

⟨Research Article⟩

Hypotheses on the Textual Interrelations of a 16th-Century Indirect Transmission of Plato's *Laws*, Lemmata and Paraphrases in Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*, Book Five, alias *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete*

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Abstract

Bessarion inspected codex Venetus gr. 188, s. XIV, probably with codex Venetus gr. 187, s. XV, in the making of his lemmata and paraphrases of Plato's *Laws* in his *In calumniatorem Platonis*, which are hypothetically reconstructible from the codices, Venetus gr. 198, Monacensis Inc. c.a. 20 (Roma, 1469), and Urbinatus lat. 196, s. XV together with the first printed edition by Aldo Manutius (Venice, 1503).

Key Words: Bessarion; Plato's *Laws*; Textual Transmission; *In calumniatorem Platonis*

1. Introduction

When the original text of a work is lost, that has to be reconstructed by textual criticism. For this purpose textual critics have to elucidate how it has been transmitted, and, if it is not found that every stage involved the mechanical copying of a single exemplar, they are so much more attentive to the history of the transmission of the text. On this condition, not until all the possible textual sources have been thoroughly compared can they firmly conjecture whether some variant is an omission or addition, whether a scribe was using one exemplar or more, or whether a scribe edited the work occasionally using more than one source or simply copied mechanically. The preliminary procedure for this comparison, accordingly, is to collect all the extant sources, direct or indirect.

In accordance with this methodology, scholars working on the textual transmission of each of Plato's works have accumulated probable hypotheses on the textual interrelations in the extant direct and indirect sources (e.g. Boter (1989); Brockmann (1992); Jonkers (2017)). In such scholarly literature, part of the textual transmission of Plato's *Laws* has been elucidated (Peipers (1863); Post (1934); Des Places (1951)) but not the whole. What follows is a contribution to part of the remainder of the transmission, *viz.* an indirect transmