b30, 89b23, 90a32 and there are other readings which merit serious consideration. Demetrios Chalcondyles' contribution to the text of E.E. is now recognised in the O.C.T.

Corrections in Paris 2023 = D²

This manuscript has been sporadically corrected. At 86a35 an omission inherited from β is supplemented in the margin. A descendant of V will have been the source of the corrections: 86a34 λύπης... ἡδονῆς B D² (twice); 87a21 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις η, γρ. D², ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκούσιοις α β D¹ Cois.; 87b33 κατὰ B D²; 88b25 ἐκούσιον α η D²] ἀκούσιον β D¹; 89a27 αἰρετόν η, γρ. D² (= libr. ipse.)] αἰρετώτερον α β; 89b16 ὅποῖ' ἂν Bekker] ὅποῖον α β, ὅποῖον ἂν D², ὅποῖα ἂν K, ὅποι' ἂν B; 07b28 om. καὶ β D¹, add. s.l. D².

One imagines that the same corrective exemplar will have been used to make the other corrections. The following errors in D are corrected by D²: 86b24 transp. δόξειεν post ἂν; 87a6 δυνατῆ] δυνατὸν; 87a7 ἔφη] ἔλεγεν; 87a19 om. τὸ; 87b2 ἀντι-] καὶ; 89a27 om. ἦ τοῦτο; 92b2-3 om. οἶον — ἀλαζών¹; 92b37 ἐπαινετος] -έος; 95b10 δέον] δὲ; 96b1 om. οὔτος; 97a10 om. τοῦτο; 99b38 ante ἐν add. οἶον; 01b2 om. ἐπὶ τῆς; 03a20 ὑπερβαλλούση] -αλούση; 03a26 πράττει + ταῦτα; 03b27 om. τὸν λόγον; 03b31 transp. διὰ τοῦτο post δοκεῖ; 04a27 om. δ'; 07b13 transp. προστάττειν post ἀεὶ; 08a5 om. ὀρθῶς; 09a3 φιλητὸν²] φιλητέον; 09b35 om. αὐτοὶ; 10b24 om. γινομένη; 12a37 om. τούτων; 12b3 φίλαυτος + ἔσται.

¹⁸ This was probably conjectural, but, if so, shows a misunderstanding of the argument.

Twice, at 91a31 and 02b25, D² shares a reading with P: at 91a31 α and D² have ἀναιρετικοὺς whereas the rest have αἰρετικοὺς and at 02b25 διὰ was corrected in P to παρὰ, and is the reading of D². These could quite easily be conjectures in D. We do not need to imagine that contamination from P occurred. At 90a32 the correction in D for φῆ is θῆ which was only known to Susemihl as a conjecture of Bekker. The corrector of D was, thus, capable of good conjectures. Other good suggestions in D recorded in the apparatus are at 87b19, 88a25, 89b23, 04b30, 07a38.

Utin. VI,2

Brockmann, [1993] 64-5, argues that this manuscript is descended from Laurentianus 81,18 (L). Mioni¹⁹ had thought that Utin. was a copy made from Cois. Mioni was at a disadvantage in that he was ignorant of many of the other manuscripts in this area of the stemma. Mioni cites twenty-two readings of Utin., and all but one of these show agreement between Utin. and Cois. This is inadequate evidence, even granting that Mioni did not know about Ambros. B.95 sup. or Paris 2023, to yield the conclusion that '[Utin.] tantis vinculis cum [Cois.] coniunctus est ut ex eo descriptus esse haud dubie videatur'. The one reading noted by Mioni where Utin. and Cois. differ is at 82b30 where Utin. is actually better than Cois., giving τέλος, not τέλους, but Mioni falsely attributes this to conjecture in Utin.

Mioni was not to know that many of the readings he cites to support his case originated in L, or even higher up the stemma. So, in eighteen out of the twenty two reports L and ε had the readings which Mioni only knew that Cois. and Utin. had. The majority of the reports are, thus, useless for anyone trying to determine the precise location of Utin. within the stemma.

But four of Mioni's readings can be used to decide where Utin. fits in.

82a16 τούτων α A B D] τοῦτον L Cois. Utin. K

82b30 τέλος D Utin. Bonitz] τέλους α A Cois. η, τέλ (sic) L

02a25 δή] δεῖ V, δοκεῖ Cois. Utin. {L}

12b14 ταύτη α η] οὐκ L, ταύτη γὰρ οὐκ A, ταύτη οὐκ V² D Cois. Utin.

The last two are the most important (if Mioni's reports are right). For L had omitted a

¹⁹ Mioni, [1958] 89-90. Brockmann appears not to have known about this work.

big chunk at 02a24-6 λέγονθ' — τοῖς and so cannot have been the source of Utin.'s reading at 02a25. Nor can L have been the origin of Utin.'s reading at 12b14. I have found a further two places where L was probably not the source for Utin. At 96a2 Utin. has μῆ where L erred with μῆν. At 96a35 ἔχοντι is the right reading and is in Utin., but L had ἔχονται.

Perhaps a solution to the contradictory findings is to say that Utin. is the product of contamination. For, on the whole, Utin. does share the errors of L, and Brockmann has provided convincing palaeographical arguments for this - places where L is unclearly written led to mistakes in Utin.; Utin. omits a complete line of L (12a36-7 σπουδαῖος — αὐτῶ) and ε is faultless here. Further examples of Utin. sharing faults with L are: 97b25 transp. ἔκαστον post γένοιτο; 97b27 οὖν + δεινός; 97b29 σοφίας] φιλοσοφίας; 97b35 ἀλλοτρίως] ἀλλοτρίως; 97b35 τοὺς λόγους] τὰς σκέψεις. But the scribe of Utin. may have had an eye on ε or Cois. or Paris 2023 to help him. Neither Brockmann nor Mioni can be entirely right, but their efforts have pointed towards a compromise, vague as it must be until Cois. and Utin. are more thoroughly investigated.

Laur. 81,12

From Utin. was made Laur. 81,12. I cite interesting readings from this manuscript at 91a33, 98b28, 00b20, 03a13, 03b9, 07b15, 08a28 and 13b28 in the apparatus.²⁰

The manuscript has been corrected by three different hands which are easy to distinguish because they are made in different colour inks - red, black and brown. The red corrections e.g. 96b19 χρώματα] χρώμα τὲ, 03a6 πότερος] πότερον, 06a27 suppl. οἱ, 07a25 suppl. τὰ, 08a9 οὖν + τὸ, 08a32 ταῦτα, were made from V or one of its descendants. The black corrections are less frequent and the only clue to the identification of the corrective manuscript is at 93b8 where γρ. πράττειν is written in the margin for προστάττει. The manuscripts I have checked which are closest to this are B, Paris 2024 and v which give πράττει. The brown corrections (e.g. 82b18 ἀριθμός] γρ. ὀρισμός, 08a31 ἐγὼ] ἔργω, 13a9 δεήσει] γρ. δεήσεται) could have come from any manuscript, except the first which cannot have come from Laur. 81,18 or Paris 2023 which have ἀριθμός.²¹ But one reading is given by

²⁰ For these readings I am indebted to Ashburner, [1917] 54-5.

²¹ At 96b15 Laur. 81,12 has the reading not of Laur. 81,18, but of η, i.e. μόριον. But the brown corrector has written καὶ τοῦ λόγου ἔχοντος μόριου, which is what we find in α β ε.

the brown corrector which is of especial interest. At 83b7 all the manuscripts give διό, but Bonitz had suggested διὰ τό, a reading not accepted by Susemihl but meriting serious consideration. Laur. 81,12 originally read διό, but the brown corrector has added τό after διό and changed διό to διὰ. The brown corrector, we have seen, did use other manuscripts, but the origin of the reading διὰ τό is unclear - it could have been found in a late manuscript, or it could be a conjecture by the brown corrector.

The descendants of C

Monacensis 635 = Mon.

Monacensis 635 was copied from C, Brockmann argues, [1993] 69-70. The big omissions in C at 84a9-10, 88a28-9, 89a22, 89a24-5, 89b33-4, 07a29-30, 09b6-7, 10b15-16, 13a3-4 are still present in Mon. C and Mon. also agree in error at: 98b36 διορίσθαι] διορίσθαι (but the scribe of Mon. corrects the error); 09b2 om. φιλία; 10b20 ἡδονῶν] ἡδονῆς; 10b20 add. ὦν.

As examples of significant errors that are first seen in Monacensis one can note the following: 84a6 om. ἦ (coincidentally with η); 84a7 om. τοῦτο; 84a7 αὐτῶν + τε; 84a13 ζητοῦμεν + ὁ ζητοῦντες τέλειον; 84b22-36 om. μετὰ — ζῆν; 88a5-36 om. ἀλλὰ πάλιν — ἐπεὶ οὖν and instead of this omission has ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ; 89a25-6 om. τῶν — ἀγαθῶν; 89b33 om. ὦν (coincidentally with L D Rav.).

The large omission at 88a5-36 is worrying. The omission is almost an omission saut du même au même, a jump from ἐκούσια (88a5) to ἐκούσιον (88a35). This would explain the omission of ἀλλὰ (a5) to ἐκούσιον (a35). But then a second corruption would be necessary, namely the change from ἐπεὶ οὖν to ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ. Another explanation of this reading in Mon. would be the reverse: ἐπεὶ οὖν in a36 was changed to ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ, and then the scribe of Mon. made an omission properly saut du même au même from ἀλλὰ in a5 to ἐπεὶ in a36. Both explanations demand a two-stage corruption. In C the passage starts half-way down folio 6^r and ends five lines into folio 6^v. This fact makes it less likely that the substantial omission was made when C was copied. And so the second explanation appears more plausible: a lost intermediary manuscript wrote ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ in a36. In the lost manuscript the whole passage

appeared to the reader on the same page. Mon. now more intelligibly could have what it does have.

Some of the readings of Mon. cited by Brockmann can also be more easily explained on the hypothesis of a lost intermediary in between C and Mon. At 98b36-7 we have:

ὦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλλελειμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου (C)

ὦν τῶν ἐλλελειμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου (cett.)

ὦν ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου ἐλλελειμμένων (Mon.), but τῶν has been added above the line after ὦν.

Brockmann's interpretation of this is that the scribe of Mon. saw that there was something funny about the reading of C (the first ὑπὸ is the problem), and tried to rectify it. Another possibility is that the intermediary manuscript, μ, omitted τῶν ἐλλελειμμένων ὑπὸ saut du même au même and then the scribe of Monacensis, seeing the need for a reference to τὰ ἐλλελειμμένα provided one. The large omission at 83a32-b6 ὁ — τρίγωνον is not an omission saut du même au même, but it is an omission which spans two sides of a page in C (2^r-2^v). The omission of a line in C (12b12-3 τὸν φίλον — τῷ φίλῳ) could have happened when μ was made.

It cannot be ruled out that the scribe of Monacensis makes long omissions intentionally - the omissions at 12b25-37/8 πότερον—λεγόμενος, 13a7-23 ὑπὲρ—ἄν, (passages visible without turning a page in C) are not easily explained. We do not know a lot about how scribes were paid, however it is tempting in cases like this to suppose that accuracy, or number of pages written were not the measure, but rather completion of the job. Certainly, at 98b36 in the correction of διορίσθαι, and in the improvement (on both Brockmanns' and my explanation) in the same line centring on τὰ ἐλλελειμμένα, show some critical attention to the text.²² At 88a36 too the reading ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ is, if the first explanation I offered is right, evidence that the scribe of Mon. was happy to make conjectural improvements to the text. It was in μ that some of the damage arose.

Ambros. B 84 sup. and Matr. 4684

The data Brockmann, [1993] 68-9, provides for Ambros. B.84 sup. and Matr. 4684

²² See Victor, [1983] 38-40, for Mon.

(repeating the errors of C, sharing some new errors, and each having separate faults) suggest, as Brockmann says, one of two scenarios: either Ambros. and Matr. 4684 are brothers and stem from a lost intermediary manuscript between them and C, or Matr. 4684 is a grandson of Ambros., and, again, there is a lost intermediary manuscript between them in which many errors of Ambros. were corrected.

Places of interest where Matr. 4684 is better than Ambros. include:

87b39 οἶον — ἀκούσιον om. C Ambros., ἀκούσιον μὲν in mg. Matr. 4684 - a decent conjecture.

89b33-4 ποιῆσαι — ἄλλο om. C Ambros., but Matr. 4684 has ἰδεῖν in linea, and in the margin τῆ ἀκοῆ (sic) is added after ἀκοῦσαι, another conjecture.

92b2 εἶ τις om. Ambros., but in Matr. 4684 εἶ is added conjecturally above the line.

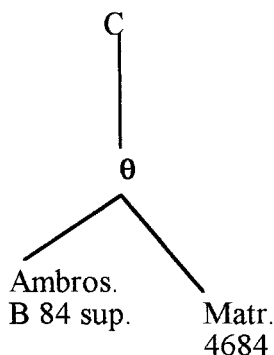
99a26 παρακολουθεῖν + τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν φρόνησιν Ambros. (but with crosses s.l. at the start and at the end of these words to signify deletion). Matr. 4684 does not have the extra words.

01b26 συλλογισμόν] συλλῶν C, Ambros. has συλλαβὸν but Matr. 4684 has συλλογισμόν rightly.

03a13 Ambr. repeats the reading of C: ὁ γε· ὅτι τιμὴ καὶ τιμιώτερον, and in the margin of Ambros. is γρ. ὦ γε τῷ τιμῆ καὶ τὸ τιμιώτερον the origin of which is unknown. Matr. 4684, however, has ὦ γε τὸ τιμιώτερον.

07a24 where Ambros. omits τὸν — ἐροῦμεν which was intact in C. In the margin the omitted words are supplemented but there is a transposition of the words: τὸν γὰρ εὐτυχῆ εὐγενῆ ἐροῦμεν. In Matr. 4684, though, the words are present without the reversal.

Matr. 4684, in these readings and in those found by Brockmann, improves on Ambros. Some of these readings are to be attributed to Constantine Lascaris and George Scholarius. But others are due to corrections in the exemplar of Matr. The stemma printed by Brockmann does not represent either of the two possibilities he outlined. No error has yet been found in Matr. 4684 which must be explained by the error originating in Ambros. Hence, until further evidence is forthcoming, I accept Brockmann's first hypothesis:



The manuscript θ is the source of the errors which Ambros. and Matr. 4684 share and which were not in C. θ was corrected after Ambros. was made, and this accounts for the improvements in Matr. which were not due to the scholars who worked on Matr. 4684.

Laur. 86,19

The places of Laur. 86,19 which I have looked at fit in perfectly with Brockmann's findings. It is descended from Matr. 4684. The three readings just surveyed at 87b39, 89b33-4, 92b2 are to be found in Laur. 86,19. (In the second, Laur. has ἰδεῖν and not the marginal addition.)

Laur. 87,17

Laur. 87,17 shares the faults of Laur. 86,19, and develops its own. New errors in Laur. 87,17 include: 88a29 om. τέως βούλονται Laur.87,17 (Laur. 86,19 had initially omitted a28-9 ἀκρατεῖς — οἱ an error inherited indirectly from C, but the words have been supplemented in full by a corrector) 06b10 εἶ] ἦ, 06b21 εἶθ' οὕτω] ἦθ' οὕτω, 06b23 om. γάρ, 06b25 ποιεῖ] ποιεῖν, 06b28 ἀρχῆ] ἀρχή, 06b29 διακείμενον] διακείμενος, 06b32 ἄνευ] ἄν ἐν, 06b36 ταῦτ'] πάντ'.

The only place I have found where Laur. 87,17 improves on Laur. 86,19 is at 07a8 where the latter had omitted τά, but the former has it. One error in Laur. 87,17 is to be attributed to the state of Laur. 86,19 - at 01a7 Susemihl prints οἶ but in Laur. 86,19 εἶ was originally written. This has been corrected both above and below the line, but the mistaken εἶ still stands undeleted. In Laur. 87,17 we get the reading οἶον εἶ.

The descendants of P

There is one late manuscript, Marcianus 213, M^b, written by Ioannes Rhosos between 1465 and 1472 for Cardinal Bessarion, which is of particular interest. This manuscript was rated highly by Bekker who used it and K as the basis for his text. It is ultimately derived from P, via Ravenna 210.

Ravenna 210 = Rav. - Part I

Rav., written by Athanasius Chalkeopulos in 1447, and with marginalia by Bessarion, was made from P (see Brockmann, [1993] 66-8). I have looked at those places where M (on Susemihl's collation in his edition) differs from P, and a substantial number of places where there are corrections in P.

Two important errors which occur in Rav. and are repeated in M are:

- 1) at 82b26 P writes the first $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ in unabbreviated form, but the second is written as $\overset{\omicron\hat{\iota}}{\mathcal{Y}}$. In Rav. $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\hat{\iota}^2$ is understandably omitted but a space of three letters is left. In M there is still a (slightly larger) space.
- 2) at 04a25 where $\omicron\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ should be read: In both C and P the words are omitted but a gap of about five letters is left. In P the letters $\chi \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ from 04b29 ($\psi\upsilon\chi[\eta\varsigma] \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$) (f.20^v) come through the page onto f.20^r and appear in the space faintly as $\omicron\upsilon\chi$. The scribe of Rav. for this reason wrote $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$. And M still has that word.
- 3) a stemmatically important reading is at 91b18 where $\xi\xi\omega$ is barely readable in P: Rav. misses the word out, but leaves a gap of three letters, whereas M omits $\xi\xi\omega$ and leaves no gap.

Some of the readings in Rav. are shared with manuscripts other than P, e.g. 82b4 om. $\acute{\omicron}$ Rav. β K; 83a27 $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ Rav. A, $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\tau\alpha$ cett.; 86a3 om. $\tau\hat{\omicron}\nu$ Rav. L; 86a20 $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\upsilon$ Rav. K², $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu \omega$; 89b12 $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Rav. L B, $\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ cett.; 89b33 $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ om. Rav.¹ L Mon., suppl. libr. ipse s.l. Rav²; 90b28 $\delta\eta$ [Bonitz] om. Rav. L ϵ , $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ cett., 91b18 $\omicron\upsilon\delta\grave{\epsilon}$] $\omicron\upsilon$ Rav. B; 94a33 $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$] $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ Rav. β ; 95b4 $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$] $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ Rav. V; 97a1 $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}$] $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ Rav. V; 97b26 $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\hat{\omicron}\nu$] $\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\omicron}\nu$ Rav. η ; 98b2 $\acute{\omicron}$ del. V², om. Rav.; 99a15 om. $\omicron\hat{\iota}\omicron\nu$ Rav. β ; 99a32 $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$] $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Rav. β ; 02a21 add. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ Rav. L; 03a35 $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ Rav. β V, $\acute{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$

δόξειεν α K; 04b12 καὶ + ἡ C Rav. Laur. 81,13; 05b8 ἡ φαύλη Susemihl] φαύλη Rav. A V, φαύλη ἡ α L K; 05b8 om. ἡ Rav. A V; 05b8 om. καὶ Rav. L; 05b15 ἥδιον] ἴδιον Rav.

This set of readings suggests either that Rav. was made with an eye on a manuscript from the central family as well as on P, or that it was made from an intermediary manuscript which was itself corrected from the A L family. In the second case we should posit a lost manuscript between P and Rav., and in favour of this is the fact that for E.E. Rav. was not copied from P. But I have not looked enough at Rav. to decide which of these possibilities is right. And given the uncertainty about this, I refrain from attributing good readings in this manuscript to the ingenium of Athanasius Chalkeopulos in the apparatus.²³

Sometimes the improvement in Rav. is not known in any earlier manuscript e.g. at 88b10 φύσει] φήσει; 89a14 βέλτιστον] βέλτιον; 90a29 om. ἡ ἀρετῆ; 97a37 ἀλληλα] ἄλλο τι; 01a15 οὐ] ὄ; 03a4 ἔχει] ἔχειν. These readings are not signalled as conjectures in Rav. by an ἴσως, and while this does not preclude their being conjectures, it is safer not to assume that they are.

In E.E. there are several places where Rav. is the earliest extant Greek manuscript to have a reading adopted by the editors of the O.C.T. For example 1215a26 οὐκ habet Rav., 1215b29 οὐ habet Rav., 1216a8 δὲ Rav.] μὲν cett. The contribution of Bessarion in the margin of Rav. for E.E. is not to be found in M.M.

Errors first arising in Rav. include: 83b33 transp. αἰτίαν post εἶναι; 85b38 transp. τὰς ἐπωνυμίας post ἔχει; 86b27 transp. ἡ κόσμιοι post εἶναι (b28); 88b33 ἀποθανεῖν] θανεῖν; 89b26 οὐδν] γὰρ; 91a5 om. οἶον; 91a8 ante Ὅμηρος add. ὄ; 92a26 τοῦ συνειδότος; 92b25 ἐναντίος] ἐναντίως; 92b28-9 om. ὁ δέ — τούτων; 94a32 om. ταυτό; 94b24 om. ἐστιν; 95a21-2 μὲν τι L K²] μέντοι α A η, μὲν Rav.; 95b19 τῶν τοιούτων] τοῖς τοιούτοις; 96b6 μὲν] μὲνγὰρ (sic); 98a9 ἀρετῆ] ἀρετὴν; 99a14 om. ποτε; 01a4 δοξάζοντα] δοξάσαντα; 04a8 - ἴσωμεν] -ἴσομεν; 04a12 om. τὸν; 04a15 ταυτά] ταυτόν; 04a25 ante οἶονται add. οὐκ; 05a19 transp. ἔχη post γὰρ; 05a20 om. δὲ; 08a28 τῶν τοιούτων] τῷ τοιούτῳ ζ, οὔτος Rav.; 08b20 om. πότερον; 10a20 πλεῖον] πλεῖστον; 12a1 om. ἐπισκέψασθαι; 12a2 om. οὐδν; 12a2 transp.

²³ The convergence of readings between Cois. and M led Susemihl to say that Cois. was mixti generis (introduction pp.vii, x), i.e. that Cois. was a manuscript that sometimes had readings from the K^b family, and sometimes from the α family. Brockmann, [1993] 63-6, however, is right that Cois. is not mixti generis. In Rav. we see readings from the β family intruding, and it is Rav. that is mixti generis.

εἶναι post εὐνοια; 12a13 om. τῆς; 12b16 om. γὰρ; 12b24 transp. εἰπεῖν ante ὑπὲρ.

The corrections in P

Rav. incorporates many of the corrections which have been made in P, but not all. We should date these corrections in P to a time before Rav. was made (1447).²⁴ Before looking at which corrections in P Rav. shows knowledge of, let us consider the question of the provenance of the corrections in P. There are a number of correctors in P, and on the microfilm they are hard to distinguish. The quality of the corrections is very good and there are several places where the correction is not found in other manuscripts (apart from those derived from it), and where those corrections are accepted into the text of Susemihl. This has happened twenty three times: at 81a27, 82b20, 83a39, 83b23, 84b21, 90a20, 93b37, 96a28, 97b14, 02a5, 02b25, 03a20, 03a28, 03a30, 03b28, 07a34, 07b24, 07b38, 09a29, 09b8, 09b16, 10a29, 13a18.

It is hard to determine where these corrections came from - are they conjectural or did a corrector have a manuscript from another (otherwise lost) part of the tradition? Sometimes corrections are signalled as conjectures by the word ἕσως. This happens at 82a3, 03a7, 03b9, 03b20. Other corrections must be conjectures: at 88a21 and 03a6 corruption had happened in P (or its parent) and conjectures, reasonable in themselves, but not right (the truth can be found in manuscripts where the corruption in P had not occurred) are suggested. But they are not marked as conjectures.

Sometimes notes in this manuscript are not corrections but glosses. This is the case at 88b32, 88b33, 89a10, 91a34, 92b2, 98b18 twice, 08a24.

Other corrections can be divided into five categories:

a) corrections for which we know no independent testimony: 82a23, 82b19, 82b22, 82b35, 84a38, 85b11-2, 85b17, 88a21, 89a23, 89b16, 91a5, 91a35, 91b18, 96a25, 97b7, 99a2, 99a33, 99b31, 00a24, 03a13 twice, 03a24, 03b3, 03b4, 03b9 twice, 03b10, 03b20, 03b23, 03b27, 04b27, 05a25, 06a13, 06b17, 06b31, 06b33, 07b4, 08a31, 08a32, 08b4, 08b33, 09a2-3, 10a18, 10b23, 11b9.

²⁴ We cannot infer that the corrections in P, which do not appear in Rav. were made in P after 1447. Chalkeopulos may have simply passed over them. We can learn more about the date of these corrections by seeing which of them appear in Pal. 165, a manuscript copied (five years before) from P. I have not done this.

- b) corrections from C: 81b25-6, 82a5, 94b16, 95a29, title to Book 2, 01a8, 03b9, 05b7, 08a22, 09a7 (C²), 09a12.
- c) corrections which could have been from C, but also from any manuscript (C A L K V/B): 82b9, 82b33, 85b11, 90a35, 91b13, 92b33, 94a33, 00a16, 03a12, 04a3, 05b22, 06b13, 09a2, 11b14.
- d) corrections which could have been from C, but also from other mss.: C L 12b10 twice; C η 95a7; C A η 05a4, 11a1 (breathing); C V 09a6 (breathing); C β 12a20
- e) corrections from outside the α family to conform with:
- ζ: 84b27, 85b4, 85b11, 8b28, 88b34, 91b24, 94b36, 95a4 twice, 95b19, 95b22, 97b32, 99b34, 99b35, 01b28, 03a21, 03b11, 04b35, 05b14, 07a6-7, 07a34, 10a6, 10a13, 10a35, 10b21, 12b14, 12b15.
- β V: 92a33
- β K B: 01b30
- β: 85a30, 03a15
- A K: 12a28
- A η: 08a27, 12a22
- L η: 07b30
- L: 88b34
- L V: 03b35
- V: 98a25, 03a24, 13a18
- Cois.: 90b7

The patterns may become clearer when it is ascertained which corrections were made by which corrector. It is inescapable that P was corrected from other manuscripts, and that it was read with attention. The best evidence for the second claim is the list of conjectures I gave above.

Ravenna 210 - Part II

Interesting use by the scribe of Rav. of corrections in P are:

- 1) 84a38: a note is written in the margin (rec. man.) in P: ἄλλως τὰ ἀγαθὰ, and Rav. incorporates this into the text after ἄριστον.

- 2) 89a10: *τρέχειν* is written as a gloss for *τροχάζειν* in the margin of P. *τρέχειν* becomes incorporated into the text in Rav. with ἡ *τροχάζειν* in mg. In M *τρέχειν* is in the text and no variant reading is given in the margin.
- 3) 99a2: a corrector of P wrote τὸ above καί. Rav. has τὸ καὶ κατὰ, and then the apograph of Rav., M, gives τὸ κατὰ. Here it appears that M has reached the original intention of the corrector of P, even though Rav. misunderstood that correction.
- 4) 03a7: a conjecture in the margin of P proposes that we read οὐχ between ἄν and ὁ in this line. The author of this conjecture writes ἴσως : οὐχ. Rav. incorporates ἴσως οὐχ into the text at this point, mistaking the conjecture for a correction of an omission of two words. The scribe of M naturally repeats what Rav. has. Bekker, ignorant of P, reproduces this, and it still stands in the text of Susemihl, despite his knowledge of the reading in P.
- 5) 03a13: Rav. fuses two conjectures from correctors of P:
- 6) 05b13: Rav. misreads the correction μὴ in P for μὲν and M reproduces this mistake.
- Rav. adopts corrections made in P (recorded in the apparatus) at: 81a27, 82a5, 82a23, 82a25, 83b23, 84b21, 84b27, 85a30, 91a5, 91b28, 99b31, 99b35, 01b28, 02a5, 03a12, 03b9, 03b11, 04b27, 04b35, 05b14, 09a2-3, 09a7.
- Rav. does not adopt corrections in P at 88b27, 03a6, 05b20, 09a29, 13a18.

Venetus 213 = M

M, on the whole, repeats the errors of Rav. It also makes new mistakes e.g. 82b5-6 ἡμῖν ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ λεκτέον α Rav., ἄρα ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῦ λεκτέον M; 84b1 ante ἄλλην add. καὶ; 84b25-6 om. ἡ — καὶ; 90a1 transp. ἐνταῦθα post ἤδη; 90b29 transp. φάσκων post εἶναι; 92a37 σαλακωνείας α et, ω male scripto, Rav.] σαλακονείας M; 95a2 om. φύσει; 99b36 om. ἦ; 03a28 διὸ + καὶ; 04b18 om. ἦ; 06b39 ἦ] καὶ; 07a12-13 transp. ἄν τις post τάξειεν; 13b30 om. φίλοις.

But at 04a9 -ήσομεν is given wrongly in Rav., and yet -ήσομεν is found in M with the independent mss., at 12a2 M has the οὖν which Rav. omits, and at 13a18 M rightly gives λαυθάνομεν (with V² D P² Pal. 165² Mut.), rather than μωνθάνομεν (with Rav. and the

rest).²⁵ M is also right when Rav. is not: 97a36 ἔστιν ἢ] ἔστιν αἰ M (conjecture), 08a32 ταῦτα V¹ M¹, ταύτας α Rav. M² A K V², om. L.

M also shares some readings with other mss. (see Brockmann, [1993] 67-8n.86.): 83a31 om. τὸ M D; 88b25 ἐκούσιον] ἀκούσιον M β; 89b13 πρακτοῖς] πρακτικοῖς M K; 89b24 ἀόριστον] ἄριστον M K; 89b25πρακτοῖς] πρακτικοῖς M K B L; 89b26 πρακτοῖς] πρακτικοῖς M K B; 92a23 παρὰ + τῶν M ε; 94a5-6 om. ὡς — ὀλίγα M Cois.; 94a22 πάντα ταῦτα] ταῦτα πάντα M L K; 94a22 προσαγορεύσαντες] -εύοντες M A; 95a10 om. τὸ M η; 96b34 δὴ] δὲ M L; 97a14 non transp. M ζ; 97a15 εἰ] εἰς ζ; 00a28 χρήσεται M A] χρήσεται cett.; 03a16 om. οἶν M η; 04a37 om. γὰρ καὶ M D; 05b33 δεῖν] δὴ M A.

M was also corrected conjecturally at 96b6, 11b9 and 11b40.

Venetus 213, incorporating the improvements which occurred in Rav. and making its own improvements, thus has a number of good readings which P did not. The same pattern appears in E.E. where, on the evidence of the apparatus of the new O.C.T., there are twenty-four places in which M is the only manuscript to provide the right reading. Some of these are minor differences such as accentuation²⁶ or breathings,²⁷ or the mood of verbs,²⁸ and these we could well attribute to conjecture. Others, however, if they are conjectures, are excellent conjectures. It is changes such as that at 1235a1 ἐτέρων ⇒ ἐταίρων, or 1241a36 αὐτοῦς or αὐτοῦς ⇒ εὐ τοῦς, or at 1248a21 συνοῦσα ⇒ ὁ νοῦς that betray the mark either of intelligent conjecture or of access to an important manuscript.

In M.M. there is not such systematic improvement. The priority accorded to this manuscript by Bekker and Susemihl is now unwarranted and it is only occasionally that its readings appear in my apparatus.

Venetus 200 (Q)

Mioni²⁹ had argued for a different relationship between Q and Venetus 213 (M) from that proposed by Brockmann (pp.67-8). The former thought that M was derived from Q, the latter thinks that M and Q are brothers. But the basis of Mioni's argument is flimsy. He lists

²⁵ See Brockmann, [1993] 67-8n.86.

²⁶ E.g. 1247b18 ἄρ' ⇒ ἄρ'.

²⁷ E.g. 1234a16, αὐτόν ⇒ αὐτόν; 1246b15 η ⇒ ἦ.

²⁸ E.g. 1214a30 συναγάγη or συναγάγει ⇒ συναγάγοι; 1234b5 εἰσὶν ⇒ ὄσιν.

²⁹ Mioni, [1958] 88-90.

twenty-five readings of M and Q. Fifteen of these are places where there is agreement between P, M and Q. A further six are readings where M errs but Q does not. None of these weigh in favour of Mioni or of Brockmann. Two errors common to M and Q, but not in P are noted by Mioni: at 82a3 om. ἴσως Q M, 83a38 ὑπὲρ] καὶ Q M. But the discovery of the importance of Ravenna 210 by Brockmann provides an explanation of how Q and M should come to share errors - the error originated in Rav., and was duplicated on two occasions.

The only reading which Mioni notes which is problematic for Brockmann's analysis is at 03a13 - see appendix p.425 - where M and Q agree contra Rav. But the error is only the omission of καὶ. At 83a30 (as Brockmann 67-8n.86 points out) Q and M share another error which was not present in Rav., omitting γάρ. We would need more than two 'problem cases' to challenge Brockmann's hypothesis that M and Q are brothers. Mioni, on the other hand, does not account for the errors in Q which are not found in M, of which Brockmann cites examples.

Conjectures Pre-empted

The following fifty readings are in Susemihl's apparatus only as conjectures, or are conjectures which have been made since Susemihl's edition. They are, however, readings which have been discovered to have an older pedigree:

81b25 σπουδαῖον A (in margin of Bas.³); 82a17 εἶναι om. A L (Spengel); 82a36 βέλτιστον L (Casaubon); 82b4 θεῶ P (Spengel); 82b19¹ ὅτι] ὅ τι L (Stock); 82b19² ὅτι] ὅ τι L (Stock); 82b30 τέλος D (Bonitz); 83a30 δεῖν om. B (secl. Scaliger); 83b7 διὸ διὰ τὸ Laur. 81,12 correctio (Bonitz); 84b3 ἐκτὸς + οἶον L (Spengel); 86a34 ante ἡ add. ὅτι P² (Sylburg, though at a different place in the sentence); 87b19 γὰρ fort. deletum est D², enim om. Mon. 306 (translatio vetusta Γ) (Scaliger); 88a24 add. αὐτὴν in mg. D (Dirlmeier); 89b23 οὐδὲ in mg. D (Bekker); 90a32 θῆ D (Bekker); 91a28 L provides the ἄν which Bonitz and Susemihl saw was required; 91a33 πλησίον Laur. 81,12 (Bekker); 92a24 δὴ ἦ B (Bas.³); 92a33 ἦ²] ἦς L (Scaliger); 93a29 δὲ C D v (Bas.³); 93b2 Spengel thought that there should be a full stop after δίκαιον. This is the punctuation of the manuscripts; 94b15 ὑπ'] ἄπ' Ambros.B.84 correctio, teste Wagner (Bekker); 95a10 τὸ τὴν] τὸ Rav. (Bekker); 95b25 δὲ L (Susemihl); 97a3 δὲ L (Susemihl); 97b11 ἦ] καὶ C (Susemihl); 97b14 δὲ P² (Rieckher); 98a3 γινόμενα V¹ (Spengel); 98a29 αὐτῆ] αὐτή A L (Spengel); 98b6 γὰρ] γὰρ ἄν A L (Spengel); 00a21 φησίν om. L (Spengel); 01a14 μὴ is deleted (dots are placed under the word) in P (Rassow, Susemihl); 03b9 ἄν ἐάσαιτο L (Scaliger); 03b18 ταῦτα] ταύτας A (Spengel); 03b19 ταῦτα] ταύτας A (Spengel); 05a22 καὶ + ἦ L (Sylburg); 05b25 δὲ V¹ (Susemihl); 06b39 transp. ἦ ante ὡς Λ (Spengel); 07b3 φησίν] φήσει Λ Susemihl; 07b15 αὐτῶ] αὐτῆ Laur. 81,12 (Scaliger); 07b24 φησίν] φασιν A (Casaubon); 08a9 οἶν] οἶν τὸ V D (von Arnim); 08b16-19 φασιν Bonitz, editio Vallae (1497)] φησιν ω; 09a6 αὐτῶ C P² (Bekker); 09b5 comma after ὑπάρχει P (Susemihl); 11a7 περὶ] περ V β (mg. Bas.³); 11b27 ἐστίν om. β (Casaubon);³⁰ 12a20 τῶ ταύτων νοεῖν L (Bekker); 12a20 τῶ ταύτων νοεῖν] τῶ ταύτων ἐννοεῖν C (Dirlmeier) 12a37 αὐτῶ] αὐτῶ P (αὐτῶ Susemihl); 13b28 ἐν τῆ Laur. 81,12 (Sylburg).

Dieter Wagner³¹ gives thirteen passages where a sixteenth century Aristotelian scholar, Nicasius Ellebodus, had already conjectured a reading which Susemihl knew only as

³⁰ Susemihl knew about this from Coislin, and accepted the reading.

³¹ Wagner, [1973] 41.

later conjectures. These are included in my apparatus.

THE INDIRECT TRADITION

This chapter is an adjunct to, not a replacement of, Dirlmeier's review of the indirect tradition (pp.99-113).¹ I focus principally on the help the sources can give an editor for the constitution of the text.

ANCIENT WITNESSES TO THE TEXT

An Annotation at E.N. 1155b15-16?

There is one passage in E.N. (1155b15-16) which most scholars excise: εἴρηται δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν.² Becchi³ argues that these words were originally a marginal note, inserted by an early reader of E.N. who remembers reading about how many forms of friendship there are in M.M. The writer of the note, if this explanation of the sentence were correct, would be an important early witness to the existence of M.M. (someone who believed Aristotle to be the author of M.M.).⁴ For we know that if Aristotle did not write the sentence, it was already in the text of E.N. which Aspasius read.⁵

However, the reference of αὐτῶν in b16⁶ is much more naturally taken to be τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον (for which the annotator may have had in mind Cat. 6b20-7 (Irwin)) or τὸ τὰ ἕτερα τῶ εἶδει (for which the annotator may have had in mind Pol. 1259b36-8 (Burnet), P.A. 644a18 (Burnet)⁷). It would only be possible that this note was written with

¹ See too Düring, [1957]; Moraux, [1951]; Bodeus, [1973].

² See Stewart, [1892] *ad loc.*, for the reasons to excise. Dirlmeier, [1956] 511-12, does not want to excise, and is also worth reading. It should be noted that Aspasius (161,9) may provide an alternative reading for ὑπὲρ, namely περί.

³ Becchi, [1983] 91-2.

⁴ Becchi actually goes one stage further and thinks that the annotator had views on which text Aristotle wrote first. But if the note was written at a time when the corpus or part of the corpus had been arranged in a certain order, ἔμπροσθεν could also mean 'earlier in the corpus'. More likely, in my view, is that ἔμπροσθεν refers back to a passage in E.N. (cf. the internal references at Met. 1086b3, Top. 105a21, 150b32, 152b38), and since there is no earlier discussion of this in our text of E.N., we should either assume with Aspasius that the reference is to a part of E.N. which we no longer have, or that the annotator was mistaken.

⁵ See below.

⁶ Becchi must take αὐτῶν (1155b16) to refer to πλείω [sc. εἰδῆ τῆς φιλίας] (1155b13).

⁷ If these were the passages the annotator has in mind, they are not good parallels - it is not obvious that they are consistent with what Aristotle says in E.N. 1155b14-15.

M.M. in mind if it has intruded into E.N. in the wrong place - i.e. if the annotator made his observation on E.N. 1155b12-13, rather than on E.N. 1155b14-15. Only someone desperate to see a reference to M.M. would posit this. What we miss when we read the passage in E.N. is support for the claim that things that differ εἶδει admit of the more and the less. It is, thus, unlikely that the original note referred to the many forms of friendship. In any case, it would be curious that the annotator should be reminded here of M.M., and not (so far as we know) anywhere else. And why must the annotator have had M.M. in mind and not E.E. 1236a7-1236b1?

Aspasius

Becchi⁸ continues his discussion of E.N. 1155b15-6 with a discussion of Aspasius' commentary on this passage (161,9-10). After citing the relevant sentence from E.N., Aspasius says ἔοικε δὲ εἰρησθαι ἐν τοῖς ἐκπεπωκόσι τῶν Νικομαχείων. The remark by Aspasius has normally been taken to show two things: (i) that Aspasius could not find a reference to an earlier discussion in his copy of E.N., (ii) that Aspasius believed that his text of E.N. was incomplete. But Becchi presents a different account. He thinks that at a certain stage in the transmission of E.N. and M.M., these two texts were joint together ('uniti', 'accomunati'). He also thinks that Aspasius knew this. At a later point, still before Aspasius wrote his commentary, the books of M.M. were expelled ('espunti') from E.N., and again Aspasius knew about this, according to Becchi's story.

Becchi is right to point out that Aspasius 161,9-10 may give us reason to believe that Aspasius thought that what was missing from E.N. was deliberately excised from E.N.. The verb ἐκπίπτω in this context is usually taken to mean 'drop out'⁹ - an accidental process is imagined. If Aspasius is using ἐκπίπτω as the passive of ἐκβάλλω, then he will be talking

⁸ Becchi, [1983] 91-2.

⁹ Dirlmeier (p.102) records that Aspasius talks of 'ausgefallenen Büchern der N.E.'. Kenny, [1978] 33-4, translates: 'the lost parts of the Nicomachean Ethics'. Rowe [1971] 79n.8 has 'the missing books of E.N.'.

about a part of E.N. which was deliberately ‘thrown out’, i.e. excised.¹⁰ That part of E.N. - Aspasius must think - will have preceded 1155b15.¹¹

There are two problems with Becchi’s story, however. First, why should we believe that Aspasius thought that ἀντῶν (E.N. 1155b16) referred to τὰ εἶδη τῆς φιλίας? Only if he thought that, could Aspasius conceivably think that τὰ ἐκπεπωκότα τῶν Νικομαχείων were what we now call M.M. The context of Aspasius’ remark, however, shows beyond any doubt that he took ἀντῶν to refer to τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον, because it is those that he goes on to explain. Secondly, ἔουκε (161,9) conveys some uncertainty in Aspasius’ mind. It suggests that Aspasius did not have access to the relevant text, but that he surmised that it must have been there that a discussion of τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον existed. Even if M.M. were at one time joined to E.N., Aspasius did not have access to it, and so could not be referring specifically to M.M.

The hypothesis that Aspasius knew of M.M. is therefore where it was when Dirlmeier wrote his commentary on M.M. It may be that there was a reference to M.M. in the lost part of Aspasius’ commentary, but there is no reason to suppose that there was.

Plutarch (c.50-120AD)

There are no citations of M.M. in Plutarch: ‘Nicht einmal in dem Traktat de Virtute Morali (440D-452E) läßt sich erkennen, ob ihm M.M. bekannt war’, Dirlmeier (p.102). But in 1974 Donini¹², emphasising the anti-stoic polemical aspects in the treatise de Virtute Morali (V.M.), points out¹³ that M.M. and the V.M. have close correspondences:

¹⁰ One use of ἐκπίπτω (L.S.J. s.v. ἐκπίπτω 8; s.v. ἐκβάλλω I.10) in connection with writings is ‘publish’ which we find for example in Plato, Epistles 2, 314a-b, Polybius 31.8.10 and ps-Herodotus Vita Homeri 36. But this interpretation is unlikely in our passage of Aspasius. He would be implying that the part of E.N. that he has is unpublished, and it would be very awkward to explain the back-reference at E.N. 1155b15-6 by appealing to a work of a completely different sort.

I have not found any instance of ἐκπίπτω being used of textual excisions. Normally it is used of people banished from cities.

¹¹ See Kenny, [1978] 33-6, for a defence of the view that Aspasius is talking about some Nicomachean books which we do not have, but which stood where the common books now are.

¹² Donini, [1974] 72-92.

¹³ Donini, [1974] 72.

- 1) M.M. 86a33, b34-5, 90b7, 00a34 share a conception of the mean as a μεσότης/συμμετρία παθῶν with V.M.
 - 2) Both have φρόνησις governing and moderating the passions. (M.M. 98b17-20, V.M. 443D, 444A-C, fifth chapter)
 - 3) φρόνησις/σοφία difference: V.M. 444A, M.M. 89b10-19
 - 4) ἐμπεριέχειν V.M. 444E13, M.M. 87a3¹⁴
 - 5) παθητικαὶ ὀρμαὶ V.M. 444E14, M.M. 91a12, esp. 06b14 ὀρμαὶ τῶν παθῶν.
 - 6) μικρολογία V.M. 445A, M.M. 92a1
 - 7) Difference between σώφρων and ἐγκρατής M.M. 03a1-b29, V.M. 445B-E, 446C-E
 - 8) M.M. 00b1-4 ≈ V.M. 445B-D, 446C-E
 - 9) V.M. 445D ≈ M.M. 03b29-04a4: incontinence worse than a vice.
- ‘... si deve sottolineare l’influenza preponderante dei M.M. [on V.M.]’ (Donini p.77).

Considering the question of whether Plutarch knew M.M. directly or indirectly (pp.78-9), Donini considers that it is most likely that he did not, but used a compendium of peripatetic ethics (p.79), like that of Arius Didymus but not that of Arius Didymus. Drawing attention to correspondences between V.M. and Alcinous’ Didaskalikos (a middle-Platonic text of the second century A.D.) that also has Peripatetic doctrines in it, Donini (pp.80-92) argues that both Plutarch and Alcinous rely on a common source.¹⁵

This is an important discovery, and shows well the influence that M.M. had. But for the purpose of constituting the text of M.M. the parallels between Plutarch’s V.M. and M.M. are too vague to be of help. There are, as Dirlmeier said, no citations of M.M. in Plutarch.

Arius Didymus

Stobaeus wrote his Eclogae in the fifth century A.D., and Book II of this work contains an extract from Arius Didymus’ doxographic report of peripatetic ethics (Stobaeus

¹⁴ I argue below that M.M. does not use the verb ἐμπεριέχειν in 87a3, but περιέχειν. But Plutarch (V.M. 444E9-10) uses περιέχειν too, so the correspondence remains.

¹⁵ See also Becchi, [1975], for further discussion and references to other treatments; the index of D. Babut, Plutarque: De la vertu Éthique (Paris, 1963).

II 116-47, Wachsmuth). Precisely what Arius Didymus' sources were for his report we do not know. There are close parallels between Aristotle's E.N. and E.E. and Arius Didymus, and there are also parallels between M.M. and Arius Didymus.

Here, then, is a list of correspondences between Stobaeus and M.M.¹⁶ I have included references to works of Aristotle where M.M. and Aristotle are so close that we cannot be sure which was the more immediate source for Arius:

<u>M.M.</u>	Stobaeus	Aristotle
82b2ff.	134,9	<u>E.E.</u> I, 1218b8ff
83a9	137,8	<u>E.E.</u> I, 1217b26, <u>E.N.</u> I, 1096a23
83b8	135,17	
83b19-27	134,20-5	<u>E.N.</u> I, 1101b10-12
83b28-30	135,3-8	
83b38 - 84a3	135,17 - 136,3	
84a3-14	135,11-16	
84b1-4	136,9-16	<u>E.E.</u> II, 1218b32-6, <u>E.N.</u> I, 1098b12
84b2-5	125,2-3; 125,10-13	
85a1-9	131,19 - 132,8	<u>E.E.</u> II, 1219b5-8, <u>E.N.</u> I, 1098a18-20, 1100a1-5
85a9-13	133,11-12	<u>E.E.</u> II, 1219a25, <u>E.N.</u> I, 1098b31-99a2
85b1-2	137,13-20	
85b3-4	117,11	<u>E.N.</u> I, 1102a27-8, <u>E.N.</u> VI, 1139a4
85b3-8	137,17-23	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1103a3-7
85b12-13	117,5-9	<u>E.N.</u> I, 1102b13-14
85b13-23	137,24 - 138,20	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1104a11-19

¹⁶ Wachsmuth's apparatus criticus is the basis of this list. I use Wachsmuth's page- and line-numbers. I have also used Sharples' table in his [1983] 151-2.

85b23-6	138,10-14	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1104a20-2
85b24	141,14-16	<u>E.E.</u> I, 1221a17-9
85b26-32	138,15-20	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1104a27-9
85b33-8	138,21-6	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1104b8-11
86a9-24	139,1-16	<u>E.N.</u> II, 1105b20-8
90a29	145,13-14	
90b9	145,21; 146,1	
91b15	146,2	
91b24-5	146,3-4	
91b38	146,4-5	
92a21-2	146,5-6	
92a37-8	146,6-7	
92b18	146,7-8	
92b30	146,8-9	
93a1	146,9-10	
93a11	146,10-11	
93a20	146,11	
93a28	146,12	
93b25-6	146,12-14	
96b13-17	117,11-15	<u>E.N.</u> VI, 1139a6-15
96b16-17	145,17	<u>E.E.</u> II, 1226b25
97a14	145,19-21	
97b7-9	117,13-15	
97b38ff	118,5-6	
04a28	126,19-20	<u>E.N.</u> IX, 1169b29; <u>E.E.</u> II, 1219a38
06a37-b14	128,17-25	
06b23-5	128,27 - 129,1	

Set out in this way, it becomes clear that the order of exposition is close between M.M. and Arius Didymus. This in itself suggests that, where M.M. and E.E./E.N. are both parallels to Arius Didymus, Arius Didymus was not using E.E./E.N. as his immediate source. At, for example, 85b26-38 both M.M. and Arius Didymus have as a distant source E.N. II, 1104a27-9 and 1104b8-11, but not E.N. II, 1104a29-b8. It would be too much of a coincidence for the author of M.M. and Arius Didymus to have made the same excision of Aristotle in their works.¹⁷

For the purposes of editing M.M., Stobaeus' testimony is valuable. Arius Didymus has played an important part in the study of the text of M.M. at 83b39-84a2, 84b3, 85b15, 85b24, 92b18, 93b25.¹⁸

Scholia on Plato

A scholion on 495e of Plato's Republic supports the reading σαλακωνία at 92a37.¹⁹ 495e βαναυσίας: οἶμαι βαναυσίας ἐνταῦθα κοινότερον λέγεσθαι τὰς κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἀναστροφάς, ἀπὸ τῶν διὰ πυρὸς ἐργαζομένων τεχνῶν εἰρημένως· βαῦνος γὰρ ἢ κάμινος· οὐ μὴν βαναυσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦτοι ἀπειροκαλίαν· ἦν ἀμφοτέρα μὲν οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς Νικομαχίοις ἠθικοῖς καλεῖ, ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις δὲ σαλακωνίαν. ἔστι δὲ περὶ χρημάτων δαπάνας ὑπερβολή, ἔλλειψις δὲ μικροπρέπεια, ὧν μεγαλοπρέπεια μεσότης ἐστί.

This scholion is not one of the scholia written by Arethas, but is of a more ancient origin.

Susemihl took the authority of the scholion to over-rule Laur. 81,11, his codex optimus.

Arethas (c.860-935)

Arethas knew M.M., and alludes clearly to the text at three points.

M.M. 1182a5-6. Arethas Scripta Minora 67, Vol. II, p.59, lines 11-15²⁰

¹⁷ On the question of Arius Didymus' sources see in particular Kahn, [1983] 3-13; Hahm, [1983] 15-37; Long, [1983] 41-65; Sharples, [1983] 139-59; Furley, [1983]160-4; Fortenbaugh, [1983] 203-23.

¹⁸ For Arius see also Dirlmeier, pp.100-2, 206, 210-3; Kenny, [1978] 19-22.

¹⁹ W.C. Greene (ed.) Scholia Platonica (Haverford, 1938) 240. For further scholia on Plato, see Dirlmeier, p.106.

²⁰ L.G. Westerink (ed.) Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora, voll. I, II (Leipzig, 1968, 1972).

ὁ τοιγαροῦν τῷ καιρωτέρῳ λυμαίνεται καὶ ὁ τὸ εἶναι προαιρεῖται τῶν ἄλλων, μᾶλλον δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ μεθαρμόζειν κάκεῖνα φιλεῖ (ἅμα τέ γάρ, ἴν' ἐκεῖνο δὴ κἀνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Σταγειρίτου φῶμεν, εἰδῆσαί τε τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτοι βουλόμεθα), τοῦτο μὴ ὅτι γε μὴ γνόντα κατὰ τὸ ἄμεινον αὐτόν,...

M.M. 1183b1-3. Arethas *Scripta Minora* 14, Vol. I, p.139, lines 9-14

τὸ δὲ τὸ μὴ κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιον εἰς συνηγορίαν ἑαυτῷ προκομίζειν οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν ἐρωτησάντων διενήνοχε θεοβλαβείας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦτο τὸ τοῦ Σταγειρίτου, περὶ τριγώνου παρὸν ἀποδεικνύοναι δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς τὰς τρεῖς γωνίας ὡς ἴσας ἔχει, ἐκεῖνο πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ὑποτιθέναι ὅτι πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος.

M.M. 1195a27-b4. Arethas *Scripta Minora* 20, Vol. I, p.263, line 25 - p.264, line 2

εἰ δὲ καὶ θυμὸς ὥπλισεν, καὶ τί τοσοῦτον ἀνδραποδισθῆναι παρείχεν θυμῷ ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι τὸ δέον, ἕτερον τρόπον ὃν καὶ οἱ ἀγνοῖα τύψαι προφασιζόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας; τύπτουσι γὰρ καὶ τὰ νήπια τοὺς γονέας, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦντα τύπτουσι· καὶ οἱ κάτοχοι οἴνω, ἀλλὰ τῆς μέθης αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγνοίαν ἐκβακχευσάσης. οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀγνοίας ὑποτιμήσεται ἐκδότους ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας οἴνω· τί γὰρ ἔδει πινεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι τύπτοντας τοὺς πατέρας;

But, because Arethas is not transcribing the text of M.M., but paraphrasing, it is not possible to tell which manuscript he had. At one point, 82a6 = Scripta Minora II, 59, 13-5 Arethas read αὐτοὶ with A L K V, against C P which have ἡμεῖς. There is no evidence to suggest that Arethas had a manuscript better than any of ours, and he is of no use in establishing the original text. (See p.10, for a possible identification of the manuscript Arethas had with the parent of V.)

LATIN TRANSLATIONS

There are two early Latin versions whose importance for the establishment of the Greek text must be investigated. The first is the little book De Bona Fortuna (Bf), chapter one of which is a translation of M.M. II,8, and the other is a translation of M.M. made word for word by Bartholomew of Messina at some time in the years 1258-66 ('Γ' in Susemihl's apparatus). Brockmann only discusses the location of the second in the stemma.

Between the mid-fifteenth century and 1577 six translations were made of M.M. They were made by Gregorio Tifernate (1453, unpublished), Giannozzo Manetti (pre-1459, unpublished), Giorgio Valla (1496, Venice),²¹ Girardus Ruffus (1522, Paris), Weit Amerbach (1554, Basel), and Nicasius Ellebodius (c.1577, unpublished). Of these, Brockmann only discusses the place that Manetti and Ellebodius have in the stemma. While it is likely that the later ones were made from the first printed editions of M.M., this needs to be confirmed. But it will also have to be checked that the earlier ones are made from surviving Greek manuscripts, in order for their use to an editor to be eliminated. This is especially true for Valla, whose translation Susemihl used and which Susemihl thought belonged to the family of manuscripts with K in it (Π¹).

Bartholomew of Messina²²

This translation was made in the court of Manfred, King of Sicily (1258-66), son of Frederick II:

²¹ For the date see below p.89n.71.

²² On Bartholomew see Impellizzeri, [1964] 729-30. Bartholomew made other translations of ps-Aristotle (Problemata, Physiognomia), and of Theophrastus (De Principiis, De Signis), and also of the De mirabilibus auscultationibus, a collection of extracts from Theophrastus and Timaeus of Tauromenium, the Stoic treatise De Mundo, Hierocles' De Curatione Equorum and Hippocrates' Liber de Natura Puerorum. For the details of which manuscripts these translations are found in, and for modern editions of these translations, where they exist, see Impellizzeri. Minio-Paluello, [1965], provides helpful indices of how Bartholomew translates Greek terms, and notes that in the M.M. the consistent practise of translating οἶον by puta is not normal in other translations by Bartholomew. Minio-Paluello adds that Bartholomew may have translated ps-Aristotle's De Coloribus. Bartholomew was not the translator of either chapter of the De bona fortuna. See A. Pelzer, [1921] 320-1, and below, p.86. Wingate, [1931] 94, is wrong on this. In the same book Wingate says that Bartholomew was the author of a translation of L.I. Harlfinger, [1971^b], does not support this.

Incipit Liber Magnorum Ethicorum Aristotelis translatus de greco in Latinum a magistro Bartholomaeo de Messana in curia illustrissimi Maynfredi [sic] Serenissimi regis Sicilie, scientie amatoris, de mandato suo.²³

Brockmann, [1993] 58, is unsure precisely where the Bartholomew translation fits into the stemma, but thinks that it is near to Barb. 75 and Vind. phil. 315. (Since Γ and Barb. and Vind. share faults that K does not have, we are entitled to rule out K being the model for Γ). The identification of the manuscript used by Bartholomew is made the harder by the fact that neither B nor V survive complete. We only have 93b15-00a31 and 07a26-13b5 intact in both manuscripts. The absence of a published version of Bartholomew's rendering does not allow Brockmann (or me) to ascertain which Greek manuscript(s) was/were before Bartholomew as he worked. 'Ein definitives Ergebnis', says Brockmann²⁴, 'ist hier nur durch weitere Untersuchungen zu erzielen'.

There are, in fact, two questions which need to be answered about this translation, and about which I shall make some preliminary remarks.

- i) Is it true that there is just one translation?
- ii) What Greek manuscripts were used to make the translation(s)?

Of the fifty-six Latin manuscripts containing it only two, according to the library catalogues, actually attribute the translation to Bartholomew,²⁵ and Susemihl did not use either of these but Paris Lat. 6307 and Monacensis 306²⁶ for his reports in the apparatus of his Teubner text. Nine of the fifty-six manuscripts are reported in the catalogues as being 13th century, and a further ten are described as 13th/14th C.

There are signs that we do in fact have more than one medieval translation. Using the library catalogue entries (where available) for the 56 manuscripts as well as Jourdain's report

²³ So Lacombe, [1939] 72, reports the opening of Laur. Bibl. S. Crucis Plut. XXVII dext. 9, f. 176^r, a manuscript made at the end of the thirteenth century.

²⁴ Brockmann, [1993] 58n.49.

²⁵ Klosterneuberg bei Wien, Stiftsbibliothek 748 and Florence, Laur. S. Crucis Plut. 27, Dext. 9.

²⁶ See his introduction, pp.vii-viii.

of Paris Lat. 6307 (J) and Lacombe's report of Paris nouv. acq. Lat. 633 (N) there is the following evidence:²⁷

1) The title varies between Liber Magnorum Ethicorum and Liber Magnorum Moraliū. Out of fourteen entries in the catalogues ten have the first, and three the second. One even has Magnus Moraliū Liber.²⁸

2) The incipit entries in the catalogues: J has: Cum eligimus dicere de moralibus, primum utique erit considerandum mores cuius sit pars.

Out of nineteen reports of other mss. all of them give the first word as Quoniam.²⁹

One 13th C ms. for moralibus has moribus which reflects a difference in the Greek tradition between ἠθικῶν and ἠθῶν.

Out of six manuscripts whose beginning is quoted as far as pars one omits sit, one has sint³⁰ and two have sunt.

One out of the same six gives partes for pars.

3) Comparing Jourdain's report of the first two pages of J with the manuscripts in Oxford³¹ has yielded the following results:

At 82a10 οὐδ' εἴ τινας πρότερον (πρώτον C P), neque ideo sequi³² primo J, but in the Oxford mss. and in N ideo is omitted. At 82a16 οὐδ' οὗτος om. J N, but all three Oxford manuscripts have nec iste. At 82a17 ἐστὶν εἶναι ἀδύνατον as esse est impossibile³³ J N, Balliol and Merton the same, but Bodleian by esse impossibile. At 82a20 συμβαίνει οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν appears as accidit itaque ipsi in J, but the three manuscripts in Oxford read accidit ergo ipsi (ipsis Bodl.).

²⁷ Jourdain [1843] and Lacombe [1939] 159.

²⁸ Autun, Saone-et-Loire, 67 A, a manuscript dating from the end of the 13th C.

²⁹ The reading is noted as 'exceptionnel' by Pelzer, [1921] 319n.3.

³⁰ The same rendering is given by Valla and Ellebodius.

³¹ Bodleian, Canon Class. Lat. 174 (14th C), Balliol College 112 (early 14th C) and Merton College 276 (14th C).

³² A mistake for si qui.

³³ This ordering in Latin can be assumed, given the word-for-word method of translation, to represent εἶναι ἐστὶν in Greek, which was a conjecture of Spengel.

While it may be the case that some of these deviations are to be explained as scribal errors or conjectures,³⁴ others such as the change of vocabulary cum/quoniam, itaque/ergo suggest that we may have another recension.

4) There are differences between J and N:

81a26 δόξειεν: videbuntur J, videbunt N

81a27 ἄνευ: absolute J, absque N

81b24 μέλλει: dicetur J, debet N

81b27 ἡ περὶ τὰ ἥθη πραγματεία: Negotium ergo quidem (quod N) est circa mores J N

82a1 δεῖ ἄρα: Debet ergo J, Oportet ergo N

82a3 ἐπαΐειν: audire J, adire N

82a3 τί ἐστὶ: quid est J, quidem N

82a7 ἐκ τίνων: ex quibus est J, ex quibus N

82a7-8 ἀναγκαῖον μὲν οὖν εἰδῆσαι: necessarium quidem igitur et scire J,
necessarium igitur est scire N

82a8 γὰρ: autem J, enim N

82a9 ἔσται καὶ πῶς ἔσται (ὅν καὶ πῶς ἄν Barb.75): utique et quoniam utique J
utique et quoniam N

82a9 οὐδ': neque J, nec N

82a10 οὐδ' εἴ τινες: neque ideo sequi J, neque si qui N

82a13 ἀνάγων οὐκ οἰκείαν: reducens nam propriam J, reducens propriam N

82a14 ἐστὶν: om. J, est N

82a16-7 δέ: τὰς γὰρ ἀρετὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐποίει:

autem, virtutes namque scientias faciebat J,

autem. Namque iste virtutes scientias faciebat N

13b26 ὅλως: totaliter Balliol, omnino Bodleian Merton N

³⁴ The Latin is of such poor quality that the translation(s) beg(s) for emendation to get any sense out of it. Also, the opening lines of any text are most susceptible to correction.

Again it may not be the case that not all of these differences are to be explained by errors of scribes. Particularly, the divergences at 82a1 and 13b26 suggest that we have two translations, or a corrected translation.

5) Two Leipzig manuscripts end using the formula Explicit liber Magnorum Moraliū Aristotelis de Nova Translatio.³⁵

The possibility that we have more than one translation contained in these manuscripts cannot be ruled out until a thorough examination of them is made.³⁶

Source of Bartholomew's translation

I have looked at several passages in the three Oxford manuscripts. I have also used the reports of J and N and Susemihl's reportings of Γ. The following passages provide support for Brockmann's hypothesis that Bartholomew used V or B:

91a21 B has an extra *παρη* after *μη* (this is still wrongly in Susemihl's text). Dirlmeier (p.279) quotes Bartholomew as writing non praesens. V does not survive here.

98a25 the link is to V rather than B: add. *καὶ V Γ (non habet B)*.

02a25: V, alone of the independent mss. has *δεῖ* and Γ oportet.

03a6-7: there is an omission in K ex homoeoteleuto from *οὕτω* to *ἀκρατής*. In the Oxford mss., however, we find the sentence translated: ita quidem igitur non videtur utique incontinens intemperato enim facilius sanabile. V, [B]³⁷ and L have *οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὐ δόξειεν ἂν ὁ ἀκρατής, ὁ γὰρ ἀκόλαστος εὐιατότερος*. (*οὐ* is omitted in C P A). This passage, then, is consistent with the view that Bartholomew used V or B.

³⁵ The observation is made by Lacombe [1939] 71. I have not had access to a catalogue for these manuscripts. Lacombe, however, reports Leipzig Univ. 1438, written in 1475, as containing the M.M. (in translation) (ff. 1^r - 94^r) and later Quaestiones Magnorum Moraliū, which begin: Quoniam de moribus elegimus nunc tractare. Primo est videndum cui scientie... valeat virtuose. This looks like a translation, and a different translation — not word-for-word but, in the Renaissance spirit, with more attention than the 13th Century translations to making the sense of the original apparent in idiomatic Latin.

³⁶ Christine Pannier was in the process of preparing such an edition under the auspices of Aristoteles Latinus in Louvain, Belgium, but she stopped working on it in the 1980's. I hope that she will be spurred to continue her work, now that we know what the Greek mss. read.

³⁷ B does not survive here, but Paris 2024, a copy made from B, agrees with V.

07b11-19: Pelzer³⁸ provides a transcript of Bartholomew's translation. Bartholomew agrees with all mss. until b13 εὐτυχία (*bona fortuna*), and then has Si igitur ad felicitatem talis utique erit bona fortuna propria... Bartholomew seems to have read a Greek text which omits ὥστε (b13) — εὐτυχία ἀλλ' οὖν (b14) and which, in place of these words, had εἰ. Here Bartholomew is closest to V and B which omit ὥστε (b13) — εὐτυχία (b14). In b15 Bartholomew has eorundem where the Greek mss. have ἐν αὐτοῖς, i.e. Bartholomew read αὐτῶν. Bartholomew does not share the readings peculiar to α in this extract: in b11 ἀδιάφορος C P instead of διάφορος - differens Bartholomew, in b19 τοσαῦτα α instead of ταῦτα, hec Bartholomew.

Just occasionally Bartholomew agrees with the α side of the family:

81b25 Γ agrees with α in adding κατὰ = secundum.

82b16 ὑπάρχει {C} P Γ, ὑπάρχουσι L K B C², ὑπάρχη A

91a31 ἀναιρετικούς Γ α, αἰρετικούς β K B

04a2 δὴ (Susemihl), γὰρ K V, δὲ α β Γ

The only readings where Susemihl reports Γ³⁹ and where the readings do not agree with V/B are: 82a36 βέλτιστον L Γ, βέλτιον cett.; 82b4 ἄλλος] ἄλλοις ?Γ, ἄλλος ὁ α; 82b5 ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον ἀγαθοῦ β] ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον K B, ἡμῖν ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ λεκτέον α, ἄρα ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῦ λεκτέον ut. vid. Γ; 93b2 δὴ] δὲ ?Γ; 94a33 ἀλλὰ] semel sed Γ.⁴⁰

De Bona Fortuna = M.M. 1206b30-07b19

De Bona Fortuna is in two chapters, the first of which is a translation of M.M. II 8 (1206b30-07b18), the second of which is a translation of E.E. VIII, 2. Spengel⁴¹ is usually

³⁸ Pelzer, [1921] 320.

³⁹ Susemihl's reports of Γ are from Monacensis 306 and Jourdain's report of Paris 6307. (See his introduction pp.vii-viii). Unfortunately, Susemihl does not report the Latin words in his apparatus.

⁴⁰ With Michael of Ephesus. See Dirlmeier, p.107.

⁴¹ Spengel, [1843] 534-51.

credited with first discovering the importance of Bf for constituting the text of Aristotle, but Nicasius Ellebodius had himself used it for this purpose almost two hundred years before.⁴²

Susemihl (introduction p.ix) relies for the text of Bf on Bussemaker's edition.⁴³ Since then an edition of chapter two of Bf (translation of E.E. VIII, 2) has been published by Henry Jackson.⁴⁴ But chapter one has not received such attention. The reason for this is that for E.E. the translation was made from a manuscript better than any we now have (it is the only source of a passage omitted ex homoeot. in the Greek manuscripts at 1249a3⁴⁵), whereas for M.M. this has been thought not to be the case.⁴⁶ It is the case, nevertheless, that at one point, at 07a30, Susemihl used the authority of the translation to add ἐν where the Greek manuscripts do not have it.

Although no edition of chapter one of Bf has been published since Susemihl's edition of M.M., considerable progress has been made. A. Pelzer⁴⁷ reports that two of the manuscripts in the Vatican library, Borgh. 37 and Lat. 2083 have the title: Incipit (om. Borgh.) capitulum aristotelis de bona fortuna translatum de secundo magnorum moralium aristotelis, confirming the hypothesis, first articulated by Spengel, that Bf chapter one was translated from M.M. We know too how many manuscripts there are containing a translation of the chapter on good fortune,⁴⁸ where they are, and, for some, when they were copied. So far, things are getting simpler, but Lacombe has made an important discovery, namely that there is more than one translation of this part of M.M., and they are each called de bona fortuna. And this makes things more complicated.

⁴² See Wagner, [1973] 38n.134.

⁴³ Bussemaker, [1850] iv.

⁴⁴ Jackson, [1913] 170-221.

⁴⁵ See Harlfinger, [1971] 25-6. In the edition of E.E. of R. Walzer and J. Mingay (Oxford, 1991) the Latin readings of chapter two of de bona fortuna are frequently the basis for Greek readings which are not in the Greek manuscripts. From the first 42 lines we find this at 1247a12, a19, a27, a35. In the same 42 lines Jackson and Kenny, [1992] 145-51 would also use the Latin to establish the Greek text at 47a23, a34, 47b1.

⁴⁶ See Pelzer, [1921] 318.

⁴⁷ Pelzer, [1921] 318n.2.

⁴⁸ About 150 manuscripts. Versions were printed in Cologne and Venice in 1472 and 1482 respectively. Later versions were printed in Padua in 1493 and in Venice in 1496. Further, four commentaries on the Latin translation appear to exist: that of Egidius of Rome, that of Jean de Jandun, that of Chrysostome Javellus and that in Leipzig University Library, 1438. See Pelzer, [1921] 317n.2, and Lacombe [1955] 711.

There are in fact three different translations entitled Bf: the ‘*Translatio communis*’, the ‘*Translatio Admontensis*’ and the ‘*Recensio Panormitana*’. I shall first give the texts, to the best of our knowledge, of the three translations.⁴⁹ I shall then discuss the stemmatic position of the translations and their use in helping us to reconstruct what is in places a corrupt passage of M.M.

Translatio Communis (Bf)

This text is compiled from four sources:

- 1) The version printed by Arnold Ther Hoernen, in Cologne, c.1472.
- 2) The version printed by Filippo di Pietro, in Venice, 1482.⁵⁰
- 3) Lacombe’s report⁵¹ of Vat. Lat. 2083, ff. 223^r-224^v, which goes only as far as ordinabit (07a13).
- 4) A Pelzer’s (p.320n.1) report of the eleven Vatican manuscripts which contain Bf⁵² - the report is limited to 07b11-19.

In the apparatus I call the first printed version ‘72’ and the second ‘82’.⁵³

06b30 *Habitu autem utique erit his dicere, quoniam de felicitate
est sermo, de bona fortuna. Putant enim multi
felicem vitam eam quae bona fortuna esse, aut non sine bona fortuna,
et recte forte. Sine enim exterioribus bonis quorum
fortuna est domina, non contingit felicem esse. Determinandum igitur
06b35 de bona fortuna, et simpliciter bene fortunatus quis est, et*

⁴⁹ Only one of the translations, the Translatio Communis, has been printed, and the last time was over five hundred years ago, so it is not easily available. In these preliminary texts I have not necessarily followed any one version in matters of orthography and punctuation. I have preferred *-ae* to *-e*, *-tio* to *-cio*, *mihi* to *michi* etc. I have put the corresponding Bekker line-numbers in the left hand margin.

⁵⁰ The shelfmark of the first in the Bodleian library is [Byw. K 4.6], and of the second is [Inc. c. 14. 1482].

⁵¹ Lacombe, [1939] 160-1.

⁵² These include two thirteenth century mss. - Bogh. 127 and Vat. Lat. 2083.

⁵³ It would be helpful for future editors of the M.M. to have a more thorough edition of the translation, especially since the sources I have used for much of it are so late. I use asterisks to show where there is no Latin, but where there is Greek (e.g. 07a29-30). I use ‘[’ to show that the Latin does not all fit onto one line. For example, *quidem utique et* belongs to 07a13.

quibus, et circa quid. Primum quidem igitur super hoc utique quis veniens et considerans dubitabit. Neque enim utique dicet quis fortunam quod est natura. Natura enim semper cuius est causa, huius ut in pluribus aut similiter factiva est. Fortuna autem

07a1 *numquam sed inordinate et ut accidit. Propter quod fortuna in talibus. Neque utique intellectum quendam aut rationem rectam.*

Etenim hic non minus est ordinatum et quod semper similiter, fortuna autem non. Propter quod et ubi plurimus intellectus et ratio, ibi

07a5 *minima fortuna. Ubi autem plurima fortuna, ibi minimus intellectus.*

Sed forte quidem bona fortuna est ut cura quaedam dei, aut hoc non utique videbitur. Deum enim dignificamus dominum existentem talium ut dignis distribuat et bona et mala,

fortuna autem et quae a fortuna, ut vere velut utique contingit, fiunt.

07a10 *Si autem deo tale attribuimus, pravum ipsum*

iudicem faciemus vel non iustum. Et hoc non conveniens est

deo. Sed tamen extra quidem hoc in nihil aliud fortunam utique quis ordinabit. Itaque manifestum quod horum utique aliquid erit. Intellectus

[quidem utique et

ratio et scientia omnino extraneum quid videtur esse.

07a15 *At vero neque cura et benivolentia quae a deo*

videbitur utique esse bona fortuna eo quod pravis eveniat.

Deum enim pravorum non verisimile curam habere. Restat

igitur et convenientissimum bonae fortunae est natura. Est autem

bona fortuna et fortuna in his quae non in nobis existunt, non autem quorum

07a20 *ipsi domini sumus et potentes operari. Propter quod iustum secundum*

quod iustum, nullus dicet bene fortunatum neque fortem, neque totaliter

eorum qui secundum virtutem nullum. In nobis enim est haec et habere et

non habere. Sed iam et in talibus convenientissime bonam fortunam

dicemus. Nobilem enim bene fortunatum dicimus, et totaliter

07a25 *cui talia bonorum existunt quorum non dominus ipse
est. Sed tamen neque hic utique principaliter bona fortuna dicitur.
Est autem et multipliciter bene fortunatus dictus. Etenim cui preter
cogitationem suam acciderit aliquod bonum operari, bene fortunatum
aimus. **

07a30 ** Est igitur bona fortuna in eo quod bonum
aliquod existit preter rationem, et in eo quod est malum non sumere rationabile.
Sed magis et convenientius bona fortuna utique videbitur
esse in eo quod est bonum sumere. ** *

*Quod et secundum se ipsum videtur eufortunium esse. In eo autem
[quod est malum non sumere*

07a35 *per accidens eufortunium. Est igitur bona fortuna sine ratione
natura. Bene fortunatus enim est sine ratione habens impetum
ad bona, et haec adipiscens, hoc autem est naturae.*

*In anima enim inest natura tale quo impetu ferimur sine ratione
07b1 ad quae utique bene habebimus. Et si quis interroget sic
habentem, "Propter quid hoc placet tibi operari?", "Nescio",
inquit, "placet mihi", simile patiens his qui a deo aguntur.*

*Etenim a deo vecti sine ratione impetum habent ad
07b5 operari aliquid. Bonam autem fortunam non habemus convenienti et proprio
nomine appellare, sed causam frequenter aimus esse
ipsam. Causa autem alienum a nomine. Causa enim et
cuius est causa aliud est, et sine impetu adipiscente
bona causa dicta, puta aut malum non sumendi,*

07b10 *aut iterum non existimans bonum accipere bonum sumere.
Est igitur talis bona fortuna differens ab illa, et videtur
hoc ex rerum eventu fieri, et*

secundum accidens bona fortuna. Itaque et si talis est

bona fortuna, sed ad felicitatem talis utique

07b15 *erit bona fortuna magis propria, cuius in ipso principium impetus*

est ad adipiscendum bona. Quoniam igitur est felicitas non

sine exterioribus bonis, haec autem fiunt ex bona fortuna,

sicut satis diximus, cooperativa utique erit felicitati.

De bona quidem igitur fortuna dicta sunt haec.

Apparatus⁵⁴

06b30 felicitate] facilitate 72 **b32** esse] est 82 **b33** bonis om. 72 **b34** contingit] contingat 82 **b36** hoc] hec fortasse legendum est || veniens] veiens Vat. 2083 **b39** aut] autem 72 **07a2** post talibus add. est 72 || aut] autem Vat. 2083 **a3** hic om. 82 || quod om. 72 **a4** ubi om. 72 **a5** minimus] minus 82 **a6** bona om. 72 || hoc] hic 72, hec Vat. 2083 **a7** enim] autem 72, 82 fors recte **a8** et om. 72 **a9** ut] aut 72 **a11** et] at legendum? (cf. A) **a12** tamen] tantum 72, tameu (sic) 82 || hoc] est 82, fortasse hec (haec) legendum est **a13** manifestum] in animum 72 **a14** quid] quidem 72 **a16** pravis] pravus 72 **a18** fortunae] naturae 72 **a21** fortasse dicit legendum **a22** hec] hoc 82 **a24** ante nobilem add. et 72 **a25** cui] cur 82 **a26** hic] hii 72 **a36** est enim 82 || habens] his 82 **a37** hec] hoc 72 **a38** inest] ni est 82 **b3** ante placet add. sic 72, 82 **b4** vecti] verti 82, acti codices Vaticani (teste Pelzer) **b8** et cuius est om. 72 **b9** malum] nullum 72 **b10** sumere] sume 72 **b11** differens] ferens 82 **b12** ex] in 72, et Borgh. 127 **b12** hoc] haec? ego, hic Bussemaker (nescioquo) **b13** secundum] hoc Vat. 2074 **b14** sed] si Vat. 725, 2072, 2084, Borgh. 37 **b16** magis propria — adipiscendum bona om. 82, Borgh. 127 **b16** ad om. 72, 82, Borgh. 37 || bona] bonam Borgh. 37 **b17** fiunt om. Vat. 725

Translatio Admontensis (A)

This preliminary text is based on Lacombe's report of the translation, as it appears in cod. Admontensis 608, ff. 60^v-62^v (14th century) (but the report only extends as far as

⁵⁴ I include even obvious errors. Of especial interest are the manuscripts' disagreement with the printed editions at 07a7 (where the Latin may have been corrected from the Greek or may have been changed conjecturally).

ordinabit (07a13),⁵⁵ and on a collation of Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lat. Class. 271, ff. 245^r - 247^r (15th century).⁵⁶ The translation is only known to exist in these two manuscripts.

6b30 *Quoniam autem morali philosopho de felicitate sermo est,*

*et de bona fortuna erit ei utique considerandum. Multi enim putant
felicem vitam eandam esse et bonam fortunam, aut non sine bona fortuna,
et recte forte. Sine bonis namque exterioribus, quorum
fortuna domina est, non contingit esse felicem penitus. Determinandum igitur*

6b35 *de bona fortuna quid sit, et quis est bene fortunatus, et*

qualiter et circa quid est bona fortuna. Primum igitur super hanc intentionem

[*veniens quis*

*et considerans utique dubitabit. Nam nullus dicet utique fortunam
esse idem quod naturam. Natura enim est cuius causa semper et
similiter est; aut ut in pluribus similiter effectiva est. Fortuna autem*

7a1 *numquam {similiter aut raro}, sed inordinate videtur accidere. Et communiter
fortunam dicimus in talibus. Sed neque intellectum aut rationem quandam*

[*fortunam putamus esse.*

Etenim et hic non minus ordinatum est, quam quod semper et similiter

[*sic se habet,*

fortuna autem non sic. Propter quod et ubi plurimus intellectus

[* *, *ibi*

7a5 *minimum de fortuna. Ubi vero plurima fortuna, ibi minimus intellectus.*

Sed tamen etiam quibusdam videtur fortuna esse ut cura quaedam a deo.

[*Sed neque*

⁵⁵ See Lacombe, [1939] 17, 73, 160-1. I use the same symbols as before (see p.73n.53), and in addition use ‘{ }’ to point out those parts of the Latin translation that do not correspond to anything in the Greek manuscripts. I have made some obvious corrections to the text given in Oxon., and these are signalled in the apparatus that follows the text. One could make more, but it is dangerous since errors in the Latin may have originated either from a faulty Greek exemplar or in the process of the transmission of the Latin.

⁵⁶ Prof. Michael Frede kindly helped me read it.

*hoc forte bene. Deum enim dignificamus dominum existentem esse talium
ut dignis distribuat et bona et mala,
fortuna autem et quae sunt a fortuna, ut vere videtur velud contingenter, fiunt.*

7a10 *Si autem deo tale quid attribuemus pravum ipsum
iudicem faciemus vel non iustum. At hoc non conveniens est
deo. Sed tamen extra quidem hoc in nihil aliud fortunam utique quis
ordinabit. * * Videtur igitur omnino extraneum esse fortunam
ponere intellectum aut rationem aut scientiam quandam esse.*

7a15 *At vero neque cura aut benivolentia quaedam a deo
esse videtur eo quod et pravis {multociens} eveniat bona fortuna.
Deum enim pravorum non est verisimile {talem et ad talem} curam
[habere. Restat
ergo convenientissimum esse quod bona fortuna ut natura quaedam. Est autem
et fortuna simpliciter et bona fortuna in his {et huius modi} quae non in nobis
[sunt. Non autem in his quorum*

7a20 *nos ipsi domini sumus et potentes operari. Quapropter quod iustum secundum
quod iustum, nullus dicet bene fortunatum neque fortem {aut castum}
[neque totaliter
aliquem eorum qui secundum virtutem aliquam dicuntur tales. In nobis enim
[est haec habere et
non habere. Attamen {convenimus} in talibus convenientissime
[bonam fortunam
dicimus. {Quod non in nobis bonorum morum sunt velud in nobilibus.} Nobiles
[enim fortunatos dicimus et universaliter*

7a25 *quemlibet cui talia bonorum existunt, quorum non ipse dominus
est. Sed tamen {vere} nec hic utique principia {quae ex genere et cognatione
[unicuique sumuntur vel fortuna vel a} fortuna bona proprie dicuntur.
Est autem et multipliciter dictus quis bene fortunatus. Etenim cui praeter*

7a28 {previsionem et} cognitionem suam acciditur aliquod bonum operari, {cum
[tamen contrarium facere potuisset si voluisset] hunc bene fortunatum

7a29 dicimus. *

7a30 * Est igitur bona fortuna in eo quod bonum

7a31 alicui accidit praeter rationem. {Similiter} et in eo quod alicui malum non accidit

7a32 *

7a33

7a34 * et in eo quod est non sumere malum

7a35 quasi per accidens eu fortunium {dicimus}. Est igitur bona fortuna

[{primo et principaliter}

natura sine ratione {in hominibus bene operans}. Bene fortunatus enim est sine

[ratione impetum habens

7a37 ad bona et haec {impetu suo} adipiscens, hoc autem est naturae.

{Velud hyrundo facit nidum et aranea telam, et formica paleas colligit per

[hyemem non a proposito sed ex natura}

7a38 In anima enim {hominis} inest a natura tale quid ut impetus quidam et

[instinctus quo ferimur sine ratione

7b1 ad id quod est bonum. Et si quis interroget sic se

habentem "Quare tibi hoc et sic operari?", respondebit, "Nescio

sed placet mihi", hoc simile quid patiens his qui a deo aguntur {et moventur}.

Etenim a deo vecti {et directi} sine ratione impetum habent ad

7b5 operari quid. Bonam autem fortunam non habemus convenienti et proprio

nomine appellare. Sed ut causam quandam frequenter dicimus esse

ipsam. Causae autem ratio rursus aliena esse videtur a nomine fortunae.

[Causa enim et

7b8 cuius est causa differunt. {Propter impetum ergo solum bene operanti recte

[fortuna ut causa dicitur esse operationis.} Sine impetu {vero} adipiscente

7b9 bona ut causa {non bene} dicta est {talis fortuna} ut in eo quod est

[*malum non sumere*

7b10 *aut non providentem bona accipere* * *

Est enim talis bona fortuna differens ab illa, et videtur

haec ex rerum convenienti eventu fieri, et

secundum accidens. Igitur et si talis {etiam} sit

bona fortuna, ad felicitatem tamen

7b15 *proprie magis bona fortuna dicitur illa, cuius in ipso principium est impetus*

ad adipiscendum bona. Quoniam igitur felicitas non est

sine exterioribus bonis, haec autem proveniunt ex bona fortuna,

*sicut * * diximus, bona fortuna utique cooperativa erit felicitati.*

De bona igitur fortuna {universaliter et in typo} dicta sunt haec.

Apparatus⁵⁷

06b36 rasura unae litterae post inte Oxon. **b37** considerant Oxon. **07a2** aut] om. Oxon. **a3** hic ego] hoc codd. || semper et similiter] similiter et semper Oxon. **a6** adeo Oxon., corr. Oxon.² **a7-10** hoc forte — pravum om. Admont. **a11** iudicem om. Oxon., add. s.l. corrector || vel] aut Oxon. || at] et Admont. **a10-11** est deo conveniens Oxon. **a12** om. quidem Oxon. || post hoc add. pr(a)ed(i)c(amentum) (?) Oxon. || transp. fortunam post utique Oxon. **a22** habere ego, -eri Oxon. **a23** habere ego, -eri Oxon. **a24** dicimus] dicemus ego **a26** hic] fors. hec Oxon. || principia] fors principaliter legendum (cf. Bf) **a35** eu fortunato ut vid. Oxon. **a38** telam ego, telum Oxon. **b3** adeo Oxon., corr. Oxon.² **b8** -ente ego, -enti Oxon. **b14** felicitatem ego, felicem Oxon. **b18** -ativa ego, -ata Oxon.

Recensio Panormitana

⁵⁷ There are a series of headings (or rubrics) in the Oxford manuscript written in red ink: **b30** ante quoniam: incipit liber dictus de bona fortuna **a13** ante omnino: quod fortuna non est intellectus nec ab intellectu intellecta ut vid. **a26** ante est autem: quod bona fortuna duplex est **a35** ante est igitur: quid sit bona fortuna **b5** post quid: quid sit nomen proprium bonae fortunae.

The third, the 'Recensio Panormitana',⁵⁸ known only in Palermo Bibl. Comunale Qq. G.31, ff. 195^v-199^v, begins: Quoniam de felicitate sermo precessit, de bona fortuna congrue sequens est sermo quia multi putant felicem vitam in bona fortuna consistere... The manuscript is from the fifteenth century.

I do not know enough of Recensio Panormitana to ascertain where it fits into the stemma. It looks to me, on the slenderest of evidence to be later than both the other translations. In what follows I discuss only Bf and Λ .

The relationship of Bf to Λ ⁵⁹

Bf and Λ differ in striking ways. First, Bf is very much a word-for-word translation - the order of the Greek is followed and the Latin is extremely inelegant⁶⁰ - whereas Λ , especially in the first half, is freer in the constructions it uses.⁶¹ Λ is notable too for its inclusion of what must have been marginal notes in an ancestor. These notes are often included at the wrong place, so that the explanatory marginal note precedes the sentence that it is meant to explain (e.g. the parallels from nature which appear after 07a37 try to explain a38; cf. 07a24). This characteristic bears the hall-marks of faulty transmission of the translation.

The most striking feature of Λ is the way in which it is, in places, more a paraphrase than a translation. The first sentence is a good example of this - the Latin introduces a person - the moral philosopher - where the Greek does not. Λ tries to avoid the natural reading of the Greek which is to take the indirect questions, ἐν τίσι and περὶ τί, as being questions about the location and scope of the fortunate man. These were thought by the translator to be strange questions: the inquiry proposed here, and executed below, is an inquiry into where good fortune can be found, and what its scope is. To make this clear the translator has made

⁵⁸ See Lacombe, [1955] 1026.

⁵⁹ Lacombe, [1939] 17 discusses inconclusively the priority of the two translations.

⁶⁰ 07a20-2 is incomprehensible in the Latin of Bf, but very close to the Greek. 07a30-5 is chaotic in Bf because Latin cannot use the infinitive as a verbal noun in the way that Greek does. At 07a36 the Latin est habens is awful.

⁶¹ For example, 07a20-2 has been made much clearer in the Latin of Λ . An interesting reading is at 07a7 where Λ reads existentem esse, but Bf has existentem. Not all rebarbative features in Bf are eliminated in Λ (cf. 07a30-5, 07a36).

several changes: he introduces the question ‘What is good fortune?’, changes the question ἐν τίσι to qualiter (referring to the fortunate man), and adds a reference to good fortune to make it clear that the question περὶ τί refers to good fortune, not to the fortunate man. In the process ἄπλῶς (35) has been omitted. What value these changes have is merely conjectural, and radically conjectural at that.

We find a similar thing happening at 06b38-9. The sentence, as found in the Greek mss. is inadequate here, and Λ does offer a different text. If we reconstruct the Greek, bearing in mind Λ’s tendency to paraphrase, we would have something like: ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶν οὐδ’ αἰτία ἀεὶ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐστὶ· ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ποιητικὴ ἐστὶν. This is very different from any Greek manuscript but also very different from Bf, but very like Spengel’s solution for this corrupt passage. We shall see that Λ is not to be relied on as testimony for reconstruction of the Greek.

The translator of Λ has a better sense of Latin than the translator of Bf, and a keenness to write something about good fortune which readers will understand. This difference is sufficient to suggest that Λ was made later than Bf. The lateness of the translation is no guide to the age or quality of the Greek manuscript used, however.

Where Λ adds phrases or words that are not in the Greek or in Bf, he is supplying exegesis of the text, without acknowledging that this is the case. A startling example is at 07a37 where the examples of a swallow making its nest, a spider its web and an ant its home from chaff is supposed to convey to us the idea of what an irrational ὁρμή is. In order to revert to the subject of men, and their ὁρμαί the reviser found it necessary to add the word *hominis* in a38.

Bf and Λ are close to each other, as can be seen by looking at the complete apparatus below pp.154-5. Bf and Λ were not made from any one Greek manuscript which survives, because they do not share all the peculiarities of any of the pre-1300 Greek manuscripts which survive. In this chapter C P are wrong at 07a38 (τύχη instead of ψυχῆ), at 07b11 (ὀδιάφορος instead of διάφορος). A L K are wrong at 07a31 (πρῶτοι instead of ὑπάρξαι). L is wrong to omit ἄν in 06b37, changes ἡ τύχη ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις to ἐν τούτοις ἡ τύχη in 07a1-

2, adds ἔχον after ὡσαύτως in 07a3. K adds μὲν wrongly in 07a22. A reads περὶ not πορὸ in 07a27. The first hand of V makes several mistakes which are not to be found in Bf - 06b38 ἦ γὰρ φύσις om. V¹, 07a3 ὡσαύτως] αὐτῶι V¹, 07b3 ἀρέσκει μοι, ὅμοιον was originally written in V as ἀρκεῖ μοι, ὅ μοι ὄν. The corrections in V date to a time after Bf and Λ would have been written. None of these errors occur in Bf or Λ. Since there is no sign that Bf and Λ were made from C, the shared omission at 07a29-30 is coincidental.

Some of the readings of Bf and Λ are clearly wrong: at 06b36 ἐπὶ ταῦτ'] super hoc Bf, super hanc intentionem Λ: we need the plural; at 07a12 ἔξω... τούτων] extra... hoc Bf Λ: we need the plural which is picked up in the next line; at 07a17 δὲ] enim Bf Λ: γὰρ is out of place - we are not given a reason for the truth of the preceding sentence, but another premise. It is more likely that the compendium for γὰρ in Greek led to the mistake than that autem became enim in the transmission of the Latin translation. 07a21 λέγει] dicet Bf Λ; 07a27 δὲ] autem et Bf Λ (= δὲ καὶ?); 07b14 οὖν om. Bf Λ; 07b19 τοσαῦτα] dicta sunt haec Bf Λ, where it is easier to explain the intrusion of the verb than to explain its omission, and where haec probably does not point specifically to the Greek ταῦτα rather than τοσαῦτα.

Bf has a few errors not in Λ: 07a16 καὶ om. Bf, habet Λ; 07a25 transp. αὐτὸς post κύριος Bf; 07b2 οὕτω om. Bf, habet Λ.

Λ has many errors not in Bf, for example: 06b38 ἀεὶ οὐ ἔστιν αἰτία] ἔστιν οὐ αἰτία ἀεὶ Λ; 06b38 τούτου] καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔστι Λ; 06b39 transp. ἦ ante ὡς Λ; 07a2 δὴ] sed Λ (= δὲ?); 07a2 τινα om. Λ; 07a2 ἢ λόγον ὀρθόν] aut rationem quandam fortunam putamus esse Λ; 07a3 ἐνταῦθα] hoc Λ; 07a3 καὶ] quam Λ; 07a4 post ὡσαύτως add. sic (= οὕτως) Λ; 07a4 καὶ λόγος om. Λ; 07a4-5 ἐνταῦθα ἐλαχίστη ... τύχη] ibi minimum de fortuna Λ.

Thus two options are open: either the translations were made from a lost manuscript, or they were made from at least two extant manuscripts. Where there is deviation between the families of Greek manuscripts, Bf and Λ tend not to side with one family in particular but with the truth. E.g. 07a5 καὶ om. A L K V Bf Λ; 07a6 θεῶν K V, θεοῦ C P A L, dei Bf, a deo Λ; 07a30 the Latin translations read ὑπάρξαι with C P V against A L K. The easiest hypothesis, and one that concurs with Harlfinger's findings for E.E., is that Bf and Λ were

made from a lost manuscript and one independent of ω . This will be confirmed if there are places where Bf and Λ are right against all the Greek manuscripts. Susemihl does accept one reading on the basis of the Latin: at 07a30 $\hat{\omega}$ codd. graeci] in eo quod Bf Λ , which led Bonitz to conjecture $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \hat{\omega}$.

Are there further readings which the Latin is witness to? One notable reading that occurs thrice in Bf Λ is in, where the Greek manuscripts have $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ (07a19-23). In 06b36 both versions had rendered $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ by super. Whereas, in the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi' \acute{\eta}\mu\iota\nu$ (07a19, 22), to translate by super nos would miss the sense completely, and hence justify the translation of the Greek by in nobis, even in a word-for-word translation, this is not the case for the instance of $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ in 07a23: $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οἰκειότερον τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐροῦμεν. Now, the question of the location of εὐτυχία was raised in 06b36 ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ τίσι). After the author has distinguished nature and chance, he concludes that τύχη is ‘spoken of in the case of such things [i.e. disorderly events]’: διὸ ἡ τύχη ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις λέγεται (07a2). The realm of fortune or good fortune continues to be expressed in spatial terms, answering the question ‘Where does chance occur?’ ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\theta\theta\alpha$ 07a4-5), it occurs in base people ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ τοῖς φαύλοις 07a17), it occurs in involuntary actions ($\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ δ’ ἡ εὐτυχία καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐν τοῖς μὴ $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi' \acute{\eta}\mu\iota\nu$ οἴσιν 07a18-9), it occurs in the existence of some unexpected good and in not having some harm that one does expect ($\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ ἡ εὐτυχία ἐν τῷ ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξει παρὰ λόγον καὶ ἐν τῷ κακὸν μὴ λαβεῖν εὐλογον 07a30-2), cf. 07a27, 07a33 too. The sort of place where εὐτυχία can be found varies in these uses of the word $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - events, people, actions and states are all candidates for the location of εὐτυχία. In 07a23 we should read $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and take the sentence to mean: ‘But we shall speak more appropriately of good fortune <as existing> in the following people’ viz. in people who have goods which are not in their control (07a24-6). The reason for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ replacing $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in the extant Greek manuscripts is not hard to seek: $\acute{\epsilon}\varphi'$ has occurred twice in the preceding four lines and was in the mind of the scribe of ω when he wrote not $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ but $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$. This is the second case where Bf and Λ are right, and the Greek manuscripts wrong.

Λ may be a revision of Bf rather than a fresh translation from scratch. This would explain both the similarities that I have noted and the change to more idiomatic Latin.

Particles have been changed, the word order altered. Sometimes different Latin words have been used to translate the same Greek word. It is likely that the reviser worked with a Greek manuscript in front of him, when he made the revisions, but if so, the manuscript appears to have been close stemmatically to the one actually used to make Bf. The two translations share errors that could have been avoided if recourse had been had to any of the surviving Greek manuscripts or their immediate ancestors.

If it is right that the translator of Λ used both Bf and a Greek manuscript from a part of the tradition that is now lost, χ , it becomes only a question of terminology whether we call it a new translation, or a revision of the old one.

A decision on the provenance of Λ will have to await further research on the three translations. Whatever its origin, its help for the constitution of the Greek text is far less than that of Bf. There are no readings of Λ which are not also in Bf from which one might be tempted to construct what M.M. wrote but what has become corrupt in the Greek mss.

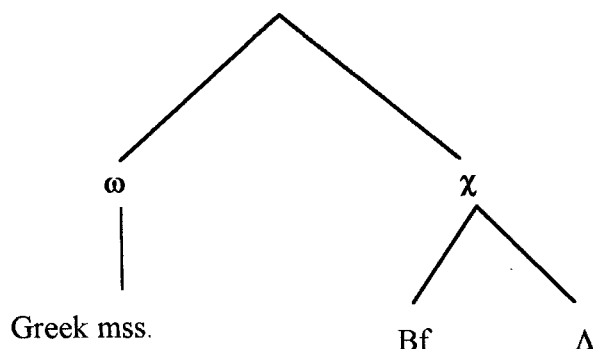
If it is right that χ is independent of ω , then, by stemmatic principles, agreement between it and any of the independent Greek manuscripts will be sufficient to guarantee that the reading that they share is the reading of the archetype, unless the readings are mistakes that arose coincidentally. Of course, it does not follow from this that the archetype had the right reading.

The difficulty of supposing that the ancestor of Bf and Λ was independent of ω is that there would be several instances (in a short passage) of coincidental error. One such example is at 06b35 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ K V, quis Bf Λ , $\tau\acute{\iota}$ C P A L - below (p.388) I argue that $\tau\acute{\iota}$ is the right reading; another is 07a21 where $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ is given by K V Bf Λ (iustum), but C P A L are right in having $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$; at 07a26 if we read $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with C P A L, we have to suppose that K V's $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ coincidentally agrees with Bf Λ .

We could avoid this degree of chance coincidence in two ways. We could either say that Bf and Λ were in fact made from two manuscripts, say V and α , - but this would reduce the status of the 'good readings' at 07a30 and 07a23 in Bf Λ : we would have to call them conjectural. Or we could say that there was contamination between η and Bf, and imagine η

being corrected with the help of Bf. The four incidences of ‘coincidental error’ recorded in the previous paragraph would no longer be coincidental.

Either way, Bf and Λ are not nearly as useful for the constitution of the text as Bf is for E.E. It is difficult to be at all sure about the stemmatic position of Bf and Λ . We either have:



or χ being the product of contamination between a manuscript derived from η and one derived from α .

Authors of Bf and Λ

Pelzer, [1921] 319, considers the question of who made Bf. We have no manuscripts of this work dating before the end of the thirteenth century and so it is likely that it was made in the thirteenth century. Pelzer compares the translation of Bartholomew and Bf, and concludes that Bf chapter I is not an extract from Bartholomew’s translation - Bf does not share the omission at 1207b13-4 with Bartholomew, and there are differences of translation. It may be that an analysis of how particular Greek words are rendered in Latin would enable the identification of the authors. Note that in 07a6 Bartholomew renders ἐπιμέλεια by studium, Bf and Λ by cura. Minio-Paluello, [1965] 180, notes that in their translations of de Mundo Bartholomew translates ἐπιμελητής by studiosus, whilst Nicholas of Sicily translates it by curator.

Gregorio Tifernate (= Gregorio da Città di Castello; Publius Gregorius Tifernas, 1414-64)

This translation was discovered by Garin.⁶² Tifernate translated E.E., several works of Theophrastus, and in 1456 Strabo's Geography XI — XVII. Garin dates the translation of M.M. to c.1453, and reports that it is dedicated to Pope Nicholas V. The translation exists in Laur. Lat. plut. 79, 15, ff. 1-74^r, and also in Vat. Lat. 2096, 2110, 2990.⁶³ Garin (p.74, 102) does provide a report of the opening of Tifernate's translation:

Quoniam de moribus dicere volumus, considerandum prius est cuius pars ii sint; mores, ut brevi dicendum sit, non nisi civilis pars videntur. Nemo enim rem publicam tractare potest, nisi talis sit qualem virum probum dicimus. Probus autem is est, qui virtute praeditus est. Quam ob rem quisquis in republica versari debet bene moratum esse oportet. Civilis itaque pars atque initium ea videtur, quae de moribus pertractat. Prorsumque tractatus ipse, non moralis, sed civilis iure appellandus est. Primum itaque quidnam virtus sit et ex quibus, dicendum videtur...

And the explicit:

haec itaque incusationes non habent, sed in amicis aequalibus atque in tali amicitia talis incusatio est. Quare considerandum est quomodo in amicorum aequalium amicitia amico uti conveniat.

I have underlined words of interest in both the incipit and the explicit. The explicit is not of much help in determining from where Tifernate made his translation. 13b27 itaque is a translation of οὐδὲν, the reading of α and β. The incipit is more revealing: 81a24 moribus is ἠθῶν with α β, 81a24 prius is πρότερον with α, 81a26 videntur is δοκεῖ with α, 81a27 enim is γὰρ with P alone, 81b25-6 civilis itaque pars atque initium ea videtur is μέρος ἄρα ἔοικε καὶ ἀρχὴ ... τῆς πολιτικῆς, which is again only in P.

The translation of E.E. was made, according to Harlfinger,⁶⁴ from Vaticanus gr. 1342 (= P), and incorporates some corrections to that manuscript. Provisionally his translation of M.M. was also made from Vaticanus gr. 1342. It will have to be checked that Tifernate shares the special readings of P, and does not share those of the manuscripts copied from P.

⁶² Garin, [1951] 72-4 and 102.

⁶³ See Mancini, [1923] 78; Kristeller/Kranz (edd.), vol. II (1971), 230, 280.

⁶⁴ Harlfinger, [1971] 23-4.

Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459)

Manetti's translation is dedicated to Alfonso of Naples. The translation of Manetti appears in Vaticanus Pal. Lat. 1021, a manuscript with a preface written by Agnolo Manetti, Giannozzo's son.⁶⁵

Dirlmeier (p.112) notes that Manetti's translation has not received as much attention as that of Valla, and this despite the fact that Manetti made his translation first. His translation has still not been edited, and Susemihl did not accord to Manetti the respect he gives to Valla in his apparatus, indeed Susemihl appears not to have known about Manetti's translation.

Brockmann, [1993] 66n.79, argues that Manetti used at least two manuscripts, one of which was Pal. 165, a manuscript he owned and which he had used for his translation of E.E.⁶⁶ Manetti also owned copies of Bartholomew's translation: Pal. Lat. 1011 and Pal. Lat. 1012.⁶⁷

Garin⁶⁸ provides the incipit of Manetti's translation:

Quoniam de moribus tractare constituimus prius considerandum duximus cuius facultatis partes mores essent...

and the explicit:

itaque considerandum utique erit quemadmodum in amicitia, quae inter pares est, amico uti oporteat.

Giorgio Valla of Piacenza (1430-99)⁶⁹:

⁶⁵ Garin, [1951] 71, says that Vat. Urb. Lat. 223 contains the translation.

⁶⁶ See Harlfinger, [1971] 24.

⁶⁷ See Cagni, [1960], and Lacombe, [1955] 1192-3.

⁶⁸ Garin, [1951] 73, 102.

⁶⁹ For bibliographies for Giorgio Valla's life and works see Kristeller/Kranz, Vol. I, pp.126, 224 and Vol. VI, pp.56-7.

The translation by Giorgio Valla was the first complete Latin translation of M.M. to be printed. Valla also translated Aristotle's Poetics.⁷⁰ His translation of M.M. has been very influential, but not for the right reasons. It was first printed in 1496⁷¹, then again in 1497, 1498 (twice), 1516, 1522, 1549, 1550-2, 1563, 1619, 1668 and finally printed in 1831 in the Berlin edition.⁷²

Valla's translation, as it appeared in the 1496 edition and in the 1516 and 1522 editions begins:

Quoniam de pertinentibus ad mores dicere constituimus, primum cuiusdam rei pars sit mos, ducimus considerandum. Ut igitur paucis absolvam, non rei alius videtur pars esse quam civilis. Atqui civilibus in rebus citra quempiam qualem esse effici nihil potest qualem inquam ut studiosum esse ac probum. Studiosum porro esse idem quod virtutes habere...

and ends: ...proinde considerandum quo pacto utendum amico fuerit in ea demum amicitia quae inter pares fuerit conciliata.

The translation begins in the 1590 and 1831 editions:

Quoniam de moribus agere propositum nobis est, primum illud videndum, cuiusnam scientiae vel artis pars sint mores sive moralis haec disciplina. Ut igitur paucis absolvam, non alius

⁷⁰ See Lobel, [1933] 8ff., 24ff.; Tigerstedt, [1968] 16-24.

⁷¹ Dirlmeier (p.112) refers to Fabricius' Bibliotheca Graeca (ed. 1793, Hamburg, vol. III, p.268^h). Fabricius refers to a volume of Latin translations of Greek texts published in 1488 (per Ant. de Strata) in Venice containing Nicephor Blemmida's Logic, Cleomedes' de Mundo, Aristotle's de Mundo and many other works including Valla's translation of M.M. There is no copy of Valla's translation printed in 1488 in the Bodleian Library, the British Library or the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice. (For the last piece of information I am indebted to Dott. S.R. Minutelli.) I thus call the 1496 edition the first edition - either the 1488 edition is very difficult to find or Fabricius made a mistake. Heiberg, [1896] 37, and Gardenal, [1981] 93-97 think that the first edition was printed in 1496.

⁷² For the first edition see the bibliography. Later editions were: Paris, 1497 [B.L.: I.B.40142]; 1498 [B.L.: Hirsch 1.124]; a volume with the same contents that Fabricius says the 1488 edition had (see previous note) published on 30/9/1498 in Venice (per Simonem Papiensem) [B.L.: I.B.23982]; F. Taegius (ed.) Opuscula Aristotelis: Grecorum sapientum volumina quaedam... Aristotelis... secretum secretorum... Eiusdem liber magnorum moralium volentibus scientie legali operam dare apprime necessarius, 1516 [B.L.: 528n.23] - in this edition Valla is not acknowledged as the translator; the edition which contains Ruffus' translation (see bibliography) (Paris, 1522); Lyon, 1549 [Bodleian: Vet. E 1 c.25]; Venice, 1550-2; Basel, 1563; Casaubon's edition (Lyon, 1590); G. du Val's edition, (Paris 1619); the edition of Silvester Maurus (Rome, 1668) (see below p.105); Aristoteles Latine interpretibus variis, edidit Academia Regia Borussica, vol. III, 589-606 (Berlin, 1831) [Bodleian 2902d6].

videtur pars esse quam civilis. Civilibus autem in rebus absque eo ut sit aliquis talis, vel certo modo affectus, effici nihil potest: puta ut sit probus ac σπουδαῖος sive virtutis studiosus. Esse autem σπουδαῖον idem est quod virtutes habere. Oportet igitur, si quis secundum politices sive civilis scientiae praecepta agere velit, eum moribus probis ac compositis esse...

The translation has clearly been revised. Both Dirlmeier (p.112) and Wagner⁷³ quote the 1590, 1831 edition as though it is Valla's, when it is not. Susemihl, who records Valla's translation with the abbreviation 'Va.' in his apparatus, refers (p.126) to the 1496 edition, but was using the revised version.⁷⁴ By way of illustration a) that Valla's translation underwent revision, b) that Susemihl was using the revised version, here are some examples:

The 1522 edition tacitly improves Valla's translation:

Line no.	Greek	1496	1522, 1590 and 1831	Susemihl's report of Valla
90a23	καὶ	om.	<u>et</u>	καὶ
05a21 ⁷⁵	οὐ	om.	<u>non</u>	οὐ
06a21	ἢ	<u>et</u>	<u>vel</u>	ἢ

Casaubon (1590) explicitly emends the translation:⁷⁶

Line no.	Greek	1496 and 1522	1590 and 1831	Susemihl's report of Valla
83a39	ἔρεῖ	<u>in quo</u>	<u>dicam</u>	ἔρω

⁷³ Wagner, [1973] 37.

⁷⁴ He was probably using the 1831 'reprint'.

⁷⁵ This line is a good illustration of how the versions of the Latin have improved. Where Susemihl printed οὐ<δὲ> δύο εἰσὶν διάφοροι αἱ γραμματικαί, K and Mut. had διὸ εἰσὶν διάφοροι αἱ γραμματικαί, which was rendered by Valla (1496) as id propterea differunt grammaticae. In 1522 we find et propterea non differunt grammaticae, and in 1590 and 1831 non sunt nimirum duae grammaticae diversae.

⁷⁶ On the title page to volume 1, Casaubon says that it is his practice to add Latin translations 'quae Graeco contextui melius responderent', and on p.85 of volume 2 says that Valla's translation of M.M. is 'cum Graeco contextu collata'.

84b30	καὶ	om.	<u>et</u>	καὶ
85b26 ⁷⁷	ταῦτ'	<u>haec</u>	<u>eadem</u>	ταῦτ'
91a4	οὐδὲ δεῖ	<u>neque oportet</u>	<u>non oportet</u>	οὐ δεῖ δὲ
			<u>vero</u>	
92b6 ⁷⁸	μὴ	<u>nec</u>	om.	om.
93b22	ἀδικεῖν	<u>iniustum</u>	<u>afficere</u>	ἀδικεῖν
95a8	οὕτως	<u>neutiquam</u>	om.	om.
97a25-6	καὶ τὰ — τὰς ἀρχὰς	om.	habet	habet
03a6	πότερος	<u>utrum</u>	<u>uter</u>	πότερος
03b9	ἂν ἰασαίτο	<u>se remiserit</u>	<u>se permiserit</u>	ἂν εἴσαιτο
05a21	ὁ	om.	<u>hic</u>	ὁ
05b7	ἴδιον	<u>suavissima</u>	<u>suavissimum</u>	ἥδιστον
05b14	οὐ	om.	<u>non</u>	οὐ
13b27	δὴ	om.	<u>itaque</u>	<u>itaque</u>

And the 1831 edition contains further improvements, and no longer mentions Casaubon's revision - the reader is told that the translation is Valla's:

Line no.	Greek	1496, 1522, 1590	1831	Susemihl's report of Valla
98b1	ἄρα	om.	<u>igitur</u>	ἄρα.

I am unconvinced of some other readings which Susemihl credits Valla with having read:

91a33 Valla (in all editions) gives plura pericula - a rendering of Mut.'s impossible κίνδυνοι

⁷⁷ Here Casaubon mends the Latin but not the Greek.

⁷⁸ Here Casaubon had conjectured μὲν for μὴ.

πλείον. We do not need to suppose that Valla read or conjectured πλείους.

93a13 All Greek manuscripts I have read (including Mut.) read πάντα καὶ πᾶν. Valla renders this by cuncta et omnino. Susemihl unnecessarily thinks that Valla read πάντως instead of πᾶν.

93b3 Valla has iubet where Mut. had κελεύει as a γράφεται reading in the margin. The Latin will not have been a translation of προστάττει, as Susemihl says, but of κελεύει.

98a2 The 1496 edition, quoted (below pp.94-7) to show the close connection to Mut., differs from the 1590/1831 Latin which Susemihl read: At quae cum ratione sunt, veluti temperantia aut fortitudo, quatenus sunt virtutes ut ingenitae, laudabiles. The ut has moved position. I am disinclined to suppose with Susemihl that Valla read τέως (with L D Cois. B Ald., ut vid. V²) where Susemihl prints τελέως (with P A 24), when τόδε, ὡς is the reading of K² Mut. Valla was doing his best with nonsense. The word order, in any case, is strange in both translations.

98a26 I see no reason to suppose with Susemihl that Valla had a Greek manuscript without τίς. Valla's translation of δῆλον ὡς καὶ ἡ φρόνησις τῶν ἐπαινετῶν ἂν τις εἶη in all editions is: non dubium quin prudentia quoque eorum sit quae sub laudem cadunt.

02b11 In 1496 Valla has maxime reprehendenda. Only after 1590 does the translation read magis reprehendenda so Valla is not a witness to ψεκτοτέρα.

03a6-8 Valla in 1496 and 1522 has an incontiens? Certe intemperans curatu facilior videatur. Nam si ratio ei... and in 1590/1831 the translation of the same passage reads an incontiens? certe hac quidem ratione intemperans curatu facilior videatur. Nam si ratio ei... Susemihl reports that Valla did not translate 03a7-8 ἕως—γὰρ, which is false even as a report of the 1590/1831 translation. But the 1496 version is a translation of the text in Mut. where a6-7 οὕτω — ἀκρατής were omitted.

03a28 Valla's Latin has remained intact in all editions: the Greek in Susemihl's text is ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀρχῇ ἔνεστιν οὐχ ὑγιής, and Valla paraphrastically gives quia improbum in ipso est principium. At in incontinente sanum principium est. K and Mut. add. φαύλη

οὖν before Susemihl's ἐν. Susemihl for some reason thought Valla read φαῦλος before Susemihl's ἐν.

03b26 Valla's cuius ratio will, given the allegiance I will establish between the Latin and Mut., be a translation of Mut.'s οὗ λόγος, not of other manuscripts' οὗ ὁ λόγος.

12a19-20 Valla's non cognoverunt will correspond to Mut.²'s οὐκ ἐννοοῦσι rather than anything else.⁷⁹

The translation had been revised over the centuries. The 1522, 1590 and 1831 editions gradually made the Latin tally with the contemporary Greek edition.⁸⁰ Susemihl unwittingly treated the 1831 translation as though it were a reprint of Valla's translation.

I have mentioned that Dirlmeier and Wagner quote the wrong version. Unknowing citation of later versions of Valla, as though its readings had fifteenth century weight, is found in Bonitz, [1844] 21, where he cites the later version of 92a20 which differs from the original 1496 version.⁸¹ There are places where Bonitz uses the revised version to support his own conjectures, and where he wrongly imagines that he has the support of Valla. Bonitz, [1844] 29, uses itaque in the 1590/1831 version to conjecture δὴ at 13b27. In fact Valla did not write itaque, nor any word for 'therefore'. Rassow, [1858] 22, also cites the revised version when he says that the vulgate has the definite article at 05a21. Valla did not write hic here - Casaubon did. Again, Rassow, [1874] 105, uses Casaubon's Valla to corroborate the reading τῷ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστα at 98b30 - etiam particulatim -, but in 1496 there was no etiam. Valla rendered 92b5-6 by: nec facit ut nuptiarum dignitas expostulat sumptum sed ibi deest, is nimirum vilis. The revised translation (1590 onwards) reads: aut si id facere instituat, puta

⁷⁹ There is no point in quoting in the apparatus Valla's reading at 92b9-11. Valla's translation is: opportuno namque tempore magnifice factum, recte magnificentiae nomen assequetur. Valla's factum is just an attempt to preserve the etymology in Latin (μεγαλοπρέπεια from μέγα and πρέπον; magnificentia from magnifice factum) - though the translation cannot be judged a success.

⁸⁰ There are also changes with a different motivation: at 82b14 the unidiomatic rendering by Valla of οὐκ ἔστιν δὴ ταῦτόν τῳ χωριστῷ was non utique idem quod separabile, but in 1590/1831 we find the much better: non est igitur idem cum eo quod separari potest; at 88b18 alienum is the Latin for ἄτοπον in 1496, but this is replaced by perineptum in 1590/1831; at 92a20 ἀλλ' ἤδη χρηματιστικῆς was rendered sed pecuniam incutientis, but in 1590/1831 by sed eius potius quae χρηματιστικῆ sive ars pecunaria dicitur; at 94a19 sutor is the translation of σκυτεὺς in 1590/1831, when, before, it had been rendered by calceolarius.

⁸¹ See previous note.

nuptias celebrans aut sumptum choro praebens, id non ut decet sed parce nimis faciet. The support Rassow, [1858] 15, finds to read μὲν for μή in Valla's translation is, thus, again, absent.

These are examples of a persistent belief in the nineteenth century that the 1831 edition reported the words of Valla. When critics cite this revised edition in support of a Greek reading, it is not, of course, the case that because the oldest authority for the reading is now known not to be 1496 but 1522 or 1590 or 1831 the reading must be wrong. It is, however, important to be clear that many of the readings in Susemihl's apparatus which appeared to him and to nineteenth century scholars to be witnesses to the Greek tradition are not. They are conjectural.

The revisions of Valla's translations were not at any stage made dishonestly. The fact is that Valla's translation was being used and read: it was not a museum piece whose purpose was to restore the Greek (which is its use to a modern editor), but the only way in which Greekless people in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries could find out what M.M. said. It was natural that the mistakes of Valla should have been corrected as the state of the Greek improved.

Where does Valla's translation (as published in 1496) fit into the stemma? Valla owned one Greek manuscript which contained M.M., Mut. α. P.6.10. (88), and he himself was the scribe of this manuscript. The assumption to test⁸² is that Giorgio Valla used K itself as the basis of his translation, if it was from K that he copied Mut. (see pp.28-9), or that he used Mut. itself. On folio 3^v of Mut. a very late hand has written 'Georgius Valla latine redditur', a note which should not necessarily be taken to state that Valla used this manuscript to make his translation, but just that Valla translated M.M.

A glance at Susemihl's apparatus shows how often Valla agrees with K. (In the places where this happens that I have checked, Susemihl's reports are accurate reports of the 1496 edition.) And the allegiance can be more finely pinpointed to Mut. At 94a13-4 the Latin shares an error which arose in Mut., omitting τῶ — ὁμοίως (recorded by Susemihl, because

⁸² This was foreseen by Ashburner, [1917] 51.

this error was not corrected in later versions). Valla also omits 97a25-6 καὶ τὰ — τὰς ἀρχὰς with Mut. (not recorded by Susemihl, because it was supplemented in later editions), and at 03a6-7 Mut. omits οὕτω — ἀκρατής and so does Valla (not recorded by Susemihl, because the missing words were later added). The supplement in the margin of Mut. at 88a20-1 (see p.28) is translated by Valla. At 91a8 Valla gives hectora corresponding to the reading in the margin of Mut., and not the strange ἄγγιον in the body of the text of Mut. At 98b16 Valla gives dissolvatur which corresponds to a reading in the margin of Mut. Again, at 00b14 Valla's Latin incorporates the marginal addition κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐστὶ (virtute). Finally, at 98a2 αἱ δὲ — ἐπιγινόμενοι was rendered by Valla (1496) as At quae cum ratione sunt, veluti temperantia aut fortitudo, quatenus sunt ut virtutes ingenitae, laudabiles. A marginal note in K had added οἶον σωφροσύνη ἢ ἀνδρεία after οὔσαι, and the same annotation is given in the margin of Mut. This is the original source of Valla's Latin.

It is clear that Mut. was at least one source used by Valla. Where Susemihl recorded Valla as agreeing with K, the Latin does not provide an independent witness. Hence, I do not mention in the apparatus those readings where Valla's Latin translation agrees with K.

A substantial example of the whole process is at 96b14-5: K and Mut. had τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐστὶ λόγον ἔχοντος μορίου ψυχῆς. ἔστιν δὲ εἰς δύο τὴν διαίρεσιν... Valla (1496 and 1522) has partem esse quae habeat rationem. Ea inquam pars una animae habens rationem. In duas est partes distributa. But in 1590/1831 his words have been transformed to: partem esse quae habeat rationem. Partem quae sit rationis expers. Ea inquam pars etc. The first stage is that Valla used Mut. to make his rather cumbersome translation. Casaubon altered the Latin to conform with his Greek text. Finally, Susemihl, mistaking the words in the 1831 edition for the words of Valla, thinks that the Aldine text, on which Casaubon's Greek text is ultimately based, is independent support for that reading, and hence follows the Aldine.

But there are, also, many places in Susemihl's apparatus where Valla's Latin disagrees with Mut., but agrees with other manuscripts. Valla (in 1496) disagrees with Mut. and agrees with other manuscripts,⁸³ often improving:

- With α: 84a29 ἄρα α, an Valla] ἄρα ζ Mut.
 94b15-6 ἄπ' αὐτοῦ C P², ab ipso Valla] ἄπ' αὐτῆς ζ Mut., ἄπ' αὐτῆς P¹
 95a25 καὶ om. ζ Mut., habet α, quoque Valla
 02a15 οὐ om. α Valla⁸⁴
- With α β: 90a28 ἀρετῆς α β, virtutis Valla] τῆς η Mut.
 90b32-3 δ' αὐ α β, quoque Valla] οὐν η Mut.
 92b28 τοιοῦτος om. η Mut., habent α β, eiusmodi Valla
 94a20 καὶ om. α β Valla
 97a37 τὸ η Mut.] τῶ α β, ut Valla
- With α A B: 92b5 οὐ α A B, ubi Valla] οὐ L K, δ' οὐ Mut.
 92b5 μὴ om. L K Mut., habent α A B, non Valla (sed Valla solus posuit
 verbum post μεγαλείως = magnifice)
- With α L: 03b18 ὁ δ' α L, at Valla] ὁ τ' A η Mut.
- With α B: 88b18 ἄτοπος β K Mut.] ἄτοπον α B, alienum Valla
- With P²: 09b8 φίλοι P², amici sunt Valla] φίλος ω Mut.
 13a18 ταῦτα P², eadem Valla] ταῦτα ω Mut.
- With L: 82a36 βέλτιστον L Γ, optimus Valla] βέλτιον α A η Mut.
 05a22 καὶ + ἡ L, quaeque Valla
- With V Cois.: 03a11 πότερος α β K Mut.] πότερον V Cois., utrum Valla
- With β: 97a36 ὅει M²] ἢ sic C, ἢ P, ἢ β, qua Valla, om. η Mut.
- With V β: 00b15 βέλτιον α K Mut.] βελτίων β V², melior Valla

⁸³ Anderson, [1965], discusses the importance of Giorgio Valla in the transmission of Juvenal's Satires. Valla took 'some effort in perusing ten or more Mss.' (p.422).

⁸⁴ non is absent in 1496, 1590, and 1831, but was present in 1522.

There are also a number of places where Valla's Latin does not correspond to anything in any of the Greek manuscripts. Some are at least candidates for truth. See my apparatus at 82a25, 82b14, 82b35, 92a20, 96a29, 97a26, 02a26, 05a7, 08b19, 12a17-18, 13b4.

One further point of interest in the translations attributed to Valla is the treatment of the proper names in 05a19-23: in 05a19 λαμπρῶς in Mut. was rendered by splendide in 1496/1522, but by Lamprus in 1590/1831. In 05a22-3 ἢ τ' ἐν λόμπρω καὶ ἐνιλεῖ was translated quae in splendido quaeque obscuro in 1496/1522, but by quae in Lampro et quae in Ileo in 1590/1831. The original translation was conjectural, and is on the same lines as Becchi [1979] 254, who suggests that instead of the now accepted Νηλεῖ 'non si può pensare altro che ad un aggettivo di significato opposto a λαμπρός'.

The analysis I have made of Valla's translation has been largely to undo the misapprehension of Susemihl that the 1831 translation was a report of Valla's translation. But that process has revealed the allegiance of Valla's original translation to Mut., a manuscript written by, and owned by Valla.⁸⁵ The Latin readings that diverge from Mut.'s Greek are not huge in number, and, until the question is examined in more detail, the provisional hypothesis is that Valla used Mut. and occasionally checked readings in other manuscripts. Some of his 'translations' must be taken to be implicit conjectures on the Greek text.

One point of interest in the 1496 edition of Valla is a section after 87b4, where Valla inserts a commentary to explain the preceding section. The heading for this commentary does not make it at all clear that the 'enarratio' is Valla's rather than Aristotle's: *Apertissima huius loci enarratio*, in which Valla explains the geometrical example in M.M.

This has caused some confusion. Although the 1496 version of Valla's translation does not number the sections, the translation is divided into paragraphs. In 1522 the paragraphs are numbered for the first time, and Valla's enarratio is numbered chapter eleven. The numeration is then transferred to the Greek text in Bas.³, which moves straight from chapter ten to chapter twelve. In the edition of A.F. Didot (Paris, 1848) the paragraph beginning at 87b4 is numbered: 'XI [XII]'

⁸⁵ Valla used a manuscript now in Estense for his translation of the Poetics. See Lobel, [1933].

In the apparatus I record only those good readings for which Valla is our only known witness. The importance of the translation of Valla will have diminished in the next critical edition of M.M.

Girardus Ruffus, Vaccariensis = Gérard Roussel (1500-55)

This translation first appears in 1522.⁸⁶ Ruffus, a doctor of theology in Paris, was a student of J. Faber Stapulensis.⁸⁷

The translation begins: Postquam de moribus dicere elegimus: operae pretium fuerit scrutari primum cuiusnam facultatis pars, mos est. Ut igitur paucis perstringam: nullius praeterque civilis facultatis, pars esse videtur.

What Greek text did Ruffus make his translation from? Some faults of the Aldine are present in Ruffus' Latin. E.g. 89b32 καλὰ] κακὰ Ald., laboriosa Ruffus, 90a20 om. γάρ, 05b7 ἴδιον] ἥδιστον Ald. iucundissimum Ruffus, 05b8 ante φούλη add. ἀλλὰ τῆ φούλη φύσει Ald., add. atqui improbae naturae Ruffus, 07a20 om. ἦ δικαίος Ald. Ruffus, 07a31 om. καὶ εὐλόγον Ald., Ruffus.

But at other places Ruffus has a text better than the Aldine - e.g. 82a21 ἄλογον] ἀνάλογον Ald., irrationalem Ruffus, 89b5 ἐκουσίους] ἀκουσίους Ald., spontaneis Ruffus, 02a34 περὶ] πάλιν Ald., circa Ruffus, 05b19 μὴ] om. Ald., nec Ruffus, 11b9 πάτρος] πατέρες Ald, patris Ruffus, 11b9 καὶ ἄρχοντος] πρὸς ἄρχοντα Ald., erga (= πρὸς) imperantem Ruffus, 13a28 τύχης] ψυχῆς Ald., fortunae Ruffus.

Ruffus certainly used the Aldine. But he also had some other source (a Greek manuscript or Valla's translation) with which to correct some of the errors of the Aldine.

Weit Amerbach (= Vitus Amerpachius; Weit Trolman) (1503-13/9/57)

⁸⁶ See bibliography. It appears again in Magnorum Moraliū Aristotelis libri duo, G.Ruffo interprete (Paris, 1547) Bodleian [Byw. K. 2. 12].

⁸⁷ See Lohr, [1980] 705. B.L.C. vol. 284, p.72 attributes to Girard Ruffus one book: Divi S. Boethii arithmetica etc. (1521).

Amerbach⁸⁸ is another Aristotelian scholar of whom Susemihl seems not to have known. He was born in Venice and died in Ingolstadt. He was a professor at Wittenburg University, and later at Ingolstadt University (1543-57), and it was here that he concentrated on Aristotle's philosophy and rhetoric. As well as his work on Aristotle, he commentated on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and on Cicero's *De Officiis* and *Topics*.⁸⁹

His translation, published in 1554, begins:

Quia proposuimus tractare de moribus, initio videndum est, cuiusnam sit facultatis pars, mos. Ut igitur sim brevis, non alterius, quam politicae pars esse videatur....

and ends:

...At inter aequales amicos et in horum inter se amicitia talis reprehensio versatur. Videndum itaque fuerit, quomodo uti oporteat amico in eorum, qui sunt amici aequales, amicitia.

Amerbach had more than one copy of the Greek to hand ('nostri codices' p.105, 334), although one is regarded as the principal exemplar ('noster codex', p.307). Sometimes we can tell what reading his source had from the way in which Amerbach translates - we have the Latin - and sometimes we know because Amerbach himself mentions what the Greek he read was - we have the Greek.

Amerbach used an early printed edition of *M.M.* The following readings of the Aldine are either translated by Amerbach or are cited in Greek: 82a19-20 κατ' αὐτὸν] καθ' αὐτῶν (sic) (p.31); 82a21 ἄλογον] ἀναλογον (p.31); 89b5 ἐκουσίους] ἀκουσίους (p.102); 89b32 καλὰ] κακὰ (p.102); 90a20 om. γὰρ (p.102); 90a35 τὴν ἕξιν] ἀρετὴν (p.104); 98a30 γε] τε (p.258); 03a12 τὰ] τῶ (p.309); 03a12 κακὰ] κατὰ (p.309); 03a28 ἐν] φαῦλος ἐν (p.307); 04a5 ἐπεὶ περ ἐστὶν] ἐπεὶ πάρεστι (p.314); 05b7 ἴδιον] ἥδιστον (p.334); 05b19 om. μή (p.334); 06a2 τὸ] τοῦ (p.341); 06a10 ποιήσον] ποιήσοντα (p.341); 06a11 ἄρα] ἀλλὰ (p.337); 07a20-1 om. ἦ δίκαιος (p.350); 07a31 om. καὶ — εὐλογον (p.350); 13a28 τύχης] ψυχῆς (p.422).

⁸⁸ Amerbach [1554].

⁸⁹ The information in this paragraph is culled from W. Trusen's article in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1952).

This is good evidence that Amerbach used the Aldine or a text derivative from the Aldine. By the time Amerbach published his book there were more printed editions of M.M. It is likely that he used one of the Basel editions (1531, 1539, 1550), the Walderiana (1535) or Camotius' edition (1552), but this is yet to be determined. At times Amerbach reads things which are not in the Aldine:

90a35 ἐξ οὗ Bas.^{1,2,3}, Walderiana, id ex quo Amerbach (p.104), ἐξ ὧν Ald. et mss.,

Camotius

02a34 περὶ πόλιν Ald. Bas.^{1,2}, Camotius, de Amerbach (p.292), περὶ πόλιν Bas.³, πόλιν

περὶ Walderiana

03a12 Amerbach (p.307) read ἦ in his source ('noster codex') not ἦ- I only know of this reading in A.

05b8 Amerbach (p.327) does not have the extra words ἀλλὰ τῆ φάσκει φύσει which appear in the Aldine, Bas.^{1,2,3}, Walderiana and Camotius' edition before φάσκει.

Occasionally (p.148, 211) Amerbach cites an 'interpres'. On 03a12 (just cited) Amerbach comments: 'Interpres consentit'. The 'interpres' appears to be Giorgio Valla. On 98b16, where the Greek mss. and the Aldine have ἐκκλείηται, Amerbach (p.261) writes 'Interpres videtur ἐκλύηται legisse, ac putavisse mendam esse in hac scriptura: sed ego sequor nostrum codicem. et sane plenior et convenientior instituto est illius verbi significatio, quàm huius.' Probably Amerbach was using one of the editions of Valla's translation which do not attribute the translation to Valla.⁹⁰ This would explain why he does not name Valla.

Nicasius Ellebodus = Nicaise Helbaut (c.1535 - 1577)

Wagner⁹¹ discovered a late translation and a set of 'Notae' by Ellebodus. Wagner's article gives an account of Ellebodus' life and works. It was in Padua in 1568 that the translation was done. The quality of the translation is high (Wagner, pp.25, 37). The

⁹⁰ See p.89n.72.

⁹¹ Wagner, [1973] 27, 36-42.

translation survives in only one manuscript, Ambros D 291 inf. (ff.119^r-151^v), and this is not the manuscript in which the translation was originally made, but a copy (Wagner p.27).

It begins (Wagner's report):

Quoniam de moribus dicere volumus, prius considerandum est, cuius pars mores sint. Itaque ut breviter dicamus, non alterius videtur pars quam civilis facultatis. In civilibus porro nihil agi potest, nisi quis sit cuiusdam modi, hoc est exempli gratia probus. Probum autem esse est habere virtutes. Oportet ergo, si quis in civilibus idoneus ad agendum futurus est, moribus esse probum.

and ends:

...inter aequales.

As far as Wagner can tell (p.38), Ellebodium used the Aldine from which to translate, but he had several other books to help him: a copy of de bona fortuna, Bas.¹, and occasionally Ambros. B 84 sup.

COMMENTATORS

There are also later commentators whose contribution to our understanding of the text must not be neglected. In chronological order they are Iodocus Clichtovaeus (1522), Weit Amerbach (1554), Nicasius Ellebodium (1577), John Case (1596) and Silvester Maurus (Rome, 1668).⁹²

Iodocus Clichtovaeus (1472-1543)

Clichtovaeus writes an introduction to the the 1522 edition which contains Valla's and Ruffus' translations of M.M.⁹³ He calls E.E. the 'parva moralia' (p.1), and says that M.M. is so called not because of the size of the volume, but because of the 'ubertas' and the 'copia' of the material treated in the volume (p.1). He describes M.M. as 'ut epitome est et compendaria quaedam collectio totius libri ethicorum', and notes that the thought is more

⁹² See Dirlmeier (pp.112-13) for further contributions from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

⁹³ See p.89n.72. For Clichtovaeus see Lohr, [1975] 713-14.

compressed in M.M. (p.2). Valla's translation is criticised: 'nonnullis in locis obscura videatur et involuta, intellectuque difficilis. discedat etiam interdum à graeci codicis intelligentia, atque deerret ab archetypo' (p.2).

As well as an introduction to the book Clichtovaeus writes two sections after each chapter translated by Ruffus, the first section is called 'Explanatio' or 'Commentarius', the second is called 'Annotationes'. The first of these is uniformly exposition of the arguments and ideas of M.M. The second, the Annotationes, covers some of the same ground, but he also criticises Valla's translation: 'non videtur graeci codicis sententiam omnino exprimere' (p.17 on 86a38-b1, cf. also p.35 on 92b2), and again 'In qua quidem translatione potius suum (quem animo cocepit) explicuit sensum quam literae Aristotelicae intelligentiam aperuit' (p.61 on 01a14, where Ruffus' translation is favourably contrasted). On p.19 Clichtovaeus tells us that he has looked at a copy of the old [Bartholomew's] translation, and that this copy was in the Sorbonne. Clichtovaeus approves, with qualifications, of the old translation (p.62): 'fideliter sententiam Aristotelis (ut potuit) explicavit. et propemodum verbum verbo exacta nimium diligentia reddidit. ac venustatem orationis concinnitatemque loquendi neutiquam observavit: rudi tantum sermone et inculto contentus'. Again Ruffus is praised for retaining the sense (sententiam) of the original, maintaining a glittering style of expression (nitidum orationis decorem affirmavit), and thus exceeding the old translation and Valla's translation (p.62).

Weit Amerbach

Amerbach's translation (see above pp.98-100) is divided into sections, and after each section he comments on what has preceded. The scope of the commentary is, however, broader than the contents of M.M., and this is especially evident on pp.211-31 where two short essays are inserted De Aequitate, and De Iurisconsultorum definitione, et divisione Iuris, et definitione Iusticiae. The first begins: 'Nihil in hac tractatione de aequitate habetur.⁹⁴ Ad Nicomachum haec res insigniter est explicata. Inde nos quaedam huc transferamus, ne qua

⁹⁴ M.M. does, in fact, discuss ἐπιείκεια, aequitas, at the start of book II. Amerbach realises this later - p.264.

pars paulò iustior desit huic operi. Haec autem non est minime certè: ac miror eam hic [sc. in M.M.] omissam esse ab Aristotele.’ There then follows an exposition of ἐπιείκεια in E.N.. The second essay springs from the discussion of justice. It discusses modern legal theories of justice - especially those of Ulpian, Alciatus, and Rodolphos Agricola.

Christian thought is often explicitly brought into the commentary,⁹⁵ a wide range of Aristotelian texts are referred to,⁹⁶ and so are other ancient philosophers. Amerbach notes rhetorical and stylistic features of M.M.

Most of what Amerbach does is to explain what M.M. is saying. Sometimes Amerbach takes issue with the ideas expressed in M.M. (see pp.58-60, 68, 142, 312-14, 330, 392).

On the question of why M.M. is so called, he says (p.25) ‘Magna Ethica vocat hos duos libros, non a prolixitate operis, cum sit velut compendium librorum ad librorum ad Nicomachum et Eudemum: sed ab eo quod libri sunt maiores, quam sunt ferè in illis operibus maxime priore’. It is the size of the books, not the fact that M.M. is a compendium of E.N. and E.E., that accounts for the title, Amerbach thinks.⁹⁷

Amerbach does think that M.M. is such a compendium. For this view, see especially p.119 where the section 91a36-b19 is described as short and clear, and adds ‘ut etiam ipsa tractatio compendiosa est, non ita copiosa et splendida, ut est in fine tertio libri ad Nicomachum’; p.164, where E.N. is called a ‘copiosa tractatio’, but M.M. a ‘compendium’: in the discussion of justice in M.M. everything is explained ‘breviter et obscurius’; also p.264 where the author of M.M. is said to have skimmed over (‘perstrinxit’) rather than explained (‘explicavit’) the issues.

Amerbach also assumes, without questioning it, the authenticity of the treatise (e.g. pp.30, 54, 62-3, 211-2 et passim). On p.342 he addresses a broader question when he says ‘Nequoquam autem sequor eos, qui putant vel nullos, vel paucos Aristotelicorum libros

⁹⁵ On p.360 he says: ‘homo Christianus hoc rectius potest iudicare, quam Aristoteles’.

⁹⁶ The most mentioned text of Aristotle is E.N. I found only one reference to E.E. (pp.385-6).

⁹⁷ Here Amerbach anticipates Moraux; see pp.180-1.

extare: ac hos qui habentur eius nomine, tantum esse commentarios velut communes, et a multis congestos in hac Peripateticorum secta'.

He makes many suggestions to improve the text that he read. Some of these can be ignored because we now know much better than he did what the Greek says, but I record in the apparatus conjectures that still merit attention at 82a19-20, 90a20, 90a23, 01a31, 01a32, 03a1, 03a12, 03a22, 03b19, 05b19, 06a10, 06a12, 08a21, 08a21, 08a37-8, 09b36, 11b8-9, 11b9, 12a13.

Nicasius Ellebodius - Notae

Ellebodius⁹⁸ made an important contribution to the constitution of the text of Aristotle's Poetics, and this has only recently been realised.⁹⁹ For M.M. his contribution is also significant. To the end of his translation he attached his 'Notae', fifty-two notes on M.M. I, and fifty-four on M.M. II.¹⁰⁰ In these notes he a) reports readings from other manuscripts and from printed editions, b) makes conjectures ('hervorregende Textverbesserungen'), c) explains the text (Wagner pp.15, 27, 37). The Notae exist today in two manuscripts, Ambros. O.246 sup. (= Martini-Bassi 609, p.700) and Ambros. D 291 inf. ff. 152^r-156^v, a copy of Ambros. O.246 sup.

Dieter Wagner identified Ambros. B.84 sup. as the 'liber antiquus' from which Nicasius Ellebodius brought forward (beibringt) many readings. I have recorded Ellebodius' conjectures in the apparatus.

John Case (c.1544- 23/1/1600):

John Case, fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, wrote a commentary on M.M. and this was published in 1596.¹⁰¹ Each section of the commentary begins with a question which

⁹⁸ See Wagner, [1973].

⁹⁹ See Kassel, [1962] 111-21.

¹⁰⁰ Wagner, [1973] 27.

¹⁰¹ Schmitt, [1983], disusses features of Case's work in Oxford on Aristotle. He wrote four books on Aristotelian treatises and in each he 'introduc[es] a certain amount of new material not found in the Aristotelian text' (p.142). Schmitt says 'Case's general tendency was to read Aristotle in a rather Christianised Neoplatonic way, drawing upon an interpretative framework far broader than the corpus Aristotelicum' (p.95).

is answered by Case. Sometimes he introduces an imaginary opponent to Case's own position, and then demolishes the argument of that objector. He addresses the question of authenticity (p. 1ff.) and his imaginary adversary says that he thinks M.M. is 'aut nugatorium et otiosum esse... aut Aristotelem non scripsisse'. Case denies this, and advances one argument that the treatise must be authentic if learned Aristotelian scholars such as Giorgio Valla and Faber Stapulensis¹⁰² spent time on the text. The commentary is much shorter than that of Amerbach, and is less learned. The frequency with which other books by Aristotle are cited is much less, and there are no discussions of variant readings, nor any conjectures. The importance of this book is limited to those interested in the state of Aristotelian scholarship at the time Case was writing. He has nothing to contribute to a modern discussion of M.M.

Silvester Maurus (ed.) Aristotelis Opera (Rome, 1668) pp.307-94

There is a short proem in which Maurus notes (p.307) that it is odd that M.M. and E.E. should intervene between E.N. X and the beginning of Pol., given the way that the first introduces the second. Maurus takes M.M. to be a compendium of E.N. The translation of Valla is printed (though we are not told that it is Valla's) divided into sections. After each section there is some exegesis of that section, in which Aristotle is assumed to be the author.

EARLY TEXTUAL CRITICS

¹⁰² Case is referring to Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (= Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples), c.1460-1536. On whom see Lohr, [1976] 726-32. Faber Stapulensis wrote a short book called Ars Moralis in Magna Moralia Aristotelis Introductoria (Paris, 1494) [B.L. IA.39414]. This book was frequently reprinted in the first half of the sixteenth century. The book is an endorsement of Aristotelian ethics rather than a commentary on M.M. No mention is made explicitly of E.N., E.E., or M.M. Section by section, Faber outlines Aristotle's views, then raises questions (questiones) and answers (elementa) and then draws morals (apothegmata), commands to the reader, like 'Perfice teipsum', 'Neminem lede', 'Ratio dominetur'. The book ends with a Peroratio Exhortaria, which begins: Vos ergo quos ad virtutes natura genuit, virtuti parete; fugite vicia. Sola enim virtus suo nos officio beatos efficit... Circa enim humanam vitam (ut nos recte admonet Aristoteles) minus verbis quam operibus creditur. The order of exposition is that of E.N. rather than of M.M. and there is no section corresponding to M.M. II i-iv, nor to good fortune (M.M. II.viii). Case, then, was wrong to cite Faber Stapulensis as a precursor who had shown interest in M.M.. As far as we know, he never read it. The words 'Magna Moralia' in the title of his book do not refer to M.M., but are Faber's own evaluation of Aristotle's ethics (E.N.) as 'great'.

Pier Vettori¹⁰³

Annotations by Vettori in his copy of the Aldine (now in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich [2^o Inc. c.a.3161ⁿ-5]), are recorded by Susemihl in his apparatus, with the siglum C^v. The majority of the readings of Vettori recorded by Susemihl are to be found in B (see Brockmann, [1993] 54-5, 59n.51)¹⁰⁴. Vettori even has one reading which is a recent addition in B at 89b36. At 03a28, where Susemihl prints ἐν, V had φαύλη οὖν ἐν but -η οὖν has been deleted. B no longer survives at this point, but Paris 2024, one of its descendents, has φαύλ· ἐν, leaving a gap. Vettori records in the margin of his copy of the Aldine that B too had left a gap with the word λείπει. Where Vettori does report B, there is no need to record Vettori's annotations in the apparatus of a new edition. There are several readings which are not in B, however, and these are still of interest. These can be divided into three categories:

- 1) conjectures of Vettori at 95a31, 97b35.
- 2) readings not in B: at 83a5 (γρ. τούτω, a reading from α L K), 83b19 (γρ. ἐπεὶ δὴ, unknown in mss.), 89b25 (πρακτοῖς with α A D K², but B has πρακτικοῖς), 09a7 (συμφέροντι with η L, but B has συμφέρον τι, and this is probably the source of Vettori's marginal note).
- 3) readings in places where Barb. no longer survives, where Vettori read something which is not in Vindob. at 03a10 (δόξη Vettori, δόξει V, δόξειεν cett., 03b13 (γρ. λέγωμεν Vettori, λέγομεν codd)).

The annotations of Vettori are not recorded in toto by Susemihl, and the microfilm in the Aristoteles Archiv is barely readable. A necessary future task is to read his annotations in Munich, and confirm that there are not more readings that are not in B.

Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609)¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ See Pecorado, [1986], for a brief account of his life and further bibliography.

¹⁰⁴ Vettori also wrote in the margin of this copy of the Aldine annotations from the translation of Bartholomew. We know that he read the manuscript which is now at Cambridge, Harvard University Lat. 39. (See de Ricci [1935] 980). Perhaps it was from this manuscript (written c.1300) that he copied the readings of Bartholomew into his copy of the Aldine.

¹⁰⁵ For Scaliger, see Grafton, [1984].

The record in Susemihl's edition of emendations proposed by Scaliger does not always correspond with the record of Scaliger's emendations provided by Oncken,¹⁰⁶ although Susemihl used Oncken's work (Preface, p.vi.). At 82a17, 83a30, 86b14 and 88b34 Susemihl credits to Scaliger conjectures which Oncken does not mention. And Oncken had claimed (p.106) that his aim was 'die erste vollständige und zuverlässige Veröffentlichung sämtlicher handschriftlichen Bemerkungen Scaligers zu geben', excepting trivial corrections of misprints.

The attribution of these four conjectures to Scaliger must be doubted. All are attributed to Scaliger by Spengel, [1866] for the first time. (That at 86b14 is accepted by Bekker without any authority cited).

Less worryingly, there are some thirty readings which Oncken gives, but which do not appear in Susemihl's apparatus. Dirlmeier (p.113) approves of Susemihl's low estimation of the conjectures: 'exigua est earum utilitas' (Preface p.vi). In fairness to Scaliger it must be pointed out a) that some of his conjectures were good, but have been known for some time to occur in good manuscripts (e.g. at 91a31 he conjectures ἀναίρετικοὺς for αἰρετικούς, at 96b34 τῶν αἰσθητῶν for τὸν αἰσθητόν, at 98a15 πράξει for πράξι), b) that he did not have access to a very good text, so he was sometimes trying to restore sense in passages where we have much better evidence, and c) that his conjectures are accepted by Susemihl at 86b14, 87b19, 92b9 and 04b28.

I retain in my apparatus all the conjectures by Scaliger which Susemihl has in his apparatus¹⁰⁷ and add one more at 07a30. The four mystery conjectures I mark as possibly Scaliger's.

¹⁰⁶ Oncken, [1864]. Oncken records that the conjectures are found in the copy of *Aristotelis et Xenophontis Ethica, Politica et Oeconomica. Cum aliis aliquot ex Plutarcho, Proclo et Alexandro Aphrodisiensi Commentationibus* (Basel, c.1535), in Heidelberg University Library.

¹⁰⁷ Except at 86a34, where Susemihl records two conjectures by Scaliger. Scaliger read a text derived from the Aldine (Bas.¹⁻³, or Sylburg's edition) which omits ἦ² in a34. Seeing the need for a disjunctive after ἦδοναί, Scaliger moved ἦτοι from its position in front of λύπαι to a position directly after ἦδοναί. This was intelligent and an improvement on the poor quality text that he read. But a modern apparatus - unless it is a monument to scholarship on M.M. - should not record this suggestion, because we now know that it is not a candidate for truth.

PRINTED EDITIONS OF MAGNA MORALIA¹

The Aldine (ed. Aldus Manutius Opera, vol. 5, Venice, 1498)

There are readings which Susemihl accepts solely on the authority of the Aldine. The majority of these can now be traced further back. (See the apparatus at 86b7, 90b32, 91a21, 94a32, 99a1, 99b33-4, 01a33, 01b7, 05a21, 07b20, 08a39, 08b38.) Although the edition has been influential - Ald. remains the only source for readings accepted by Susemihl at the following places²: 84b30 (καὶ Ald.), 88a2 (πράττομεν Ald. for ποιούμεν), 88a31-2 (long sentence), 00a35 (μὲν Ald.), 03b30 (γενομένων Ald.), 04b29 (τὸ² Ald.), 11a8 (φιλίων Ald. for φίλων) 11a28 (ἔφομεν Ald.) - there are a very large number of errors which do not deserve a place in an apparatus to a modern text.

Brockmann argues, [1993] 60-1, that Paris gr.2024 was one of at least two manuscripts at Aldus' disposal. Additional examples of errors which occur in the Paris manuscript (and were not present in B) and are reproduced in the Aldine are: 88a38 transp. τοίνυν post ἄν; 90a1 βουλεύεσθαι] βούλεσθαι; 90a8 om. ἦ; 90a13 πρόθηται] πρόθεται; 93a18 om. ἄν; 93b13 om. τὰ; 93b18 καὶ] κατὰ; 94a38 ἀντεκκοπήναι] ἀντ' ἐκκοπήναι; 96b38 ἀποδείξεως] ὑποδείξεως; 97b20 μέντοι] μὲν δὴ; 98b33 τῶν] τὸν; 08a10 λογιστικὸν] λογικὸν; 08b13 Paris 2024 inherited an omission of the word τί, but this word has been added above τῆ. The Aldine prints only τί, mistaking the addition to the text in Paris for a correction; 09b8 φίλος] καὶ φίλος.

That Paris 2024 was not the only manuscript is confirmed by a number of passages. The following errors in Paris 2024 are not in the Aldine: 92b15 om. τ'; 94a1 om. πολλὰ — κεκτημένον²; 97b6 χείρον] χείρων; 98a30-1 om. ἦ γε — ἀρετή; 99b6 om. οὐ — ἀγαθά²; 04b18-20 om. εἰ οὖν — γένεσις; 07a31-2 om. καὶ ἐν — ἡ εὐτυχία.

What else did Aldus use, besides Paris 2024? The following readings appear only in the Aldine and in A: 83a22 αὐ τῆς] αὐτῆς; 91b15 ἤδη αὐτοῦ τοῦ καλοῦ] ἤδη Ἰ τῶ καλοῦ

¹ This section aims only to discuss the most important editions.

² See above pp.13, 30, 32, for readings that can be established to be much older, but which Susemihl only knew from the Aldine.

A, αὐτοῦ additur supra τῶ A², ἢ δ' ἰ αὐτοῦ κολοῦ sic Ald.; 91b28 om. ἐστι; 94b28 om. ἐστι; 95a33 αὐτοί] αὐτῆς; 00a28 χρήσεται; 07a33 λαβεῖν² + ὁ καὶ.

The reading just cited at 91b15 in the Aldine is the most striking and is sufficient to guarantee that the nonsensical reading of the Aldine derived from A and the confusion over the unusual abbreviation for αὐτοῦ (see pp.13-14). The only manuscript of which we have evidence that A parented is ε. Both A and ε are thus candidates for being manuscripts which Aldus had at his disposal. But ε does not share all the errors which are shared in A and Ald., and thus becomes a less likely candidate. If A was used by Aldus in conjunction with Paris 2024, all the readings listed so far would be explained. At 96b3 Susemihl prints ἦ δὲ τὸ αὐτῶ and Aldus prints ἦ δὲ τὸ αὐτῶ //³ ἦ δὲ ταὐτὸ. The first version is found β ε, while the second is found in 24. This nicely illustrates the claim that Aldus shares readings from A and 24.

But the Aldine's links to the A L family cannot all be explained by positing A as the second manuscript used for the first printed edition. The following readings are peculiar to L and the Aldine: 84b4 ἐν] ἐν τῆ; 85a35 om. τῆν; 86a3 om. τῶν; 98a2 τελέως] τέως.

So, even the hypothesis that Aldus had two manuscripts (Paris 2024 and A) to help him make the first printed edition does not account for all the data. There are also important links with α. α and Ald. share the following errors: 86b17 om. δῆ; 86b22 δόξειεν + ἦ; 89a2 ἄλλοις] ἄλόγοις; 92b15 τ' α] τε Ald., om. cett.; 93b25 ὑπεροχῆς] ὑπερβολῆς; 94a22 om. οὔ; 94a22 ἐστίν] καὶ τι; 04b16 ἔστι] ἐστὶ α Ald., om. ζ; 08a27 φησί L] φύσει α Ald., φήσει P² A η; 10a13 ἀνομοίοις] ἀνομίοις; 10b21 om. τὸ; 11b9 ἄρχοντος] πρὸς ἄρχοντας.

There are two significant affinities between the text of the Aldine to Vindob. itself: at 94a1,⁴ and at 05b8 ante φαύλη add. in mg. ἀλλὰ τῆ γε φαύλη φύσει V², in linea add. ἀλλὰ τῆ φαύλη φύσει Ald.⁵

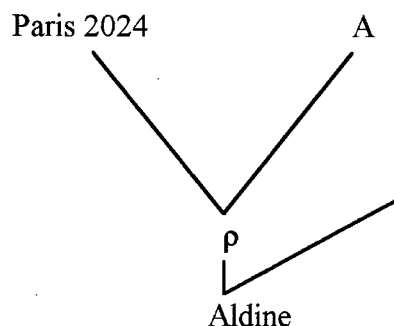
The following readings in the Aldine are not in any Greek manuscript:⁶ 84b30 καὶ;⁷ 88a2 ποιουμένων] πράττομεν; 98a30 γε] τε; 04b29 τὸ²; 06a36 μεταβάς + μὲν; 08b20 ante ἐστι add. δύσκολόν.⁸

³ Here a new page begins (226^v).

⁴ V, B and Ald. omit τά, whilst Paris 2024 omits πολλά — κεκτημένον².

⁵ Brockmann, [1993] 61n.60, cites this.

The results are not conclusive. It does seem, though, as though Aldus had access to more than one manuscript. Since Paris 2024 does not itself show any marks that we would expect to see in a printer's copy, it seems simplest to assume, until further work is done on this, that there was a manuscript made from Paris 2024 and A. Let us call this ρ. Contamination also took place in the Aldine itself, i.e. Aldus used one or two manuscripts together with ρ.



The wide range of sources that Aldus seems to have had at his disposal - in his preface to volume five of his Aristotle edition he complains about the shortage of manuscripts for E.E., but makes no complaint about access to manuscripts of the M.M. - leads one to believe that with more care Aldus could have prepared a much better editio princeps than he did.

Ἀριστοτέλους Ἄπαντα per Erasmum vol. 2 (Basel, 1531)⁹

The Aldine was the basis for Bas.¹. Errors present in Ald. are reproduced: 82a21 ἀλογον] ἀνάλογον; 82b4 ἄλλος] τέλος; 82b7 om. τοῦ; 82b20 ἦ] ἦν; 82b21 δι'] καθ'; 89b5 ἐκουσίως] ἀκουσίως; 91a21 παρῆ habent; 02a5 post εἰσιν add. οὐκ ἐξέπεσε δ' αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη (repetitio = 02a3-4); 08a24 τοῦ] τὸ; 08a36 φομέν] ἔφομεν; 11b8 πατρὸς] πατέρες; 13a24 post μὲν add. ἄν; 13a28 τύχης] ψύχης.

Occasionally Bas.¹ improves on Ald. At 90a35 Bas.¹ has οἶ, but where the Aldine, and all known manuscripts have ὦν. Here it is possible that the translation of Valla

⁶ Reginensis 125, a manuscript copied from the Aldine shares the strange readings of the Aldine. In what follows Reg. is excluded. When I say 'all manuscripts' I mean 'all manuscripts except Reg.'

⁷ Valla does not either. Cf. p.91.

⁸ Laur. 81,18, in its version of E.N. glosses ἔργον with δύσκολον at E.N. 1109a24.

⁹ See below, p.119, for Susemihl's inaccuracy in specifying which Basel edition readings arose in.

suggested the change. At 96a29 τῶ is read in Bas.¹, when the manuscripts, and the Aldine have τό. In both of these passages Susemihl accepts the reading of Bas.¹. At 08a27 Bas.¹ has φησι when the Aldine has φύσει.

At 02a34 Ald. has πάλιν, instead of περὶ, but Bas.¹ has πάλιν περὶ, which is not correct, but betrays the fact that another source besides the Aldine was consulted.¹⁰

In the margin of Bas.¹ there are several suggestions by S. Grynaeus (1493-1541). These conjectures are for the most part fairly sensible corrections of corrupt passages inherited from the Aldine. Since we have uncorrupt versions of most of these passages, Grynaeus' ideas are not worth recording in a modern apparatus. I only mention his addition at 91a21 in the apparatus, and do not think that it should be accepted.

The edition is disappointing. It is barely better than the Aldine.

Ἀριστοτέλους Ἔπαντα per Erasmus vol. 2 (Basel, 1539)

Bas.² is very close to the first edition. Everything that I have said about Bas.¹ is true of Bas.²: the readings inherited from Ald. are still in Bas.² and Grynaeus' conjectures are still in the margin. However, occasionally other readings which were shared by Ald. and Bas.¹ are abandoned: 86a12 τῖ Bas.²] τῖς ω Ald. Bas.¹; 93a29 δὴ Ald. Bas.¹] δὲ Bas.² (with C D); 97a36 ἐστὶν ἀεί Ald. Bas.¹] ἐστὶν ἦ Bas.² (with β); 00a31 ἦ Ald. Bas.¹] ἦ Bas.²; 08a35 ἐν ταῦτα Ald. Bas.¹] ἐνταῦθα Bas.²; 12b17 om. αὐτὸν Bas.¹ Ald., habet Bas.². The number of corrections is not sufficient to be able to tell what other source was used, besides Bas.¹. It is quite possible that no Greek manuscript was used.

There are some manuscript annotations in the copy in the Bodleian.¹¹ There are headings for sections in English and in Greek. There is the odd comment in the margin in Greek, but since the time that they were written, the edges of this edition have been trimmed and so we are missing some letters. One amusing example is at 08b29-30 where M.M. claims that friendship for god does not admit of reciprocity. Here our anonymous hand writes ἀμαρτάνεις τῆς ἀληθείας, ὧ γεννά[δε]. A couple of times at the start, errors

¹⁰ See below, p.113.

¹¹ Shelfmark [Antiq. c. Gs. 1539/2].

that are in Bas.² (and were in the Aldine and Bas.¹) are corrected in the margin by the same hand (ἄλογον 82a21, ἄλλος 82b4).

Ἀριστοτέλους Ἔπαντα per Erasmus vol. 2 (Basel, 1550)

Bas.³ adopts the improvements of Bas.² that I have noted above, except that at 97a36 we find ἦ ἐστὶν rather than ἐστὶν ἦ. But all the errors which I noted in the section on Bas.¹ are still present in Bas.³. And Grynaeus' conjectures are still in the margin.

A number of times Bas.³ improves on what was in Bas.¹ and Bas.². The following readings in Bas.³ are not known to occur earlier, and yet are accepted by Susemihl: at 87b39 Bas.³ omits οἶον (with β) when Ald. Bas.¹, Bas.² had had it; at 03b13 λέγομεν Bas.³ et γρ. Vettori] λέγομεν ω Ald. Bas.¹, Bas.²; at 03b18 ὁ δ' Bas.³, at Valla] ὁ τ' A η {α L} Ald. Bas.¹, Bas.²; at 05b19 Ald., Bas.¹ and Bas.² omitted μῆ, but Bas.³ has it.

Not accepted by Susemihl are 03b18 τὸν τε] τὸν δὲ Bas.³; 04b28 δὴ τὸ Scaliger] τὸ δὴ ω, δὲ τὸ Bas.³; 11b9 υἰὸν] υἰοῦς Bas.³; 11b15 ὁ τὸ α β] ὁ τε η, ὁ Bas.³, Bekker.

The improvements in Bas.³ are mainly unknown in any manuscript. It remains to be determined whether they are conjectural, or are taken from a late Greek manuscript that has not been read properly yet.

This edition includes notes and emendations by J. Velsius, M. Flacius, C. Gesner, P. Victorius. But the suggestions in the margin are not attributed to any one of these men. (See my apparatus at 81b25, 00a3, 00b29.)

A copy of this edition in the British Library [518m.1] was owned by Casaubon. He provides headings and, occasionally, exegesis in the margin. At the very end of the text he writes: 'desunt non pauca, opinor'.

J.B. Camotius Opera vol. 5, (Venice, 1552)

Twice Susemihl refers in his apparatus to Camotius' edition - at 04b28 and 13b28. At 04b28, however, Camotius does not have what Susemihl says he does.¹² He reads τὸ δὴ just as the first two Basel editions had and as the Greek manuscripts had. At 13b28

¹² Susemihl perhaps relied on Sylburg, who misreports Camotius.

Susemihl's apparatus is correct, but it is to be noted that Camotius writes τῆ without alerting the reader in any way that the change is conjectural, that all manuscripts and previous editions had τῆ ἐν.

What did Camotius use to make his edition? Camotius shares with Ald. and Bas.¹ all the readings cited above p.111. He exhibits little awareness of the improvements that took place in Bas.¹, Bas.², Bas.³ which I mentioned above. Camotius still reads ὦν in 90a35 with the Aldine (Bas.^{1,2,3} have οῦ); at 96a29 he still reads τὸ with the Aldine (Bas.^{1,2,3} have τῶ); at 02a34 he has πάλιν with Ald. (Bas.^{1,2,3} have πάλιν περί). There are no signs of Grynaeus' suggestions which are in the margin of all the Basel editions, nor of any of the conjectures of Velsius, Flacius, Gesner or Victorius in the third Basel edition. The proximity of Camotius' text to the Aldine is partly explained by the fact that Camotius' publisher was the Aldine house.

There are occasional readings which Camotius shares with the Basel editions against the Aldine: at 97a36 he reads ἐστὶν ἦ with Bas.² (Ald. and Bas.¹ have ἐστὶν ἀεί), at 08a35 he reads ἐνταῦθα with Bas.² (Ald. and Bas.¹ have ἐν ταῦτα). He may have occasionally consulted Bas.², but not in any systematic way. Certainly, he did not consult any manuscripts. His edition is only of use to a modern editor for its conjecture at 13b28. The copy in the Bodleian¹³ has occasional corrections by a reader. I note one in the apparatus at 00a3.

F. Sylburg: Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ εὐρισκόμενα vol. 10, (Frankfurt, 1584)

On the title page Sylburg states that his apparatus (printed at the end of the volume) is based on three earlier editions, Walderiana¹⁴ (1535), Bas.³ (1550), and Camotius' (1552).¹⁵ He also uses Valla's translation to reconstruct the text¹⁶, and adds: 'Privato iudicio aut coniectura nil mutavi nisi manifestus esset error'.

¹³ Shelfmark [Auct. I.6R.36].

¹⁴ Aristotelis et Xenophontis Ethica, Politica et Oeconomica. Cum aliis aliquot ex Plutarcho, Proclo et Alexandro Aphrodisiensi Commentationibus (Basel, c.1535).

¹⁵ Glucker, [1964] 275, says that Sylburg used earlier editions of Aristotle's works to provide him with variant readings and that 'it is doubtful whether he ever used a manuscript'. For the case of M.M. we can be more precise. He used no manuscript.

¹⁶ At one point over-enthusiastically: at 90a33 Valla's Latin persuades Sylburg to depart from earlier editors' πρότερον to read πότερον.

Sylburg's text is thus of value to a modern editor only for its conjectures. Susemihl notes his conjectures at: 86a35, 91b15, 92a3, 99a33, 00a37-8, 02a26, 05a22, 08b33, 10a20, 10b33, 11b36, 12b1, 12b19, 13b28, and that attributed to Casaubon in 12a20 was actually Sylburg's. I have added in my apparatus conjectures of his that are at least worth consideration at 92a3, 93b39, 94b33, 94b35-6, 01b15, 03b30, 08a10, 11b9, 12a19. Sylburg does not feature any more in an apparatus on many occasions in which he correctly conjectured readings which we now know to be correct. For example previous editions had read δ in 86a2, but Sylburg saw that $\hat{\phi}$ was correct, in 86a11 he recognised the need for $\delta\tau$ which earlier editions omitted. At 88b13 he realised that $\acute{\upsilon}\phi$, the only reading he was aware of, could not be right, and correctly proposed $\acute{\alpha}\phi$. In 91a31 he corrects his inherited reading, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ to $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. One could list many more.

I. Casaubon: Operum Aristotelis nova editio, Graece et latine vol. 2 (Lyon, 1590)

Casaubon's edition is the first to contain an apparatus on the same page as the text, and also the first to print the Greek side by side with a Latin translation.¹⁷

Susemihl cites readings from Casaubon's edition frequently, but not with due attention. Casaubon quite clearly signals the status of readings that appear in his margin. We should be told, e.g., that $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in 82b2 is a 'γράφεται' reading. But he makes conjectures at 82a36, 82b2, 83b7-8, 92b6, 92b7, 96b11, 98b30, 00a19, 03b7-8, 03b9, 04a16, 05b33, 07b24, 11b27, and 13a4.

It is in his margins¹⁸ that Casaubon's edition represents an advance on earlier editions, and in his revision of Valla's translation Casaubon also made an influential contribution.¹⁹ The Greek text he prints is close to Sylburg's. Many of the $\gamma\rho$. readings record differences in earlier editions can be accounted for in this way. For example, those at 82a21 and 82b4 may have been taken from the Walderiana.²⁰ But those at 82a20, 82a25, 90a19, 97a36, 99a8, 05a7 were not taken from any earlier edition. The $\gamma\rho$. readings at

¹⁷ Casaubon prints a revised version of Valla's translation. From his reports of Valla's translation (before revision) at 08b16-19, we can tell that he used the 1497 edition of Valla rather than the first edition.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the marginalia in Casaubon's edition see Glucker, [1964].

¹⁹ See pp.90-5.

²⁰ See above, p.113n.14.

82a25 and 05a7 may have been inferred from Valla. But those at 82a20, 82b2, 90a19, 97a36, 99a8 had never been printed before, and we must suppose that occasionally Casaubon did consult a manuscript. We do not, however, know which.

I add Casaubon's name in the apparatus at 87a8, 93a27, 93a35, 96a27 and 98b34.

I. Bekker (Berlin, 1831)

Bekker is the first editor to consult a range of manuscripts. For M.M. all knowledge of the text had been based on the left hand side of the stemma. Valla's translation and the Aldine edition had been the basis of the received text for over 300 years. He is the first student of M.M. to show knowledge of K since Giorgio Valla, and his use of M^b was the first time that a manuscript from the Recensio Messanensis had been used systematically for the constitution of the text.

Editio Tauchnitziana

Three times Susemihl cites readings from this edition (at 03a1, 03b17, 03b18). I have not been able to find this in Oxford or London. It stems from the publishing house of Tauchnitz in Leipzig in the nineteenth century. The first mention of it I have found is by Breier [1845] 844.

U.C. Bussemaker (Paris, 1850)

Bussemaker consulted no new manuscripts, but did incorporate some of the early conjectures of Spengel and Bonitz into his text. His text is really an updated version of Bekker's, but is less scholarly, since there is no apparatus. The preface to Bussemaker's edition was the only source Susemihl used for the readings of Bf. He features occasionally in a modern apparatus when he endorses conjectures of Bonitz and Spengel, and when he posits lacunae in passages that Bonitz or Spengel had diagnosed as faulty, but where Bussemaker was unconvinced that their suggested supplements were correct (03a12, 03b20-1, 03b22, 06b39). Only at 10a14, where he anonymously corrected (on the basis of scansion) an elision in a quotation of Euripides, does he instigate a change off his own back.

F. Susemihl (Leipzig, 1883)

I will make some notes on Susemihl's edition. First, I will list misprints. These are mainly of accentuation, but are important if the next editor uses a marked-up copy of Susemihl's text. Then I will note some misreportings of the manuscripts by Susemihl.

Misprints

In his Addenda Susemihl lists four misprints (82b17, 87a23, 96a10, 98b1). Dirlmeier has found 32 misprints in Susemihl's edition.²¹ I have found a further 49 - 81a24 ἄν] ἄν; 82a7 μή] μη; 82a33 δυνάμεως] δυνάμεως; 83a10 γάρ] γάρ; 83b6 ἐστι] ἔστι; 84b31 τινὶ] τινι; 85a18 τρέφεθαι²] τρέφεσθαι; 85a23 ἄν] ἄν; 85a39 ἄπλῶς] ἀπλῶς; 85b6 τοιοῦτα] τοιοῦτα; 85b18 ἐπὶ] ἐπί; 86b1-2 τοιοῦτόν ἐστίν] τοιοῦτον ἐστίν; 87b2 γάρ] γάρ; 88b5 δε] δέ; 88b10 γάρ] γάρ; 88b29 τινὰ] τινά; 89a24 τινῶν] τινων; 91b32 οὐδ'] οὐδ'; 92a1 ὁ] ὅ; 93b34 δίκαιον [ἐν] τισὶ] δίκαιόν [ἐν] τισι; 93b35 μέσον τισὶ] μέσον τισι; 94a20 ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι] ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι; 94b33 βαλλειν] βάλλειν; 95a25 μηθ'] μήθ'; 97b30 γέ] γε; 98a14 καλὰ] καλά; 98a17 ὀρμη] ὀρμή; 99a28 ἀγαθὸν²] ἀγαθόν; 01a4 δέ γε] δέ γε; 01a10 ἄν τισ] ἄν τισ; 01a16 δέ] δέ; 01a26 καλὰ] καλά; 02a5 αὐτοὶ εἰσὶν] αὐτοὶ εἰσίν;²² 02a13 λόγῳ] λόγῳ; 02a22 ἔπαινετός] ἐπαινετός; 03a4 ἀκράτης] ἀκρατής; 03b1 ἦ] ἦ; 04a6 φρόνιμός] φρόνιμος; 04b18 ἡδονή] ἡδονή; 05a3 φαμὲν] φαμεν; 07b6 φαμὲν] φαμεν; 08b29 εστι] ἔστι; 09a15 τὰγαθὸν] τὰγαθόν; 09b3 ἀρετήν] ἀρετήν; 09b27 καθ'] κατ'; 10b10 φίλειν] φιλεῖν; 10b31 ἄν] ἄν; 11a32 φαμὲν] φαμεν; 13b4 πολλοῦς] πολλοῦς.

Also his apparatus has misprints: on 86a34 Cois. has λύπη ἐστι sic; on 88a22 for κακὰ read κατὰ; the note on 91a37 should refer to 91a38; the notes on 01a9 should refer to 01a8, which leaves the exclusion of ἐποίουν in a9 without manuscript support; on 02b38 Susemihl's apparatus is misleading: K and V wrongly have οὖν instead of αὖ at the beginning of the line, but his apparatus wrongly makes it look as though οὖν is alone the right reading of K (and the Aldine) at the end of the line; on 03a8 the corrector in P has not changed εὐιατώτερος to ἀνιατώτερος here but did so in 03a6; on 08a28 read K^b not K².

²¹ Dirlmeier, p.476. Many of these had been noted by St.G. Stock.

²² As in 1202a3.

Misreportings (or misleading reports) of the manuscripts in Susemihl's apparatus. This list is not a complete list because Susemihl does not record all readings he was aware of, and the sigla he uses sometimes lead to inaccuracies. The two most misleading aspects of his apparatus are a) his use of the symbol 'Π²' to record the readings of Venetus 213 (M^b) and Vaticanus gr.1342 (P) - as can be ascertained from Susemihl's preliminary article,²³ his thoroughness in collating Vaticanus deteriorates as the text progresses. From 1187-90 he only records those readings of Vaticanus 'quae maioris momenti sunt',²⁴ and from 1191 he only checked those points where his predecessors had recorded different readings in K and M. Susemihl rightly had a high regard for Venetus, which incorporates many of the corrections in Vaticanus; b) his incorporation of Coislilianus 161 into his first family Π¹. Coisl. does not straight-forwardly belong to the same family as K, as Brockmann has shown.

Misreportings of P

I correct Susemihl's report of P in Book I at 82a4, 82a23, 82b8, 82b20, 83a31, 84a20, 84a23, 86a34, 87a25, 87a32, 88a21, 88b1, 88b17, 90a29, 90b27, 91a5, 91a8, 91a17, 94a22, 94a28, 94a29, 95a8, 95a21-2, 96b24, 97a26, 98b2, 98b18. And there are more instances from Book II.

Misreportings of K

Dirlmeier (p.476) lists 81 misreportings of K. I have re-collated this manuscript which was collated on behalf of Susemihl by R. Schoell. Dirlmeier's list is accurate except that at 93a28 we find ἡρωνείας, not ἡρωνείας; at 95b23 K does not omit οὕτως; at 99b33 the positioning of γὰρ after φαῦλος has been corrected by a later hand, and put by that corrector after ὥσπερ; 03b20 the first ὁ is not omitted by K; at 07a18 ἔστιν is found not ἔστι; at 10a34 K does not read φίλοις but φίλοι. At 11a24 Susemihl's apparatus already recorded K's omission of ἔστι.

²³ Susemihl, [1881].

²⁴ Susemihl, [1881] 7-8.

The following (57) readings of K went unnoticed by Dirlmeier:²⁵ 82a26 om. οὖν; 82b9 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ; 82b10 ιδέας] ειδείας; 82b12 εἶναι] εἶη K¹, corr. K²; 83a36 λέγει + ὡς; 83b11 om. ὅτι; 83b29 χρήσασθαι] χρήσθαι; 84a14 τέλειον + τὸ; 84a14 τὰγαθόν] ἀγαθόν; 84b9 τὸ] τῶι; 84b29 om. εὐ¹; 85a11 λέγειν + τὸν τοιοῦτον; 85a11 γὰρ] δὴ; 85b14 K has ἦ; 86a10 om. τῆ; 86a11 transp. ὅτι post τούτων K¹, corr. K²; 86b8 om. μεσότητι οὔση; 87a17 μὴ + δέ; 87a28 K originally had the τὸ mentioned in Susemihl's apparatus - the recent corrector placed dots around the word, signifying deletion; 87b7 ἀψύχων K¹] ἄψυχον K²; 87b9 ὅτι + καὶ; 87b30 βελτίων] βέλτιω K¹, corr. K²; 90a17 δεῖ] δὴ; 90a34 πρότερον] πότερον K¹, corr. K²; 91a15 om. εἶναι; 92b13 ἐν οἷς K¹, ἐνίοις K²; 92b37 om. πρὸς, add. s.l. K²; 93a9 εὐλαβηθήσεται] εὐλαβήσεται; 93a21 πράξεις] πράξιν; 93b39 ἐστιν] ἐστι; 94a23 νόμισμα] νομίσματι; 94a39 ἀκολουθήσαντα] ἀκολουθήσοντα; 95a4 om. καὶ; 95a9 om. οὐκ ἔστι δέ; 95a38 om. ἦ; 95b23 ἀδικοῖντο] ἀδικοῖντο οἱ; 96b16 μόριον + λόγον K; 97b34 περὶ] ὑπὲρ K; 98b6 αὕτη] αὐτή; 01a24 τῶ λογισμῶ] τῶν λογισμῶν; 02a5 K has πάλιν; 02a9 ἐσομένου] ἐπομένου; 03a10 ὅμως] ὁμοίως; 04a8 ἀπορήσειε] ἀπορήσει; 04a8 om. ἄν; 04a10 om. ὁ; 06a27 δειπνοποιοῖ] δεινοποιοῖ K¹, corr. K²; 07a15 εὐνοια + ἦ K; 07a22 ἡμῖν + μὲν K; 07b20 εἶη + καὶ; 08a32 ταῦτα] ταύτας; 08b29 πρὸς + τὸν K; 09a12 εἶ] εἰ; 10a12 ἔσεσθαι K¹, ὄσεσθαι K² (= rec.); 11a38 τῶ] τὸ K¹, corr. K² (= corr.¹); 12b24 τούτου] τοῦτο; 13a21 ἴδομεν] ἴδομεν.

Misreportings of Coislin.161

84a29 Cois. has ἀλλ' ἄρα γε sic; 96a29 Cois. has the τὸ which α omits; 98b6 Cois. has γὰρ ἄν; 01a3 Cois. does not omit οὐ; 01a8 Cois. omits ἐποίουν here but has it in a9; 01a9 Cois. has συμβαίνειν and συμβαίνει in a8; 03a35 Cois. does not transpose δόξειε after εἶναι; 08b14 Cois. has κύνα; 09a7 Cois. has συμφέροντι; 10a20 Cois has πλείω; 10a32 Cois. has πλείονα.

Misreportings of the Aldine

²⁵ I have been able to check my collation against that of Walzer in his annotated edition, and against Ashburner's notes on this manuscript, [1917] 31-55.

82b9 Ald. has ἀύτοῦ, not αὐτοῦ; 84a20 Ald. has συναριθμηῆς not συναριθμεῖς; 85b14 ἦ² is not omitted in Ald.; 92a3 Ald. has ἀνελεύθερος not ἀνελεύθεριος; 97a36 ἐστὶν ὀεί] Ald. has ἔστιν ἦ and not ἐστὶν; 03b22 Ald. has the δὲ which Susemihl says is omitted; 05b27 Ald. gives βελτίους τὲ not βελτίους τε; 10a14 ἦ not ἦ; 13a21 ἴδωμεν not ἴδομεν.

Misreportings of the Basel editions

At 86a12, 93a29 and 97a36 Susemihl attributes to Bas.³ readings which had arisen in Bas.². At 92a24 he attributes to Bas.² a reading which first occurs in Bas.³. His note on 97a16 is false: all three Basel editions follow the Aldine in omitting καὶ — ὅσα (a15) and then in adding καί: εἰς τὸ συμφέρον ἤδη* καὶ συντείνει. What follows is perfect. The asterisk expresses raises doubt about whether ἤδη is correct.

Miscellaneous misreportings

At 89b20-1 the omission is not present in Z;²⁶ 90b32 the poverty of attestation for αὐτοῦς is not mentioned by Susemihl; 04b18-20 Paris 2024 omits εἰ — γένεσις which is more than Susemihl says is omitted; 11b9 I accept Mioni's correction of Susemihl's report. 07b20 Susemihl does not record that only B and its descendants omit καὶ after εἴη. For the systematic misreportings of Valla see pp.88-94.

Conjectures Misreported

At 90a21 Spengel, [1866] 627, conjectured ἐκάστου or ἐκάστων, not ἐκάστου or ἐκάστῳ. At 96b22, 97b27-8, 00a2 Susemihl also misreports Spengel. At 03a12 Bonitz' supplement is correctly reported by Susemihl except that μέν should be read for τέ. At 03b20-1 Susemihl wrongly attributes a conjecture of Bonitz in 1844 to Rassow.

Readings of unspecified provenance

There are also several places where the text of Susemihl has a reading which is not in any known manuscript, or where a reading only arose late, but Susemihl does not tell us

²⁶ So Brockmann, [1993] 60n.57.

so. See my notes on 1181a27, 1187a8, 1189a15, 1195b25, 1197a26, 1197b3, 1198b34, 1205b19, 1208b11-13.

There are also minor details of diacritics which Susemihl does not bother the reader with: at 86a34 the circumflex on $\lambda\hat{\omicron}\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$ first appears in Bekker; at 94b9 the accentuation $\pi\omicron\lambda\hat{\iota}\tau\alpha$ occurs first in Bekker; at 10a14 Bussemaker was responsible for $\gamma\alpha\hat{\iota}$? - mss. and editions had given $\gamma\alpha\hat{\iota}\alpha$; Sylburg was the first to put a rough breathing on the manuscripts' $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (in its different forms) at 11a24, 11a27, 11a30, 11a31, 11a36; Casaubon made the same corrections at 93a27, 93a35, 96a27; and Bekker at 92a26, 93a30, 03a3, 03a4, 07b38, 08a11, 08a17, 10a12, 11b34, 11b37.

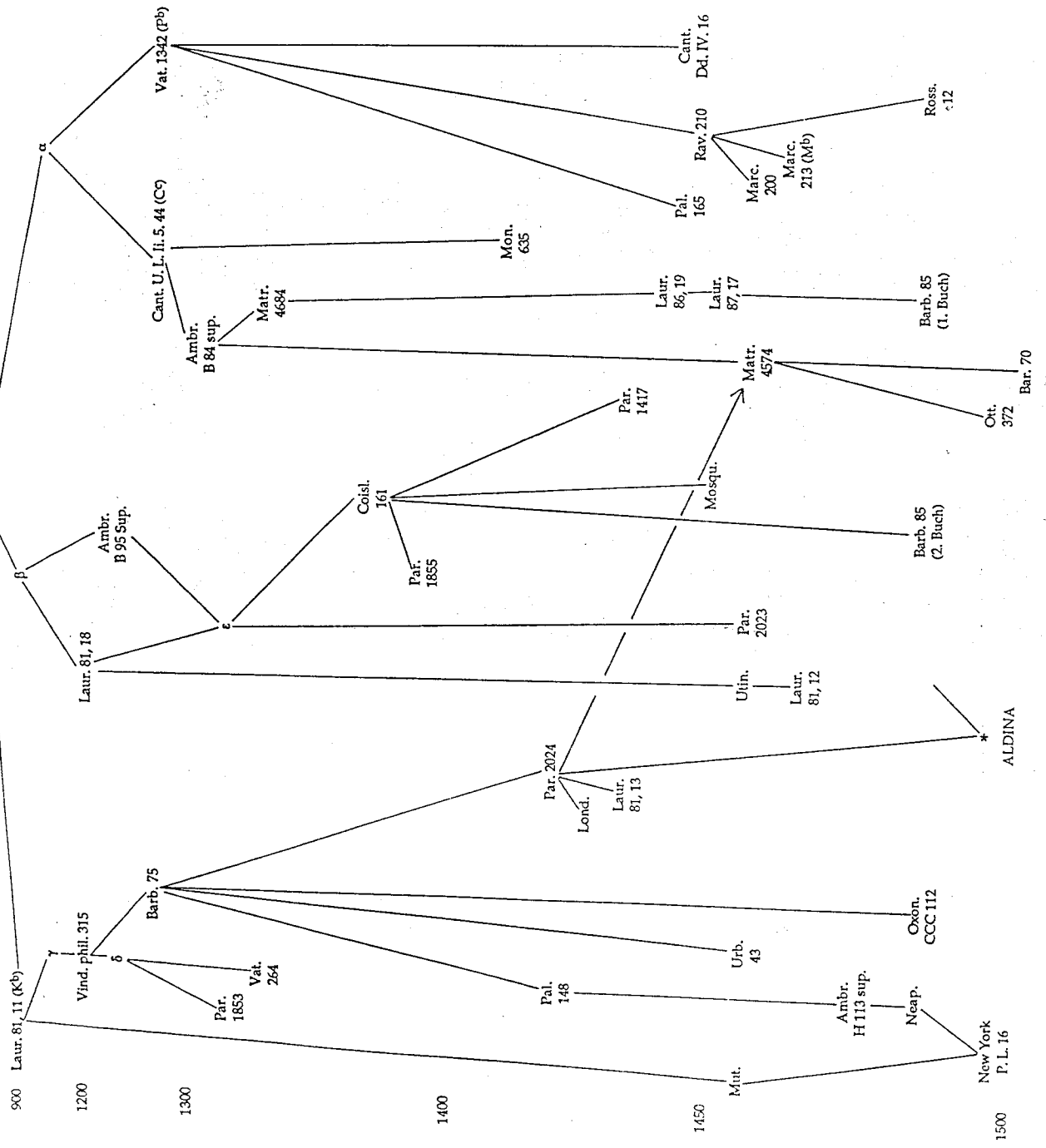
The defects of Susemihl's edition lie principally in a nineteenth century respect for the manuscript which is thought to be the oldest and the best, in this case Laur. 81,11 (K^b in Susemihl, hereafter K). Brockmann's research has shown this respect to be misplaced. In addition, Susemihl did not know about two manuscripts (A L) whose importance Brockmann has revealed, nor of V (whose importance I rate more highly than Brockmann). His edition, though, is a considerable advance on what had preceded.

Its merits are a more thorough knowledge of the manuscripts - introducing Coislin. 161, and correcting many of the misreportings that Bussemaker had inherited from Bekker - the incorporation of the contributions made to the text of M.M. by Breier, Bonitz, Brandis, Rassow, Ramsauer, Rieckher, Chandler, Spengel, Scaliger (see his introduction, pp.v-vi), and also a great contribution to the text made by Susemihl himself, both conjecturally and in the punctuation of the treatise.

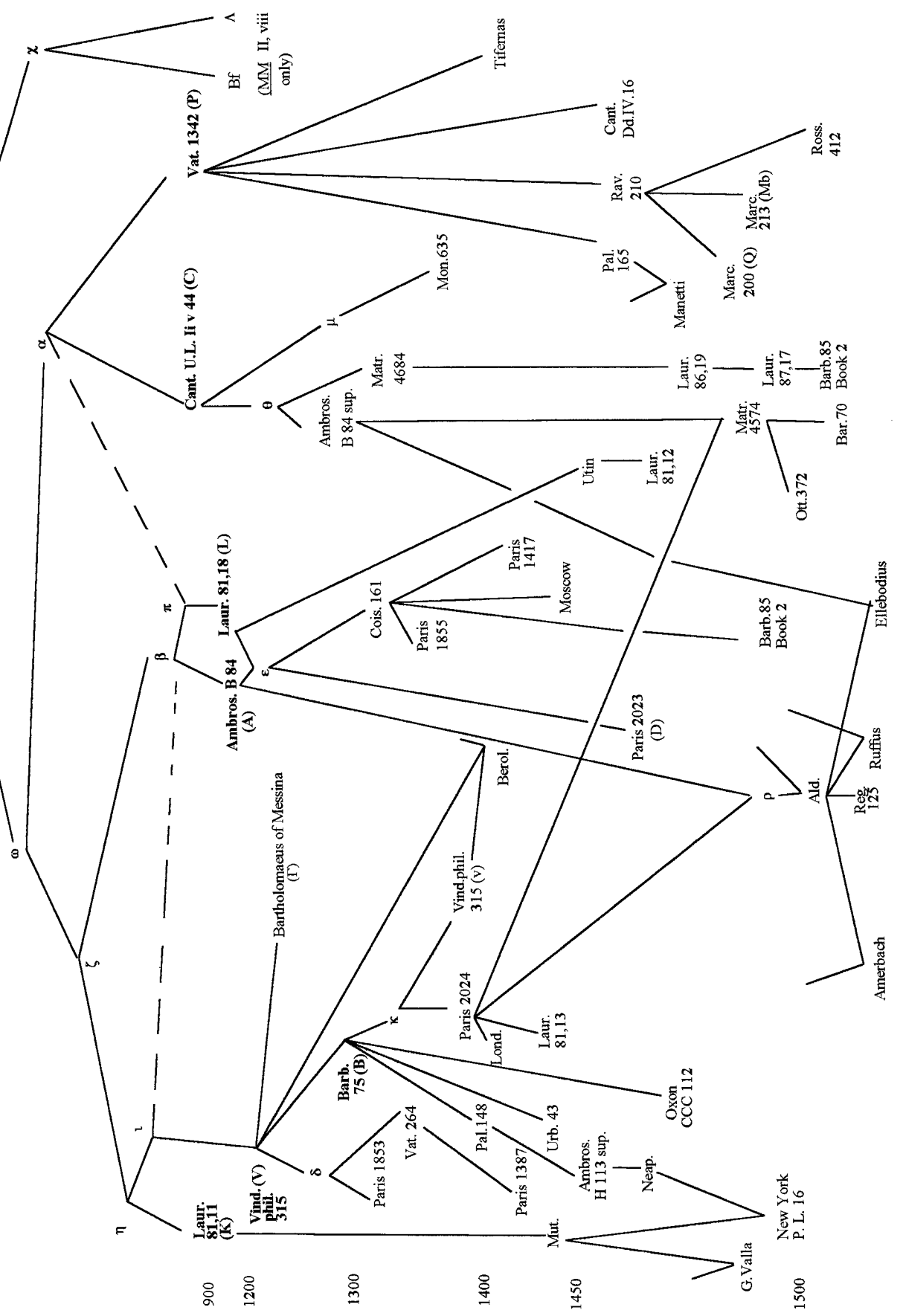
Überlieferung der Magna Moralia

Brockmann

STEMMA CODICUM



A Revision of Brockmann's stemma



Sigla¹Independent Manuscripts

- A: Ambrosianus B.95 sup. c.1300
- B: Vaticanus Barb. 75, 13th century by Rainaldos of Kallipolis. (Only independent where V does not survive). From 00a31 ἀρετὴ μᾶλλον to 07a26 ἐστὶν is lost in this manuscript.
- C: Cant. U.L. li. 5. 44 (1879). 1279 by Nicholas of Oria. (C^c in Susemihl)
- K: Laurentianus 81,11. End of the ninth century. (K^b in Susemihl)
- L: Laurentianus 81,18. End of twelfth century by <Ioannikios et al.>
- P: Vat. gr.1342. End of the 13th century by Nicholas of Oria (P^b in Susemihl)
- V: Vindobonensis phil.315. 11-12th century. Only survives from 93b19 (ὡς) — 13b5 (φιλεῖν)

Reconstructed hyparchetypes and archetype

- α: parent of C and P: we know the reading of α when the first hands of C and P agree
- β: ancestor of A and L: we know the reading of β when A and L agree
- ζ: agreement between β and η
- η: agreement between K and V (93b19-13b5), between K and B (up to 93b19, and 13b5-30)
- ω: agreement of C P A L K V, i.e. of α and ζ.

Descripti Citati

- Ald. Aldus Manutius' 1498 edition [Bodleian: Byw. A.4.13]
- Ambrs. B.84 sup.: 14th century (Wagner cites readings of this ms.)
- Cois.: Paris Coislinianus 161. c.1370. (P² in Susemihl)
- D: Paris 2023. 15th century by Demetrios Chalcondyles
- ε: parent of Cois. and D (1300-70): we know the reading of ε when D and Cois. agree
- Laur. 81,12: 15th century <Ioannes Rhosos> (I rely on Ashburner's report of this manuscript)

¹ For further information on the dates and scribes of the mss. see Brockmann, [1993] 46-9.

Laur. 81,13: 1444 by Demetrios Sguropulos

M: Venetus Marcianus 213. c.1470 by <Demetrios Hermonymus> (M^b in Susemihl)

Matr. 4574: 15th century by Constantine Lascaris

Matr: 4684: 14th century

Mon.: Monacensis 635. First decade of fifteenth century.

Pal. 165: c.1442 <Ioannes Sktariotes>

Rav.: Ravenna 210. 1447 by Athanasios Chalceopulos

v: Vindob. phil.315. 15th century supplement to V, up to 93b19 (ἕτερον) and from 13b5 (ἐφ')

Z: Oxford CCC 112. 15th century by <Petros Hypselas>

24: Paris 2024, first half of the 15th century by <Girard of Patras>

Latin translations

Γ: Translation by Bartholemew of Messina (unedited) (see p.66-71)

Bf: de bona fortuna - communis translatio (see pp.73-6)

Λ: de bona fortuna Recensio Admontensis (See pp.76-80)

Valla

Other Abbreviations

superscript numbers after sigla: corrections, further detailed where possible. 1 = original scribe, 2 = first corrector etc. If I just cite, say, P¹ as departing from Susemihl's text, then P² will have corrected what P¹ wrote and the revised reading agrees with Susemihl's text (cf. e.g. 08b17).

superscript numbers after conjecturers' names: see bibliography under the name to see which publication the conjecture is in.

cett.: all known Greek mss. except those already mentioned in the entry

libr.: scribe

{X}²: the specified reading is illegible in the manuscript, X, because i) the microfilm is not

² I am indebted to D.S. Hutchinson for this device.

good enough - especially true for A, or ii) the manuscript is damaged - as often in L, or iii) the binding is too tight to be able to read the text - again, as often in L, or iv) the reading does not exist because of an omission already signalled in the apparatus.

c.p.: comma after

n.p.p.: no punctuation after

p.p.: full stop/semi-colon after

s.i.p.: question mark after

//: end of a line (cf. 84b18, 11b30)

A + B: After 'A' the scribe adds 'B'

Readings of C P A L K V are always recorded.³ I have collated three other manuscripts in full (B v D), but do not report their readings often, since they are descendents of manuscripts that we possess. One must not conclude from a reading in the apparatus 'καὶ om. β' that Cois. has the καί (though this is stemmatically likely), but one can conclude that C P K V (or B instead of V, where V does not exist) do have καί.

The collation is made against Susemihl's text. Unless I indicate otherwise, when I mention Dirlmeier, I am referring to his commentary, and when I mention Susemihl, I am referring to his edition.

³ I do not record in the apparatus the places where the manuscripts spell correctly what are misprints in Susemihl (see p.116 above for these), except where some manuscripts share the 'misprint'. Nor do I record in the apparatus orthographical details which I report on pp.169-80.

Collation of Magna Moralia I

Titulum ad initium primi libris: Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν νικομαχείων μεγάλων α,
 Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων ζ,
 ad initium alterius libris:¹ ἠθικῶν νικομαχείων μεγάλων C P² (= rec. in mg.),
 ἠθικῶν μεγάλων P¹,
 Ἀριστοτέλους ἠθικῶν μεγάλων ζ

1181a24-1193b19 Codd: C P (= α), A L (= β), K B (= η). β η = ζ

- 1181 a24 ἠθῶν α β, prob. Arnim¹ recte || πρῶτον] πρότερον α a25 ἐστὶ μέρος
 {A} || ἦθος] ἠθικὸν Frede a26 δοκεῖ α || ἄν add. Spengel² || ἄλλως ἢ τῶν
 πολιτικῶν M, ἄλλων ἢ τῶν πολιτικῶν Spengel² a27 γὰρ P² (= libr. ipse)] δ' ζ,
 om. α || δυνατὸν om. D M || τοῦ s.l. A || ποῖόν Bas.³] ποιόν ω recte a28 εἶναί] τίς A
 1181 b25 πρακτικὸς] πραγματικὸς A || εἶναι + κατὰ α Γ || σπουδαῖον A Bas.³, prob.
 Spengel² b26 ἐστὶν ἄρα ὡς ἔοικε ζ] ἀρετῆς ἔοικε C P², ἄρα ἔοικε P¹, P³ b27
 δοκῆ L b28 ἄν 'mire hic positum' Spengel² || ἡ s.l. P || οὐκ] οὐδ' C
 1182 a1 ἀρετῆς ut vid. P a2 ἴσως om. M, Venetus 200 a3 ἐπαΐειν] οἶειν α, ἴσως
 ἄειν mg. P² (= rec.), οἶειν Rav. a4 εἰδήσωμεν α K¹, -ομεν K², sed restituit ω K³
 (= corr.²) || σκοπεῖσθαι] οἶεσθαι α, οἶεσθαι M, σκοπεῖνσθαι Ald. a5 καὶ <ὄπως
 γενησόμεθα σπουδαῖοι πῶς καὶ> ego || ἔσται α] ἔστι ζ || σκέψασθαι] σκοπεῖν C P²
 (= rec.), σκείψασθαι A, {P¹} || γὰρ + τῶ s.l. C a6 αὐτοῖ] ἡμεῖς α || transp.
 εἶναι post τοιοῦτοι L || εἶναι] τῆς A || δυνάμεθα α a7-8 μὲν οὖν] μὲν K Rav.², οὖν
 Rav.¹, {A}, μέντοι Spengel², μὲν οὖν <ὄμως> Susemihl p.100 a9 ἔσται¹ K] ἐστὶ
 β, ἄν V, om. α recte || ἀγνοοῦντες C ἀγνοοῦντας P || τὸ om. α || ὥσπερ s.l. C
 a10 λαμβάνειν ci. Susemihl si μέντοι (a7) verum est || πρότερον ζ] πρῶτον α
 a11 εἰρήκεισαν α || πρῶτον P η a14 ἐποιήσατο B || ἰσάκιος ἴσως C, ἰσάκιος
 ἰσάκις (attamen ἰσάκις in rasura) P, ἰσάκης ἴσος L a15 ἐπιγινόμενος α a16
 τοῦτον L K a17 εἶναι om. β, secl. Scaliger (?), Spengel² || transp. ἐστὶν post εἶναι
 Γ (esse est), prob. Spengel² a19 γίνεται Ald. || μορίῳ] μόνω η || αἰ om. L
 19-20 κατ' αὐτὸν om. η, καθ' αὐτῶν (sic) Ald., καθ' αὐτὸν Amerbach a21
 ἄλογον] ὄλον C¹, corr. libr. ipse rubro pigmento C, ἀνάλογον L B a23 οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 {A} || ὀρθῶς] εἰκῶς α, εἰκότως eadem manu P² || transp. ταῦτα post δὲ (a24) L
 a24 εἷς τε τὸ {A} || τε om. α a25 ἐκάστω L, ci. Spengel², utrique Valla] ἐκάστου α
 η, ἐκάστας A || τὰς add. s.l. C², in mg. P², prob. Spengel², om. ω recte || τὰς ἀρετὰς

¹ I do not record the ways in which the manuscripts refer to, say, book II: some by using a beta, some by writing out beta, another by writing δεῦτερον.

- <τὰς> προσηκούσας aut τὰς προσηκούσας ἀρετὰς ci. dubitanter Susemihl ||
 προσηκούσας] πρε πούσας (spatio unius litterae post ε relictō) C, πρεπρούσας P,
 πρεπούσας M, {A} a26 οὐν om. L η || τούτου] τούτων C || μέντοι τουτο] δὲ
 ταῦτα α a27 ἀρετὴν κατέ- {A} || καὶ συνέζευξεν om. ζ, retinent Donini¹,
 Dirmeier recte a28 οὐ δὴ] οὐδὲν α a28-9 οἰκεῖον· ὑπὲρ γὰρ {A} a29 ante
 ἀληθείας add. τῆς Dirlmeier || λέγοντων A a30 οὐδὲ L || τουτο κάκεῖνο C¹, corr.
 C² (= rec.) a31 τοσοῦτω (sic) ut vid. A || ἦσαντο B a32 δεῖ] ἔδει ci. ego ||
 τουτων] τουτου L a34 ἐπιστήμας ut vid. C a35 ἀγαθῶν ut vid. A a36
 βέλτιστον L Γ Casaubon, optimus Valla] βέλτιον α A η
- 1182** b1 ὥστε + καὶ L b2 ἀγαθὸν ω, prob. Spengel²] γρ. τάγαθόν Casaubon,
 prob. Rassow¹, Stock, <τὸ ἄριστον> ἀγαθόν Bonitz² (cf. 83a6), prob. Armstrong,
 <πολιτικὸν> ἀγαθόν Becchi¹ b4 του] τὸ η || θεῶ P, Spengel² || ἀγαθοῦ] ἀγαθὸν η ||
 ἄλλος + ὁ α b5-6 ὑπὲρ — ἀγαθοῦ¹ Susemihl] ὑπὲρ του πολιτικοῦ ἡμῖν ἄρα
 ἀγαθοῦ λεκτέον α, ὑπὲρ πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον ἀγαθοῦ β, ὑπὲρ του ἄρα
 ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῖν λεκτέον η, ὑπὲρ του ἄρα ἀγαθοῦ <του> ἡμῖν λεκτέον Spengel², ὑπὲρ
 του πολιτικοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἄρα ἡμῖν λεκτέον aut ὑπὲρ του πολιτικοῦ ἄρα ἡμῖν
 λεκτέον ego, secl. Ashburner b6 ὑπὲρ + του L b7 του] τὸ K¹, om. Ald. b8
 ἦ] οὐ C || ἐν] ὃν α, prob. Furley b9 αὐτοῦ ε M] αὐτοῦ ω || ἦ L || μετέχοντα α,
 corr. P² (= rec.) b10 τουτο δὲ ἐστίν om. A || τάγαθοῦ] ἀγαθοῦ C b11 οὐ +
 οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ ταυτόν. L || ὡς] οὐ A || ὑπάρχει C b12 ἀγαθοῖς η || τουτο om. L ||
 εἶναι] εἶη K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) b13 τόδε P b14 δὴ Rieckher, utique Valla]
 δὲ ω b15 τὸ¹ om. B || τὸ² om. α b16 ἄπασιν α β || ὑπάρχει P, ὑπάρχη A {C¹}
 b17 τὸ om. L b18 ὀρισμὸς¹] ἀριθμὸς L || ὀρισμὸς] ἀρισμὸς L¹, corr. L² b19
 λέγειν] ἄγειν L || ὅτι¹] τι in mg. P² (= rec.), ὅ τι L Stock || ὅτι²] ὅ τι L Stock || ὅ τι
 ὅτι α K b20 ἦ] ἦν Ald. || δὲ + καὶ L || τὸ add. P² (= rec.), om. ω recte
 b21 ὃ ἂν Z] ὃ ἂν ω, ὅταν ego || ὃ ἂν ἦ evanuerunt Cois. || αὐτὸ] ἐαυτὸν L ||
 ὑπάρχον C b22 ὅτι] τι in mg. P² (= rec.) b23 του² om. β || αὐτῆς Bekker] αὐτῆς
 ω b25 ὅτι om. C et fort. P, εἰ Rav., fort. P b26 καὶ ὡς ποιεῖ om. A
 b28 αὐτῆ K] αὐτῆ C β B recte, αὐτῆ P b29 οὐ μιᾶς B b30 τέλος D Utin.
 Bonitz¹] τέλους α A η, τέλ (sic) L || οὐδ' ἄρα] οὐδὲ B b31 ἀγαθὸν L || του {A}
 b32 ὅτι ὅταν] ὅτ' ἂν B, ὅτι A || supra βουλώμεθα add. οι libr. ipse ut vid. A
 b33 δεῖξαι] δεῖ P¹, corr. P² (= rec.) || καὶ om. ζ || τῶν + κατὰ ω recte b34 ὅτι]
 ᾧ α || ἀγαθὸν B b35 ὃ ἂν Bekker, quod (... voluerimus) Valla] ἐὰν α A η
 recte, ὃ ἂν P² (= corr¹), {L} b36 ἦ om. α (sed rasura trium litterarum P) || ἀγαθὸν
 + ὅτι P¹, del. P²
- 1183** a1 ὅτι] οτι C a2 ἀρετῆ] ἀρεταί L || μεγαλοψυχία² + ἀρετῆ. ὥστε καὶ ἡ
 μεγαλοψυχία (repetitio) A a3 δὴ] γὰρ L a5 τούτω om. A, τουτο B a5-6 ὅτι
 — ἐρεῖ 'haud sana esse suspicantur Brandisius p.1343n.9, neque ego haec satis

- intellego' Susemihl a6 καὶ om. β a8 οὐτ' om. L B a9 ἀγαθὸν B a11 καὶ
 τινὶ secl. Spengel², καὶ ποῦ ci. Bonitz¹ a12 πάσαις α B || a14 μὲν om. L
 a15 δεῖ om. Rav. || ἐκάστω C, ἐκάστ P a16 ἕκαστον B || τῆ η, om. α β recte
 a17 κυβερνητικῶ C, κυβερνητικῆ (sic) P a18 ἰατρικῶ C, ἰατρικῆ (sic) P
 a19 ἐν secludo || τὸ πρὸς] κατὰ B a20 ἄλλας + ἀρετὰς C¹, del. C², post ἄλλας
 rasura trium litterarum P || μὲν + ἐν A a21 ἐπιστήμης + ἐστὶν K¹, del. K² (=
 libr. ipse) a22 πότε secl. Armstrong recte || αὐτῆς K, αὐτῆς A a24
 ἀρίστου, καὶ {A} || transp. οὐδὲ post δεῖ L a26 ἀφανῶν] ἀγαθῶν A, ἀγαθῶν
 ἀφανῶν P¹, corr. P² a26-7 τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς] τῶν αἰσθητῶν A a27 καὶ om. α β
 recte || φανερώτερα A Rav.] φανερώτατα α L η || τὰγαθοῦ α L] ἀγαθοῦ A η, τοῦ
 ἀγαθοῦ Rav. a28 transp. τις post ἐγχειρῆ η a30 δεῖν¹] om. B, secl. Scaliger
 (?), Spengel², Armstrong a31 τὸ om. D M a32 οἶόν τε B || δὴ] δὲ Spengel²
 a33 πολίκη L a34 οὐχ] οὐ γὰρ B, secl. Scaliger a35-6 οὐδεμία — πολιτικῆ secl.
 Wilson a35 γὰρ] γε ut vid A¹, corr. libr. ipse a36 ὅτι] ὡς ὅτι β K, ὡς ὅτ' B a37 οὐχ]
 οὐδὲ L a38 φησὶ om. α || τούτῳ] τοῦτο A || ἀγαθῶ A, τῷ ἀγαθῷ L || ὑπὲρ {P} || καὶ
 τῶν M Venetus 200, καὶ τὰ M² (= Bessarion, teste Mioni) a39 τούτων B || ἐρεῖ mg.
 P² (= rec.)] ἐρῶ C β B recte, ἐρῶ vel ἐρῶ ut vid. P¹, ἐν ῶι K
- 1183 b4 συνημμένως A || καὶ² om. A b5 transp. εἶναι post ἀθάνατον α β recte
 b6 ὁμοίον ut vid. L || ἐπὶ] ὑπὲρ L K b7 διὸ] διὰ τὸ corr. fusco atramento Laur.
 81,12, ci. Ellebodius, Bonitz¹, prob. Armstrong b7-8 διὸ — τὰγαθοῦ om. α,
 secl. Bekker recte b8 <δῆλον τῶν ἀγαθῶν> τοῦτο τὰγαθόν Casaubon, <λέγομεν
 τὴν> τούτου τὰγαθοῦ vel simile quid Spengel², τοῦτο τὰγαθόν Bonitz¹, Armstrong,
 λέγομεν τοῦτο τὰγαθόν Stock, <τὴν ἐκ> τούτου τὰγαθοῦ Dirlmeier aut lectio
 Bonitzii, τούτων τὰγαθόν Gadamer² b8-18 οὐκ— ἐπιστήμης non huc pertinere
 monuit Spengel², asteriscis circumscrispsit, conferens 82a15 sqq., Susemihl, retinet
 hic Donini¹ || οὐδ' om. D b9 δεῖν om. D b11 ὅτι om. K b16 ὡσαύτως C A K
 b19 ἐπειδὴ B, γρ. ἐπεὶ δὴ Vettori b22 τὸ¹ om. L || βέλτιστον L b23 ἡ ἀρχή
 secludenda aut τὸ ἄρχον vel ὁ ἄρχων (cf. Stobaeus 134,21-2) restituendum esse ci.
 Spengel² || γὰρ ἐφ' P² (= libr. ipse ut vid.)] δ' ἐφ' α A η Coraes recte, στεφ' sic ut
 vid. L b24 δὲ] γὰρ ci. Coraes, p.222 recte || οὐκ οὖν P L K b25 δὴ om. α b25-6
 οὗτος... ἀρετῆς] οὕτως... ἀρχῆς Dirlmeier b26 οἶον + αἱ β b27 ἀπὸ] ἐπὶ D
 b28 δυνάμει η, corr. K² (= corr.²) b29 δύνονται ut vid. A, δύναιτο Spengel² recte
 || χρῆσθαι K b30 δυνάμει η || transp. τὰ τοιαῦτα post καλοῦνται L b31 δὴ
 εἰσίν] δ' εἰσί C, δὴ ἐστὶ D || τῆ] οὐ L¹, corr. L² (= libr. ipse) || αὐτῶν ἕκαστον α]
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν β, αὐτῶν η b32 χρήσει] χρή L || οὐ τῆ] οὐδὲ ut vid. L b33 καὶ
 {A} b34 καὶ¹] ὁ L b36 ἀγαθοῦ {A} b37 γυμνασία ci. Sylburg || ὑγείας]
 καὶ ὑγεία α b38 τὰγαθὰ + τὴν B b39-84a2 πάντη ter] πάντι ter Arnim^{2,4,5} e
 Stobaeo 135,17-19 (conferens 07b31-08a4) recte

- 1184 a1 αί om. A a6 ή om. η a7 τούτο om. Mon. || αὐτῶν + τε Mon.
a8 τέλειον] τελέ L a9-10 μηθενός — παραγενομένου om. C a10
παραγενομένου + οὐ C² nigriore atramento || μὲν μόνον η] μὲν μόνης β, om. α, μὲν
Bekker a11 transp. πολλῶν post προσδεόμεθα B || προσ- om. A a14 τὰγαθόν
Rassow^{1,3}] ἀγαθόν ω || καὶ β] καὶ τὸ α η recte || τῶν ἀγαθῶν Rassow^{1,3} (conferens
84b8)] τὸ ἀγαθόν α β recte, ἀγαθόν η a16 ἄριστον om. A a17 post ἐπειδὴ
rasura duarum literarum = ὅς ut vid. K || ὡς om. α a20 συναριθμεῖς K¹,
συναριθμυῆς ut vid. L || αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ C A B a21 βέλτιστον] βέλτιον α recte
|| ἐστίν Spengel²] ἔσται ω recte || οἶον + εἶ τις Spengel² a22 σκοποῖ, commate
posita non ante sed post σκόποι, Spengel² || transp. τούτων post πάντων L ||
βέλτιστον] βέλτιον C a23 τούτο M] τούτων ω || ἀπάντων L || αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ β,
αὐτοῦ B a24 βέλτιον, conferens a21, ci. Spengel² || βέλτιστον· + εἰ δὲ τούτο,
καὶ αὐτὸ αὐτοῦ βέλτιον vel simile quid Susemihl (addenda) || οὐ δὴ] οὐδ' Spengel² ||
οὕτω γε] γε οὕτω α β a25 ἄρα Cois.², Bekker, Valla (an)] ἄρα ω || γε] τόγε α || πῶς
α L, om. B || <εἰ> χωριστὸν αὐτό, si v. 28 recta sit α lectio, ci. Spengel², χωριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ Becchi³ || αὐτοῦ] αὐτό Bonitz¹, Stock recte, αὐτῶν Stock a26 καὶ om. A
a27 ὦν sic L || ἐξ ὦν] ὁ ἐξ Spengel² || εἰ — βέλτιον (28) secl. Scaliger || τούτων ci.
Ellebodius, Bekker, prob. Spengel², τούτων τού ci. Susemihl, τούτου Ambr. B 84
sup. teste Wagner a28 βέλτιον A B, Spengel²] βέλτιστον α L K || χωρὶς τούτων
η] χωριστὸν ὑφ' ὦν α, prob. Spengel², χωρὶς τῶν ὑφ' ὦν β recte a29 ταῦτα]
ταῦτά γε β || om. ἀλλ' α K recte, habet β B || ἄρα Bekker] ἄρα γε ω, an Valla ||
οὕτως K¹, rasuit ι corr.¹, restituit corr.² a29-30 transp. ἄν τις post ὀρθῶς (30) B
a30 ἄριστον] ἄορετον ut vid. L a32 αὐτῆ] ταύτη α a34 λέγει P || τῶν B
Cois.] om. α β K recte a35 ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ] ἴσως οὐδ' ci. Spengel² a37 om. δ B
- 1184 b1 ἀγαθὰ + καὶ M b2 οἶον αὐ {L} b3 ἐκτὸς + οἶον L, ci. Spengel,
om. Stobaeus 136,14 b4 τῶν τοιοῦτων] τοιοῦτον L || ἐν + τῆ L b5 transp.
διώριστα post ἀγαθὰ B b8 καὶ¹ om. L b9 καὶ¹ om. L || τὸ¹ B] τῶ α A K recte,
τοῦ L b10 ἐνίων ut vid. A, ἐνὶ Ald. || τὸ om. β b11 αὐτῆ α B || lacunam post
ὄψεως aut post ὄρασις Donini¹ || ἐστὶν ἢ ὄρασις om. η, perperam b12 γὰρ
Susemihl] δὲ ω b13 ἄν om. L || ἔχειν K², {K¹} ei in ras. b14 ἐπ' ἐπὶ τῆς L || καὶ²
+ ἐπὶ L b15 καὶ¹ om. α L || ἠ¹ secludendum esse ci. Bekker, prob. Bonitz¹ ||
καὶ² + ἠ β b16 ἀνέργεια A b18 μὲν ποιούσαν] μέντοι οὔσαν C, μὲν ποι //
οὔσαν P b19 δὲ {A} || τὴν <αὐτὴν τὴν> ci. Spengel² b20 ποιητικὸν B ||
τούτου εἶ] σπουδαίου? Jackson b21 εἶ add. supra versum P² (= libr. ipse),
prob. Bonitz¹, om. ω || καὶ β] om. α η || τῶν ἄλλων + τῶν λοιπῶν α b22
transp. τοίνυν post τούτο β b23 τοι] τι C b24 τύχην L b25 εἶ add. sive hic sive
ante ποιεῖ Spengel², ante ποιεῖ Bonitz¹, Bussemaker recte || <εἶ δὲ ποιεῖ> οὐ

- Armstrong **b25-6** ἡ — μέν, eicienda sunt aut corrupta Bonitz¹, certe μέν etiam Breier, ἡ — καὶ et δὲ (b26), quod om. M^b, secludenda esse dubitanter ci. Spengel² **b26** τὰλλα μὲν] ἀλλὰ μὴν Spengel², ταῦτ' ἄλλα μὲν dubitanter ci. Rieckher **b27** ζήσωμεν α, corr. P² || καὶ + τὸ L **b28** λέγομεν — εὐδοκιμοειν² om. α **b29** εὐδ¹ om. K **b30** ἄρα A || ἐστὶ + τὸ L || καὶ Ald.] om. ω **b31** τινος A || ἡ ἐνέργεια L **b31-6** ἐν χρήσει — ζῆν secl. Stock **b32** ἦν om. Ald. **b33** ἐστίν] μὲν L **b34** δὲ καὶ¹ Bonitz¹] δὲ ἡ codd., prob. Donini¹, δὲ Spengel² || ἡ secl. Bonitz¹, Bussemaker, Spengel² || τῶν ἀρετῶν] τῶν αἰρετῶν K, secl. Spengel², Armstrong, Stock **b35** αὐτῶν Susemihl **b36** transp. ἄν post εἶη β **b37** αὐτῆ A **b37-8** καὶ τέλειον τέλος om. ζ **b38** commatem ante (non post) ἐνεργεία Spengel² || ἐνέργεια Stock
- 1185** **a2** οὐδὲ A || καὶ² om. A **a5** ὅσον] ὄν B **a6** καὶ] οὐ L || περὶ A **a7** transp. χρόνῳ post βίου L **a8** ἐν² secl. Spengel² **a10** καθεύδει α ε **a11** λέγειν + τὸν τοιοῦτον K || γὰρ] δὴ η **a14** οὔτε λίαν α] οὔτ' ἄν A, οὔτ' ἄν λίαν L η || ἄν² + λίαν A **a15** τούτων] τούτω Ald. || ὡς δοκεῖ om. L **a16** τῆς s.l. L **a16-23** τοῦτο (16) — αἰτία (19) in parenth. (τῆς (19) — θεραπευτικόν (23) esse etiam protasin et τί οὖν... esse apodosin credens) Bonitz¹ **a18** ὄντας om. A **a20** τούτων μὲν τῶν] ὄντων τριῶν vel τῶν τριῶν Scaliger || τὸ μορίον D || transp. αἴτιον post εἶη β **a21** τὸ³ om. L **a22** περὶ P A || transp. οἰκειότερον post ὄνομα β **a23** εἶπη L **a25** ταυτὶ B **a27** εἰ — ἐνέργεια quomodo cohaereant cum εἰ — ἐνεργεῖν (a24-5) quaerit Spengel² **a28** ἔστιν + ταύτης A **a29** εἴοικεν L, {P¹}, corr. in mg. P² (= rec.) **a30** ἐκεῖνο P² (= libr. ipse) β] ἐκείνω α η || ὅτ' ἄν A, ὅ τι ἔάν L || κἄν] καὶ εἰ β B, καὶ K¹, corr. libr. ipse **a31** ἐμβόλαις A **a33** τρέφει + ἄν δε μὴ ἐμβόλης, ἔχει ὀρμὴν τρέφειν P¹, del. P² (= corr. rubro atram.) || ἄν] ἔάν P || post ἐμβόλης rasura circa sex verborum quam paene legitur: ἔχει ὀρμὴν τρέφ ἄν μὴ ἀλλ' C || τροφήν²] τροφᾶς B **a34** οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ α β **a35** τοῦτο] τοῦ A¹ || τῆν] δ' A, om. L **a36** τίς η || ἡ om. L **a37** ἐπειδήπερ A || ἡ²] om. α **a39** σφέστερον K¹, corr. K² (= rec.)
- 1185** **b1** ὑπὲρ] περὶ L **b2** οὐ] οὐ α, corr. in mg. C² || μέν om. D **b4** διειρημένη α, corr. P² (= corr.¹) || τὸ¹ om. η || καὶ + εἰς β || τὸ² om. η **b5** μὲν + γὰρ B **b8** transp. τοῦ ἦθους post δοκοῦσι D **b9** τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος B K² (= rec.)] τὰς τὸν λόγον ἔχούσας, τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντας, C, τὰς τὸν λόγον ἔχούσας, οὐδεὶς τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχον^τ P¹, sed οὐδεὶς — ἔχον^τ del. P² (nigriore atramento)
- τὰς τὸν λόγον ἔχούσας L,
τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος A,
τὰ τοῦτον λόγον ἔχοντα K¹

τὰς τοῦ, τὸν λόγον ἔχοντας K² (= corr.²)

τὰς τοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντος K² (= nescioquis posterior)

|| τὸν secl. Spengel² **b10** γὰρ] μὲν P || οὐδεὶς] οὐδ' L **b11** οὐδ'¹] οὐθ' A ||
οὐδὲ²] ἐν δὲ P¹, corr. P² (= rec.) || τὸ ζ C] τῷ P¹ Cois., corr. libr. ipse P² **b11-12** εἰ
μὴ ἦ Bonitz¹] εἶναι ἦ α L η, εἶναι, ἦ P² (nescioquis erasuit ^), εἶναι. ἦ A, εἰ μὴ
Brandis (p.1357n.44), [εἶναι] ἦ Scaliger **b12** τῷ + τὸν α A K **b13** ἦ² om. η, s.l.
L **b14** ἦ² om. A **b15** ἐκ τῶν] ἐκτὸς Chandler, ἔξω τῶν ego || ἠθικῶν]
αἰσθησέον (e Stobaeo 138,2) Spengel^{1,2}, αἰσθητῶν dubitanter ci. Susemihl (cf.
83a24-7), prob. Armstrong, Düring², Cooper¹, ἠθικῶν Allan^{2,3}, prob. Donini¹,
Kenn², τεχνῶν Becchi² (cf. E.N. 1104a8-14), παθημάτων Schadewalt (apud
Dirlmeier⁷) || δ'¹] γὰρ dubitanter ci. Susemihl **b16** γυμνασίαν β **b18-20** ἐπὶ τε —
σιτίων ὠσαύτως om. B¹, suppl. libr. ipse ut vid. **b19** δὴ om. β **b20** δὲ] τὲ A B
b22 ἐπὶ² om. α A **b24** τὸν θεὸν β **b25** δειλόν B **b26** οὔτε ὁ] ὁ οὔτε ci. et
ὁ² secl. Spengel² || φοβούμενος] φόβους ut vid. A || ταῦτ' Bonitz¹ (cf. b30), (eadem
editiones posteriores Vallae, 1590-1831)] ταῦτ' ω, Stobaeus 138,15 || καὶ¹ om. A
b27 παντὸς ci. Spengel² **b29** παρὰ A **b33** μόνον + τῇ ἐλλείψει καὶ ὑπερβολῇ
A **b35** κακῶν Ald. **b38** ἐπωνυμίας suspectum est Donini¹ **b39**
λέγοντας B

- 1186 **a2** ᾧ] ὁ B **a3** τῶν² om. L Rav. **a4** ante φύσει rasura unius litterae L ||
ἄλλ ὡς (sic) A **a6-7** ἄν — φέρεσθαι om. K¹, suppl. K² (= rec.) οὖν etiam
omisso **a6** ἄν] εἶ α || οὖν ἄνω om. B || ῥίπτει C || ἐθίζει α **a7** ἀχθείη L **a8** κοί
om. η **a9** δεῖ] δὴ L || ἦ om. C L **a10** τῇ om. K **a11** ὅτι om. B || transp. ὅτι post
τούτων K¹, corr. K² **a12** transp. εἶη ante ἄν L || τι Bas²] τις ω || ἦ ante ἀρετῆ suppl.
Brink¹ **a13** οἴωθε ut vid. P **a16** ἐλεῆσαι om. A || καὶ om. ζ **a17** ἔχομεν + ἦ
B **a18** ὀργιλλῶς A || rasura unius litterae post alterum o in ὀργιζόμεθα K (-
οίμεθα?) **a19** οὕτως κακῶς] οὐ, κῶς (rasura trium litterarum in medio) B
a20 ἔχειν corr. rec. K², Rav.¹, ἔχον ω Rav.² || τὸ²] τῷ A **a21** ὅταν] ὅτι A
a22 ὁμοίως — ὅμοια secl. Walzer || καὶ om. η, del. Cois.² || ὁμοῖα A **a23**
ἀόργητον L **a24** καὶ¹ om. ζ || ἀλαζωνείας α **a25** τὸ] τῷ L¹, corr. libr. ipse ||
πλείω L **a26** ἀλαζωνείας α **a27** ἦ¹ om. β **a28** ἀπάντων β **a29** πρὸς¹]
καὶ A, κατὰ B || ταῦτα] ταύτην Ald. || ἔχειν¹] ἔχον B || πρὸς² om. L || πρὸς³] κατὰ B
a30 πρὸς¹] κατὰ B || πρὸς²] κατὰ B¹ **a31-2** ἐστὶ — ἔχειν om. η **a32** τοῦ] τὸ L ||
πρὸς] κατὰ B **a34** λῦποι Bekker] λύποι α K, λύπη A, λύπη L, λύπης B || ἐστὶν β ||
ἡδοναὶ α A K²] ἡδονὴ K¹ ε, ἡδονῆ L, ἡδονῆς B || ante ἦ add. ὅτι s.l. P² (= rec.)
a35 <ὅτι> ἐστὶν Sylburg, Bonitz¹ (prob. Stock), <ὡς> ἐστὶν Sylburg, ὅτι Bonitz¹,
prob. Breier, Bussemaker, Armstrong || καὶ — δῆλον om. β **a37** οἶον + ἦ α β
a38 μοιχὸς + δὲ L, n.p.p. μοιχὸς Spengel² || οὐκ] οὐ γὰρ ci. ego || μᾶλλον om. L ||
ἐλευθέριας α L

- 1186 **b1** ἄλλο {A} **b2-3** ἦ — ὑπερβολῆ ‘haud integra’ Susemihl **b2** p.p. ἀκολασίαν
 Rassow² || ἦ καὶ ὁ ἐν α] ἦ L B, ἦ ὁ καὶ A¹, ἦ ὁ καὶ ἐν A², ἦ καὶ K, καὶ <αὐτὸ> καὶ
 ὁ ἐν Spengel², καὶ ὁ ἐν Stock, οὐχ ἦ καὶ ὁ ἐν Arnim², οὐθὲν ἦττον ἦ καὶ ὁ ἐν
 Arnim², ὁ <ἐν αὐτῷ> καὶ <οὐχ> ὁ ἐν dubitanter ci. Susemihl, <ἐν αὐτῷ> καὶ οὐκ ἐν
 Armstrong, ἦ ἐν Bonitz¹ **b3** καὶ ὁ] ἦ Bonitz¹, Armstrong || ὑπερβολῆ <οὔτε ἐν
 ἐλλείψει οὔτε ἐν ὑπερβολῆ> olim. ci. Rassow^{1,2} **b5** ἦ² om. B **b6** μὲν om. A **b7**
 ἀνδρεία A η || οὐχ ἦ K] οὐχ α β, om. B¹, add. οὐχὶ in mg. B² || θρασύτης ὑπερβολῆ
 B] ὑπερβολῆ θρασύτης cett. **b8** μεσότητι οὔση om. K || οὔση om. B **b8-9**
 ἀναισθησίας καὶ ἀκολασίας L **b10** οὔσα² + ἦ A **b14** ἀνελευθέρους
 Scaliger (?) ἀνελευθέρους ω || ἀνελευθέροι K] -ιοι α β B **b17** μαινομένους]
 ἐξεστηκότας L || διὰ δὴ δύο] διὰ δύο α, διὰ δύο δὲ P² (= rec.), διὰ δύο δὴ Bekker,
duabus itaque de Valla || δόξοιμεν η **b18** ἄν om. ζ || ἦ supra καὶ D **b20** ἐστὶ]
 εἶναι K, ἐστὶ B¹ del. B² || ἦ πορρότερον β, in mg. B²] ἦ πορρότερον α, ἐγγύτερον η
b20-1 ἐλευθεριότητα — γὰρ om. η, add. in mg. B² **b21** ἦ om. A¹, suppl. in mg. A² ||
 πορρότερον α || μᾶλλον γὰρ] ἐγγύτερον β **b22** δόξειεν + ἦ α, secl. Bonitz¹ ||
 ἐλευθεριότητος β || ἦ¹ Bonitz¹] om. ω recte || ἦ ἦ α] ἦ B, ἦ β K recte || πορρότερον α
b23 ἄρα ἦ {B¹} **b25** ἐναντιώτερα L **b29** πρὸς] καὶ L || ἐπιδόμεν P¹, corr. P²
 (= libr. ipse) **b30** πρὸς¹] κατὰ B || πρὸς²] κατὰ B **b31** εἶη + ἦ s.l. K² (= rec.) ||
 μεσότητος] μεσότητι ego **b33** ὅτι C || ἐστὶν om. L || ἐπέσκεπτεταί τε L¹,
 ἐπέσκεπταί τε L², ἐπισκεπτέον B || τὸ om. L **b35** τῶν om. L || διατερεῖν C
b36 λαμεῖν C **b38** αὐτῷ] τούτω α || καὶ om. η
- 1187 **a1** τούτου Ald. **a2** ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν α **a3** ἐμπεριέχον] μὲν περιέχον α β
a4 καθ’ ὃ] ἔνθα B || πσάνιον P **a5** post εἴρηται lacunam posuit Susemihl,
 εἴρηται <τί ἐστὶ> Ramsauer, εἴρηται <τούτο> ci. Susemihl **a6** δυνατὸν L **a8**
 ὄντιναοῦν Casaubon] ὄντινοῦν ω **a9** ἔλοιτο] λέγοιτο B **a10** καὶ²] κάπὶ ego
a11 ἀεὶ η] εἶη α, om. β || δ’ om. ζ **a12** εἰσὶν] λόγον A **a13** δὴ] δὲ ci. Susemihl ||
 ἀληθὲς A, ἀληθ’ L **a15** τάττοι ut vid. A **a16** post καλοῖς add. οὐκ
 Scaliger, ‘debeat οὔ, sed sententia proba est’, Spengel² **a17** ἄτοπον Ald. || μὴ +
 δὲ K **a18** πάττειν C, πρακτά L **a19** οἱ ψόγοι β] ψόγοι η, οἱ ψόγοι οἱ α recte
a21 οὐκ om. α β recte || ἀκουσίους] ἐκουσίους α β recte **a22** ὡσαύτως] καὶ
 οὔτως η **a25** φασιν A K, φησιν α L B, || ὅταν] ὅτι ἄν A **a26** τὸ] τούτο α
 β **a28** ἀκούσιον L **a28-9** οἶον ἐν τῷ α] δὲ καὶ τὸ η, sed τὸ del. K², οἶον
 καὶ ἐν τῷ β **a32** ἐκ τῶν] ἐκ τινων Bonitz² (conferens a33, b5, b11) **a33** αὐτὴ
 A **a34** οὔτως (prob. Bonitz²)] ὡσαύτως olim ci. Rassow¹ **a35**
 ἐνεργέστερον K **a37** ἀρχάς ut vid. A || αἱ ἀρχαὶ om. Ald.
- 1187 **b1** καὶ ὡς ἄν] καὶ ἐὰν ζ, ὡς ἄν Bekker, prob. Dirlmeier || μεταβάλλη η Cois.
b2 συμ- om. A || ἀντιστρέφει γὰρ om. L, transp. post 87b3 ἴσας Armstrong **b3**
 transp. μὴ ante τὸ (b2) α **b5** ἀρχῆς ut vid. A **b6** τῶν om. α β, τινων Ald. ||

- ἄνθρωπος - b7 γὰρ {A} b7 ἄν om. P¹, add. P² (= libr. ipse) || ἀψύχων K¹,
 ἄψυχον L K² (= corr.²) B b8 τῶν ἄλλων] ἄλλω aut ἄλλα K¹, ἄλλο β K², om. B
 || τῶν¹ — ἀνθρώπων {A}, praeter ἄλλο || ἀνθρώπου Scaliger (cf. 91b18) b9 ὅτι
 om. B || ὁ A B M] om. α L K b11 transp. γεγενημένοι post τινων L b12
 ἐπειδὴ om. B¹, add. in mg. B² (= libr. ipse) b13 ἀφ' ἑφ' B b14
 παραβάλλοντες] μεταβάλλοντες καὶ L b16 καὶ² s.l. L b17 αὐτῆς B || -ουσιν
 {L} || δὲ Bonitz²] γὰρ ω || καὶ] ἐν C, secl. Dirlmeier b18 καὶ² om. α (prob. Bonitz²,
 Dirlmeier - cf. 00b16), {A} b19 γὰρ] enim Γ (sed enim om. Mon. 306, teste
 Dirlmeier, fors. del D², secl. Scaliger, Bonitz² || ὅτι] καὶ B || ὅτι + καὶ A K b20 ἄν
 om. B || ἐπειδὴ A b21 ἐπ' Bonitz¹] ἐν ω, prob. Dirlmeier || τὸ] τῶ C b22 δὴ]
 δὲ δὴ L b23 ὅτι om. L b24 τις om. A || πάντως β b26 καὶ ἀγαθὸν L
 b27 ἄριστον L b30 ὑπάρχ L || βελτίω K¹, corr. s.l. K² (= rec.) b31 ἐπειδὴ A ||
 ὄν om. β b32 τὸ² om. α b33 τὸ¹ om. α β || πρὸς] κατὰ B || τὴν om. L b33-4 τὸ
 ἐκούσιον secludo b35-6 transp. λεκτέον post ἐστὶ B b36 ἐστὶν om. β || ἔστιν
 + μὲν L B b37 om. ἐστὶν L b38 πρότερον α b39 πότερον + γὰρ A ||
 ἐκούσιόν] ἐκούσιός A K, ἀκούσιός L || ἀκούσιον] ἀκούσιος A K, ἐκούσιος L || οἶον
 — ἀκούσιον om. α || οἶον om. β Bas.³
- 1188** a2 πράττομεν Ald.] ποιούμεν ω recte || ἐπὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴν sic B a4 οὕτως B
 a5 transp. λόγος post τις (αβ) L a6 τούτων B a10 ἀπαντήσῃ ci. Susemihl
 a11 εἰ] οἱ A, εἰ ut vid. L, ἢ B a12 ἐπακολουθεῖ L a15 οἱ — ἀδικοῦσιν om. B
 a16 πράττοι τὰ] πράττοιτο ut vid. A, πράττει τὰ L a19-20 κατὰ τὴν] κατ' D
 a20 τὸ — ἀκούσιον om. α a21 δ' om. B || παρὰ] κατὰ α || ἐπιθυμίαν + οὐ P² (= rec.)
 a22 οὐδ' ἄρα] οὐδὲ παρὰ B || κατ'] κατὰ τὴν α β, κατὰ B a25 τὴν
 ἐπιθυμίαν A || τὴν + αὐτὴν sic in mg. D, add. Ellebodius a27 πρὸς] καὶ L
 a28 ἐπισκέψασθαι L a28-9 ἐφ' — ἀκρατεῖς om. Ca31 transp. εἰδῶς post τὰ κακὰ
 α β recte || εἰδῶς om. η a31 εἰδῶς + πράττει ὅτι κακὰ ἐστὶν. εἰ δ' ὁ ἀκρατῆς
 τὰ κακὰ εἰδῶς α (= repetitio ex a30-1, sed ὁ δὲ] εἰ δ' ὁ) a32 ἄρα ἐκούσιος B
 a34 ψεκτόν B a37 ὑπὲρ] περὶ β a38 πότερον L K¹, corr. K² || transp. τοῖνον
 post ἄν L
- 1188** b1 ἐκάστω α b3-4 ἔστι — κάτω om. B¹, suppl. in mg. B² b3 γε βι {A} sed
 fors. γε om. A || γε om. L b5 ἐπ'] εἰς Eucken b7 παρ'] περὶ C b8 ἄ om.
 η Cois. b9 τούτοις B b10 ἀνταρεῖ α, corr. P² (= libr. ipse) || φῆσει Rav.] φύσει α,
 φησιν ζ b12 ἡμῶν η || ὁ om. β b13 ὑφ'] ἐφ' K¹, ἀφ' K² (= rec.) B b17 λέγει
 α, λέγ L || ὅτι] ὅσα L || ἠναγκάσθην + ὑφ' ἡδονῆς L b18 ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς om.
 L || ἄτοπον α B b19-20 ὃς ἄν Bekker] ὅσαν ἐάν K¹, ὃς ἐάν α β K² (= corr.
 quidam), ἐάν τις B b20 καταβλάπτεται C, βλάπτεται β b21 ἀναγκαζόμενος om.
 B b22 γὰρ] δὲ C b23 ἐν¹ + τῶ β b25 ἐκούσιον α η] ἀκούσιον β M || ὁρμηῖ + μὴ
 olim ci. Arnim¹ b27 καὶ¹ + τὸ s.l. L || μὴ] μὲν C P² (= corr.¹) b32 τινα om. α ||

- ποιεῖν P **b33** ὑπὸ A K] ἀπὸ α L B || ἀρειοπάγω α **b34** φυγεῖν B Bernays || οὐδ' παροῦσαν] παροῦσαν Scaliger (?), prob. Armstrong, ἐκλιπαροῦσαν Michael, secl. Wallies || δι' + οὐδ' α, del. P² (= rec.) || ἀπέλυσαν secl. Scaliger, Wallies **b36** ὅτι om. A **b37** ἐδίδου] ἐδίδ L¹, ἐξίδ L²
- 1189** **a1** δὲ om. α L recte || προέρεσιν C **a2** καὶ om. L || ἄλλοις] ἀλόγοις α et s.l. K² **a3** ζῳοῖς om. α || οὐ] μετὰ λόγου A **a4** ἐν om. K **a5** ἀλλ' ἄρα γε K²] ἀλλ' ἄρα τε η, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρα γε α, ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα γε β **a6** μὲν om. L **a9** πρὸς] κατὰ B || τὸ] τὰ α β recte **a10** προαιρούμεθα + μὲν in mg. P (libr. ipse), s.l. (libr. ipse) C **a14** βέλτιον Rav.] βέλτιστον ω recte **a14-15** ὅταν — χείρονος om. η Cois., suppl. in mg. B² (non autem recte; vide infra) **a15** βέλτιον Bekker] βέλτιστον α β B² {η} recte || τοῦ om. B² **a17** ἄρα α L K] ἄρα A B **a19** ἄρ' A || ἄ] μὲν A **a20** ὑπὲρ] ὑπὸ L **a21** οὐτι] οὐτε A **a22** ἐπεὶ — προαίρεσις om. α L B¹, suppl. in mg. B² (= libr. ipse ut vid.) **a23** τῇ om. K || δὴ add. P² (= rec.), om. ω recte **a24** συνδιαζομένων C **a24-5** ἐπεὶ — προαίρεσις om. C **a25** ἐλείχθη ut vid. A || ἢ om. η || τῶν πρὸς τὸ {L} || πρὸς] κατὰ B **a27** ἀναλογίαν L || αἰρετόν η] αἰρετώτερον α β recte **a28** ἄν om. L || πότερον α, corr. P² (= libr. ipse) **a29** transp. φανῆ post κρεῖττον β **a31** transp. δοκοῦμεν ante κατὰ L **a32** ἐκούσιον + τὸ η, prob. Armstrong **a36** τὸ — διανοίας om. η, suppl. in mg. B², καὶ βουλεύσασθαι Laur. 81, 13
- 1189** **b2** ἄν — προαιρούμεθα K] ἄ γὰρ προαιρούμεθα α β recte, ἄν τε γὰρ προαιρούμεθα B **b3** <οὐκ> ὀλίγοι ci. Susemihl **b4** τε om. B **b6** πράττοντες B || πρακτικοῖς α, corr. P² **b8** ἔστι om. A **b9** τὸ δὲ] τό τε B **b10** τέσσαρσιν L || ὀρθοῖς P **b12** ὀρισμένοις A, ὀρισμένως L B Rav. **b13** ἐλάβομεν α β recte || πρακτικοῖς K¹ M¹, corr. K² M² **b14-15** ἀναπαιτεῖ A **b15** ἐνήν om. A **b16** οὕτως βέλτιον P² (= rec.) || ἐξ om. α recte || αὐτῶν <γὰρ> ci. Susemihl || ὅποι' ἄν Bekker] ὅποιον α β recte, ὅποιον ἄν D², ὅποια ἄν K, ὅποι' ἄν B || φαίνεται L recte **b17** βελτίω K] βέλτιον α β B recte || ταῦτα¹] τοῦτο ego || διὰ ταῦτα] τὰ τοιαῦτα L **b21** τὸ — Ἀρχικλέους om. β || ἦ] ἢ A **b22** γὰρ om. η **b23** ἢ om. α recte || οὐδὲ in mg. D (Chalcondyles), Bekker] οὐτε cett. **b24** ἤδη] δὴ Scaliger || ἄριστόν M K¹, corr. K², libr. ipse **b25** ἁμαρτία <ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων βουλεύονται> olim ci. Rassow (?) || πρακτοῖς α A K²] πρακτικοῖς η L || ἄριστόν K¹, corr. K² (= libr. ipse) **b26** οὖν] γὰρ Rav.¹, οὖν καὶ β K || πρακτικοῖς η, corr. K² **b27** κατ' ἀρετὴν L **b28** τὰς] διττὰς Armstrong **b33** δύνατο β, δύναται K, δύνηται B || ἄν om. L Mon. Rav.¹ **b33-4** ποιῆσαι — ἄλλο om. C **b34** οὐθὲν + ἄν P **b35** δεῖ] δὴ L || ἀκούσαι] ἀκούειν L
- 1190** **a1** τοῦτο + τὸ α Ellebodius recte || transp. ἐνταῦθα post ἤδη M || ὑπάρχον C, ὑπάρχ P, ὑπάρχειν Ald. **a3** μὲν om. L **a4** ἀλλὰ δὴ Scaliger || τὰ κατὰ B] τὰ πρὸς α β K recte **a5** οὖν] μὲν L **a6** σφάλεσθαι β **a8** διείρηται C || transp.

- ἐν τίνι post ἁμαρτία L **a8-9** ἐστι τίνος om. Aa**9** πότερον + οὖν L **a10** οἶον
 om. L || κακοῦ L || οὖν + ἐστι L **a11** ἐστιν om. η **a12** προσθέσθαι L || τὰ
 τῶν L || πρὸς {L} **a13** πρόθηται sic L K || τοῦτο] τὸ τέλος D **a14** ἦ] om. K¹, ἦ
 ὁ β, s.l. K² (= corr.¹) **a16** εἶναι] οὖν A || τὸν] τὸ ν || τὸν σκοπὸν om. L, τὸ σκοπεῖν
 ci. Rieckher **a16-17** τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς secl. Walzer**a17** πρὸς¹ secl. Rieckher,
 Spengel², <τὰ> πρὸς aut <πρὸς τὰ> πρὸς ego || δεῖ] δὴ K || προσθέσθαι L || τὰ πρὸς
 aut τὰ secludo **a18** ἄλλο B **a19** τούτου] τοῦτο C, τούτ P, γρ. τούτων Casaubon
a20 γὰρ add. libr. ipse P², ci. Rassow¹, Amerbach (qui et <καὶ γὰρ> ἐν οἷς
 proposuit), om. ω (quae (praeter L) non punctum ponunt post ἀρετήν) **a21**
 ἕκαστου aut ἐκάστων ci. Spengel² || ἕκαστον + γὰρ α β || καὶ ποιητικὸν καὶ
 προθετικὸν A η **a23** καὶ om. η, prob. Armstrong, quare ci. Amerbach
a23-6 τούτου — ἔσται ‘corrupta’ Susemihl, τούτου (23) — ἐστίν (24) post καὶ (24),
 deletis τινι (24) et τούτου (25) — ἔσται (26), tri. Scaliger, prob. Armstrong
a25-6 τούτου ἔσται Ambros. B 84 sup., prob. Ellebodius **a26** ἐστίν Spengel² || ὡς
 secl. Scaliger, ‘male’ Spengel² **a28** ἀρετῆς] τῆς η **a29** ἄρ’ P || ἡ ἀρετὴ om.
 Rav. male **a30** ταῦτα A K] ταῦτὸν α L B || ταύτης] ταύτη A B, ταύτ L || δὲ²] τε
 α β recte || ὅλως δὲ δὴ] εἰ δὲ μὴ Rieckher, ἄλλως δὲ δὴ ci. Ellebodius, Susemihl,
 prob. Armstrong **a32** θῆ Bekker, θῆ D²] φῆ α β, φῆς K, θεῖς B || τὰ βέλτισται]
 μάλιστα α, τὰ κάλλιστα Bekker Bussemaker **a33** ἄρα πᾶν τέλος α, περὶ
 παντελοῦς B || καλὸν {L} **a34** εἶπη β || πότερον K¹, corr. K² **a35** κρεῖττονα L
 B || ἦ om. P¹, add. s.l. P² (= corr.¹), {L} || ἔξιν τὴν αὐτὴν α] ἀρετὴν αὐτὴν η, ἔξιν
 αὐτὴν β, ἔξιν τὴν ἀρετὴν Dirlmeier, ἔξιν αὐτῆς ego || οὐ Bas.¹, quo Valla] ὦν ω
 recte **a36** ἄλ’ A
- 1190** **b1** βελτίω ζ **b2** ἄνθρωποι om. K **b4** εἶ L **b5** ἔχη L **b6**
 ἐδόκη C, ἐδόκ L || εἶναι om. β **b7** ante ἐπεὶ (b7) tabulam virtutum moralium
 excidisse credunt Ramsauer, Arnim¹ **b7-8** ἐπεὶ — εἰσίν secl., nisi tabula aderat,
 Ramsauer **b7** ἐπεὶ δὲ B K² (= rec.) om. α β K¹, ἐπεὶ οὖν D, ἄλλ’ ἐπεὶ s.l. P² (=
 rec.) Cois., add. τὰς ἀρετὰς in mg. post οὖν D² **b8** λεκτέον + οὖν L || post εἰσίν
 lacunam posuit Arnim¹ et, b7-8 deletis, Ramsauer **b9** ἐστιν om. α B **b10** ἄρ’ P
 A, ἄρ’ ut vid. K **b11** ἀποβάλη β K² B, fors recte || transp. οὔτος post δειλὸς L
b13 νόσον ex E.N. 1115a17.29, Spengel^{1,2}, prob. Bonitz¹] μόνον ω || θαρρεῖ + ἦ β ||
 δειλὸν] δηλὸν C, δει- {L} **b15** ἐστιν om. L **b16** τούτοις L **b16-17**
 ἀστραπὰς ἢ βροντὰς L **b16** βροντοῦς α **b17** φοβερὸν L **b18** ἄρα]
 ἄρα sic L **b19** δὲ] καὶ L || οἶον om. η || πολλοὶ] λοιποὶ η **b20** ἢ ἅπαντες
 α, ἢ ἅ πάντες ego || transp. ἐν τούτοις post ὁ α β recte || θαρραλλέος A **b21**
 τοίνυν] οὖν α **b22** ποῖος + ὁ β || καὶ om. L **b24** ἐμπειρίας L **b27** ὑπομαίνει
 C, ὑπομενεῖ K, ὑπομενεῖ L recte **b28** ἀνδρείους + εἶναι B || δὴ Bonitz¹] δὲ α A

- K recte, om. L Rav., γε B **b31** οὐ — ἐροῦσιν ‘ineptum sed vix auctoris culpa’ Spengel² || οὐδ’ ἐροῦσιν om. β **b32** αὐτοῦς B] om. α β K recte || οὐκ ἄρα {L} **b32-3** δ’ αὐ] οὐν η, quoque Valla || δ’ αὐ εἰσιν] δοκοῦσιν ego, δ’ αὐ δοκοῦσιν Frede **b33** αὐ + οὐκ s.l. D || εἰσιν + οἱ L **b34** ἀπειρίαν] ἀπορίαν A¹ **b35** εἰσιν· αὐ A **b36** lacuna duarum litterarum post ἐρ- et ante -ῶντες (ἐρωτῶντες?) A || ἦ om. M **b37** γὰρ + ἀπ’ s.l. K² (= rec.)
- 1191** **a1** οὐκέτι] οὐκ α **a2** οὐδὲ om. L **a4** οὐ δεῖ δὲ α B || τὸ om. α A recte **a5** εἰ] οἱ α, οἶ P² (= corr.¹ ut vid.), οἶ M || οἶον om. Rav. **a7** γὰρ + ὁ Rav. **a8** ἔκτορα K **a9** πολυδάμας B **a10** τοι- om. P¹, add. libr. ipse || εἶναι + ἀνδρείαν C **a12** ante μὴ add. τι Armstrong || διαμένη P **a13** οὐκέτι — ἀνδρείος² om. η **a14** ἄλλως] ἄλλοι Spengel² || εἶναι om. α **a15** δὴ om. A || δὴ τούτους {L} || transp. τούτους post φατέον B || εἶναι om. η **a17** ἀνδρείων B **a17-18** τὸν ποῖον οὐν ἀνδρείον Spengel²] τὸν ὁποιοῦν ἀνδρείον C L B (Bekker, prob. Dirlmeier), τὸν ὁποῖον οὐν ἀνδρείον P K (prob. Bonitz¹) recte, τὸν ὅποι. οὐν ἀνδρείον A, ὁποῖος οὐν ἀνδρείος Spengel² || p.p. εἶναι P ζ, Bonitz¹, prob. Breier, c.p. C, n.p. B, Bekker, prob. Dirlmeier **a18** p.p. ἀνδρείον α L η, Bekker, Dirlmeier || <ἀλλὰ τίς ἢ ἀνδρεία> καὶ Dirlmeier || transp. ἀπλῶς post μὲν L **a21** τις] τι ut vid. Valla (seu aliqua seu nulla oblata fuerit occasio) || post τις add. καῖρος (e Valla?) Grynaeus in mg. Bas.¹ || μὴ παρῆ B, non praesens Γ] μὴ α β K recte **a22** καὶ ὀρμῆς om. L || ἐγγίνεται C β, ἐγίνεται P **a25** ταῦτα¹] αὐτὰ B **a28** ἄν L, ci. Bonitz², Spengel²] om. cett. || τὰ ἄλλα α β, ἄλλα Ald. **a30** διειλόμεθα] διελε ἴμεθα solum legitur (foramen) - fors. διελεγόμεθα L **a31** transp. οὐ ante περὶ (a30) et secl. πάντας ἀλλά Armstrong || ἀναιρετικούς α] αἰρετικούς ζ **a33** πλησίον Laur. 81,12, ci. Ellebodius, Bekker] πλεῖον α K, πλησίοι β, πλεῖστοί B || τὸν] τῶν C || κίνδονον] ἄγοντα L **a34** οὐπω] πῶς η **a35** γένηται P¹, γενηνται P² (= libr. ipse) **a36** οὐν om. B **a38** τὰς om. α recte
- 1191** **b1** ἐνδείας] ἀνδρείας ut vid. A **b4** τις om. B || ἀναισθησίας {L} **b5** μεσότης — τούτων om. β || οὐν om. B **b7** θεωρῶν om. L || τι om. L **b8** καὶ δὴ secl. Scaliger || οὐτος + ὁ K **b9** ἐν] ἐν’ C **b10** ὁ add. Bonitz¹] om. ω **b11** ὥσθ’ ὑπὸ μηδεμιᾶς A L² (= libr. ipse), ὥσθ’ ὑπὸ δὲ μίας L || μὴ δὲ α, μὴ B **b13** ἀπολαύων ut vid. C, ἀπολάβων P¹ A, corr. P² (= libr. ipse) **b14** πάντα] πάντες ut vid. A¹, corr. A² (= libr. ipse) || παντ’ ἄλλα K¹ || καὶ] μὴ A **b14-15** αὐτόν γε τὸν ἦδη P] αὐτόν τε τὸν ἦδη C ζ, αὐτό γέ τοι νῆ Δι’ Scaliger, ὁ αὐτὸ ἦδη Spengel², αὐτό γε τὸν ἦδη Armstrong, φατέον γε τὸν ἦδη ego, φαμέν γε τὸν ἦδη Frede **b15** ἦδη αὐτοῦ] μόνου ci. Sylburg || πρᾶττων σῶφρον Scaliger, prob. Spengel² || lacunam post σῶφρονα statuit Susemihl, σῶφρονα <χρῆ καλεῖν> vel simile quid ci. Spengel², σῶφρονα <φατέον> Bonitz¹, prob. Breier, Dirlmeier, σῶφρονα <λέγομεν> vel σῶφρονα <καλοῦμεν> Rieckher, prob. Armstrong, σῶφρονά <φαμεν> Ellebodius

- b18** οὐδὲ] οὐ B Rav. || ἔξω vix legitur P || ἀνθρώπου om. α, add. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου P² (= corr.²) **b19** δοκιμάζοντα P] δοκιμάζοντες C ζ recte **b20** post καλοῦ add. ἔνεκεν Armstrong **b22** γενομένας P K **b23** ὑπὲρ] περὶ L || καὶ om. α β recte **b24** μὲν om. η A, perperam || οὖν om. A || ὀργηλότητος α, corr. P² (= rec.) **b25** ἀνοργησίας A **b26** ὅτι] εἰ β || μεσότης K¹, corr. K² || εἴποι] ἴδοι β **b28** βέλτιστον — μέσον secl. Rassow³, perperam || βέλτιστόν ἐστι α, βέλτιστον δέ ἐστι P² (= rec.), βέλτιστον δ' ἂν εἴη A **b29** καὶ + τοῖς C **b30** ὀργήλος α, ὀργίλος K P² (nescio quis) || παντὶ] πάντη α **b31** transp. παντὶ post (b32) δεῖ P **b34** γε] τίς ut vid. A, τε L **b35** ante ὁ² add. ὁμοίως A || transp. ἂν post τούτων β **b39** ἀνελευθερίας καὶ ἀσωτίας L
- 1192** **a1** δὲ] γὰρ L **a3** ὅτε] ὅ τε P || ὅ τ' Sylburg] ὁ δ' ω recte || ἀνελεύθεριος P² (=corr.¹) K¹, recte, corr. K² || ἐναντίως α B] ἐναντίος β K **a4** ante ἀμφοτέροι add. καὶ B **a5** κατέλλειψιν A, κατ' ἔλειψιν P **a6** ὁ + δ' η || ἄρα om. B || μέσος τις] μεσότης B **a7** εἴη A² {A¹} || τίς — ὁ om. α recte || ἐστίν; om. A **a8** καὶ — δεῖ² om. η **a9** οἶον om. α || rasura unius litterae post τινος A || κιμιν- A **a11** ἐλευθεριότητα C || τὸ] τότε Ka**14** εἰσι om. α **a16** παρασκευάσαι L **a17** τὰ B K² **a18** ἄλλης] ὀπλοποιϊκῆς Armstrong || transp. τούτοις post ὀρθῶς β **a19** ἐπὶ + τῆς C || οὔτε Spengel²] οὐδὲ ω recte **a20** ἤδη χρηματιστικῆς Bonitz¹, pecuniam incutientis Valla] ἡ δὲ χρηματιστικὴ α β, ἤδη χρηματιστικὴ η, δὴ χρηματιστικῆς Spengel² **a21** δὲ L¹, δέ γε L² (= libr. ipse) **a22** δὲ + καὶ L **a23** οὐ <μόνον> ci. Rieckher || παρὰ] περὶ P || τῶν¹ ε, ci. Sylburg] om. ω recte **a24** καὶ] ἡ ci. Susemihl, prob. Armstrong, (Barnes), οὐ Arnim⁵ || δὲ] γε Susemihl, prob. Barnes || δὴ P A] δεῖ C L K recte, δεῖ ἡ B, δὴ ἡ Bas.³ || καὶ μάλιστα δὴ Spengel² || δὴ + ὀρθῶς P **a25** βούλεται L **a26** τῶν εἰδότητων ζ, τοῦ συνειδότητος Rav. || αὐτῷ Bekker] αὐτῷ α, αὐτὸν ζ **a27** πᾶσαν + τὴν α **a30** αὐτοῦς C A K **a31** αὐτοῦς P² (= rec.) B] αὐτοῦς cett. || ἡ A, ἡ K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) **a31-2** ἀξιούσι προσηκόντων αὐτοῖς μειζόνων μικρόψυχοι α **a32** μήτε] μὴ η **a33** αὐτὸν P² (= corr.²) β B] αὐτὸν α K || ἡ¹ α] ἡς β B, ἡς aut οἷς K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) || ἡ² α B] ἡ A, ἡ K¹, corr. K² (= rec.), ἡς L ci. Scaliger 'fors recte' Susemihl, om. Cois. **a35** ὅτι om. α **a37** σαλακωνείας α] σαλακωνίας Scholion Rep 495e, ἀλαζονείας ζ **a38** ὡς <ἐν τῷ καιρῷ> Spengel², ὡς <ἐν> Dirlmeier, ὡς <τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ> Scholion Rep. 468a8
- 1192** **b2** σαλάκων] ἀλαζών ζ **b2** εἴ τις om. C || γάμους τις] γαμέτας? Spengel² **b3** σαλάκων¹] ἀλαζών ζ || σαλάκων²] ἀλαζών β, om. η **b5** οὐ α A B] οὐ L K || δεῖ] δὴ ε **b5-7** μὴ — ἀξίως corrupta esse putat Susemihl **b5** μὴ μεγαλείως α B] μεγαλείως L K, μὴ A, magnifice non Valla, μεγαλείως, μὴ Spengel², prob. Stock **b5-7** ὡς οὐ δεῖ μεγαλείως δαπανῆσαι ἢ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖ, οἶον εἰς γάμους ἢ χορηγίαν, ἢ μὴ ἀξίως ἀλλ' ἐνδεῶς. Armstrong, dubitanter οἶον —

- χορηγίαν post δαπανήσαι transp. Armstrong **b6** δαπανήση A || μὴ] μὲν
 Casaubon, prob. Spengel², Rassow¹, om. editiones posteriores Vallae || <ήδέως>
 ποιῶν aut ήδέως Bonitz² || εἰς] εἰ A || ἦ² + εἰς L **b7** ἀξίως <δ'> Casaubon,
 prob. Rassow¹, Spengel² **b9** φανερά] solum νερά legitur A || οὔσα (ut vid.) C ||
 οἶον Scaliger, Bonitz² (cf. 01b10)] οἶον ω **b10** δαπανῶ Bonitz²] δεῖ εἶναι α, prob.
 Dirlmeier, δέον εἶναι L η recte, δέον A, δέον ἐστὶ Ald. **b11** ἄρ' ἂν P **b12**
 ἐπειδὴ ἐστὶν] ἐπειδήπερ L || τις] τῆς B **b13** περὶ + τὰς L **b13-14** ἐν — ὡς
 α] ἐνίοις δέ εἰσιν ὡς β K² B, ἐν οἷς δέ εἰσιν ὡς K¹ **b14** μεγαλοπρέπεια K¹
b15 τ' om. ζ, secl. Spengel² **b16** λέγονται μεταφορικῶς B || λέγονται + καὶ B
b18 ἐπι- om. ζ, habet Stobaeus p.146,8 **b19** αὔται ut vid. C **b20** ἐπαινός K¹
 (corr. K²) **b21** ὑπάρχοντι L || ὄντι om. L **b22** τοῖς om. β || ὁ om. η || γε]
 τε A **b25** ἐναντίως Rav. || τε ἀνάξιος L || ἦ] εἶη Ald. **b26** λυπηθήσεται Ald. ||
 ὁ om. B || ἐπιχαιρεκάκω B **b28** τοιοῦτος om. η, perperam || μέσος K] μεσότης α β
 B recte **b29** ἐστὶ om. ζ **b30** τε om. β **b32** διαλεχθῆναι A², διαλλαγήναι α B
b33 τοῦ om. P¹, add. P² (= libr. ipse) **b34** αὐτῶ C A K || δὲ] δέ γε L, τε Spengel²
b36 δέ γε] δὲ L || ἀνὰ μέσων B **b37** πρὸς¹ om. K¹ L, add. s.l. K², εἰς B || πρὸς²] εἰς B
b38 πρὸς¹] εἰς L B || πρὸς²] εἰς B
- 1193 **a3** πάντι] πᾶσι β **a5** πρὸς πάντας] πάντας η, prob. Spengel², πάντως
 Scaliger **a6** πάντας L **a7** τις om. α β B recte **a8** πάντως] πάντας B ||
 transp. ὡς ὁ ἀναίσχυντος post πράξει L || καὶ² om. L || οὔτι ut vid. A **a9**
 πάντως] πάντα L || rasura duarum litt. post εὐλαβ- K **a10** καὶ ἃ δεῖ om. B
a12 δὲ] δὴ η (δὲ etiam schol Rep 563a8) || τὰ B] om. cett. (etiam schol Rep 563a8)
 recte || ὁ {A} **a13** πᾶν] πάντας schol Rep 563a8 || δεῖ L **a14** βουλόμενος δεῖν
 haud sana esse putat Susemihl, οἰόμενος δεῖν Rassow³, βουλόμενος [δεῖν] schol Rep
 563a8, ci. Bekker recte **a15** ἀνὰ μέσων B **a16** πάντας] πάντα L ||
 σκώπτων + ὁ η || αὐ Spengel²] αὐτὸς ω recte || αὐτὸς + γὰρ K¹, del K² || ἀγροῖκος ci.
 Susemihl **a17** πῶς L] πῶς cett. **a19** εὐτράπελος. καὶ — τοιαύτη· φιλία ci.
 Susemihl **a21** πρᾶξιν η **a22** ὄντων] προσόντων α β recte || προστεθείς α ||
 ἀπεχθηκὸς ut vid. L **a24** ἀνὰ μέσων B **a27** αὐτῶ γρ. Casaubon] αὐτῶ ω
a28 ἠρωνείας K **a29** δὴ] δὲ C D Bas.², prob. Spengel² recte **a30** αὐτῶ
 Bekker] αὐτῶ ω || προσποιούμενος {L} **a32** αὐτῶ P L] αὐτῶ cett. || transp.
 προσποιούμενος post αὐτῶ β B **a33** τὸ] τῶ C **a34** ὑπαρχόντων + αὐτῶ B
a35 αὐτῶ Casaubon] αὐτῶ ω
- 1193 **b1** πρότερον α L¹ || εἰ λάβομεν Ald., ἂν λάβομεν Tauchnitziana, λάβομεν
 Spengel² **b2** δὴ] δὲ Spengel², autem Γ || transp. ἐστὶ post νόμον (b3) B **b3**
 φησιν L || προστάττει] πράττει η, πράττειν K² (= corr.²), κελεύει (in mg.) K² (= rec.)
b7 εἰσιν L **b8** προστάττοιεν L, πράττει B, γρ. πράττειν corr. nigro atramento
 Laur. 81,12 || τοῖς {A} **b9** transp. ἐμμένων post δικαίοις B || τέλειος α L,

- τελέως ego || τὸ δίκαιον Spengel² **b11** τε aut γε L || οὐ] οὐδὲ B **b12** δίκαιον + ἦ
 K || τὴν om. A || κατὰ] καὶ τὰ C **b13** δίκαια + τ' L || ὄντα secl. Scaliger, 'non
 male' Spengel², 'male' Susemihl **b14** ὁ² om. ζ || ὁ³ om. ζ **b15** ἑαυτόν]
 αὐτόν B **b15-16** ἄλλο τοῦ] ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦ A, οὐ τοῦ L **b16** προειρημένου L ||
 κατὰ + τὸν α || τοῖς] τούτοις L
- 1193b19-1198b20** Codd: C P (= α), A L (= β), K V (= η). β η = ζ
- b20** μὲν om. L **b21** αὐτοῖς L] αὐτοῖς α A η || ἐλάττονα? ego **b22** οὕτως
 ἀδικεῖν β V] οὕτως ἀδικον K, οὐ δίκαιον α **b23** οἶόν τε Spengel² || δῆλον + ὅτι
 (altero ὅτι manente) A **b25** ὅτι + καὶ L || τις secl. Spengel², om. Stobaeus
 146,13 || ὑπερβολῆς α, ὑπεροχῆς et Stobaeus 146,13 **b26** τῶ] τὸ K¹ **b27**
 πλέον α β **b29** transp. ἄν post εἶη α || post ἄν rasura sex litterarum V **b31**
 ἕτερον + ἔ (= ἄρα?) pallidiore atramento L **b33** ἐν δικάϊω καὶ] καὶ τὸ δίκαιον,
 conferens b9, b12, b18, b24, b35 Spengel², prob. Armstrong **b34** καὶ add.
 Rieckher recte || ἐν secl. Rieckher, perperam || δίκαιον ἐν — δὲ secl. Spengel² || ἐν β]
 om. α η, prob. Spengel², secl. Dirlmeier recte **b35** δέ γε L || τισὶ] τινῶν
 Spengel², cf. E.N. 1131a17 **b36** καὶ¹ om. D **b37** transp. τὸ¹ post δίκαιον η ||
 δίκαιον² secl. Armstrong **b37-8** om. καὶ τὸ — ἐλαχίστοις V¹, suppl. in mg. V²
b37 τὸ τῶ P² (= rec.)] τούτω α, τὸ τούτω(ι) β K V² {V¹} **b39** β + καὶ L V || τὰ
 secl. Sylburg, Spengel²
- 1194** **a1** τὰ om. V, secl. Spengel² **a3** ὀλίγα¹] ὀλίγον V¹, corr. V² (= rec.) || transp.
 ἔχει post πεπονηκῶς (a4) η **a5-6** ὡς — ὀλίγα om. M Cois. **a5** δὲ] καὶ L ||
 μὴ] μηδὲν α **a6** καὶ + ὁ L **a6-7** τὸ δίκαιον ut vid. K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) **a8**
 οἰκονόμος C **a11** αὐτοῖς L] αὐτοῖς cett. **a12** τῶν om. V **a13** αὐτῆ]
 τοιαύτη L, <ἦ> αὐτῆ amicus Wilsonis (si dativi sequentes recte se habeant, prob.
 Wilson) || γεωργὸς] γεωμέτρης C || <πρὸς τὸ> τοῦ οἰκοδόμου Wilson **a13-14** ὁ
 οἰκοδόμος <πρὸς τὸ> τοῦ γεωργοῦ Wilson, τὸ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου τῶ τοῦ γεωργοῦ
 Armstrong, ὁ οἰκοδόμος τοῦ γεωργοῦ ci. Susemihl si <πρὸς τὸ> Wilsonis (a13)
 accipeatur **a16** δὴ αὐτῆ <ἦ> Spengel²] δ' ἢ αὐτῆ α A η, δὲ ἢ αὐτῆ L || τὰς
 πολιτείας α recte || transp. ἔοικε post εἶναι (a17) α **a17** εἶναι] ἔχειν A **a18** τὸ²
 om. β || δ' δὴ Armstrong || ἀναλόγῳ K, ἀνάλογ L || ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ α **a19** ποιεῖ]
 ποιεῖται β || αὐτοῦ η] αὐτοῦ α A, om. L **a20** καὶ om. α β recte **a21** ἐνόμισεν ut
 vid. A¹, corr. A² **a22** οὐδ' om. α, οὐ V¹ || transp. ταῦτα post πάντα α A recte ||
 ἐστίν η] καὶ τι α, ἐστιν. καὶ τι A, ἐστι καὶ τινες L (sed - ves pallidiores sunt), s.l.
 add. καὶ τι V² || προσαγορεύοντες A M **a23** νομίσματι η, corr. ut vid. V² || καὶ]
 πρὸς β, supra καὶ add. πρὸς V² **a24** ἀλλαγὴν L || ἀλλήλους β, ἀλλήλου K ||
 καὶ τούτω α V² (= rec.)] om. η, καὶ K² (= rec.), καὶ τοῦτο β **a25** συνέχει β
 recte **a27** τις ἔξις Ellebodius, Spengel², conferens E.N. 1134a1, prob. Armstrong,
 <ἦ> τῆ ἔξει Dirlmeier **a29** δὲ + καὶ α || καὶ τὸ L K² V, Bonitz¹] om. α, καὶ A K¹,

- καὶ ὁ D || πεπονθὸς V, ἀντιπεπονθῶς D **a29-38** Michael of Ephesus in E.N. E. (Hayduck, p.31, 25-30) **a30** ἃ ἐποίησέ τις V **a31** δὲ Susemihl] δὴ ω, Mich. Eph., Anon. (Heylbut, p.222, 18-22) || ἔσται L **a32** ταῦτό α β, ταυτά K, ταῦτα V¹, om. Rav. || ὁ secl. Spengel², om. Anon. **a33** τὸν] τὸ P¹, corr. P² (= corr.²) || οὐκ] οὐχ ἄπαξ fors. legit Mich. Eph., prob. Spengel² || δίκαιον β Rav. Γ, Anon. recte || ἀλλὰ] ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ Anon., semel sed Γ **a34** om. ἐστὶν V || ἀνάλογ(ω) L **a35** ὁ om. L η, suppl. V² || τὸν om. L || βέλτιω P¹, corr. P² (= libr. ipse vel corr.²) || οὕτω + καὶ L **a39** ἀκολουθήσοντα K || πρότερον V¹, corr. V²
- 1194** **b1** δὲ + τὰ A **b4** ὑπὲρ] περι L || ἐπίσκεψις V **b5** δὴ] δὲ Ald. || δίκαιόν τι Bonitz¹] δίκαιον τὸ α L η, δίκαιον καὶ τὸ A || υἴόν C **b6** πρὸς + τὸν A **b7** τὸ add. Bonitz¹ **b9** πολῖται Bekker] πολίται P L, πολιτικοί C A η recte || βούλονται L² (= rec.), (κν)ονται ut vid. L¹ **b10** ἕτεροι + τῷ δὲ ὡς υἴῳ πρὸς πατέρα καὶ οἰκέτη πρὸς δεσπότην, οἰκονομικόν τι δίκαιον ἐστὶ. A || τῷ δὲ] τὸ δὲ ὡς L **b12** ποδὶ α V²] παιδὶ ζ, pedi Γ || post ἐμέ aliquid additur in mg. A, fors. κειμενον reading || οὔτε B] οὐδὲ cett. **b13** ἄν om. L V || ὁ om. α β **b14** τί om. A **b15** λάβοι α || ἄπ' Ambos. B 84 sup. post correctionem (teste Wagner), ci. Bekker] ὑπ' ω || ἄπ' αὐτοῦ secl. Spengel², cf. E.N. 1134b11 **b16** αὐτοῦ C P² (= rec.)] αὐτῆς ζ P¹ **b17** θέλουσιν V || ὡσαύτως C L, ὡς δ' αὐτως P **b18** πρὸς + τὸν α **b19** ὁ om. V || ἀλλ' ἤδη α || ἐστὶν αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ ἐστὶν α **b20** αὐτὸν ego **b22** δὴ om. C **b23** ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς α **b24** τῆ πολιτικῆ δίκαι L || χείρων β **b25** ἰσότητος πῶς β V **b26** αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ V **b27** τὸ] καὶ τὸ L || πρὸς ἀνδρα] καὶ ἀνδρὶ A || πολιτικῶν C **b28** ἐστὶ om. A || ἐν + τῆ L || ante ἠ add. καὶ α β **b31** μεταπέσοντα] μετατρεπτὰ V **b32** γὰρ om. A || μεταλαμβάνουσιν + ἔτι V¹, del. V² **b33** μελετῶμεν D, ci. Sylburg] - ὠμεν ω || transp. πάντες ante τῆ V **b34** γενοίμεθ' P **b35** ἠ δεξιὰ ... βέλτιων Armstrong recte **b35-6** τῶν ἀριστερῶν Sylburg **b36** κᾶν] καὶ α, add. ἐὰν s.l. P² (= rec.) || ποιῶμεν C² (= rec.) **b37** ὅτι] εἰ ἄρα V || τοῦτ' ἐστὶν V¹, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐ V² (= rec.) **b38** τὸ om. α || τὸν om. A **b39** ἀριστερὰ² om. η, suppl. K²
- 1195** **a1** ὡσαύτως + καὶ β || transp. μὴ post εἰ L, μὴδ' εἰ Scaliger, 'sine causa' Spengel² || μεταβάλλοι α β || μεταβάλλοι + διὰ τὴν ἡμεταβάλλοι C¹, del. C² **a2** οὐκ] μὴ Spengel² || transp. δίκαιον post φύσει V || ἄλλ' L **a3** τοῦτο] ὅτι Dirlmeier, <ὅτι> τοῦτο? ego || δίκαιον + ἦ ut vid. L, + ἦ D **a4** ἄν om. V || νομήσωμεν α, corr. P² (= rec.) || τούτω α, corr. P² (= libr. ipse ut vid.) **a5** καὶ om. η, suppl. K² (= corr.¹) V² **a7** τὸ²] τῷ β || τὸ³ P² (nescioquis)] τῆ β, {P¹} **a8** οὕτω α L] οὐ sic A, οὐ K, om. V || ταῦτόν B Bekker] ταῦτό α β K V² ut vid., om. V¹ **a9** οὐκ ἔστι δέ om. η, suppl. in mg. V² || τὸ² + τῷ β V **a10** οἶον — ἐστὶ om. L || τὸ¹ om. η || τὴν secl. Bekker **a11** ἤδη om. α **a14** τὸ om. V **a17-19** οὕτως — ἔνεκα om. β **a17** οὕτως K² V || δίκαιόν <τι> ego **a18** ὁ¹ om. α || ἄδικος] δίκαιος V **a19** ἔνεκεν α recte ||

- transp. τούτων post εἰδὼς α a21 πολέμιον] πολέμον ut vid. V¹, corr. V², ἐχθρὸν L || ἀποκτείνειν K] ἀποκτενεῖν α A V, ἀποκτένειν L a21-2 μέν τι L K² (= rec.)] μέντοι α A η, μέν Rav. a22 μέντοι] μέν τι A, δὲ L || οὐθέν β recte, οὐ Spengel² || ἐπεὶ] ὥστ' C, ὥστε P, ὥστε ἐπεὶ A, ἔστιν ego a23 τοῦτο] τούτω V a24 μήθ'] μὴ δὲ L || βλάπτῃ C V a25 μήθ' Bekker] μήδ' α, μὴ δ' A K, μὴ δὲ L, μὴδ' V || καὶ om. ζ a26 ἀδικήσειεν Spengel² a29 πράττει C P² {P} || τι om. α a31 ἄδικος ci. Vettori, Rassow³, αἴτιος ζ, et post τοιοῦτος α || γὰρ om. L a33 αὐτοῖ α, in mg. K²] αὐτῆς A, αὐτοῖς L K¹, αὐτοῖς V || πιεῖν ζ a34 ἀγνοήσαντα V || καὶ β] om. α η recte a35 ἀγνοῶν A || ὄσαι μὲν paene evanuerunt P || κατ' αὐτὰς α V a37 τοῦ] τοῦτο α a38 ἦ² om. K
- 1195 b4 οὐκ αὐτὰ] οὐ κατ' αὐτὰ A || οὐδ'] οὐκ V Rav. b5 δὴ s.l. P, om. B || πως C L K b7-8 τὸ — ἐκόντες om. α b8 οὐκ] οὐδ' Pb10 αὐτοῖς α b11 εἰ] εἰς C || ἔχειν om. V, suppl. V² (= rec.) || δ' om. β V, fors. corr. A² (= rec.) b12 ἐλάττω K || ἐκῶν¹ om. V || ἐκῶν]¹ ἐκῶν A b13 πάλιν + οὖν V b15 transp. ἄλλο post τι α β recte b16 τι ἀνθ'] ταῦθ' α b17 εἰ δὲ μή, ἀδικεῖται. α β V, εἰ γὰρ μή, ἀδικεῖται Frede || οὐδὲ — ἄρα om. α β V recte b18 οὐχ V b19 καλλοπίζονται α, corr. P² (= rec.) || τοῖς τοιοῦτοις Rav. b20 ἐλάμβανον] ἔλαβον β b22 εἰ δ'] οἶδ' α, corr. P² (nescioquis) || ἀδικήσασι A¹, corr. A² (libr. ipse) b23 τούτοις] τοῖς τοιοῦτοις L || ἀδικοῖντοι K || ἀδικοῖντοι + οἱ K b24 εἰ {A} || ἀδικῶνται A V¹, corr. V² b25 δὲ L, ci. Susemihl] δὴ cett. || ταῦτα καὶ om. V || τοῖς τοιοῦτοις λόγοις Susemihl] τοῖς τοιοῦτους λόγους ω recte, τοῖς ἐν τοιοῦτοις λόγοις Ald. || ὁ om. L b26 αὐτὸν] ἑαυτὸν α β recte b27-8 τὰ φαῦλα — ἄρα αὐτὸς αὐτὸν om. V b28 βλάπτει + δ' α, fors. recte || ἄρα K || αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν A || αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ C b29 ὁ secl. Rieckher || κωλύει α β, καὶ λύει ego b31 δέ γε] δ' C, δὲ P β || πράττει] πράττειν V b32 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν A b33 τὰ om. β || αὐτῶ P A b34 ὁ om. V || αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν A¹, corr. A² (rec.) || ἐκῶν om. A || ἂν add. aut hic aut post οὐδ' vel ἀδικεῖ Spengel² b35 ἄρα A b36 αὐτὸν β] αὐτὸς α η recte b37 οὕτως] οὗτος A || γὰρ L || supra γὰρ add. ὁ A || ἄ om. L b38 πράττειν τάττει] προστάττει ego
- 1196 a1 τοῦτο V¹, corr. V² a2 εἰ del. K² recte, εἰ K³ || μὴ] μὴν L a4 ἄρα P, παρὰ V, corr. V² || αὐτὸν A a6 ταῦτα] τὰ τοιαῦτα α β || ἦν] ἦ non coniecendum, Jaeger¹ a7 transp. οὐκ ἐνδέχεται post χρόνον (a8) L a8-9 οὐδ' — ἄκοντα secl. Ramsauer, Armstrong a11 αὐτὸν]¹ αὐτὸν L {A} a17 λαμβάνει Ald. a19 παρακαταθήκης L, παραθήκην P¹ K¹, corr. P² (libr. ipse ut vid.) K² (= corr.³) || ἀποστεροῦντες V², {V¹} a21 παρακαταθήκης L a22 ἑαυτοῦ]¹ αὐτοῦ Bekker || ἑαυτοῦ² L η] αὐτοῦ α ε, αὐτοῦ A a24 αὐτὸν]¹ αὐτὸν ζ || αὐτὸν]² αὐτὸν A a27 αὐτῆς Casaubon] αὐτῆς ω a28 ἐν ψυχῇ] ἐμψυχῶν ut vid. V¹, corr. V² || -μα {A} || ἀδικημα, τῶν] ἀδικημάτων η, corr. K² (= corr.²), V² || ἔστι add. s.l. P² (=

- rec.), om. ω recte a29 δὲ Susemihl, porro Valla (= δέ)] γὰρ ω recte || τῷ Bas.¹] τὸ ω || τὸ om. α Cois. a30 αὐτὸν α A K a31 ὅστ' ἐν] ὅστε V a32 ἐν om. V || τοῖς τοιοῦτοις] τούτοις L || ἀδικήμα L a33 om. αὐτὸν C a34 πότερον V || ἐν om. L a35 ὅτι οὖν A || ἔχονται L || ἦ + ἐν β || καὶ + ἐν L || ἀπονεύμαντι A² {A¹} a37 κἄν] οὐδ' ἂν A
- 1196 b1 οὗτος <δ'> ci. Susemihl || post ἀδικεῖ rasura octo litterarum V b2 ἀλθείαι (sic) K¹, corr. K² (= libr. ipse) || μὴ] οὐκ L b2-3 ταύτη μὲν ἀδικεῖ] ἀδικεῖ μὲν ταύτη V, ταύτη ἀδικεῖ β b3 τὸ αὐτῷ] τὸ αὐτῶ A, ταυτῶι K, ταυτὸ V b4 ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ η b5 περι²] παρὰ L || εἰ] ἦ β b6 πράττομεν ζ || τὸ] τὸν V || μὲν] μὲν γὰρ sic Rav., μὲν γὰρ M¹, μέντοι M², prob. Spengel² b7 πράττειν + βέλτιστον α, + τὸ βέλτιστον M b8 ἂν εἴ] ἂν α || transp. ἄριστα post ἂν L b9 δὲ Spengel² b10 διασάφησοντά V || ὑγιεινά ἐστίν α, ὑγιεινά ε b11 lacunam post λόγου posuit Casaubon || τίς L b13 διωρίσθημεν C K || post μὲν rasura unius litterae, fors. μ vel γ P
- b14-15 λόγον ἔχον τὸ δὲ ἄλογον μόριον V²] λόγον ἔχοντος μορίου η, λόγον ἔχον τὸ δ' ἄλογον (εὐλογον ut vid. A). καὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος μορίου α A, ἔχον λόγον τὸ δ' ἄλογον καὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχοντος μορίου L
- b15 ἔστω ci. Spengel² || δ'] δὴ ζ || ἔχον om. L b16 λόγον B] εὐλογον η, ἔλλογον K², ἐν λόγον α β V² || μόριον + λόγον K b17 ὅτι] εἰ A b18 γένοιτ' ἂν C b18-19 ἕτερα ἀλλήλων ἐστίν α β recte b19 χρωμῶμά τε V²] χρώματα ω b20 ὡσαύτως + δὲ α, secl. Spengel² b21 ἀκοῆ + τ ut vid. A b22 ὁμοίως δὲ] ὡσαύτως Spengel² b23 ἐπεὶ δὴ Susemihl] ἐπεὶ δ' α β recte, ἐπεὶ η, εἰ δὴ et ci. Susemihl b24 καὶ τὰ] κατὰ V¹, corr. V² || εἶναι + δεῖ α β recte b25 δ'] γὰρ, nisi b23 εἰ restituere praestat, ci. Susemihl recte b26 ἄρ' V, om. β b27 νοητὰ <καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπιστημονικὸν περὶ τὰ νοητὰ> τὸ δὲ Ellebodius || τοδὲ A¹, corr. A² || καὶ προαιρετικὸν om. η || περὶ] ἐς V b28 τε om. L b29 βουλόμεθα V¹, corr. V² b30 προελόμενος V¹, corr. V², προειλομένοις A || ante ἐστίν² add. δ' Rassow¹ recte b30-1 περὶ — πρᾶξαι dubitanter secl. Armstrong b31 καὶ α] ἢ β, om. η || καὶ² + ἢ L || τοῦ] τις V¹, corr. V² b33 τὸν om. L || τὸν αἰσθητὸν η, τὰ αἰσθητὰ Cois. b34 δὴ] δὲ L b35 τάληθοῦς Spengel^{1,2}] ἀληθοῦς ω, <τοῦ> ἀληθοῦς coniecerat Rieckher b35-6 καὶ — σκοπούμεθα corrupta sunt: fors pro ὡς (b35), οἷς aut ἐν οἷς et pro σκοπούμεθα, σκοπώμεθα (b36) legenda b36 δ'] δὲ α L B, δὴ A V¹, corr. V², δ' ἢ K b38 περὶ + τὸ L || λόγον V
- 1197 a1 διατεινόμενον] ἤδη δεικνύμενον Ellebodius, διατεινόμενων Armstrong conferens E.N. 1169a9, prob. Pellegrin || πρακτικὰ V Rav. a2 ἐστίν om. L a3 δὴ] δὲ L, ci. Susemihl || τὸ om. α A a4 τι K] om. α, τὸ β V a5 παρὰ¹] περὶ C || ἄλλο + τὸ α A, + τι ego || τὴν² om. A a6 transp. ποιητικὴ post οἰκίας V ||

- παρὰ] περι C A **a7** ὁμοίως + καὶ L || τεκτονικῆς] τοῦ τεκτονικοῦ A **a8-9** παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν] παρὰ τὴν V **a10** ἦ² om. A **a11** οὖν om. α **a12** ποιητὰ] ποιητικὰ V¹, corr. V² || ποιηταῖς C, ποιητῆ P, ποιητικοῖς η **a13** ἐν τοῖς om. η || πρακτικοῖς η || τὸ om. A¹, add. A² (= rec.) **a14** πρακτικὴ καὶ προαιρετικὴ α **a15** καὶ² — ὄσα om. η || ὄσα + καὶ L || εἰς] εἰ P K **a16** ἦδη + καὶ Ald., ἦδη corruptum esse censet Bas.¹ || δ' ἦ] δὴ Spengel² **a18** ἀρετὰς V¹ || ἐπιστήμη V¹ || transp. μὲν post πάσης L || ἀρετὴ ἐστὶ V¹ **a19** αὐτὴ τις vel αὐτὴ ci. Spengel², prob. Stock **a20** τῶν] τοῦ ut vid. A **a23** ἀλλ' ὁ] ἀλλὰ η **a26** αὐτὴ Bekker, ipsa Valla] αὐτὴ K¹, αὐτὴ cett. et K², prob. Armstrong, ταύτη B. Michael **a27** τὰ om. V¹ **a28** τε om. ζ **a29** ταῦτά Spengel²] ταῦτα ω recte **a34** <τὰ> ἀεὶ Donini¹ || ὄντα] ἔχοντα β **a36** ἐστὶν ἀεὶ M² (= fort. libr. ipse)] ἐστὶν ἦ sic C, ἔστιν ἦ P, ἔστιν ἦ β, ἐστὶν η, ἐστὶν ᾧ Z, ἦ ἐστὶ Bas.³, γρ. ᾧ ἐστὶ Casaubon, ἀεὶ ἐστὶ Ellebodus, Bekker **a37** οὐκέτι + τοιαῦτα V¹, corr. V² || ἔχοντα L || τὸ τῶ α β, ut Valla || ἄλλο τι Rav.] ἄλληλα cett., ἄλλα ci. Susemihl **a38** ἀλλὰ + καὶ A
- 1197** **b1** ἐκείνος — συμφέρει om. η, add. s.l. V² **b2** ἄρα P **b3** ante διὰ add. καὶ A || τοῦτο Susemihl] τούτων ω (τοῦτων A) || transp. δῆλον post ἂν (b4) α **b5** εἰ C², εἰ ut vid. C¹ || γὰρ] γάρ ἐστὶν A **b5-6** τοῦ μορίου — ἔχοντων secludendum? Donini¹ **b7** χεῖρω γὰρ] χεῖρον α, χεῖρον γὰρ P² (libr. ipse ut vid.) || γὰρ² om. η, add. V² **b8** ἀίδιον V **b9** γε om. L || εὐικός A **b10** post δῆλον rasura fere trium litterarum K **b11** ἦ] καὶ C, ci. Susemihl, ἦ ut vid. K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) || περι] παρὰ L || τί K² (= rec.) {K¹} || δ' ἦ] δὴ Spengel², δὴ ἦ Susemihl **b12** συνετὸς ποῦ A **b13** δυνατῶς β || εἶναι add. Spengel², (cf. 99b19) **b14** μικρῶν] μικρόν V || δὲ P² (= rec.), ci. Rieckher] τε ω **b16-17** καὶ οὐκ — φρονίμου om. V¹, suppl. in mg. V² sed et iam καὶ οὐκ — τούτων omissa sunt **b17** χωρίσεις C **b18** τὰ om. β **b20** πῶς C **b21** καὶ om. A **b25** transp. ἕκαστον post γένοιτο (b26) L **b26** γίνοιτο ci. Susemihl || πρακτικῶν η Rav., corr. K² **b27** οὖν + δεινὸς L **b27-8** τοῖς τοιοῦτοις — ταῦτα] τούτοις — ταῦτα aut τοῖς τοιοῦτοις — τοιαῦτα ci. Spengel² **b28-35** ἀπορήσειε — λόγους transponenda post 97a30 aut 97b10 Dirlmeier **b29** σοφίας] φιλοσοφίας L **b30** γε] om. α **b31** ἦ om. η || -πέρ del. ut vid. B **b32** ἐστὶν + ἦ α, del. P² (= corr.¹) **b33** <ψυχῆς μορίω> ὄντα Spengel² || ἐν + τῆ L **b34** περι Bekker] ὑπὲρ ω || καὶ om. B **b35** ἀλλοτρίας L, ἀλλοτρίους ε || ὑπὲρ + τῆς A Ambros. B 84 || ψυχῆς] 'aut lacunosum aut corruptum' Susemihl, σοφίας Ambros. B 84 post correctionem teste Wagner, ci. Vettori, Spengel¹,², αὐτῆς Spengel¹, prob. Armstrong, Donini¹, <σοφίας λέγομεν, ἐπεὶ ὑπὲρ> ψυχῆς Spengel¹, <σοφίας ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ> ψυχῆς Arnim¹ || τοὺς λόγους] τὰς σκέψεις L **b39** πρὸς] ἐπὶ L
- 1198** **a1** εἰς] Spengel²] ἔστιν K, ἔστι cett., prob. Dirlmeier || ἔθει] ἔθει L, λόγῳ Donini¹

- a2-3** οὔσαι — ἐπιγινόμενοι corrupta || **a2** transp. ἐπιγινόμενοι (a3) post προαιρέσει
 Rassow^{1,4} || οὔσαι om. L || || τελέως P A] τελείως C, τοδε ὡς K¹, τόδε, ὡς K², τέως L
 V² ut vid. {V¹} **a3** <καὶ> ἐπαινεταὶ Spengel², prob. Rassow⁴ || om. ἐπι- V¹,
 secl. Spengel², add. in mg. V² **a4** αὕτη om. A || ἡ del. P² **a6** προστιθεμένην η,
 corr. V² **a7** οὐκ ἔστιν <ἐπαινετῆ> Rassow⁴, prob. Donini¹, οὐ ἔστιν <ἀρετῆ>
 Rassow⁴, οὐκ ἔστι <τελεία> Armstrong **a8** οὐδ' αὖ ὁ] ὁ δ' αὖ α β **a9** τῶ]
 ταῦτα C, ὡστ' Rassow⁴, prob. Donini¹ || ἀρετῆ] ἀρετὴν Rav., τὴν ἀρετὴν L
a10 τὰς ἀρετὰς L **a11** λόγους ζ **a14** γὰρ om. L **a15** μὲν] δὲ aut μέντοι
 (conferens 82a16) ci. Susemihl || οὔτοι β, prob. Spengel²] οὕτως α η || πράξει
 Bekker] πράξει α η, πράξι L, πράξι B ε, post -ξ {A}, πράξιε ego **a18**
 κελεύειν η, corr. K² V² || κελεύ(σ)ειεν + ἄν A η **a21** ἐπαινετόν + ὀρθὸς δὲ λόγος
 ἡ φρονήσις ἔστιν Donini¹, cf. 00a3-4 **a22** ἡ om. L **a23** ἄν om. η || γίνοιτο ci.
 Susemihl **a24** ἡ¹ om. η || ἡ² om. η || ἄλλαι + αὶ L **a25** διότι] διὰ τὸ ζ ||
 πρακτικὸν L || καὶ V P² (= rec.), prob. Spengel², εἰ Γ] om. α β K B recte **a26** τι
 Rassow^{1,3}] τις ω **a28** ἄν om. K B, ἐν Va29 αὐτῆ K B, αὐτῆ sic V ||
 προστάττει K, προτάττει V¹, corr. V² || ἀνδρεία] ἀρετῆ ego || εἰ] ἡ A V || αὕτη β, ci.
 Ellebodius, Spengel² **a30** προστάττει K¹, corr. libr. ipse K² || γε] τε Z **a31**
 τελείον ut vid. P || καὶ¹ η, om. α β || καὶ² K, om. cett. || transp. ἐπαινετῆ post ἀρετῆ
 L **a34** ἐν] ἡ V || οἰκοδομικῆ V **a36** καὶ om. A **a37** ἐποίει] ἐπὶ η || ποιητικὸς +
 οὔτος A || δὲ] δ' ἄν β, δὲ καὶ K **a38** τῶν² om. β
- 1198** **b1** ὑπηρετικὸς L || ἄρα] ἄρα P, om. η **b2** καὶ — ὑπηρετικὸς om. L ||
 αὐτοῦ om. D, sed spatium sex litterarum adest || οὐ add. Bonitz¹, post ποιητικὸς
 Breier, {L} || ὁ del. V², om. Rav., retinet Bonitz¹, Breier || ὑπηρετικὸς] ὑπέρτης
 Wilson, Spengel², ὑπηρετῶν Bonitz¹ **b3** καὶ om. L **b4** transp. πᾶσαι post εἰσι (b5)
 A **b6** γὰρ ἄν β, ci. Spengel² recte || αὐτῆ K || προστάξει β K, Spengel² recte ||
 οὕτως + καὶ L **b7** οἶ] οἶ ω || κατὰ ταύτας A² L **b9** τῆ om. K || transp. πάντων
 post ψυχῆ α **b11** οὐκ ἄρχει] ὑπάρχει A || φῆσιν + ὅτι α β recte **b13** οἰκὰ A¹,
 corr. A² || οὕτω V¹, corr. V² (= rec.) **b14** οὔτος] οὕτως V¹, corr. V² || ἄρχει + τῶν β
b15 ἐκεῖνος sic P **b15-16** ἐκλύηται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων L **b18** ἔστι om. β
b18-19 καὶ τὸ] τοῦ Spengel², καὶ τῶι V¹, corr. V² (= rec.) **b19** αὐτῆς Bekker]
 αὐτῆς ω

Collation of Magna Moralia II

1198b24-1206b29 Codd: C P (= α), A L (= β), K V (= η). β η = ζ

- 1198 **b27** ἐξαδυνατεῖ + καὶ α **b28** λέγει| λέγεται Laur. 81,12 **b29** ταῦ //
 ρούμενος L || ἠβούλετο α β recte, ἠ βούλεται V **b30** τῶ] τὰ L, καὶ Casaubon,
 Rassow^{1,3}, secl. Spengel² recte, 'falsum' Susemihl || transp. καθ' — διορίσαι post
 δὲ Spengel² **b33** νόμον s.l. L || παρέλιπεν L **b34** ἐστὶ + μὲν L || ταῦτὰ
 Casaubon] ταῦτα ω **b35** τὰ¹ {L} || καὶ² om. ζ **b36-7** τῶ μὴ — τοῦ
 νομοθέτου om. V, suppl. in mg. V² **b36** διορίσθαι C || ante κριτικὸς add. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Dirlmeier, ὁ γὰρ? ego || ὦν + ὑπὸ C **b37** καὶ γινώσκων om. α, 'non
 male' Spengel² || γινώσκω V² || ὅτι <ᾶ> ego **b38** μὲν om. L || ἐλλείπεται L ||
 δίκαιος L
- 1199 **a1** ἄνευ + τῆς α β K recte, non habet V || εὐγνωμοσύνης ἢ ἐπιείκεια ci.
 Spengel² || ἠ + τοιαύτη L **a2** τὸ δὲ δὴ η] τὸ δ' ἦδη α β recte || καὶ om. β,
 perperam || supra καὶ add. τὸ P² (= rec.), τὸ καὶ Rav., καὶ τὸ M **a3** κρίσιν + τῶν
 η **a4** γε s.l. L, om. V **a5** πρακτικά A || ὄντα om. V **a7** ἦ² P L K] ἦ C A V
a8 ἐπιτεκτική L || πρακτοῖς β, γρ. Casaubon, ci. Bonitz¹, Spengel²] πρακτικοῖς α
 η || συμφερωτάτων C **a11** τι om. L **a12** κατὰ + τὸν β || εὐ in ἄνευ s.l. A {L}
a14 ποτε om. Rav. || <έν> τῇ ci. Spengel² || τὴν ἔντευξιν ego **a15** οἶον om. β
 || ὁποῖον V¹ || ἦ] ἦ V **a18** transp. ἄν post δόξειεν Ca19 ἀπορήσοι V **a20**
 transp. καὶ¹ post βλάπτειν A || ὡς ζ] ὅσον α, ὃς Cois., ᾧ Armstrong, Dirlmeier
a21 ἐν {L} **a22** εἰδείῃ (sic) P **a26** τὰγαθὸν V || παρακολουθεῖν + τὸ
 μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν φρόνησιν (cf. a25-6) C¹ P¹, del. C¹ (rubro atramento) et P¹
a28 καὶ τὸ — ἀγαθὸν om. V || αὐτῶ C A K **a30** -ρεῖν {L} **a30-1** κατὰ τ'
 ἰατρικὴν A, κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν L V **a31** περιποιητικὸν L **a32** πάντες L ||
 ἐλέβορος β Rav., (corr. libr. ipse A) **a33** κλύσεις α || ὑγιεινά Sylburg] ὑγιεινά ω
a34 ποιητικά η] -αί α β **a36** ἐστὶ] ὅτι η **a37** ἦ δὴ A || ἦδη + καὶ C ||
 οὖν] καὶ A
- 1199 **b1** α in ἰατρικὴ s.l. P || ὡσαύτως δ' α || οὖν aut puncto ante ὅτι deleto
 secludendum aut in γὰρ mutandum esse ci. Spengel² **b2** καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς delenda
b3 εἰ] ἦ C || αὐτῶ C A, αὐτὸ V¹ || διακειμένου A **b4** μᾶλλον L **b6** αὐτῶ β
b7 αὐτῶ α V || μέντοι + τὸ A **b8** αὐτὸς] αὐτῶ V¹ || ἑαυτὸν α **b9** τοὺς
 φίλους α **b11** transp. μὲν post ἀδικία² α **b13** αὐτῶ ζ **b14** ἐστὶν β
b15 χρήσασθαι A **b16** τούτοι V **b17** δὴ] δὲ ci. Susemihl **b19** δυνάμη C
 || πλούτω + καὶ A || δυνατὸς C **b20** καὶ om. L **b21** ὄρισται] ὡς εἴρηται η
b23 ὄν om. V¹ || ἄρχειν²] ἀρχὴν ego **b24** δὴ] δ' εἴ α ut vid., δέ corr. aliquis P² ||
 τις] ποτε L || ἑαυτὸν V, αὐτὸν ego **b26** καὶ¹ om. L || κυβερνᾶν P **b30** τὸ] τῶ P
b31 οὐκ P² (= nescioquis)] om. ω recte, del. P³ || ἀρχῆς] ἄ χῆς (sic) C **b32**
 εὐκινητώτερον ut vid. C¹ **b33** ψυχῆ C || transp. γὰρ post φαῦλος K¹, corr. K²

- b33-4** τὸ σῶμα V²] τῷ σώματι α β recte, τὰ σώματα η **b34** οὕτως ζ] οὕτως α, οὕτως sic P² (= rec.) **b35** οὗτος α, corr. P² (= rec.²) **b36** ἦ] εἶη K || ἄμα] ἄλλα η, corr. V² **b37** πότερ' ἄν α β] πότ' ἄν η, corr. V², πότε ἄν C²
- 1200 a1** δεῖν secl. Spengel², Susemihl || τὴν om. η || <έν> ᾠ Spengel² **a2** προαίρεσις vel ἡ προαίρεσις Spengel² || λόγῳ καὶ τῷ secl. Spengel², τῷ <ἀ>λόγῳ καὶ <έν> ('sensum pervertit' Spengel²) Scaliger **a3** ἄμα τὸ Rieckher, Bonitz², prob. Rassow³] τὸ ἄμα ω, ἄμα καὶ τὸ mg. Bas.³, prob. Susemihl, <ᾠ> ἄμα τὸ olim ci. Rassow¹, <εἰ> τὸ ἄμα Spengel², ἄμα τῷ Ellebodus, ἄμα anon. in editio Bodleiana Camotii || ἐλέσθαι C, λέγεσθαι B || καὶ¹ om. α β || καὶ παρέσται secl. Ellebodus || post ἦν rasura duarum litterarum ut vid. V **a4** c.p. εἶναι Rassow^{1,3}, p.p. ω **a5** c.p. καλὸν V, p.p. cett., Rassow^{1,3} || ἀρετῇ ἀρετῇ α β **a6** ἦ secl. Bonitz², Spengel², aut ἦ <ὕπηρετεῖν> vel <ὕπακούειν> vel ἦ <πείθεσθαι> vel simile quid Bonitz², retinet ἦ Dirlmeier || πρᾶττει α L || προστάττει <πρᾶττειν> vel πρᾶττει <πρᾶττειν> Dirlmeier **a7** δ] ᾠ η || ἄγει η, corr. V² || τὸ γὰρ om. V¹ **a8** οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ {L} **a10** ἀλλὰ + καὶ C || πῶς C **a12** ἀπορήσειεν ἄν τις vel ἀπορεῖται Spengel² || ποτε {L} **a16** ἀηδεῖς] secunda littera {P¹} **a17** μεγέθους secl. Spengel² || καὶ om. L **a18** ἐάν {L} **a19** -αι (e παραγένηται) {A} || οὗ² add. Bonitz¹, Spengel², corruptelam suspicatus est iam Casaubon, om. ω, prob. Breier (ἦ οὐ φησίν) (conferens Bonitz Observ. Critic. in Arist. Metaph. p.16) || φησιν ω, secl. Scaliger, prob. Ramsauer || τῆς L V] om. α A K recte **a20** μεγάλη γινομένη] μεταλνομένη ut vid. L **a21** φησίν om. L, secl. Spengel² **a22** τῆς {L} || γὰρ Spengel²] δὲ ω || ἡ s.l. C **a23** ποιῆ L || γενομένη L || τοῦτο οὐκ] οὐ τοῦτο V **a26** παραγιν- β **a27** παραγιν- β **a28** χρήσεται A K² (= rec.) M] χρήσεται α L η || ὀρθῶς om. η **a29** δὴ ἦ Spengel²] δ' ἦ α V, δὴ β K recte || ἦ² om. ζ recte, add. s.l. V² **a30** ὥστε] ὥσπερ Ald. || ἡμῖν] ἡ μὲν C, ἦ μὲν P **a31** αἰ om. η || ἦ] ἦ Bas.² **a32** μᾶλλον ἔσται A || ἐστι om. L **a33** οὔσα V¹, corr. V² (= rec.) || γὰρ {L} **a35** μὲν Ald.] μὲν οὖν ω recte || μέχρι μετεχει A **a37** καί² om. α L, secl. Spengel² **a37-8** ἡ ἀρετῇ — ἄτοποι corrupta esse suspicatur Sylburg, εἰ ἀρετῇ καὶ [ἦ] κακία, αὐταὶ εἰσιν ἄτοποι aut εἰ ἀρετῇ καὶ [ἦ] κακία αὐται, ἐστὶν ἄτοπον Spengel² || ἦ] ἦ ego || καί² — κακία secl. Winterbottom
- 1200 b1** αὕτη] αὕτη V, ἡ τοιαύτη α **b2** ταῦτά] ταῦτα V **b3** ἐναντιοῦται¹ η, corr. K² || ἐναντιοῦται² V **b5** τῆ om. η || -νομενα {L} **b6** καὶ ἀρετῆς delenda **b7** τίσιν + ἐστὶν A **b9** δὲ ἦ] δὲ α fort. recte, δὴ Spengel² **b13** ἀνώνυμος δέ K] ἀνώνυμος V, ἀνώνυμος οὖν cett., ἀλλ' οὐκ ci. ego || αὕτη A **b14** βελτίων A K] βέλτιον cett. recte || τῶν ἀρετῶν M **b15** βελτίων β V², βέλτιστον Spengel² **b16** τῆ² om. η **b17** δὲ] δὴ C A η **b18** καὶ om. K || ἦ² {L} **b20** ἄν suppl. Bekker || δεῖ Laur. 81,12 **b22** καὶ ἐναντιουμένων om. ζ **b23** καὶ ταῦτα {L} **b26** κακά¹ + καὶ A **b26-7** κακά εἰσιν {L} **b27** ἔλοιτ' K **b29** ᾠετ'] ὥστε V || οὐ δὴ] οὐδ' V, οὐκ mg. Bas.³ **b30** πιθανῶς] φανέρως ci. Winterbottom

- b31** γινόμενον] λεγόμενον L **b33** ἦ] καὶ L, ἦ D **b34** οὐκ ἂν δόξειεν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἦ] ἂν δόξειεν ἄτοπον α β recte **b37-8** ἐναντιοῦται <**αὐ->τῷ μὴ aut ἐναντιοῦται τῷ [μὴ] Spengel² recte, ἐναντιοῦται <ὡστ' αὐ->τῷ μὴ ci. Susemihl, prob. Armstrong **b38** ἄρα α β V **b39** εἶη om. η
- 1201** **a2** προθέσθαι V¹, corr. V² **a3** μὴ om. C || εἰδόντα C, εἰδότι D || ὅτι] οὔτι ut vid. A || οὐ del. K², om. Cois. recte **a4** δόξαντα α, δοξάσαντα Rav. || γε om. A **a5** ψέγημεν C || ὁ] τὸ V¹, corr. V² **a6** ante οἱ add. οὐδ' οἱ V¹, del. V² || δὴ om. V **a7-8** γὰρ τι β V **a8** γὰρ¹ om. C || συμβαίνειν ἐποίουν M] συμβαίνειν P¹ η recte, ἐποίουν συμβαίνειν C P², συμβαίνει β **a9** ἐποίουν secl. Susemihl perperam **a11** πρότερον ζ, corr. K² V² **a12** ἔσται + σφοδρῶς V¹, del. V² || δεοίσει C **a12-13** ἔχειν αὐτὸν A V **a14** ἐπιθυμειῶν κρατειῶν L || μὴ del. P², secl. Ellebodius, Rassow^{1,3}, Spengel², retinet Dirlmeier recte || ἔξοι L η, corr. V² **a15** οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι A V || ὁ¹ Rav., prob. Rassow^{1,3}, Spengel²] οὐ ω, prob. Dirlmeier recte || ἐστὶν Rassow¹] ἔσται ω, prob. Dirlmeier **a16** μηθέν α A V] οὐθὲν K, μηδὲν L || transp. πάλιν ante καὶ α **a17** τῶν] τινων Rassow³ **a18** ψεκτέον L || τις s.l. C **a19** δοκεῖτω] δοκεῖ τῷ η, corr. K² **a22** πράττει D, πράξει Rassow³ recte **a23-5** ἡ γὰρ — καλῶν delenda, aut ἀγέτω (a24) in ἦγεν mutandum et ὁ δὲ (a24) — τῶν καλῶν (a25) delenda **a24** διαμαρτέτω V² (= rec.) **a24-5** τῶν λογισμῶν K V² **a25** ἀκρατῆς {L} **a27** δ' om. α **a29** ἐγκρατῆς] ἀκρατῆς A || δέ γέ ἐστὶν ὁ] μὲν γε ἐστὶν ὁ Ald., δέ γε ἔστω Armstrong **a31** τῷ — καλῶν] corrupta aut mutilata Susemihl, τῷ λόγῳ τῶν καλῶν <οὐ πράξει· ὁ γὰρ λόγος> Rassow^{1,3}, λόγος τῶν καλῶν Bonitz² (cf. a21) || κωλύσεται Amerbach, Dirlmeier recte, κωλύσει <αὐτὸν> Scaliger **a32** κωλύσει ci. Susemihl, κωλύεται Amerbach, Dirlmeier, κωλύσεται ego **a33** ἦγαγεν V] ἦγεν cett. || πράττων] πράτων C **a35** δ' ἦ] δὴ P **a36** ἀκρατῆς] ἐγκρατῆς α **a38** περὶ τὸ V¹, corr. V² **a39** ἀφορίσειεν K¹ et ut vid. (π in ras.) Cois.¹, corr. K² (= rec.)
- 1201** **b2** δὲ om. α sed add. (libr. ipse ut vid.) s.l. P || οἶν om. α, 'haud male' Spengel² **b3** transp. ἐδόκει post εἶναι β || ἀποβαλεῖν η **b4** οὐδὲν α **b6** τῷ] τὸ η, corr. K² V² || ἀμετάπιστον C L || οὐθὲν 24] οὐδὲν ω recte **b7** δόξης V²] δόξας α A η recte, δόξαν L, ἡ δόξα τοῖς ci. Bekker - 'perperam' Susemihl || ἔχουσι L η recte, corr. V² || τὸ V² α] τῷ ζ recte || στ in πιστεύειν {L} **b8** εἶχε Spengel² || δόξαν + ὦν τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπίστασθαι = 01b11-12 K¹, del. K² **b9** δὲ Susemihl] δὴ ω, δ' Spengel² recte **b11** τὸ¹ om. η **b12** transp. τότε post τις A **b13** ἔχει K, ἔχ P **b15** comma ante ταύτη Sylburg **b16** ἄτοπόν ἐστὶν αὐτὸν β V **b19** ἐν s.l. C **b20** αὐτοῖς] αὐτῷ η || γὰρ om. V **b21** δὴ Susemihl] δὲ ἡ L, δ' ἡ cett., δὴ ἡ ci. Susemihl recte **b23** ἄτοπα α A **b24** γένοιτο C || ὥσπερ] ὡς γὰρ ego **b25** προτων (sic) A || γίνεσθαι] εἶναι L **b26** προτέρων Spengel² **b27** ὑπὸ ταύτην] ὑπ' αὐτήν η, ἐπ' αὐτήν 24 **b28** οὐτωςὶ α, corr. P² (= rec. ut vid.) **b29** ὑγιῆ vel ὑγιῆ, L **b30** δ] οἶ Armstrong || ἐπίστημη om. L || οὐ P² A² L K² V] om. α M A¹ K¹ recte **b31** οἶν + ἡ C¹, del. libr. ipse **b32** μὲν om. L || ἐπίσταμαι

- add. Susemihl recte, ἐπίσταται add. Spengel² **b33** οἶδεν P **b35** τὴν μὲν] καὶ
τὴν τοῦ α **b37** ταῦτα φαῦλα] τὰ φαῦλα α, ταῦτα τοιαῦτα Armstrong fors recte
|| ἐπὶ μέρους secludo **b39** -δ' οὕτω {L}
- 1202** **a4-5** ἀπαλλαγέντες - εἰσιν om. α recte **a5** πάλιν om. Cois. || post εἰσιν
repetitur οὐκ ἐξέπεσε δ' αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη (= a3-4) V || οὖν add. s.l.
P² (= rec.), om. ω recte **a6** πάλιν secl. Spengel² male || ηρεμεῖν K¹, ἠρεμεῖν
K² (= corr.¹) **a9** ὡς om. α || ἐπομένου η, corr. V² || ψεκτοῦ τοῦ {L} **a11**
διαψευσάμενος α V **a12** καὶ² + οὐ L **a13** τῶ + ὡς V **a14** μὴ om. A ||
οὐδὲ] οὐ L **a15** οὐ om. α || τὸν om. V || <οὐκ> ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ Susemihl, ἐπιθυμῶν
δὲ <μὴ> dubitanter ci. Wilson recte || ἐπιθυμῶν] ἐπιθυμοῦντι β V² || δὲ] ἢ καὶ sic L
a17 οὐδ' οὐκ α **a18** οὐδὲ] οὔτε δὲ K **a19** οσηματικαὶ sic V **a20** οἶον om. β ||
μὲν + γὰρ L || τινες om. α A recte || οἱ Thomas] οἱ ω recte **a21** τίλλοντες + τὰς
Rav. L (Thomas) || τρίχας <, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ὄνυχας> ex E.N. 1148b27 Thomas,
τρίχας <, ἕτεροι δ' ὄνυχας> Susemihl, vitium suspicatus erat Rassow³ ||
διατρῶγωσιν A || τις s.l. C **a22** εἰ] ἦι K, ἦ ut vid. V¹, ἦν V² **a23** υἰὸν s.l. C ||
υἰὸν φασὶ ποτὲ L, υἰὸν φαστί ποτε sic V **a24** κ in δικαστηρίῳ s.l. P² (= corr.¹) ||
τὸν om. V || τύπτει A, τύπτ L **a24-6** λέγονθ' — τοῖς om. L **a25** δὴ α] δὴ A,
δεῖ V, δοκεῖ Cois. Utin. **a26** δοκεῖ η, ἐδόκει Sylburg, visum est Valla ||
ἀμαρτίαν αν sic V **a27** <τοιουδός> τις Armstrong || τὸν om. P¹, add. P² (= corr.¹)
a28 οὐδὲ] οὐδέ γε (γ' A) β **a29** transp. ἀπλῶς post ἐπαινετοὶ L **a31** τὰ δ' α] τὰ
δὴ ζ || καὶ om. ζ || περὶ + τὸ L **a32** οὕτως V || ἄν + εἶη L || καὶ² om. K recte
a32-3 ὁ — εἶναι post 33 σωματικά tri. Rassow^{1,3}, prob. Armstrong **a32-4** ὁ
οὖν — εἶναι secl. Armstrong **a33** καὶ οἶον αἰ σωματικά secl. Ellebodius recte,
οἶον αἰ σωματικά secl. Dirlmeier || ἡδοναὶ Rassow^{1,3}] οἶον αἰ ω **a34** ρασ in
ἀκρασίαν {L} || ἄν add. Susemihl, ταῦτ' ἄν Bekker || δὲ] γὰρ ego || περὶ om. L,
πάλιν V **a35** ἀκράτεια η || transp. μὲν post τιμὴν L || οὖν om. L **a35-6**
οὐκ ἔστιν — τιμὴν om. A **a37** ἐστίν om. ζ **a38** ἦ] ἦ ut vid. C
- 1202** **b1** ἀκρατῆ C, ἀκρατῆ P || ὡς om. L V **b2** αὐτοῦ α, αὐτῆ L || προσθήσεως
A, προθέσεως V **b3** ὁ ἀπλῶς] πως ὁ K, ὁ πῶς V¹, corr. V² **b4** καὶ om. A ||
ὅτι] ὅς L **b5** δεήσει ante ψεκτὰ add. α β || om. δεῖ α β V **b6** ἀρχῆ] ὀργῆ ut
vid. K¹ **b7** ψεκταὶ A η **b9** λέγεται] ψέγεται L **b11** οὔσαν V ||
ἀκρασία] ἀκολασία L || ψεκτοτέρα L, editio Vallae (1590)] ψεκτοτάτη α A η, editio
princeps Vallae **b12** ἦ] ἦ C || τὴν s.l. L || ἔστιν {L} **b13** τῶν παιδῶν delenda
|| προθύμως] ἐτοίμως L **b14** εἶποι α A || ὅταν εἶποι {L} **b15** προθεσμία L
|| ἐξ ἐνεχθέντες A || πρὸ τοῦ] πρὸς τὸ A **b17** γραφίον K et ut vid. A || πέπονθε]
τι ἔπαθε ci. ego **b18** ὀργῆς {L} **b20** ἦ¹ om. L **b21** σφοδρῶς β || ἦ] εἰ
Ald., ἦ ego **b22** ἐπιτιμητε.α K¹, corr. K² (= corr.²) || τὴν om. α **b23** γε secl.
Spengel² || <ἦ> πρὸς Armstrong **b25** παρὰ add. s.l., διὰ delete, P² (= rec.),
παρὰ in linea Rav D, διὰ ω, in mg. D, οὐ διὰ ego **b27** ἦ] οὐ L **b28** ἦ] ἦ L || δι'
ἦδ- {L} **b30** ὁ om. C **b31** κρατῶν] ἐγκρατῶν C **b33** ἦ¹ et ἦ² om. V¹, add.

s.l. V² **b34** μῆ] μὴν L **b35** ἀναγκαίως corruptum esee credo || ἄν τις ἄλλος τις V¹,
 τις¹ del. V² **b36** ὑπομένειν] ὑπομείναι L **b38** αὖ] οὖν η || τις] τίνος C
1203 **a1** ἀκρατής¹ secl. Amerbach, Bonitz^{1,2}, prob. Breier || ὁ ἀντός] ἀκόλαστος,
 si ἀκρατής¹ retinere praestat, ci. Bonitz¹, prob. Rassow¹ || ἡ οὖ] που η **a2** τις]
 ἐστὶν α || ὀίεσθαι α **a3** αὐτῶ Bekker] αὐτῶ ω **a4** ἔχειν Rav. Ald.] ἔχει ω recte
 || αὐτῶ Bekker] αὐτῶ ω **a5** ἐφ'] πρὸς L **a6** πότερον η || εὐιατώτερος α β, ι in
 rasura K || ἀνι supra εὐι P² (= corr.¹) recte **a6-7** οὕτω — ἀκρατής om. **Ka7** οὖν +
 οὐ L V || om. ἄν ε || ἴσως : οὐχ post ἄν in mg. P² (= rec.), ἴσως οὐχ in linea Rav.,
 om. α β V {K} recte || ὁ γὰρ] ἄλλ' ὁ, nisi φαίνεται vel sim. additur Spengel²
a8 εὐιατώτερος α β K || supra ei aliquid {V²} || λόγος om. A **a10** ὁμοίως η,
 corr. V² || δόξει ἐναντίος K¹, corr. K² || δόξει V, δόξη Vettori || δόξειεν + ἄν A
a11 πότερον V Cois. || χείρων D || s.i. post χείρων Bonitz¹ || ᾧ — ὑπάρχει post
 ἐκεῖνος (13) tri. Spengel² || ᾧ] δν ut vid. V¹, corr. V² || κατὰ μηδέν aut τι secl.
 Arnim⁸ || μηδέν τι ὑπάρχει ἀγαθόν L **a12** ἡ ᾧ ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι ὑπάρχει add.
 Bonitz¹, quae accipit Susemihl qui et τε ante τι add., lacunam indicat etiam
 Bussemaker || καὶ — ταῦτα secl. Amerbach || καὶ] ἡ Spengel² || τὰ om. 24, τῶ Ald.
 || κακὰ α β, prob. Bonitz¹, Spengel²] κατὰ M¹ η || ταῦτά Spengel² || ταῦτα + ἡ ὁ
 ἀκρατής; Dirlmeier || ἡ] ἡ ut. vid. P¹, ἡ P² (= rec.), ἡ A **a13** ἐκεῖνω L, ἐκεῖνο
 V¹, corr. V² ||
 ὄσω γε ὃ τιμιώτερον η]
 ὄσω γε ὃτι τιμὴ καὶ τιμηώτερον P¹,
 ὄ γε, ὃτι τιμὴ καὶ τιμιώτερον C Ambros. B.84. sup.,
 ὄσω γε ὃτι τὸ τιμιώτερον A,
 ὄσω γε τιμιώτερον L,
 γρ. ᾧ γε τῶ τιμὴ καὶ τὸ τιμιώτερον in mg. Ambros. B 84 sup.,
 ᾧ γε τὸ τιμιώτερον Matr. 4684,
 ὄσω γε τιμιώτατον Laur. 81,12,
 ᾧ τὸ τιμιώτατον Spengel²
 || ἔχων ἀγαθὸν α, ἀγαθὸν ἔχων C² P² || τὸν — ὄντα] ὀρθὸν ὄντα τὸν λόγον L **a15**
 ἔτι P² (= corr.² ut vid.), β] ὃτι α η || ἐστὶν + ἐκάστου, P¹, del. P² **a16** οὖν om. η M
a17 χείρων η, χείρων, sed ων, ut vid. in corr. Cois. **a18** καὶ om. α **a20**
 ὑπαρβαλούση (sic) C || n.p.p. κακία V, p.p. cett., signum interruptae orationis
 Susemihl || δι' P² (= corr.¹) et in linea et in mg.] δ' ω **a21** ἡ om. L || ὃτι + ἡ α β K² V
 || δὲ] γὰρ ut vid. L || ἡ delendum || ὁ om. α, add. s.l. P² (= rec.) **a22** ἐπεὶ] ἔτι
 (recte) vel ἐπεὶ <ζητήσειέν τις> Amerbach || πότερον A V || transp. πλείω post κακὰ
 L || λέων signo addito ut nomen significetur C, Λέων in mg. K **a23** κλέαρχος +
 ἡ εὐμάθης α recte, ἡ Ἐπιάνθης Kenny² || τούτων τῶν] τῶν τοιούτων ci. ego
a24 ἡ] ἡ V, ut vid. P² (= corr.¹), ἡ Rav. || ἡ + ὄντως s.l. P² (= corr.¹) **a25** θηρίω ὄλωσ
 {L} || ἔστιν] ἔνεστιν α recte **a28** δεῖν om. L || ἐν αὐτῶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔνεστιν οὐχ ὑγιῆς
 P² (= rec.)] ἐν αὐτῶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔνεστιν ὑγιῆς α A, φαύλη οὖν ἐν αὐτῶ (αὐτῆ V¹,

corr. V²) ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔνεστιν ὑγιῆς η, φαύλη οὖν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔνεστιν ὑγιῆς L, del. οὖν et ἀρχὴ + δ' V², ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔνεστιν <φαύλη· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ ἡ ἀρχὴ> ὑγιῆς ego, ἀρχὴ + ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ ἡ ἀρχὴ in mg. K² || διὸ + καὶ M, prob.

Spengel² a30 εἶδη + οἶον α recte || προπετική P² (= rec.), Ramsauer] προτρεπτική ω, prob. Dirlmeier², et προπετής ci. Ramsauer, Spengel² a31 καὶ² om. A a33 ἐγίνετο A a34 οἶον om. L || ἀσθενητική α || τοῦ¹ om. C β a35 ἐκείνη {L} || λίαν om. α || transp. δόξειε(ν) post εἶναι α K a36 ἐν τε τοῖς θερμοῖσι α

- 1203 b1 ἦ — ψυχροῖς om. α || ἦ — ψυχροῖς post καὶ μελαγχολικοῖς traicienda esse ci. Spengel² b2 τοιοῦτοι + οὐ α || προσλαβόντα V, προκαταλαβόντα ego b3 ὅτι] ὅτ' α L, ὅτ' A, οἱ δὲ ὅτι Ald. || αὐτὸν P² (= libr. ipse ut vid.) αὐτόν ω b5 οὐδὲν¹] οὐδὲ Ald. || πείσεται K² (= rec.), sed ei in rasura. {K¹} b7 μαλακιζόμενος L || οὐδὲ 'si verum Casaubonus vidit' (b8), ci. Susemihl b8 transp. ἂν ante ὁ L || ὁ post ἂν traiciendum esse ci. Casaubon || transp. οὕτω post ἀκρατῆς L || τε] γε A b9 προκατα {L} || ἂν ἰάσαιτο Casaubon, prob. Dirlmeier] ἀνήαιτο C P² (= libr. ipse), {P} ἀνείσαιτο K, A ut vid. ἂν εἴσαιτο V 24² ἂν ἐάσαιτο L, ci. Scaliger, se remisert Valla ἂν εἴσαι τὸ Laur. 81,12 ἂν εἴσετο 24¹, ἂν ἄσαιτο Cois. ἴσως : ἀνήνατο in mg. P² (= rec.), ὠρμήσατ sic in mg. P² (= corr.¹), ἀνή() {P¹}, b10 οὔτι Rieckher] οὔτοι P² (= rec.), οὔτε cett., prob. Dirlmeier b11 καὶ¹ om. α, suppl. s.l. P² (= rec.) || ἀσθενεῖ α || πῶς C L, πως cett. b12 ἠπορήθη μὲν] ἠπορήθημεν A b13 λέγωμεν Bas.³ et γρ. Vettori] λέγομεν ω b14 ὁ om. V¹, add. s.l. V² b14-16 ταύτας — ἐπιθυμιῶν om. L b15-16 ὁ — κατέχειν corrupta esse iudicat Spengel² b15 καὶ² + ὁ α, del. P² b16 τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἶος secl. Armstrong || ἐγγένοιτο L η, corr. K² V² b16-19 ἔστιν — ὀρθόν secl. Armstrong b17 μῆτε Spengel² || δὲ Tauchnitziana b17-18 transp. ὀρθὸν post λόγον V b18 ταύτας A, ci. Spengel² b18-19 ὁ δ' — ὀρθόν om. α L recte b18 ὁ δ' Bas.³, at Valla] ὁ τ' A η {α L} || τὸν δὲ Bas.³, Bekker b19 ταύτας A, ci. Spengel² || ὥστ' + οὐκ Ellebodus, Amerbach b20 καὶ] οὐ δ' Rassow^{1,3} || καὶ + ὁ ἐγκρατῆς οὐκ Ellebodus || ὁ¹ add. Bonitz² recte b20-1 ἐγκρατῆς — σῶφρων add. Bonitz² recte, <ἐγκρατῆς ὁ> σῶφρων ci. Bonitz¹, lacunam ante σῶφρων pos. Bussemaker b21 μὲν γὰρ σῶφρων ὁ om. K¹, σῶφρων add. in mg. K² (= rec.) b22 ἦ οἶός τε P V] ἦ οἶός γε C β K recte, ἦ ὁ οἶός τε Ald. || ὦν om. η || πάσχειν ω (prob. Breier,

Rassow¹)] πάσχει K¹, corr. K², πάσχων <κρατεῖν> Bonitz¹, πάσχειν **

Bussemaker, κρατεῖν Rieckher, Spengel², πάσχειν <καὶ κρατεῖν> Spengel² ('haud male' Susemihl) || δὲ om. ζ, add. s.l. K² V² **b23-4** σώφρων. πότερον {L} **b25** ἐστὶν om. α **b26** οὐδ' ὁ λόγος β K²] οὐδ' ὅλως α, οὐδ' λόγος η || οὐ om. α **b27** ἀλλ' del. P² (= rec.) || τῷ om. V || πρῶτων V || φαῦλα + καὶ L **b28** οὔτε P² (= rec.)] οὐδὲ ω recte || ὁ² om. η **b29** ὁ¹ om. η **b30** δυσιατότερα V D, prob. Sylburg] -ώτερα cett. || γενομένων Ald.] γινομένων cett. recte **b32** ἀκόλαστος + ὅτι Armstrong **b33** οἴος] οἶον A **b34** φαῦλος {L} || οὐχ om. Ald. || ἀκρατῆς + οὐχ η **b35** οὕτως om. A || αὐτὸς] αὐτῷ α || οὐ² L V, add. K² 24², s.l. P² (= rec.), ὁ A 24¹, om. α K¹ recte **b36** supra αὐτὸν add. s.l. τὸν λόγον K², τοῦτον e Rieckheri transl. ci. Susemihl

- 1204** **a1** ὁ¹ om. η || οὖν ἄρα] ἄρα K, οὖν β, γὰρ Cois. **a2** εἶναι φαῦλος L || δυσιατώτερος α A K, δυσιατώτερον L || δὴ ὁ Susemihl] δ' ὁ α β, γὰρ ὁ η, ἄρ' ὁ ci. Susemihl **a3** τὸ in ras. P² (= rec.) {P¹} **a5** δὲ om. V || τις om. α **a7** δ' α] del. P², om. ζ **a8** ἀπορήσει η || ἄν om. η || δὲ] δὴ α **a10** ὁ add. s.l. C¹, om. η **a11** πρῶττειν + καὶ C || τὸν om. Rav. **a12-13** οὐδ' ἄν — φρόνιμος om. V, add. V² || ὁ φρόνιμος secludo **a15** μὲν¹ om. β || ταυτὸν Rav. **a16** δεῖ] δεινός ci. Casaubon || transp. ἀκρατῆ post ἐνδέχεται L **a17** δεῖ Ellebodus, Rieckher] δεινός ω prob. Armstrong {L D¹} || τὸν + δὲ A **a18** δ' om. A || εἶναι. + οὐ γὰρ πρακτικὸς περὶ ἃ καὶ δεινός: τὸν φρόνιμον (δ' οὐκ {L}) ἐνδέχεται ἀκρατῆ εἶναι. (repetitio) L **a19** δὲ om. α **a21** πάντα V || ἦ {L} **a22** δὲ] γὰρ ci. ego || -χεραίνονες V **a24** οὖν] <δ'> οὖν aut δὲ ci. Susemihl **a25-6** οὐ μόνον — ἡδονῆς om. L **a25** οἱ ἄλλοι om. spatio circa quinque litterarum relicto α, οὐκ Rav. || οἴονται] δέονται V **a26** δὴ] καὶ δεῖ A || transp. ἡμῖν post ἐστὶν V **a26-7** ἐπειδὴ γὰρ] ἐπειδήπερ A **a27** ἡμῖν om. β **a29** ὑπὲρ] περὶ L || ἀναγκαϊότερον L **a29-30** transp. εἰπεῖν (30) post ἄν (29) α **a31** μὲν om. L || εἴπομεν A¹ V || τινα α **a33** φησιν V || γένεσιν¹ {L} **a35** ἔχει V || δ'¹ om. α || ὅτι <οὐ πᾶσα ἡδονὴ ἀγαθόν. πάλιν ὅτι> vel sim. (cf. 1205a7seq.) ci. Spengel², Susemihl haec verba apud 1204b1 vult **a36** ὅτι] οὖν V || ἐν om. L **a37** γὰρ + καὶ β || γὰρ om. D M **a38** θηριον (sic) L

- 1204** **b1** πολλὸ κοινὸν V || πολύκοινον. <καὶ ὅτι ἡδονῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιστήμη.> vel sim. suppl. (cf. 1206a26 seq.) Spengel², Susemihl haec verba et ea quae Spengel supplevit apud a35 hic ponere vult **b1-2** καὶ ὅτι — κράτιστον fortasse post 3. ἀγαθόν transponenda esse ci. Spengel² || οὐ κράτιστον — κράτιστον] οὐκ ἄριστον — ἄριστον Spengel^{1,2} **b2** κράτιστον¹ + ἦ s.l. C **b4** transp. ἄν εἴη post λεκτέον L **b5** transp. τοῦτον post λύειν A K || λύειν] διαλύειν L **b6** οὐ πᾶσα {L} **b7** ἀπὸ] πρὸς A || γινόμενη + ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων (cf. b9) P¹, del. P² **b8** ἰδεῖν καὶ male add. Susemihl || γὰρ + ἦ A **b10** μὲν om. A **b12** δ' add. s.l. V² || καὶ + ἦ C **b16** δὲ om. L || ἔστι Bekker] ἐστὶ α, om. ζ **b17** θεωροῦντας D || τι {L} **b18-20** εἰ οὖν — γένεσις om. V¹, suppl. in mg. V², sed μὲν (b18) om. V² **b18** μὲν K] om. α β V² recte **b22** οὐκ om. α β recte || ἔστι γένεσις η, corr. K² V² **b24**

- προφορῶς L V¹, corr. V² || γενομένης η || γίνομενης γίνεται {L} **b25** γενέσις η, corr. V² || οὐ om. A ut vid. **b26** transp. τί post μέρος β || ἄμα {L} || προσφορᾶ ὧν {L, sed ut vid. προφ-} || ὧν] ὡς V **b27** ψυχῆς + ἦ α β, + ἦ η, + ἦ P² (= rec.), del. P² (= rec.²), del. V² **b28** αὐτοῦ] δεκατη A, om. L || δὴ τὸ Scaliger] τὸ δὴ ω, δὲ τὸ Bas.³ **b29** τὸ² Ald.] om. ω recte **b30** αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς D² || τὴν ἡδονὴν om. L **b31** ἄδειλον L **b32** ὁμοίως L **b33** τοῦτο] solum τοῦ legeri potest V, 24 || μὲν αἰσθητητικόν (sic) ἐστὶν C, μὲν ἐστὶν αἰσθητὸν V || ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ οὐ β || ἡ secl. Rieckher, retinet Stock **b35** ὁ om. α, add. s.l. P² (= corr.¹ ut vid.) **b37** αἰσθητὴ K²] αἰσθητὴν ω || γὰρ] δὲ ego || -μένης L
- 1205** **a1** ἐφόμεν V¹ **a2** ἐνδεῆ ut vid. A **a3** καὶ πρὸ λύπης om. η || πρὸ λύπης] πρὸ λύπης ci. ego || ἡ om. β K **a4** ἡδονὴ + ἡ L || ἐπὶ] ἐστὶ L, ἐστὶ ἐπὶ P¹, corr. P² (= corr.¹) **a5** εἰδότε V¹ **a6** οὐκ ἔστιν] οὐκ ἔτι V || ἀγαθὸν + γὰρ L || ἡ om. ζ **a7** φασὶν γρ. Casaubon, ci. Bonitz², inquiunt Valla] φησὶν ω, prob. Allan² || συνείδοι K **a11** πάσαις α V **a12** ἀγαθοῦ ἐνεργείας om. η **a12-13** ὥστ' — εἴη ἀγαθὸν secl. Dirlmeier **a13** ἀπάσαις ζ || ἀγαθόν] ἐν ἀπάσαις Rassow^{1,3}, Armstrong, ἐν πάσαις Susemihl **a14** τούτοις] τοῖς αὐτοῖς Rassow^{1,3}, Spengel², Armstrong, ὅσοις Bonitz² || ἡδονή] ἡδέα β **a15** ἡδονή¹] ἡδέα A || ἡδονή²] ἀγαθὸν β ci. Dirlmeier **a16** αἰ K] om. cett. recte **a17** αἰ L K] om. cett. **a18** οὐ {L} || οἶον] ἦ L **a19** ἡ K¹, ἡ K² (= rec.) || ἡστινοσοῦν] τινος οὖν K¹, ἦς τινος V¹, corr. K² V² || transp. ἔχη post γὰρ Rav. || γὰρ] ὁ L, om. D, ἐν Cois. || Λαμπρὸ A, λαμπρὸ L, λαμπρ spatio duo litterarum sequente D, λαμπρῶ Cois., λαμπρῶς η (P solus signum nominis habet), Λεάνδρος Bergk (p.xii) || supra λαμπρῶς scribitur ὄνομα(α) κύριον ut vid. V **a20** δὲ om. Rav. || διάκειται K || ταύτης] οὗτος Rassow^{1,3} **a21** ὁ V] om. cett. recte || γραμματικὸς secl. Bekker recte, retinet Rassow^{1,3} || ἄλλος C || οὐδὲ δύο Spengel²] οὐ δύο α, δύο β, διὸ η, οὐ διὸ V², διὸ οὐκ ci. Rassow^{1,3} **a22** ἀδιάφοροι ci. K² || post γραμματικὰ rasura trium litterarum K || ἦ] ἦ L || λαμπρῶ β, λαμπρῶι K || καὶ + ἡ L, ci. Sylburg recte, quaeque Valla **a22-3** ἐν Ἰλει V] ἐν νηλεῖ α, ci. Bergk recte, ἐνίλει A, ἐν ἰλει L, ἐνίλει K, ἐν ἄλλω Spengel², ἐν ἀγεννεῖ Becchi⁵, obsucro Valla **a25** δόξαιεν η, -ειεν α β recte **a27** ἡ om. β V || δὲ Susemihl] δὴ ω **a28** ἰδιός η] ἰδιόν α β || ἐστὶν + τῆς α || ἄλλα {L} **a29** lacuna duarum litterarum post οἶον P || σκολίκων C, σκολίκων P¹, corr. P² (= corr.¹) 24 **a31** εἰσὶ] εἶεν η **a34** οὐδ' οὐκ L || transp. θεωρεῖν post δεῖ (05a35) L **a35** δεῖν η || ὁποῖός ut vid. L || τίς om. α
- 1205** **b1** ἐστὶν om. α **b2** transp. φαύλαι post ἡδοναὶ V **b3** καὶ¹ om. α recte || καὶ² + φαύλη P¹, del. P² **b4** λύκου ἢ τινος] λύκου τινός, ἡ α **b6** περὶ ut vid. L **b7** sub φ in φύσιν² est τὸ ut vid. V, corr. libr. ipse || ἐκάστου A η || αὐτοῦ Bonitz³] ἐαυτοῦ C, αὐτοῦ cett. || εἴη om. L || ἴδιον C P² (= corr.¹), prob. Spengel²] ἡδίων P¹, ἡδιστον β V Bonitz³, ἡδίστη K **b8** γε om. L || ἡ φαύλη Susemihl] φαύλη A V Rav., φαύλη ἡ α L K || ante φαύλη add. in mg. ἄλλα τῆ γε φαύλη φύσει V² || καὶ om. L Rav. **b9** ἐπειδήπερ L **b11** ἦν om. V || φασιν α A η, φησὶν L, secludo

- b12** καθίστη P A] καθίστησιν C L V, καθίσται K || τῆς] τοὺς ut vid. V¹, corr. V² || φαύλης] φαύλους ut vid. V¹, corr. V² **b13** supra οἱ add. μὴ s.l. P² (= rec.) **b14** οὐ β] om. α η || πέπονθασιν {L} || εἰδόντες α, corr. P² (= corr.¹) **b15** οὐκ om. β || τούτου] τούτο η, corr. V² || ἴδιον α β V] ἴδιον Rav. K **b17** φάσκοντας K¹, corr. K² || φάσκοντες + φάσκοντες C **b19** τε² om. L || μὴ Bas.³] οὐ α β recte, om. η, οὐ vel μὴ ci. Amerbach || σπουδαίους A **b20** εἶναι om. V || δ' om. P¹, add. s.l. P² (= corr.¹) **b22** αἰ om. β || ἀναπλήρωσις β || ἀναπληρώσεις + καὶ α **b24-5** αἰ γὰρ] αἰ δε V¹, corr. V² (= libr. ipse), αἰ δὲ ci. Susemihl **b26** ὄψεως + καὶ τῆς V¹, del. V² **b27** βέλτισται] βελτίους τε V, βέλτιστοι, ut vid. Cois. || αἰ γε] αἰ L **b29** ὅτι om. L V¹, add. s.l. V² **b30** καὶ πᾶσι κοινὸν {L} || δὴ] δὲ ci. Susemihl || φιλοτιμίας V¹, corr. V² (= rec.) **b31** οἰκείον] οὐκ οἶον A **b33** ἀγαθὸν Rassow¹] γ' ἀγαθὸν ci. Casaubon recte τὰγαθὸν codd. || δεῖν] δὴ A M, δεῖ L **b34** καὶ om. β V¹, add. s.l. V², μᾶλλον Amerbach || transp. post δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι ἀγαθὸν V **b35-6** τοῦ γὰρ — ἐφίεται om. V
- 1206 **a1** ἦ] ἦ A || αὐτῆν] αὐτὸ A **a2** τὸ δ' α L K², τοῦ δὲ (aut τοῦ δ') A η, prob. Wannowski (pp.84-5) || μὴ om. L **a3** αὐτῆς α, corr. P² **a4** ἄλλη] η {L} **a8** ἐπιστήμης om. V¹, suppl. in mg. V² || ἡδονῆς V¹ || οὐ] ο {A} **a9** πρὸς τὸ om. L **a10** ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] ἀπάτη β || γινομένου V || ἐπεὶ] ἢ ἐπὶ V || ποιησον V 24, ποιήσοντα 24², ποιήσουσα Amerbach **a11** τὰ om. α β || ἡδέως L², [L¹] || πρᾶττειν² L η P² (= corr.¹)] πρᾶττει α A || ἄρ' C, ἄρα A, ἄρα (sic) V **a12** οὐ secl. Amerbach || ἐὰν] ἂν L **a15** πρᾶττειν V **a17** ἦ om. V¹, add. s.l. V² **a18** δ' γὰρ Susemihl **a21** ἦ Susemihl, vel editiones posteriores Vallae] καὶ ω, et editio princeps Vallae **a22** ἦ om. L || λύπης + καὶ V **a24** ὄλον {L} **a25** <ἀρετὴν> ἄνευ Rassow⁴ || τῆς] τοῦ A || ἀπάτης C β **a26-30** Stock hoc argumentum olim fuisse apud 1204b1 credit || transp. ποιεῖ post ἐπιστήμη A V || ἡδονὴν {L} **a27** δεινοποιοὶ K¹ || οἱ om. α L **a28** lacuna duarum litterarum post εἰσὶ A **a28-30** ἀλλὰ — ἄνευ ἡδονῆς post 30 ποιητικὴ ἡδονῆς tri. Susemihl¹ **a28** ταῖς {L} **a29** ἦ om. L || τε om. L **a30** καὶ] ἦ α, om. Ald. **a31** δὲ om. ζ || ἄλλος Spengel²] ἄλλως ω recte || οὐ τᾶριστον Susemihl **a33** ἔστι τᾶριστον Susemihl || ἄρ'] ἂν A **a34** τοῦτ¹ η] ταῦτ' α β, ταῦτα M **a35** οὐδὲ <δὴ> — οὐ τᾶριστον Susemihl || τοῦτο L **a36-b29** transp. post 04a18 Arnim⁴ **a37** transp. κρατεῖ post ποτε β **a38** δὲ] καὶ C, om. D || ἀντῆστραμμένως sic P
- 1206 **b1** οὖν secl. Scaliger 'perperam' Susemihl **b3** φαύλως διακείμενος Mielach, prob. Spengel²] φαύλος· διὸ κάκεϊνος α η, ὁ φαύλος· διὸ κάκεϊνος β **b4** καὶ om. V¹ || p.p. ἀρετ(ή)ν ω || τοῦτο L || ἔσται, συμβήσεται] ἐπισυμβήσεται V **b5** κακῶς] καλῶς C || λόγος φαύλως Spengel²] λόγῳ φαύλῳ ω, λόγῳ φαύλως Armstrong recte **b7** πρὸς δὲ ci. Susemihl **b10** πάθεσιν + εἶ V **b11** σύμμετρον V **b12** διακείμενοι K¹ ut vid. **b13** προστάττει P¹ || τὸ] τὸν V **b15** φαύλος V **b16** ἐκλιπόντος K **b17** δ' οὐχ, ὥσπερ {L} || ὥς P²

b21 καὶ δια- {L} **b22** τις + καὶ L || παίδων η || τῶν² om. A **b23** ζῶων
 Scaliger || τοῦ om. α L recte **b24** τῶν om. K || πρότερον om. α, πότερον A¹ ||
 ὕστερον L V recte || ἐπιγενόμενος L **b25** ὦν {L} **b26** λάβοι A || οὐκ² om. α, ἀεὶ
 ci. Armstrong **b27** ὁμογνομ- C **b28** ἀρχῆ A || τὴν om. L

1206b30-1207b20 Codd: C P (= α), A L (= β), K V (= η). β η = ζ, Bf Λ (Λ non semper citatur)

b30 ante ἔχομενον add. περὶ εὐτυχίας L || ἐπεὶ L **b31** λόγος + ῥητέον in mg. P²
b32 τὸν εὐτυχῆ εἶναι] τὴν εὐτυχίαν εἶναι ut vid. Bf Λ (eam quae bona fortuna esse
 Bf, eandem esse et bonam fortunam Λ) **b35** ἐστὶν om. Bf Λ fors. recte || ὑπὲρ]
 περὶ L || εὐτυχίας + quid sit (= τί ἐστι) Λ || καὶ — εὐ- {L} || τίς η Bf Λ (quis), τί α β
b35-6 ἐν τίσι] quibus Bf, qualiter Λ **b36** ταῦτ'] ταῦταις' sic ut vid. V, τοῦτ' Bf Λ
 (hoc Bf, hanc intentionem Λ) **b37** ἐπιβλέψας α β Bf Λ (considerans), ἀποβλέψας η
 || ἀπορήσειεν {L} || ἂν om. L || εἶπη L **b38** ἡ γὰρ φύσις om. V¹ || ἀεὶ post ἡ
 (b39) tri. Susemihl conferens 1207a3 et inprimis E.E. 1247a32, a35, 1248b4, prob.
 Stock, Donini¹, Dirlmeier, secl. Rieckher (cf. ad b39) || ἀεὶ οὐ ἐστὶν αἰτία τούτου]
est cuius causa semper et similiter est (= ἐστὶν οὐ αἰτία ἀεὶ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐστὶν) Λ ||
 οὐ] οὐκ K¹, corr. K²

b39 ὡς — ὡσαύτως]

<ἡ ἀεὶ ἡ> ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ [ἡ] ὡσαύτως Bonitz¹, prob. Rieckher, Armstrong, ('fors
 recte' - Susemihl),

lacunam ante ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἡ ὡσαύτως Bussemaker,

ὡσαύτως ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ Spengel²,

aut ut in pluribus similiter (= ἡ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ [ἡ] ὡσαύτως) Λ, et ci. Spengel²,

<ἡ> ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἡ <ἀεὶ> ὡσαύτως Susemihl

ἡ] ἡ K¹, del. K², καὶ M² || ὡς αὐτῶι ut vid. V¹, corr. V² || γε om. L

1207 a1-2 ἡ — τοιούτοις] ἐν τούτοις ἡ τύχη L **a2** λέγεται om. Bf || δὲ] δὲ Λ (sed)

a3 καὶ] ἡ Λ? (quam) || ὡσαύτως] αὐτῶι V¹, corr. V² || ὡσαύτως + ἔχον L **a4** ἡ] οὐ
 Scaliger, prob. Spengel², Armstrong || δὲ] δὲ γε L || καὶ λόγος om. Λ **a5** καὶ
 om. ζ Bf Λ **a6** ἄρα γε C A V || θεοῦ α β, dei Bf, a deo Λ **a6-7** τοῦτο κὰν α, corr.

P² (= corr.¹) **a8** δὲ {L} **a9** τῆς om. β || τύχοι L || γίνεται] γὰρ ἐστὶν V¹

a10 τὸ om. Ald. || ἀπονεύωμεν L, ἀπονέωμεν V **a11** τοῦτο δ' οὐ α A Λ (at hoc non)
non] τοῦτ' οὐ η, τοῦτ' οὐδὲ L, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ V² Bf (et hoc non) || τῶ om. ζ {Bf Λ}

a12 ἔξω... τοῦτων] extra... hoc Bf Λ (= ἔξω τούτου) || -δεν {L} **a12-13**

ἀντιστάξειεν K¹, ἀντιτάξειεν K², corr. K³ **a13** τι ζ Bf Λ (aliquid)] τις α || εἶη]

solum eî ut vid. legitur P || καὶ s.l. L **a15** εὐνοια A V] εὐνοια ἡ α L K {Bf Λ}

a16 διὰ τὸ — ἐγγίγνεσθαι] eo quod pravis eveniat Bf, eo quod et pravis multociens

Λ || καὶ om. L Bf || ἐν om. A Bf Λ **a17** δὲ] enim Bf Λ (= γὰρ) **a18** ἡ² om. η

- a19** ἐφ'] in Bf Λ (= ἐν) **a21** δίκαιον η Bf Λ (iustum) || λέγει] dicet Bf Λ (= ἐρεῖ, an dicet legendum?) **a22** ἐφ'] in Bf Λ || ἡμῶν + μὲν K || καὶ¹ om. Λ
a23 ἤδη + καὶ β Bf (= iam et) || ἐπὶ] in Bf Λ recte || οἰκειότερον] -τατον Bf Λ (convenientissime) **a24** ἐροῦμεν] dicimus Λ || λέγομεν ζ Bf Λ (dicimus)] ἐροῦμεν α **a25** τὰ α V] om. β K {Bf Λ} || αὐτὸς κύριος ω Λ] dominus ipse Bf (= κύριος αὐτὸς) **a26** transp. κυρίως post ἂν η Bf (utique principaliter) Λ ut vid. || ἡ om. η || εὐτυχίαι λέγοντο V **a27** δὲ] autem et Bf Λ (= δὲ καὶ) || παρὰ] περὶ A **a28** αὐτοῦ C β V || εὐχῆ C¹ **a29-30** καὶ — φομέν om. ex. homoeot. C Bf Λ
a30 κερδάνοντα K¹ || εὐτυχεῖ V
a30-1 ἐν τῷ ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξει Bessarion in M (teste Mioni) ci. Bonitz¹, prob. Breier, Bf (= in eo quod bonum aliquod existit)]
ἐν τῷ ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξει (= in eo quod bonum alicui accidit) Λ,
τῷ ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξει α V
τῷ ἀγαθόν τι πράξει A K
τὸ ἀγαθόν τι πράξει L
τὸ ἀγαθόν τι ὑπάρξει, ci. Scaliger, 'non recte' Spengel²
a31 κακόν τι β, τι κακὸν Λ (alicui malum) **a32** καὶ ζ Bf, om. α {Λ} **a33** τὸ μὲν — λαβεῖν om. ex. homoeot. Bf {Λ} **a34** ante καθ' αὐτὸ add. ὃ καὶ A Bf (quod et), add. καὶ L {Λ} **a34** ἂν P² (= corr.¹)] ἡ α, om. ζ Bf {Λ} || τὸ δὲ κακὸν μὴ λαβεῖν] in eo autem quod est malum non sumere Bf (= ἐν δὲ τῷ κακὸν μὴ λαβεῖν? cf. 07a30), et in eo quod est non sumere malum Λ (= ἐν δὲ τῷ μὴ λαβεῖν κακὸν?) || κακὸν] καλὸν α, corr. P² (=corr.¹) **a36** ὁ] ἡ A **a38** ψυχῆ ζ Bf Λ (anima), τύχη α || ἐν ἐστι L, ἐν ἐστι P, ἴσως, ἔνεστι τί in mg. P², ἔνεστί τι ut vid. A recte || τῆ om. A D, sed add. τί s.l. D || τοιοῦτόν τι Λ (tale quid)
1207 **b1** εὐτυχῶμεν Armstrong || τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα del. V² **b2** οὕτω om. Bf, habet Λ
b3 φησὶν] φήσεται ci. Susemihl, respondebit Λ || ἀλλ' om. Bf, habet Λ || ἀρέσκουν L, ἀρκεῖ V¹, corr. V² || ὃ μοι ὄν V **b5** -ρα- {L} || δευτυχίαν K || καὶ s.l. L
b8 <εὐτυχία δ' ἐστίν> καὶ Arnim⁴, <ἔστι δὲ> καὶ Rassow⁴, prob. Dirlmeier, Donini¹
b9 <ἡ> αἰτία Armstrong || αἰτία] εὐτυχία Rassow⁴ || αἰτία λεγομένη secl. Scaliger || οἶον del. P¹ || ἡ L V] ἡ α A K Bf (= aut), {Λ} || τοῦ] τὸ A || τοῦ <κακὸν οἰόμενον λήψεσθαι> Rassow⁴, Arnim⁴ **b10** τοῦ] τὸ ζ **b11** οὖν] γὰρ Λ (enim) || διάφορος ζ Bf Λ (differens), ἀδιάφορος α **b12** αὐτῆ V, αὐτῆ Ald. Bekker **b13-14** ὥστ' — εὐτυχία om. M V Γ **b13** εἰ καὶ] καὶ εἰ (et si) Bf Λ (cf. 07b1) recte || ἡ τοιαύτη] ἡ αὐτῆ C, ἡ αὐτῆ P, αὐτῆ Ellebodius, τοιαύτη καὶ (talis etiam) Λ **b14** οὖν] εἰ (si) Γ, om. Bf Λ || ἡ τοιαύτη] ἐκείνη Λ (illa) **b15** οἰκειότερον L || ἐν αὐτῆ Laur. 81,12, ci. Scaliger, prob. Spengel², αὐτῶν (eorundem) Γ **b16** ἀγαθῶν + τῶν ἀγαθῶν C **b18** οἶον] <ἡ δὲ εὐτυχία> οἶαν Bonitz⁴ p.502a27, οἶαν ego || ἀρτίως] satis Bf, om. Λ **b19** τοσαῦτα] ταῦτα ζ, εἴρηται ταῦτα (= dicta sunt haec) Bf Λ

- ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ C β **b20** εἶη + καὶ ω recte, om. B **b21** συνθέντας K ε] συνθέντα α
 A, συντε^θ L, συντεθέντα V || τὰ add. K, om. cett. recte || κεφαλαιωσαμένα D
b22 καλῶς A **b23-4** τέλεως — ἐπὶ {L} **b24** φασίν A, ci. Casaubon, Bonitz²
 φησιν cett. || ἦ P² (= corr.¹) εἶη C, om. P¹ ζ || τὸν] τὸ β **b25** οἶον om. α ||
 δίκαιον + καὶ L **b26** φησὶ V, φησιν K¹, corr. K² || ἀνδρεῖον + καὶ D **b28**
 καλὰ] ἀγαθὰ Arnim³ || καὶ om. β, secl. Spengel² || ἀγαθὰ] καλὰ Arnim³ || μὲν {L}
b30 ἀπ'] ἐπ' α A, corr. P² (= rec.) || οἶον om. ζ **b31** καὶ ante τὰ add. Bekker
b32-4 ἀγαθὰ — ἀπλῶς om. L **b32** ἐστίν — γὰρ (33) paene legitur P#
b35 ᾧ] ὡςπερ P¹ **b36** ὁ {L} **b37** ὅσα + ἄν in mg. B **b38** αὐτὸν μὴ β-
 {L} || βλάσσει P² (= rec.) D] βλάσση aut -η aut -ηι ω || αὐτῷ Bekker] αὐτῷ ω
1208 a1 οἶον A || τι om. ζ **a4** ὑπὸ om. L **a5** τὰς om. L **a9** οὖν + τὸ V D, ci. Arnim¹
a10 κωλύν ut vid. A, κωλύει L **a11** αὐτοῦ Bekker] αὐτοῦ α η, ἐαυτοῦ β || γὰρ
 om. η, add. s.l. V² || ἔσται] ἐστὶ B **a12-13** τὸ δὲ] τοδὲ A V² **a13** ἔνεκεν
 ἐστίν] ἔχομεν ἔνεκεν K, ἔχομεν ἔνεκεν, ἔστιν V **a15** τότε] τοῦτ' V¹ || ἐροῦμεν +
 εἶ s.l. V² || transp. ἔχειν post σῶμα L || καλῶς om. η **a16** παρορμῶν L
a17 αὐτῆς Bekker] αὐτῆς ω **a18** πρὸς τὸ om. ζ, add. s.l. V², λείπει ὥστε K² (= rec.)
a19 ὅταν] ὅτι ut vid. A¹ || κωλύσῃ α || αὐτοῦ Bekker] αὐτοῦ ω || ἐνεργεῖν]
 ἐπιτελεῖν α β recte **a21** τις om. L || transp. ὅταν post πάθη Amerbach || ὅταν πῶς
 β V² P² (= rec.)] ὅταν πως α η || ἔχουσι Amerbach **a22** δὴ {L} sed fort. om. || οἶδα
 P² (=corr.¹) {P¹} || οὐκ ἔστιν C P² (= corr.¹) K, οὐκ ἔτι P¹ β V **a23** οὐδὲ —
 ἀλλ' locus corruptus Spengel² || πυρρέτοντι V **a24** πτυσσάνην ut vid. C,
 πτισσάνην P V || πυρέσσειν α || πως K || αἰσθανώμαι, Jaeger¹ recte **a25** ὅταν
 ὠχρὸν ὄντα ὀρᾶς φησι L **a26** δὴ om. V || συνιέτω corruptum Rieckher,
 συνειπέτω an συνίστω ego || ἔχης A, ἔχης ut vid. V **a27** παρὰ] περὶ
 (compendio utens) L || σεαυτῷ L || φησὶ L Bas.¹ Susemihl] φύσει α, φήσει P²
 (=corr.¹) A η, ci. Sylburg recte || <αἰσθητῶν> αἰσθησις οὐκέτι <ἔστιν> Spengel² ||
 οὐκ ἔτι] οὐκέτι L V recte, οὐκ ἔστι Ald., οὐκ ἔστιν Bekker, <λόγος ἐνταῦθ' ἔστιν>
 οὐκέτι vel simile quid ci. Susemihl, οὐκ ἔστι <διδάξαι> vel sim. ci. Armstrong,
 οὐκέτι <εἰδήσεις> vel οὐκέτι <ἔχω, τί λέγω> Dirlmeier || spatium duarum litterarum
 post ἔτι C **a28** ὑπὲρ] ἐπὶ L || κοινόν V || τῶν τοιούτων] τῷ τοιούτῳ η A, ἰού
 {L}, οὔτος Rav.¹, τῷ τόπῳ Laur. 81,12 **a29** τοῦ] τὸ admodum dubitanter ci.
 Susemihl **a30** τι {L} **a31** ζητήσῃ V || ἴσως om. L || ἀρά A, ἄρα V || ἔργῳ]
 ἐγῶ L, ἀργῶς Brandis (p.1562n.523) **a32** εἰδήσας ut vid. P² (=corr.¹), {P¹} ||
 ταῦτα V¹ M¹] ταύτας α A K V² (= libr. ipse), om. L || καὶ] οὐ A **a33** οὐ om. η,
 suppl. V² **a37-8** ἐκ τοῦ] ἐν τῷ Amerbach, Rassow^{1,3} **a39** παραδιδόναι V]
 παραδοῦναι cett. recte
1208 b3 rasura trium litterarum post τούτοις P **b4** καὶ¹ om. V || ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Bekker]
 ἐπειδήπερ ω, καὶ ἐπειδήπερ P² (= corr.¹) || περὶ A **b5** παρα- {L} **b6**
 συμπαραληπτέον K¹, corr. K² || πρὸς + ἀρετήν V¹ **b7** ἃ η ε] δ α, μὲν A, om. L ||

καὶ ζητεῖται om. A || διελθεῖν] δὲ ἐλθεῖν A **b9** γὰρ + ὁ β K || ἰζάνει A **b10** αἰεὶ
 τοι L] αἰεὶ α, αἰεὶ τοι V K², αἰεὶ τι A K¹ || ὁμοῖον α L V recte, ὁμοῖον A || ὡς] εἰς L ||
 ὁμοῖον α L V recte, ὁμοῖον Ab**11**, **13** κεραμίδος D Bekker] κεραμίδος ω **b12** διὰ
 {L} **b13** τι α β] om. η || κεραμίδι Bekker] κεραμίδι α β V, κεραμίδι K **b14**
 ὁμοῖον¹] οικει sic L sed verbum leasum est (οἰκεῖον?) || κῦνα K **b15** ἄλλος B,
 om. L || ἄλλοις + τὸ P¹ **b16** φασίν Bonitz^{2,4} (p.590a9), inquiunt Valla (1497)]
 φησιν ω, inquit Valla (1496) **b17** πέδον + ἦ α β recte || φασίν Bonitz^{2,4} (p.590a9),
inquiunt Valla (1497)] φησιν ω, inquit Valla (1496) || τῶ ἐναντίω] τὸ ἐναντίον K¹
b18 οὐδὲν K || ἐνδέχεται η **b19** φασίν Bonitz^{2,4} (p.590a9), aiunt Valla (1496)]
 φησιν ω || ὁμοῖον {V¹} **b20** δὲ om. η **b21** οἱ γούνη] οἶον η, ὁ γούνη L
b25 καὶ — τοῦτο om. V¹, add. in mg. V² (= rec.) **b27** οἴονται] οἶον τε V || post
 οἴονται rasura duarum litterarum P **b29** πρὸς + τὸν β K || οὔτε Bekker] οὐδὲ ω
 recte, οὔτε <τὸ> ci. Bonitz¹, Spengel² **b30** οὔθ' οὐδ' ego **b31** Δία] θεὸν β
 || περὶ A, ut vid. L **b33** ἄλλο δὴ] ἄλλο τι ci. Sylburg || δὴ² om. B Cois. || οὔτε]
 ὄντες ut vid. P² (= corr.¹) **b34** ζητοῦμεν α V¹ **b36** ἐπισκένοιο L **b38** καὶ²
 V] om. cett. recte **b39** γὰρ] γὰρ ἔστι A

1209 **a2** δὲ om. P, add. P² (= rec.) || αὐτῶ A η, ἑαυτῶ L || ὥστε] ἔτι δὲ K, ἔστι δὲ V
a2-3 φιλητὸν καὶ φιλητέον. τὸ δὲ φιλητέον, οὐκ ἔστι φιλητόν: significat signis α et
 β s.l. utendo P² (= rec.), Bekker, prob. Stock **a3** οὐκ ἔστι] οὐκέτι L || ἐνταῦθα + μὲν
 L **a4** τῶν τοιούτων C **a5** γὰρ πῶς A || τῶ <ἀπλῶς> ἀγαθῶ aut τὰγαθῶ
 <ἀπλῶς> Bonitz¹, per se bono Valla **a6** αὐτῶ C P² (= rec.) V Bekker, ἑαυτῶ L ||
 ἔχεται] ἐνδέχεται L **a7** ἀκολουθεῖν L ||
 τὸ ἡδὺ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ συμφέρον C² P² (= libr. ipse ut vid.)]
 τῶ(ι K) ἡδεῖ εἶναι, καὶ τῶ(ι K) συμφέροντι α A K¹ V² (= libr. ipse ut vid.),
 τὸ ἡδεῖ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ συμφέροντι L K² V¹ recte
 τὸ ἡδὺ εἶναι καὶ τὸ συμφέρον τι B
a9 ἀλλήλοισι ut vid. V || ἦ²] ἦ A **a10** ὁ om. V || φησίν] φασίν fors. ci. Bonitz⁴
 p.590a9 **a12** ἦ C P² (= libr. ipse)] εἰ ζ {P¹} **a13** συμφέρον¹] συμφέρον C¹
 V², corr. C² (= rec.) || post ἦ rasura unius litterae ut vid. V || συμφέρον²] συμφέρον
 C || ἔσταί C A **a14** ante φιλητὸν² add. καὶ L **a15** γὰρ + ἔστι L **a16** φιλητέον +
 ἔστιν α β recte **a18** οὔνη] ὄνη (sic) C **a19-23** Michael of Ephesus, p.461,12-
 16 Heylbut **a19** ὁ] τὸ V || συμφέρον. + ὁ οὔνη κατὰ τὸ ἡδὺ φιλῶν (repetitio) L
a20 καὶ om. A¹ **a21** ἦ om. L **a22** οὐδὲ om. L || πῶς α L V || ἡρημέναι L
a23-7 <εἶ> φαμεν — ἐπιστήμην, ταῦτα (24) — ἀρχή· ὁμοίως? Susemihl **a24** δ'
 οὐχ Dirlmeier **a25** λέγεται β || πρὸς + τὴν L **a26** ποιητικὸν C V **a28** αἰ om. K ||
 σπουδαίων + καὶ A **a29** οὐδὲ Susemihl, οὔτε ω || δὴ] δὲ aut δεῖ P¹ ut vid., δὲ
 Rav., corr. P² (= libr. ipse) **a30** λέγεται L || ταῦτὰ] ταῦτα α η **a32** φίλος¹]
 φίλια α **a33** ἐστίν] ἔστα ut vid. L (sed ἐστὶ Laur. 81,12) || βαδίζει {L} || post
 τὴν² rasura duarum litterarum C **a34** τοῦ {L} **a35** transp. γε ante κατ' L ||
 κατ' om. η **a36** τὴν s.l. C **a37** οὔνη om. D **a38** οὐδὲν] οὐδὲ A, οὐθὲν L || ὁ¹

- om. α β V recte || post δ¹ rasura unius litterae K || τοῦ om. L **a39** δὴ] δὲ
Susemihl
- 1209** **b1** ὁ om. α β recte **b2** φιλία om. C **b4** πολλῶ L || τούτοις A **b5**
τάγαθὸν Rassow^{1,3}] τάγαθὰ commate non ante sed post h.v. posito, ω **b6-7** om.
καὶ¹ — φαῦλός C **b8** φίλοι P² (= rec.)] amici sunt Valla, καὶ φίλος 24, φίλος ω
recte || post φίλος. add. καὶ ὁ φαῦλος — συμφέρει (repetitio: 09b6-7) A || τοῦτον C
b9 ὅταν] ὅτι A **b10** ὥστ' ὡς Armstrong || κωλύει A η, κωλ' sic L **b11**
μονομωτάτη C || ἡ om. K, ἐστὶν V **b15** οὐδέποτε — συμφέρον om. η **b16**
ἀλλὰ] ἀλλ' ἄμα Ellebodius || συμ- additur s.l. P² (= rec.)] μεταπίπτει ω **b18**
πολλῶν + καὶ A **b19** -τικοῖς {L} **b20** ὅτε ut vid. L¹, ὅτι ut vid. L² ||
ἐντύχωσιν om. L **b21** ἔστι δὲ om. V¹ **b22** φίλοι] φαῦλοι B **b23** ἀπολείπει
ut vid. K¹, corr. K² (= rec.) || post φιλία rasura duarum litterarum K **b24** om.
δὲ C **b25** οὐ] οὐδὲ V **b26** διαιρετὴ C || οὐδὲν ζ **b27** transp. ποιεῖν post
αὐτὸν L **b28** ποιησάμενοι] σπάμενοι vel σπεύμενοι ut vid. A **b29**
ἀρετῆς α || τὸ τοῦτο β **b31** ἡδονὴ C **b32** οὐ] εἰ L || ἡ om. L **b34**
αὐτοῖς A K, ἐαυτοῖς L **b34-5** ἡδίστους — ἐαυτοῖς om. A **b35** εὐρυπίδης C
|| αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς V **b36** transp. κακῶ(ι) post γὰρ β K || κακῶ] κακῶς L ||
συνέστηκεν α β || συντέτηκεν + ἡδονῆ Amerbach || τῆ om. V **b37** transp. τῆ
ἀρετῆ post ἡ ἡδονῆ η || ἀκολουθεῖ om. A **b38** δὲ] οὖν L || om. καὶ α ||
σπουδαίων] παίδων A **b39** transp. μὴ post φάναι α || εἰ] ἄν Dirlmeier - cf. 91a13 ||
ἀφέλης α K, Dirlmeier
- 1210** **a1** αὐτὴν V, αὐτῶ Ald. || ποιοῦνται V¹ **a2** οὐδὲν] μηδὲν C **a4** ζῆν L¹
|| ἡδέος + συζῆν α, del. P² **a5** ἡδέσιν + ὑπάρχειν P¹, del. libr. ipse **a6** ἐπεὶ]
ἐπειδὴ A || διείρηται α, corr. P² (= rec.) **a7** transp. ἡ φιλία post ἐγγίνεται A ||
γίνεται V¹ || c.p. ἀνισότητι Casaubon, Bonitz¹ (cf. 1208b36-7) **a8** καθομοιότητα
C || ἡ² om. V **a10** ἔσται A **a11** τῆν² om. L **a12** αὐτῶ Bekker] αὐτῶ ω ||
ἔσεσθαι] οἴεσθαι K¹, corr. K², -σθαι {L} || τούτῳ] αὐτῶ L, om. V¹ || γίνονται α {V}
a13 οὖν + αὶ α, + ἡ β || ἀνομίους α, corr. P² (= libr. ipse) || φιλία α || καὶ + ὁ α A η
recte, om. L B M **a14** γαί? Bussemaker] γαῖα ω || ξηρος ut vid. A || ξηρὸν + ἡ
V K² || πέδον + ἡ α L **a15** οὔσιν <οὖν> Dirlmeier || transp. οὔσιν post τούτοις A ||
ἐγγίνεται + ἡ D **a16** καὶ] οὐ L || θέλεις] θέσει A || ποίησαι sic P || εἰ —
ποιῆσαι secl. Scaliger, prob. Spengel² || ποιῆσαι] σκοπήσαι ci. Susemihl **a17**
transp. ἀλλήλοις post χρήσιμα V || χρήσιμά ἐστιν α L || φασὲν V **a18** ὑγρὸν + μὴ
in mg. P² (= rec.) || φθείρεται A || αὐτὸ K¹ Cois., corr. K² **a19** ὄσης] ἴσως C || ἄν¹
add. Bekker **a20** πλείω β, πλειῆστον Rav., prob. Spengel² || <ποιήσαι> φθείρεσθαι
Susemihl, φθείρεσθαι <ποιήσαι> Sylburg (prob. Rassow^{1,3} cf. 1202a6), φθείρει
Scaliger, prob. Spengel², φθείρεται L **a21** ἐὰν] ἄν α || συνοίσειν aut verbum
corruptum Bonitz¹ **a22** καὶ om. V || ἐν τοῖς om. L || γίγνεται V¹, ἐγγίγνεται V²
a23 αὶ¹ om. V¹, add. in mg. V² || καὶ¹ om. α || αὶ² s.l. A, om. L **a24** αὶ om. L ||
διειρημένους C **a25** γενομένη M **a27** τῶν + τῶν A || post τοιούτων rasura unius

- litterae K || ὅταν μὲν γὰρ om. η || μὲν¹ om. β || ποιεῖ K || ἐλλείπει K **a28**
 ἔγκλημα] κλημα {L} **a29** μὴν ut vid K¹ || ὦν add. P² (= rec.) || om. ω || τελοστῆς sic
 K **a31** ἢ κατὰ {L} || εὐδῆλον V **a32** παρὰ] περὶ C A, om. L || οὖν om. V ||
 πλείονα Cois. || σύ με α, συ μὴ A || ἢ om. K¹ **a33** σοί] σὲ α || -φι- {L} || οὐ
 δεῖν] ἐνδεῖν α, ἰδεῖν L **a34** post μὴ rasura duarum litterarum K **a35**
 διαφθοραὶ α, corr. P² (= rec.) || ἄδηλον V || ἑκατέρου] ἐτέρου A **a38-9** τοὺς
 συμφέροντας A
- 1210 **b1** ἀπολαμβάνει V || αἰ om. K **b3** οἶ] ὁ ut vid. V || ἴσότητι (sic) L ||
 παρέχοντες V¹ **b4** om. τι α **b7** <μεθ> ἡδονῆς ci. Fritzsche p.214 **b8** γίνεται] ἔστιν
 V || δὲ om. C **b10** καὶ¹ om. V || τὸ² om. η **b11** ἀψύχοις ut vid. P¹, corr. P² (=libr.
 ipse) || εὐ- om. V¹ || εἶναι om. L **b13** φιλεῖται] φιλεῖ L **b14** μᾶλλον om. V
b15-16 ὑπερέχει — φιλότιμος om. C **b15** ἢ om. L **b19** οὐκ om. L || δεῖν +
 μὴ L **b20** ἡδονῆς C **b21** φιλεῖν V¹ || τὸ om. α Ald., add. P² (= corr.¹) **b21-2**
 φιλῶν δὴ τούτων ἢ τυγχάνει ἢ οἶεται τεύξεσθαι Scaliger || post τεύξεσθαι lacunam
 posuit Arnim¹ **b23** καὶ + αἰ P² (= rec.) || τὰγαθὸν α A] τὰγαθοῦ η, corr. K² (= rec.)
 V², τὰγαθὰ B, ἀγαθὸν L **b25** transp. πάντα post ταῦτα A || πολλάκις + μὲν V
 || transp. μὲν εἶναι post βουλόμεθα L **b26** ἄλλου] ἄλλα A **b27** transp.
 φιλίας post δεῖ V **b28** ἐν om. L **b29** καὶ γὰρ συζῆν] συζῆν γὰρ α || transp.
 ἄλλου post ἂν β || ἐθέλομεν A **b30** παρέχει V¹ **b31** ζῆν] συζῆν L
b33 αὐτῷ φιλία K² (= rec.) αὐτοφιλία C, αὐτοφιλία P β, αὐτὸ φιλία K¹, αὐτῷ
 φιλία V || φιλία¹ secl. Sylburg, φιλία καὶ secl. Armstrong || αὐτὸν V P² (= rec.)
 αὐτὸν α A K, ἑαυτὸν L **b34** ἡμεῖς C, <καὶ> ἡμῖν Dirlmeier **b35** αὐτοῖς L ||
 αὐτῶν L **b36** τῷ - τῷ - τῷ Scaliger || transp. εἶ post τὸ² L || τὸ βούλεσθαι
 secl. Armstrong **b37** αὐτοῖς C V **b38** περιπέσωμεν] προσπέσωμεν L
b38-9 τοῖς τοιουτοῖς s.l. C² (atramento nigro) **b39** αὐτῷ P] αὐτῷ C ζ Bekker
 recte
- 1211 **a1** αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν C P² (= rec.) B Bekker, ἑαυτὸν L **a2** αὐτοῖς om. V¹,
 suppl. in mg. V² **a3** ἀμφοτέροις α || γὰρ K²] δὲ α β V², om. η **a4** transp. πάντα
 post ταῦτα A, post ὑπάρχει L || καὶ² om. ζ || συζῆν] ζῆν α, συ- s.l. L **a5-b8**
 καὶ τὸ εἶ — εἶναι om. α

1211a5-b8 Codd: A L (= β), K V (= η). β η = ζ

a5 τᾶλλα β] τ' ἄλλα η || ταύταις A K] ταυτῶ L, αὐταῖς V || ἐστίν A K]
 εἰσιν L V **a7** καὶ om. A || ὅσα περ β] ὅσα περ V, ὅσα περὶ K, ὅσαπερ ego
a8 φιλῶν Ald.] φίλων ζ **a11** ἐν om. V **a13** transp. οὐδὲν post αὐτοῖς β
a16-b3 transp. post 11b39 aut post 12a27 Arnim³ **a16** νῦν om. β || αὐτὸν V] αὐτὸν
 A K, ἑαυτὸν L **a18-19** τὸ — ἕκαστα om. V **a19** αὐτοῖς η] αὐτοῖς A, ἑαυτοῖς L
a20 εἶναι — εἶ εἶναι] εἶ καὶ τὸ εἶναι L **a21** αὐτοῖς V || transp. αὐτοῖς post
 ἡμῖν Cois. || δὲ Bonitz³] τε ζ, γε Bekker || ἂν supplendum ante aut post μάλιστα

- a22-3** βουλόμεθα — ἄν om. Cois. **a22** βουλόμεθα K] βουλοίμεθα β V recte
a23 τὰδε K || ἄν om. L || ἄν αὐτοῖς V || βουλοίμεθα β] -όμεθα K, -όμεθα V
a24 ἐστὶν ὡς ἔστι V²] ἐστὶν ὡς A η recte, ὡς L, ὡς ἐστὶν K² (= rec.) || αὐτοῦς
 Sylburg] αὐτοῦς A V, αὐτοῦς sic K, ἑαυτοῦς L || αὐτοῦς + ἡ β recte **a25**
 αὐτὸν V] αὐτὸν A K, ἑαυτὸν L **a27** αὐτὸν Sylburg] αὐτὸν A η, ἑαυτὸν L
a28 μέντοι] ἦτοι L || ἔφομεν Ald.] φομὲν ζ **a30** αὐτὸν Sylburg] αὐτὸν A η, ἑαυτὸν
 L || οὖν] ἄν V || τοῦτο V **a31** ἄν om. V || αὐτόν D, Sylburg] αὐτὸν A η, ἑαυτόν
 L **a32** βουλοίμεθα L || φομὲν² secl. Armstrong **a33** ἡ² om. V **a34** τὸτ'] τοῦτ'
 V **a36** γενομένης β] γινομένης η Cois. || αὐτὸν L, Sylburg] αὐτὸν A η || ἡ om.
 V¹ **a37** αὐτὸν β] αὐτὸν η **a38** τῷ β K² (= corr.¹) B] τὸ η **a39** αὐτῷ η]
 αὐτῷ A, ἑαυτῷ L **a40-1** τι — ἡδονὴν {L}
- 1211** **b2** αὐτὸν A, ἑαυτὸν L || <δ'> ἐπὶ Susemihl **b3** γὰρ + ὁ L || αὐτῷ A, ἑαυτῷ L
b4 δὲ + καὶ V¹ **b5** οὐδέτερον V || transp. αὐτῶν post ἐστὶν (b6) L **b6** ἄξιον
 V

1211b8-1213b5 Codd: C P (= α), A L (= β), K V (= η). β η = ζ

- b8** ἕτεροι V¹ || ἡ πατρὸς] οἱ πατέρες V, ὁ πάτηρ Amerbach || πατρὸς om. A
b9 καὶ² del. P² (= rec.) || ἄρχοντος] πρὸς ἄρχοντα α, πρὸς ἄρχοντα M², ci.
 Amerbach, Sylburg **b11** transp. τάξιν post ἔχων A **b12** ἰσότητι A **b13**
 δώσει C || transp. ἴσον post ἄν α || δόση K, sed η in ras. **b14** τῷ²] τὸ P¹ **b15** ἴσον²
 η] ἴσος α β recte || ὁ τὸ α β] ὁ τε η, ὁ Bas³, Bekker, ὁ γε olim ci. Susemihl **b16**
 χείρων ὦν] χεῖρ ὦν C, χεῖρον ὦν ut vid. V¹, D **b19** ταῦτα] ταύτης ego
b22 λέγουσιν L || εὐηργέτηκέ α L V **b24** καὶ om. η **b25** ὑπάρχειν] εἶναι V
b26 πῶς α L **b27** ἐστὶν α η] om. β, secl. Ellebodius, Casaubon, Bonitz¹ || ὦν
 Bekker, prob. Bonitz¹] οὖν ω, οὖ Ellebodius, αῖς Casaubon || τε om. α **b28**
 παρὰ] περὶ A || ἐνέργειαν + τὸ β **b30** οἱ // οἰκοδομικῆι K || γὰρ om. V **b31**
 παρὰ] περὶ A V **b32** transp. ἄλλο post τέλος β || παρὰ] περὶ β, ut vid. B
b33 πῶς C **b34** παρὰ τὸ] περὶ A, περὶ τὸ ut vid. B || παρὰ <τοῦ>το <τῷ>
 Armstrong || αὐτοῦ Bekker] αὐτοῦ ω || transp. εἶναι post ποιήμα α **b35** ὁ s.l. A ||
 αὐτοὶ om. L **b36** τοῦτο πῶς β || εὖνοι εἰσὶν Sylburg, Spengel²] εὖνοοί εἰσιν ω
 recte || οὖν] υν {L} **b37** πῶς C L || αὐτοῦ Bekker] αὐτοῦ α η A², δέκατον A¹,
 om. L **b40** δὲ + εἰπεῖν s.l. M² || τῶν¹ om. A || καὶ² {V}
- 1212** **a1** ἡ om. A **a2** οὖν om. Rav., habet M || transp. εἶναι post εὖνοια Rav., om.
 Cois. **a4-6** Michael of Ephesus, f.152 **a4** εὖνοοι α recte, εὖνοι K || ἄρα A ||
 ἦδη om. V **a5** ἦν¹ om. L **a6** φιλία + αὐ (sic - ad finem lineae) A **a7** transp.
 φιλίας post εὖνοια α β K recte || γίνοιτο ci. Susemihl || δ'] γὰρ Susemihl **a8** τοῦ
 τάγαθὰ C] τοῦτ' ἀγαθὰ P η, τοῦ τάγαθόν A, τοῦτ' ἀγαθοῦ L **a9** ᾧ] ὡς V 24¹,
 οὖ s.l. 24² **a10** λέγεται] γίνεται C **a11** ἐμψύχων L || ἦ om. η **a12**
 τοῦτο α V **a13** τῆς om. Rav. || τῆς εὖνοίας ἡ φιλία Amerbach **a14** ὁμόνιαν C

- a15** λάβη L, λάβοις Ca **a17** ἄρα P A **a17-18** ἐπεὶ περὶ τι β V²] ἐπεὶ περ εἴ τι α K {V¹}, vel si quid Valla, 'ἤπερ εἴ τι ut vid. Valla' Susemihl **a18** <τὸ> τοιοῦτον Spengel² recte **a19** νοητικοῖς Sylburg || πρακτικοῖς A η, corr. K² || οὐκ η, prob. Dirlmeier, οὐχὶ P¹ ut vid. **a20** ἦ νοοῦσι C β et ut vid. P² (= rec.)] εὐνοοῦσι η Mut.¹, ἐννοοῦσι Mut.², νοοῦσι M, {P¹}, εἰ νοοῦσι Ellebodius, <εἰ> ἐννοοῦσι Dirlmeier || τὸ αὐτό L || ἦ²] εἰ η, prob. Dirlmeier, ἦ ut vid. sic L || τῶ ταυτὸν νοεῖν L, ci. Bekker] τῶ ταυτὸν ἐννοεῖν C, ci. Dirlmeier τῶ τὸ ταυτὸν ἐννοεῖν P, τῶ τὸ ταυτὸν νοεῖν A η τὸ ταυτὸν νοεῖν 24 τῶ, τὸ ταυτονοεῖν Ald. τῶ ταυτὸ νοεῖν Sylburg || προαίρεσιν] πρὸς αἴρεσιν A **a21** <ἐν>νοοῦσιν Dirlmeier **a22** αὐτὸν P] αὐτῶν C, αὐτὸν A η, ἑαυτὸν L || αὐτόν P] αὐτῶν C, αὐτὸν A η, ἑαυτὸν L || ἄρα P A V **a23** ἑμαυτὸν A || βόλομαι C **a23-4** ἔστι — ταυτοῦ transponenda post λεγομένη (a27)? Dirlmeier **a25** πρακτοῖς L K² Bonitz¹, Spengel²] πρακτικοῖς α A η **a25-6** μετὰ — πρακτοῖς om. V¹ **a25** ἄρα] γὰρ Susemihl **a26** ἐν + τοῖς β V² || πρακτοῖς K² V¹ Bonitz¹, Spengel²] πρακτικοῖς α β K¹ V² || ἐν πρακτοῖς secludenda esse ci. Ellebodius, Susemihl si ἄρα retinetur, prob. Armstrong **a28** ἐπειδὴ δ' L || αὐτὸν P²] αὐτὸν α V, ἑαυτὸν L **a30** αὐτοῦ A, ἑαυτοῦ L, αυτοῦ sic V || transp. πάντα post πράττων L **a31** ἔσται ζ || αὐτοῦ A V, ἑαυτοῦ L || γὰρ s.l. C¹ **a34** post καὶ rasura duarum litterarum P || οἴονται] οἶόν τι V **a35** transp. δεῖν ante αὐτοῖς α recte || αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς ζ **a36** οὖν om. D **a37** οὐ om. V || αὐτῶ P, Susemihl] αὐτῶ cett. **a38** αὐτοῦ L η, s.l. A **a39** χρήσεται A || ποισοῦσι sic V¹
- 1212** **b1** χρῆσθαι L, χρήσεσθαι Sylburg **b3** πῆσεται K, ποιήσεται Laur. 81,13 || φίλαντος + ἔσται D || τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ {V} **b4** εἰ] ἦ α || τούτου P β V¹] τοῦτο C η || μόνου V¹ **b5** ἐκσταίη L || τὰ] κατὰ Scaliger, prob. Susemihl nisi lectiones Spengelii verae || τοῦ — συμφέροντος — ἡδέος Spengel² recte || καὶ {V} || ἰδέα V **b6** διαίρεσιν C **b7** καθ' τὴν L **b8** ποτε om. D || ὁ om. V **b9** ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν α A recte **b10** αὐτὸν A V, ἑαυτὸν L || ὡς¹] ὡς C P² (= libr. ipse), ὡς A V || ὡς²] ὡς C P² (= libr. ipse), ὡς A V, om. K¹ **b11** τῶν² del. 24² **b12-13** τὸν — φίλω om. Cois. **b12** αὐτοῦ C V || transp. μᾶλλον post αὐτοῦ V **b13** ἀλλ' ἦ] ἀλλὰ η, ἀλλ' ἦ V² || τοῦτων V || φίλω + ἦ V² || αὐτῶ A V, ἑαυτῶ L || περιποιεῖται + καὶ K **b14** ταύτη] οὐκ L || ταύτη + γὰρ οὐκ A, + οὐκ s.l. V² || τῶ τοιοῦτῶ D || οὖν ὡς] οὖν supra ὡς A || ὡς P¹] ὡς C P² (= libr. ipse) **b15** αὐτοῦ V || ὡς P¹] ὡς C P² (= libr. ipse), ὡς A || αὐτὸν] ἑαυτὸν L, αὐτὸν V **b16-17** κατὰ μὲν — αὐτὸν μάλιστα om. V¹ **b16** γὰρ om. Rav. **b17-18** αὐτῶ — ὄντα om. K **b17** αὐτῶ γὰρ α V] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῶ A, καὶ αὐτῶ L, αὐτος γὰρ αὐτῶ D **b18** κάλλιον A || καὶ secludendum esse, si 19 οὐ retineretur,

- ci. Rassow¹ || φιλόγαθος] φίλ^τ L **b19** οὐ] ὁ α, εἰ olim ci. Rassow¹ || οὐ — εἴπερ] οὐ φίλουτος μόνον· ἐπέιπερ ci. Sylburg || εἴπερ φιλεῖ] ὑπερφιλεῖ C || αὐτὸς] αὐτὸν L **b20** δι' ὁ K B D] διὸ α β V **b21** τις A **b22** οὕτως η, corr. K² (= rec.) || ἄν {V} **b22-3** transp. λέγοιτο post φίλουτος A **b24** εἰπεῖν om. η
b25 ὁ om. V **b26** καὶ om. β **b27** οἱ om. α **b28** δαίμων] εὐδαίμων L || εὖ] εἶδον L || δεῖ φίλων om. V¹ **b29** τ' ἀγαθὰ A **b30** φίλου] φίλων K || καὶ {L}
b31 μετὰ τοῦ] μετὰ τίνος C, μετὰ του A, μετ' αὐτοῦ V **b32** γε {V} || τοῖνον om. V¹, δὲ ut vid. 24 || δεήσεται] δε' {L}, δεήσεσθαι ut vid. V¹ **b34** εἰ- s.l. A
b36 μηθενὸς α A || οὐθ' β || δεηθησόμεθα V² **b37** γὰρ] δὲ ci. Susemihl, prob. Donini¹ || καὶ] τιαὶ ut vid. V || τοῦ om. α V¹, add. s.l. V² **b39** καθευδήση L || θεάσεται {A¹}
- 1213** **a2** εἰ μὲν bis C, primum del. rubro atramento C² || transp. τι² post βέλτιόν L || θεάσεταιί τι] θεος· θ'ω τέ ut vid. V¹, corr. in mg. V² **a3** αὐτοῦ P V] αὐτοῦ C K B, signum tachygraphicum A¹ (vide p.000), om. L || εἶναί τι ἄλλο L **a3-4** τὸ — ἄτοπον om. C **a4** transp. αὐτὸς post ἑαυτὸν A || ἄρα P || post ἄρα rasura unius litterae ut vid. A || ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ἀνθρώπω ci. Casaubon, Scaliger, 'recte' Spengel² **a5** ὅς secl. Susemihl || κατασκοπέϊται P D, κατασκοπετῆ L **a6** ἄτοπον L² V || οὖν + ἐστὶν εἰ ὁ θεὸς V || ὁ θεὸς om. V **a7** θεόμενος C **a8** τοῦ om. A || ἐπίσκεψιν V **a9** ἀλλ' ἀλλὰ τῆς L **a11** τίς] τί L || φίλος <δόξειεν ἄν> Armstrong, φίλος <εἴη ἄν> Kassel (conferens 03b33) recte **a12** <καὶ> ὡςπερ Kassel **a13** ἄλλος post φίλος tri. Scaliger, ἄλλος φίλος ἐγὼ secl. Armstrong || χαλεπώτατον {L} **a15** αὐτόν P A η] αὐτὸν C, ἑαυτὸν L || ἥδιστον Matr.4684, Matr. 4574, Ald.] ἥδιστ' ἄν α L η, ἥδιστα ut vid. A || αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν C A V, ἑαυτὸν L **a15-16** αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν {L} **a16** αὐτοῦς P A, ἑαυτοῦς L || αὐτῶν P² (= rec.) K] αὐτῶν α β V || ante ὅτι add. δῆλον L **a17** αὐτοῦς A, ἑαυτοῦς L || δυνάμεθα + θεάσασθαι L || ἀλλήλοις A **a18** λαμβάνομεν V² D P² (= rec.) Mut.² Pal. 165² M] μανθάνομεν ω || ταῦτα P² (= rec.), eadem Valla] ταῦτα cett. || τοῦτο {L} **a18-19** διευνοῖαν (sic) C **a19** διὰ om. L || δὲ] γὰρ ci. Susemihl **a20** οὖν {L}, sed ut vid. scriptum est per compendium L || ἑαυτῶν L, αὐτῶν V **a21** εἶδομεν α] ἴδομεν A, ἴδοιμεθα A², ἴδομεν K ε, ἴδομεν V, solum ἴδ- legitur L **a22** αὐτοῦς] αὐτῶν C, ἑαυτοῦς L {P} **a23** εἰδόντες P || γνωρίσαι μὲν L || ὡς + ἄν η || ὁ {L} **a24** ἰδέναί C **a24-5** τοῦτο δ' οὐκ {L¹} **a24-6** εἰ — γνωρίζειν = 10 εἰ — 24 ἐγὼ Ramsauer **a25** ἰδέναί C **a26** αὐτὸν K, ἑαυτὸν L || γνωρίσαι L **a27** ἔχων L || τὰ om. A η || παρὰ] περὶ A **a29** δὴ om. V
- 1213** **b1** ἄν + καὶ V **b3** δὲ] οὖν L || transp. κτητέον post φίλους A || ἦ` sic A **b4** δεῖ [ἀεὶ] Bonitz¹, Spengel², Bussemaker, om. ἀεὶ Valla, δέοι ἄν Rassow³ ('fors recte' Susemihl), δεῖ εἶναι ci. Bonitz¹ **b5** ἐφ'¹ om. V¹

b6 ἐξ ἀδυνατεῖ L **b7** πρὸς {L} **b8** ἐὰν] ἂν α β || ἀποστήσης τοῦ] ἐπιστήσ
 solum legitur L **b10** ἀπάντων K] ἐπὶ πάντων P β B, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων C || τῶ]
 τὸ α **b11** ἐγκήματα ut vid. A || οὐκ] solum οὐκ legitur L **b15** -νειν {L} **b17**
 αὐτοῦ ci. Susemihl **b18** σκεπτέον ἂν εἴη] εἴη σκεπτέον η || χρήσασθαι α
b19 foramen post ἐν¹ P **b20** lacuna circa sex litterarum post μάλιστα B ||
 ἀλλήλους A **b21** ἄλλαις {A} **b23** καὶ s.l. L **b24** δὲ¹] γὰρ ci. Susemihl || δὲ ἢ
 {L} **b26** ἦ] ἢ β **b27** δὴ Bonitz¹, prob. Breier] οὖν α β, δὲ K M, γὰρ B
b28 ἐν τῇ Laur. 81,12, Sylburg, prob. Bonitz¹] τῇ ἐν ω, τῇ Camot. || <τοι>αύτη
 Bonitz¹] αὐτῇ ω, αὐτοῖς Ellebodus **b29** εἴη {L} || χρήσασθαι B² || transp. χρήσθαι
 post φίλω L **b30** φίλοις om. M || ‘desunt non pauca’ Casaubon

EDITORIAL PROBLEMS

An editor needs to have a view on the authenticity of the text being edited. Many of the choices in readings depend on one's view of who wrote the text.

Most scholars are convinced that M.M. in the form we have it was not written by Aristotle. The chief reason for this is linguistic: M.M. uses ὑπέρ, where Aristotle uses περί.¹ This switch in use of prepositions is known to have occurred at the end of the fourth century. Although there is some disagreement about whether M.M. is based on, or a revision of, a lecture course of Aristotle,² for the purposes of editing the text there is no reason to make the language or the thought conform to the usage of Aristotle, except insofar as Aristotle is one of only a few authors of philosophical prose of a roughly contemporary date.

If Donini is right that certain parts of M.M. are misunderstandings of Aristotle, and that our author is not a distinguished philosopher,³ the application of the principle of charity, whereby an editor will do his best to make his author say sensible things (within certain limits), becomes particularly difficult. In a text by Aristotle one can be confident that if an οὐ is required in a sentence, but the manuscripts do not have it, then an editor will conclude that the omission of οὐ will have been an omission that was caused in the transmission - Aristotle is too clever not to have realised that the οὐ was required. οὐ is conjectured and accepted. But in a considerably less clever author, how can we decide whether the omission of οὐ was his own? He is capable of such errors. Do we accept the conjecture in this case?

Of course, it is possible, indeed likely, that the application of the principle of charity, in the case of, say, Aristotle reaches a goal beyond what is strictly proper. We believe that Aristotle must have thought οὐ. We cannot, however, distinguish between the case where Aristotle thought οὐ and himself accidentally omitted it and the case where he wrote it and scribal error led to its subsequent omission. The principle of charity, thus, reaches Aristotle's mind, not the words he wrote. If this has ever happened, there will be places where we have a better text than the autograph. And this is unworrying. Aristotle's beliefs are what are interesting.

¹ See Dirlmeier, pp.149-54, 185.

² So, Cooper, [1973], Düring [1961], Kenny [1978].

³ Donini, [1965] passim.

In the case of an inferior author, by applying the principle of charity, there is a far more worrying danger that we end up with a text which says what the author ought to have thought. I take it that in M.M. we are justified in emending the manuscripts' readings where the error is most likely to have originated in the transmission of the text. Beyond that, in places where the error could have been original or subsequent, I see no easy principle to decide whether or not to be charitable.

Punctuation

Quotation marks were not part of the repertoire of devices by which the Greeks could aid their readers. To insert quotation marks is therefore anachronistic - but this in itself is not sufficient reason to delete all quotation marks. M.M. is particularly difficult to punctuate consistently. Susemihl places some citations inside quotation marks (e.g. 08b9), but others not (e.g. 08b10). To include quotation marks will often involve controversial editorial judgement (see my note on 1209b36), but in some passages will make reading easier. For example, one could repunctuate 89b11: ἐρωτᾷ 'διὰ τί;', 'ὅτι', φησὶν, 'καὶ... ἔχει.' to show that there are two speakers.

There is a problem with paragraphing. M.M. would not have been divided into paragraphs by the author, and yet it is of considerable help to a modern reader to see a text broken into sections. M.M. often moves from one topic to another as he does when he ends his discussion of bravery and turns to temperance in 1191a36: ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος τοιοῦτος· σωφρόσυνη δὲ... The μὲν... δὲ construction binds together the two subjects, which makes the start of a new paragraph between the μὲν and the δὲ difficult. Denniston (p.472) gives parallels in which the μὲν clause "sums up and rounds off the old topic, while the δὲ clause introduces the new one". Of particular note is Antiphon I, 13: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου· περὶ δὲ τῶν γενομένων... We find this too in 00a35: C, P and K and V treat ταῦτα — τοῦτο as part of the previous paragraph and not the beginning of the next.⁴ Stock and Dirlmeier, in their translations, adopt this change. Another instance is 93a28.

⁴ A and L do not divide the text into sections.

Susemihl punctuates Germanically. I do not point out each time that a British editor would punctuate differently, e.g. 87a17 (no punctuation before α ; 88a17 no comma after $\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$).

$\alpha\nu$

It is noticeable how often in this text $\alpha\nu$ has been conjectured, and usually accepted into the text (81a26, 91a28, 95b34, 98b6, 00b20, 02a34, 07a34, 10a19).⁵ Whether we should follow Susemihl in accepting $\alpha\nu$ so often when it is not transmitted depends partly on how much we trust our grammars. We do have a number of times in M.M. when $\alpha\nu$ is ‘correct’ grammatically, but one or more manuscripts omit. It is omitted by ζ (86b18), by η (98a23, 13b18), by L V (94b13), by K (98a28), by V (95a4, 11a31), by L (84b13, 89a28, 89b33, 06b37, 11a23), by P (87b7), by B (87b20). This shows that $\alpha\nu$ is liable to drop out. One explanation of the liability of $\alpha\nu$ to drop out is that it is often preceded by an optative with ephelecytic nu,⁶ so it can drop out ex homoeot. I do not know whether this error happens with such frequency in the transmission of other texts.⁷

Spengel, [1866] 623, in a note on $\alpha\nu$ in 81b28, remarks that the author misuses (‘abutitur’) the particle, but he has in mind not its omission but its position in a sentence, as his note on 03a10 makes clear: ‘alibi $\alpha\nu$ sic non initio positum inveni’.

All eight conjectures of $\alpha\nu$ occur in contexts in which we have parallels for the omission of $\alpha\nu$ by scribes of M.M. We can see why $\alpha\nu$ might have dropped out after nu at 81a26, 95b34, 00b20, 02a34, 07a34; why it should have dropped out before $\alpha\nu$ in 10a19, and we have four parallels for it dropping out after $\gamma\omicron\rho$.⁸

On balance, then, I would be prepared to accept the conjectures.

⁵ I conjecture $\alpha\nu$ at 11a21.

⁶ For the vicissitudes of $\alpha\nu$ in the transmission of Plato, see Bywater, [1913] 222-7. Bywater does not mention this as a cause of $\alpha\nu$ dropping out in Plato. We can also understand why $\alpha\nu$ should have been left out before $\alpha\nu$ - at 86b18, and before $\alpha\upsilon$ - at 98a28, and when it is next to $\omicron\nu$ at 94b13. Four times it has dropped out after $\gamma\omicron\rho$: 84b13, 87b7, 95a4, 06b37. This is hard to explain. I also cannot explain why it should have been left out at 89a28, 89b33, 11a23.

⁷ $\alpha\nu$ is accepted as a conjecture at E.E. 1223a24, 1225b13, 1229b34, 1229b38, 1230a18; at E.N. 1123b30, 1180b13.

⁸ See my notes on 1185a14, 1198a18 and 1211a22.

Neuter plurals

It is standard in Greek for a neuter plural to take a verb in the singular.⁹ Neuter plural + plural verb,¹⁰ however, is a characteristic of M.M. and this linguistic feature has been taken to be a sign of M.M.'s inauthenticity.¹¹

At 83b31, 86b34, 93b7, 99b14, 09a25, 10a17, 11a5 at least one manuscript has the 'correct' idiom - singular verb. When there is ms. divergence I prefer the plural verb on the grounds that it could easily have been corrected to conform to standard Greek.

ττ/σσ

At 93b21 the mss. read ἐλάσσονα. The word ἐλάττων appears eighteen times in M.M., always, apart from here, spelt with -ττ-. M.M. does show some signs of Ionic dialect, but would he use both forms so close to each other (cf. 93b28-9)? The only reason would be euphony. If we do not normalise and read ἐλάττωνα here, we could say that the author objected to too many taus. (The form with double sigma occurs in de Caelo 308b21, de Insomniis 460b8, L.I. 970a16, P.A. 666b22, 668a33, 668a34, 667a15, Pol. 1268b14, Topics 107a16, Mir. 839a15¹²).

Elsewhere in M.M. we find the double sigma. At 08a23-4 πυρέσσειν is given by α rather than πυρέττειν, and πυρέσσοντι is given by B¹. At 89b10 L reads τέσσαρσιν, not τέτταρσιν. See also my note on 1201a22. In E.N. 1115a29 one ms. (Laur. 81,18) gives θαλάσση rather than θαλάττη, but in 1115a35 writes θαλάττη. Again, in E.N. 1161a13 another manuscript, O^b, has πρόσσωσιν rather than πράττωσιν.

ἦ οὐ¹³

⁹ Kühner-Gerth, II, 1, pp.64-6, gives exceptions to the rule that a neuter plural verb should have a singular verb. These exceptions do not apply to the passages in M.M.

¹⁰ Dirlmeier (p.190) gives the references in M.M. To this list should be added 86b34 (where the manuscripts are not unanimous, but Susemihl prints the plural) and 11a5 (where there is manuscript deviation and Susemihl has the singular). See also Dirlmeier, pp.129, 446.

¹¹ Jaeger, [1948] 442. Von Arnim, [1929] 12-13, counters Jaeger with examples of neuter plural + plural verb in authentic works. Hall, [1959] 201, adds three passages from Met. M. iv-v: 1079a20, 1079a28, 1079b12-13, to which one can add three from de Anima: 411b25, 421a27, 425a9. In the first of these Ross over-rules the manuscripts to give the singular. We do not yet have reliable statistics for the less usual idiom. Complete apparatus critici are rarely published.

¹² In the last passage some mss. have double tau.

¹³ See Dirlmeier, pp.173-4, 439.

The phrase ἢ οὐ appears frequently in this treatise. There are different contexts in which this appears and the punctuation will differ depending on what the context is. After ἄρα or πότερον (1a) the phrase may be part of the question, and mean ‘or not?’ (e.g. 82b11, 87a6, 90a5, 97b3, 98a22, 98a32, 01a38, 02b20, 06a8, 10b33, 11a17, 12b25); the particle following this, if there is one, is usually ἀλλὰ, which introduces the alternative to the first option in the πότερον clause; (1b) ἢ οὐ can also be the beginning of the author’s reply to the question: ‘Surely not’. (In this case the following sentence usually contains the particle γάρ, which gives the reason why he answers ‘No’) (e.g. 89a2, 89a20, 90a12, 90b12 (δ’), 92a16, 95b6, 97a32, 98b10, 99a16, 99b11, 02b30, 03a1, 07a7, 08b24, 12a4).

Not after πότερον/ἄρα, ἢ οὐ means either (2a) ‘or not...’ (e.g. the modifying use in 02a23) or (2b) ‘No’ in reply not to a question, but to an argument from an opponent (e.g. 05b34).

It is only in cases of (1a) that a question mark should be placed, and here only when the πότερον question is a direct question.¹⁴ Susemihl tends to punctuate with a question mark in (1b) uses of ἢ οὐ. Syntactically this is correct, but since it is clear in these lines that the author accepts the alternative ‘or not?’, it will help readers if it is treated as a sentence on its own: ‘Surely not!’, and we punctuate with a question mark after the πότερον clause, but a full stop after ἢ οὐ.¹⁵

δέ/δέη

Susemihl, [1880] 476, conjectures δέ for δή six times (95b25, 97a3, 99b17, 05a27, 05b30, 06b7) and wonders whether the frequent use of δή meaning δέ was a linguistic peculiarity of the author. δέ is conjectured against the mss.’ δή also at 83a32 (Spengel), 84a24 (Spengel), 93b2 (Spengel), 96b9 (Spengel), 97b11 (Spengel), 01b9 (Spengel), 04b28

¹⁴ In 09a5 Susemihl’s punctuation is right, because the γάρ defends the claim that the ἀπορία just raised follows on naturally from what has preceded. This is not a case where ἢ οὐ means ‘No’. See Dirlmeier, p.439. In 13a10 we need a full stop after οὐ because the question is indirect.

¹⁵ Close to (1b) cases are: 89a5 full stop after ἢ οὐδὲ τοῦτο; 84a26 full stop after ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ἄτοπον; 89a18 full stop after ἢ οὐδὲ τοῦτο; at 00a24 a full stop after ἢ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀληθές. Less close are 82b17 (question mark after ἐνοπάρχοντος, and full stop after οὐ); 90a12 (question mark after προθέσθαι and full stop after ἰδεῖν); 99a27 (full stop after φρόνησις); 03a24 (full stop after οὔτοι); 03b24 (full stop after ἀκολουθεῖ); 05b35 (full stop after ἐπίεται); 06a34 (full stop after ἄτοπον); 07a7 (full stop after δόξειεν); 09a38 (question mark after φίλος); 08b25 (question mark after φαύλω, and full stop after τοῦτο); 12a17 (comma after οὐ); 12a23 (comma after οὐ). See also my notes on 1200a19 and 1209b39.

(Bas.³), and three other places where Susemihl later conjectured the same change (87a13, 94a31, 09a39). But the reverse has also happened - the mss. give δέ, but people have suggested that we ought to read δή: 82b14 (Rieckher), 90b28 (Bonitz), 94a16 (Spengel), 94a18 (Armstrong), 96b23 (Susemihl), 97a16 (Spengel), 97b11 (Spengel), 00b9 (Spengel), 01b21 (Susemihl), 04a2 (Susemihl), 13b27 (Bonitz).

It is rash to conclude that the author of M.M. used the particles δέ and δή in a peculiar way. The two words are notoriously confused in the transmission of texts. In M.M. there is confusion between the particles in the mss. at: 83b19, 83b31, 87b22, 93a12, 93a29, 94a18, 94b5, 96b15, 96b34, 96b36, 97a3, 99a2, 99b24, 00a29, 00b17, 00b29, 01a35, 02a31, 04a8, 07a2, 09a29, 12a28. From the apparatus of the O.C.T. of the E.E. I have counted six places where the manuscripts divide on the same word (1223a23, 1235b13, 1239a20, 1241a9, 1247b9, 1248b3), and there are also seven places where the mss. give δέ, but δή has been conjectured (1232b16, 1235b24, 1241a30, 1242a1, 1243b32, 1244b33, 1249b13), and three places where the mss. give δή, but δέ has been conjectured (1236a14, 1236b18, 1241b1).¹⁶

Acknowledging, therefore, the vulnerability of δέ and δή to corruption is a simpler way of accounting for the readings of the mss. than to suppose that the author of M.M. used the particles in an idiosyncratic way.

Questions of Orthography¹⁷

Susemihl's principle in questions of orthography (γίνεσθαι/γίγνεσθαι, γινώσκειν/γινώσκειν¹⁸, οὐδείς/οὐθείς is set out on p.xviii n.32 of his introduction - he

¹⁶ See Bonitz, Index 172b52-173a4 for more examples of such emendations. And see my note on 1187a13.

¹⁷ This section discusses the spelling of words. Generally, I do not repeat what appears in this section again in the apparatus. I do not record what I take to be slips of the pen, i.e. where, say, a manuscript has a word without an accent, but usually does put the accent on correctly and so there is no pattern. K and A are the manuscripts that are most careless in this respect.

I do not record differences in accentuation of ἔσται nor of τις or parts of φημι. An example: 97a36 ἔσται K¹ Rav.] ἔσται C A, ἔσται P L K², ἔσται V.

There is no modern study of orthography in Aristotle. It is difficult to see how there could be when editors of Aristotle show themselves to be so uninterested in the question. I record the procedure adopted by Kassel in his edition of Aristotle's Rhetoric, [1976]. When, in what follows, I say that Kassel prefers one spelling over another, I mean that he prefers one reading over another where both are attested in his chief mss. I do not mean that he overrides the orthography of the mss.

¹⁸ See below.

follows the practice of K. In several respects K and V, the eldest manuscripts, do show signs of an older form of spelling. It is simplest to set out here, rather than in the collation, how the manuscripts handle the spelling of words. Whilst it is important to record how the mss. spell, their idiosyncrasies are the specialism of students of orthography, not of most readers of M.M.

Many of the issues in this section are not issues that the author will have had a view on. Word-division and diacritics were not concerns of our author. Nevertheless a modern editor will have to decide how to divide words, and how to accentuate them.

Ephelcystic nu

Susemihl has a predilection for adding the movable nu, where it is not required, and in places where the first hand in K did so.¹⁹ These should not appear in the next critical edition.

Elisions

I have kept a record of how the manuscripts handle elisions, but do not include it as part of this thesis.

Crisis²⁰

τᾶγαθόν, in its various cases, is normal in Susemihl. This is consistent with the stemma.²¹ I would also print τᾶγαθοῦ at 82b11 (despite τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ A η) and 83a29 (despite τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ (P A η)).

However, at 09a19, 09a20, 09a29 and 09a32 Susemihl prints τὸ ἀγαθόν, which is the reading of all independent manuscripts. There seems to be a reason for the spelling in these

¹⁹ Susemihl is not consistent in his procedure with the movable nu. There are places where K has it but Susemihl does not. In the following lines K has ephelcystic nu at the end of ἔσται or of εἶσι, where Susemihl does not: 83b12, 84b12, 85a24, 91a37, 96b1, 96b38, 97b9, 02a16, 02a19, 02b3, 02b20, 05b6, 07b34, 08a36, 09b21, 09b25, 10a2, 11b30, 12a1, 12a24, 12b15, 13a13, 13b24¹ 13b24². We also find in K: 82a11 ἐνεχείρησεν, 85b28 φθείρουσιν, 86b16 καλοῦσιν, 94a7 φησιν, 94a39 ἦρξεν, 94b37 μεταπίπτουσιν, 05a35 ἀπέτυχεν, 07b26 φασιν, 12a39 ποιήσουσιν.

Thrice K does not have the nu, where Susemihl does: 93b39 ἔσται, 03a35 δόξειε, 04a26 ἔσται.

²⁰ Kassel, [1976] v, only allows crisis where it is in the mss.

²¹ There are four exceptions: we read τὰ ἀγαθὰ at 84b1 (α L B), 99b5 (α β), 07a8 (α A), 08a2 (α L). But the number of times when the stemma tells in favour of crisis makes it reasonable to go against the stemma in these four cases and print the form with crisis.

four cases, namely that τὸ ἀγαθὸν appears in a prepositional phrase balanced by ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἡδύ or the like.

Susemihl usually writes τᾶλλα. He does so with stemmatic support at 82b9, 84b26, 90a22, 91b18, 96a3, 96b22, 11a5.²² But at 83b7 and 02b10 all mss. have τὰ ἄλλα, which is what Susemihl prints. It is thus not obvious what to print at: 84a7 τὰ ἄλλα] τᾶλλα C L; 86a22 τὰ ἄλλα] τᾶλλα α; 91a28 τᾶλλα] τὰ ἄλλα α β; 91b14 τᾶλλα] τὰ ἄλλα α β; 11a2 τὰ ἄλλα] τᾶλλα α β.

Other instances of crasis in M.M. (κάπι, κᾶν, κάκεινοις, καλοκάγαθία, τάνδρεϊα, ταυτό) have stemmatic support. At 07b25 ζ has καὶ ἀγαθὸν twice, but Susemihl adopts the reading of α. At 07b31, 08a2, 08a4 Susemihl conjectures κάγαθός (καὶ ἀγαθός ω).

Mss. frequently lose the breathing in cases of crasis. K does this most, but all read ταυτό instead of ταυτό e.g. at 02b29, 02b33, 04a15, 09b10.

Accentuation²³

Accents on infinitives are often wrong: δεικνῶναι: 83a25 P A B, 87a24 α B {A}; κρίναι: 97b14 K Cois., 99a2 K Cois.; λύσαι: 01b2 L K, 06b8 C β; πράξει: 95a11 L, 95a28 A¹, 12a8 V; φᾶναι: 09b39 ζ.

Adjectives in the feminine singular are written with circumflexes: ἀνδρεῖα: 85b7 A, 90b9 α, 91a5 α, 91a10 C, 91a25 C, 91a36 C, 98a24 C, 98a27 α A, 98a28 C A; θεῖα 00b13 C K, 00b17 C; οῖα 87a31 α β; οῖαν 01b10 α; οἰκεῖαν: 06b11 C; σπουδαῖα: 05b3-4 C; 05b13 C L; σπουδαῖαν 05b14 C L; τελεῖα 00a9 C.

ἴσος is almost always spelt ἴσος in α β V/B, but K preserves ἴσος.

πολιται is given an acute accent rather than a circumflex by the only two mss. to have this word at 94b9 P L, and two manuscripts have the same accentuation in 94b17 (P B), though the rest have an acute there.

γαῖα] γαῖα 08b16 P

²² τᾶλλα is usually written as τᾶλλα by B, and occasionally by P, A and V. τᾶλλα is often written as τ' ἄλλα by K. Kassel, [1976] vi, reports that Paris gr.1741 accentuates: τᾶλλα.

²³ Kassel, [1976] v-vi, allows himself a free rein with accents.

Double rho is given two rough breathings by Aldus at 86b20-2 (πορρώτερον thrice) and 91a34 (θαρρώουσιν), but I have not found this in any ms.

Enclitics:

ἄλλο τι written as ἄλλό τί often in each of the independent mss.²⁴

δε as enclitic: in α: 85b25, 88b25, 94b3; in P: 91a35, 91b31, 92b32, 10a21

δ' acts as an enclitic (i.e. throws an acute accent onto the last syllable of the preceding word) most often in α, not rarely in β, more rarely in V, and only very occasionally in K. (See Chandler, [1881] 277-8.)

τε given a grave accent often in β and V, but rarely in C, and never in P or K

φομεν is always written as φομὲν in the mss.

Breathings

αὐτάρκεια and αὐτάρκης are given rough breathings in α

Word Division (i). Two words treated as one²⁵:

ἀλλαμην often in α B; ἀναμέσον 91b24 K, 92b30 A B, 93a24 K; δηλονότι often in A L V/B; διατί often in C P A L B; διατοῦτο often in A L B; εἰθούτως 06b20 α; ἐπιπολὺν 13b7 η, 13b8 B; ἐπιτοπολὺν 94b38 η, 95a3 η; καθὰ 00b5 A; καθέκαστον often in C P A L V/B; καθαντὸν 07a34 V; καθὸν 87a4 α A, 87b36 P A; καταξίαν A B; μετατοῦτο 87a5 B; μεταταῦτα 87b32 B, 96b34 B; οὐδόλως 85b11 L, 03b26 C, 07a21 C P¹ K²; οὐκάρα 89a21 L; παράγραμμα 85b39 C; προσάλληλα 96a28 P; τουτέστι 90a33 B.

Word Division (ii) One word treated as two²⁶

γ' οὖν 85a17 K, 11a40 η; γοῦν L 85a17, 08b21, 11a40; ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν 91a3 α, 99b36 α K¹; ἐπειδ' ἂν 91a3 K, 99b36 V; ἐπειδὴ περ 85a15 C η; ἐπεὶ περ 04a5 η; εἶ

²⁴ Kassel, [1976] vi, reports that Paris gr. 1741 (10th C) writes ἄλλό τι.

²⁵ Kassel, [1976] v, tells us that he tacitly conjoins μὴ δὲ, οὐκ οὖν.

²⁶ Kassel, [1976] v, tells us that he tacitly separates καθέκαστον, καθαντά, παράλληλα. See also my remarks on οὐδεὶς below.

ποιητικός 10b1 α β, 10b12 α β K¹; καθ' ὅ 98a37 K; καθ' ὅλου often in K¹; μὴ δὲ 85b24 α L η, 92b32 ω, 07a19 α β K; ὅσα περ (printed by Susemihl thus) 11a7 β V ὅς τις 91b16 α A, 92b1 P; ὅτ' ἄν always in η;²⁷ οὐδ' ἕτερος often in K¹; οὐκ ἔτι most common in P K; οὐκ οἶν often in K V; ὡς αὐτως often in K

In all these cases I would be happy to follow Susemihl in his word division, except that we should print ὅσαπερ at 11a7, and we need to reach a decision about καθ' ὅ (printed in 87a4, 87b36) and καθὸ (printed in 98a37). In the first two passages the sense is 'according to which', but in the third the sense is 'in so far as'. L.S.J. suggest that even in this sense καθ' ὅ ought to be printed.

Particular Words

αἰεὶ instead of ἀεὶ 91b32 β²⁸

ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι only has one lambda in A¹ at 94a11, 94a20, 95b14, 95b16 but is spelt correctly at 88b20, 89a14, 10a38.

αὐτός written as ἑαυτός in L: 82b21, 84a23²⁹, 96a4, 96a7, 09a2, 09b34, 10b33, 11a1, 11a16, 11a19, 11a24, 11a25, 11a27, 11a30, 11a31, 11a39, 11b2, 11b3, 12a22¹, 12a22², 12a28, 12a30, 12a31, 12b10, 12b13, 12b15, 12b17, 13a15¹, 13a15², 13a16, 13a17, 13a20, 13a22, 13a24, 13a26. I only record these readings in the apparatus where any of the other independent manuscripts diverge from the text that Susemihl prints. It is of note that that at 11a24, 11a27, 11a30 L alone of the independent mss. has a reflexive form, ἑαυ-, where Bekker conjectured αὐ-.

Susemihl prints αὐ- 98 times and ἑαυ- 17 times. Bonitz, 211b45, says that Aristotle uses the two syllable form 'longe frequentius'. M.M. seems to not to be consistent in its usage (in 12b9-26 we find ἑαυ- five times, and αὐ- seven times; cf.

²⁷ Kassel, [1976] vi, reports that Paris gr. 1741 (10th C) writes ὅτ' ἄν.

²⁸ Kassel, [1976] v, allows Aristotle the form αἰεὶ. In M.M. αἰεὶ is always transmitted unanimously except at 91b32, and - a different sort of case - in 08b10 where a line of Homer is quoted. There A K V err in writing αἰεὶ.

²⁹ A also has ἑαυτός here.

93b13-17). If we follow the demands of the stemma we would only change Susemihl's text at 95b26 (print $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ for $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$), 12b9 (print $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$).³⁰

$\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ³¹

Bonitz (155b7) records that these two forms 'in ed Bk promiscue exhibetur'. The same is true of all the independent manuscripts of M.M.: no manuscript consistently uses one form rather than the other. However, the tradition is pretty clear. On over sixty occasions the manuscripts are unanimous in reading the form without the second gamma. Never are the manuscripts unanimous in reading the form with the second gamma. Whenever Susemihl does print $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon$ - (following K) there is strong support for $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu$ -: 87b23 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ C β B {P}; 88b26 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ α β ; 88b27 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ α β ; 88b28 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ C A {P}; 88b28 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ α A; 89a3 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ α β B; 89b21 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ C β {P}; 91a22 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ C β , $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ P; 04a37 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ α β V; 07a16 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ α β V; 10a15 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ α β V; 12b29 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ β { α }.

It is true that there are a number of places where Susemihl prints $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu$ - but not all manuscripts agree (83b34 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ B; 89a23 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ α ; 92b1 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ A B; 93b31 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$] $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ B; 95a26 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ L; 99a13 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ L; 08b16 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$] $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ V; 09b18 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\eta$ V; 10a22 $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ V¹, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ V²; 10b2 $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$] $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ V), but the evidence strongly suggests that the form without the second gamma was what our author used. On the assumption that M.M. did not vary 'promiscue', we ought to standardise the spelling to the form without the second gamma.

L.S.J. (s.v) say that $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is the form used in Ionic dialect 'and after Aristotle'. I know of no study of Aristotle's practise.³²

$\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu/\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$

³⁰ Kassel, [1976] v, prefers $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\delta$ over $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\delta$.

³¹ In this section I use the symbol {} to mean that the word is written with a compendium, so that the manuscript does not point either way. I treat divergence between $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota/\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ and $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ as a separate issue. Cf. apparatus at 82a15, 00a23, 00a26, 00a27, 04b24¹, 10a25, 11a36

³² Kassel, [1976] v, prefers $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon$ - to $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu$.

The present tense of this verb only occurs at 98b37 where Susemihl prints γινώσκων. But γινώσκων is the reading of β V (α omits the word entirely) and, bearing in mind M.M.'s use of γίνεσθαι rather than γίγνεσθαι just discussed, we should read γινώσκων here.

ἐάν/ἄν: M.M. uses both ἄν and ἐάν to mean 'if'. Of the nineteen occurrences of ἐάν in Susemihl's text, the mss. unanimously³³ read ἐάν except at 10a21 (α has ἄν), 06a12 (L has ἄν), 13b8 (α β have ἄν). At 82b21 and 88b20 Susemihl prints ἄν but we should read ἐάν with the mss. Of the remaining twenty four occurrences of ἄν (meaning 'if'), the only times that ἐάν is a v.l. are 85a30 (L), 85a33 (P), 87b1 (ζ), 94b36 (P²). If we adopt the changes suggested by the stemma at 82b21, 88b20 and 13b8 (at 82b35, 87b1 and 10a21 it is impossible to decide, but leave them as Susemihl has them), the statistics are: ἄν 24 times, ἐάν 20 times.³⁴

ἐἴν in L: 82b21, 84b17, 85b23, 87b1, 87b2, 87b21, 88b20, 90b27, 90b37, 94a32, 04a8, 05a19, 06a4, 06b26, 10a18, 10a21, 10a32, 12a14

-εἴα/-ία termination

ἀνδρία common in A L V B; ἀνδρειάντα 91b7 C; ἀπορεία 99b10 C; ἄσωτεία α; αὐθαδία α; εὐμαθία K¹; εὐτραπελεία 93a11 A K¹, 93a19 K¹; εὐτυχεία α always;³⁵ πυθαγόριοι 94a29 α K; τέλιον 84a13 L

ἔνεκα and ἔνεκεν are found side by side in Susemihl's text at 90a22-3 but in 90a22 P A

K have ἔνεκεν and in 90a23 C has ἔνεκα so a tidier text is possible. Susemihl prints ἔνεκεν sixteen times and ἔνεκα four times. For the moment treating ἔνεκε as ἔνεκεν (see next note), Susemihl prints the form that the stemma suggests, except in two lines where the stemma points neither one way nor the other - at 90a22, just mentioned, and at 95a19 where α gives the form in -εν. (Other deviations: At 84b17 - α B, 95a17 -εν L, 95a19 -εν α, 95a25 -α β V, 99a20 -εν D). Can we see a pattern in M.M.'s practise, from which to decide what to print in 90a22 and 95a19? We can say the following:

³³ For L's accentuation, see below.

³⁴ Kassel, [1976] v, prefers ἐάν over ἄν.

³⁵ Sometimes P just writes εὐτυχ', but when it is written in full, it is with -εἴα.

i) ἔνεκα only appears after its genitive, while ἔνεκεν appears both before (82a35, 91a24) and after, but more often after.

ii) We find οὐδ' ἔνεκα (95a17, 99a20), and οὐδ' ἔνεκεν (84a7, 95a25).

iii) As last word in a sentence we only find ἔνεκεν (84b17, 95a25).

iv) The genitive that precedes ἔνεκα is only ever οὐδ'.

In 90a22 we should read ἔνεκεν because of (iv). This will avoid the jarring effect in Susemihl's text in 90a22-3. In 95a19 we should read ἔνεκεν because of (iii) and bearing in mind (ii).

We are left with a text that has ἔνεκεν fourteen times and ἔνεκα twice. Eucken [1868, 18-19] notes that overall Aristotle uses ἔνεκα more frequently than ἔνεκεν, but in some works (P.A., Pol.) uses them with equal frequency. But the basis of these verdicts is not reliable. It may turn out that editors' preference for one form rather than another explains why, for instance, Phys. only has ἔνεκεν twice.³⁶

ἔνεκε

The nu of ἔνεκεν is treated as epheletic (i.e. omitted before a consonant) at 84a7 C, 88b16 D, 90a23 P, 91b15 P, 08a14 V, 08a18 V P², 12a31 α. There is inscriptional evidence for this spelling (see L.S.J. s.v ἔνεκα), but the evidence that M.M. used it weak. I know no modern editor who has printed ἔνεκε.

ιδέα spelt as εἰδέα by K¹: 82b10, 82b12, 82b13, 83a28, 83a30, 83a32, 83a37, 83b7

ιδέα spelt as ἰδία: 82b10 B

ὁ μὲν... ὁ δὲ

Susemihl puts grave accents on the definite article at 82b26-7, 92a5, 98a34-5, 01a7-8, 02a19, 03a30³⁷, 03b1, 04a15-16, 10a27, 10a36 and 12a22. The manuscripts, on the other hand, do not.³⁸ The only exceptions are at 03a30 where V has ἦ but the rest have ἦ, 04a15-16 where V has ὀ twice. I would get rid of these accents. In 82b26 Susemihl's accentuation leads to Stock mistranslate: '[the doctor says that] one thing

³⁶ It occurs twice in Ross' text (197b30, 243a32).

³⁷ I think that he meant to put a grave on ἦ in 03a33 (or did he think that ἦ δὲ in 03b1 answered ἦ μὲν in 03a30?).

³⁸ They give an unaccented definite article except at 82b26-7, 04a16, 10a27, 12a22, where some manuscripts put an acute on the definite article before δ'. I list other occurrences of δ' acting as an enclitic above, p.172.

(ὁ μὲν) produces health and how it produces it'. δ is masculine singular: 'The doctor says that he creates health, and how he does it'.

οὐδεις/οὐθεις, μηδεις/μηθεις. The first question is whether a δ or a θ is found.³⁹

L and, to a lesser extent, A use the form in delta, where Susemihl and the other independent manuscripts have theta.

Much rarer are the instances where Susemihl prints delta but a manuscript has theta: 87a25 α A, 09a38 L, 12b36 α A.

In 01b6 we should read οὐδὲν with all the independent mss.

The second question is whether the manuscripts treat these words as one or as two:

K writes οὐθ' ἔν, μηθ' ἔν, οὐθ' εἷς. The form οὐδὲ μία is read in α and β, but less often in K and V.

οὐτω/οὐτως

The mss. agree with what Susemihl prints except at:

84a25 οὐτως πως B; 84a32 οὐτως τὸ B; 84a35 οὐτω ζητητέον α β; 86a19 οὐτω κακῶς β; 87a35 οὐτω καὶ α β; 87b34 οὐτω ῥηθῆναι D; 91a26 οὐτως συμπέση β; 94a4 οὐτως τὰ L V¹; 94a35 οὐτω τὸ α β K; 95a8 οὐτως ταυτό α; 96b10 οὐτω καὶ α β; 97a39 οὐτως... ἐκείνως ω; 97b36 οὐτω δόξειεν β; 01a35 οὐτως τὸ V; 01b39 οὐτως συμβήσεται α A η {L}; 02b20 οὐτω σφόδρα Ald.] οὐτως σφόδρα ω; 06a31 οὐτω μὲν L; 06b11 οὐτως γὰρ V; 06b21 οὐτω τὸν L; 07b2 οὐτως πράττειν V; 09a1 οὐτως καὶ V; 13b23 οὐτω καὶ α β V.

Standardly, in Greek, a sigma is added to οὐτω when the word precedes a word beginning with a vowel, or is the last word before a punctuated pause. But at 95a17 all mss. have οὐτως δίκαιον. We should be prepared for M.M. not to follow 'standard procedure'.⁴⁰ On stemmatic grounds, I would read οὐτω in 84a35, 87a35, 94a35, 96b10, 13b23, but οὐτως in 97a39, 01b39, 02b20.

οὐκ' and οὐχ': at 05a23-4 Susemihl treats us to two versions of the negative. In the first line

³⁹ Kassel, [1976] v, prefers οὐδ- over οὐθ-.

⁴⁰ Kassel, [1976] v, allows Aristotle to have οὐτως before a consonant.

α K have οὐχ, in the second β V have οὐχ'. There is thus no obvious correspondence between Susemihl's spelling and the spelling of K. The extra apostrophe after the negative οὐχ is found often in β V.⁴¹

The extra apostrophe after οὐκ is found frequently in V, in K at 85a26, and in P K at 88a32

πᾶς/ἅπας Susemihl prints, with full agreement of the manuscripts, the first form 96 times and the second 25 times.

Only eleven times do the manuscript diverge: 82b16 ἅπασιν α β (cf. 82b21), 83a12 πάσαις α B, 84a23 ἀπάντων L, 86a28 ἀπάντων β, 90b20 (see apparatus), 99a32 πάντες L, 04a36 ἅπασιν V, 05a11 πάσαις α V, 05a13 ἀπάσαις ζ, 05b29 ἅπασιν D, 13b10 πάντων α β B. Cf. also apparatus at 90b20.

Concentrating on those passages where the manuscripts are unanimous, we can say the following:

- i) never does M.M. use ἅπας immediately after a vowel.⁴²
- ii) if the 'all' comes first in a sentence (9 times), M.M. uses πᾶς
- iii) M.M. uses πᾶς not only after a vowel (49 times), but also after a consonant (38 times)
- iv) Both forms can be used immediately after a consonant and M.M. is not afraid to use both forms side by side - e.g. 83a19-20, 84b18-21, 12a32-4.⁴³

Bearing these findings in mind, we can turn to the cases where the manuscripts disagree. At 82b16 read ἅπασιν (with the stemma), at 83a12 read πάσαις (with the stemma), at 05a11 read πάσαις (with the stemma), at 13b10 read πάντων (with the stemma). Leave what Susemihl prints at the remaining places,⁴⁴ but note how it is more often that scribes have, understandably, altered πᾶς to ἅπας (seven out of ten times, excluding 05a13). At 05a13, where the stemma is divided and, given points (iii) and (iv), there is no way to decide, I would read πάσαις on statistical grounds.

⁴¹ At 83a34 A L have οὐχ', V does not survive, but it was probably this form of the word that led to the error in B: οὐ γὰρ.

⁴² There is one counterexample (97b34), but Susemihl wrongly prints περί in that line.

⁴³ It is thus no argument that we should read ἅπασιν in 82b16 that the same form is used in 82b21.

⁴⁴ I discuss what I take to be a separate case in my note on 90b20.

If these changes are adopted, we have *πῶς* 105 times and *ἄπως* 27 times.

πλεῖον/πλέον

Neuter singular: Susemihl prints *πλέον* twice (11b6, 13b8), and *πλεῖον* seven times (82a15, 86b23, 93b27 (*πλέον α β*), 96a8, 96a9, 96a12, 10a20 (*πλείω β, πλείστον Rav.*)). Bonitz (618b13ff.) says that Aristotle uses *πλεῖον* much more often.

Neuter plural: Susemihl prints *πλείονα* at 94a38, but *πλείω* at 86a25, 92a2, 93a21, 93a30, 93a34, 94b2, 94b38, 96a26, 03a22, 10a32 (*πλείονα Cois.*), 11a3.

Leave the inconsistency in spelling and only change the spelling at 93b27, on stemmatic grounds.

τὸ αὐτό instead of *ταυτόν* (neuter singular) in L at 02a20¹

95a8 *ταυτόν* B] *ταυτό α* A V², *ταυτό* L K, om. V¹

ὑγεία spelt without the first iota (L.S.J. date this spelling to the 2nd century B.C. and

later): in P L: 09a27; in L: 82b25, 82b26, 84a4, 84a23, 90a3, 92a12, 99a31, 99a33

ὡς δ' αὐτως

Three times M.M. writes *ὡς δ' αὐτως*, according to Susemihl (83b16, 94b17, 99b1), who prints a rough breathing on *αὐτως*. At 83b16 only P and L have the tmesis, and they write a rough breathing; at 94b17 K and A have *αὐτως*, P and V have *αὐτως* (C and L are not witnesses); at 99b1 A, L, V and K have *αὐτως* (C and P are not witnesses). For a full discussion of the controversy of what breathing is correct see Kühner-Gerth II, 1, pp.654-5. Neither Kühner-Gerth nor L.S.J. (s.v. *ὡσαύτως*) give any examples of *ὡς δ' αὐτως*.

The tmesis is found, besides at the passages cited in Bonitz (s.v. *ὡσαύτως*), at E.E. 1238b32, An. 71a9, 77a14, 85a15, Met. 988b11, 1001a17, Phys. 188b6, de Respirat. 473b24, 474a23, de Sensu 447b29. Editors of Aristotle are not consistent in which breathing to print. Bekker (Parva Naturalia (1831)) and Walzer/Mingay (E.E. (1991)) print a rough breathing, whilst Ross (Analytics (1964), Physics (1956)) and Bekker (Met. (1831)) print a smooth breathing. Since the mss. only give the rough breathing, I follow them, but without any confidence.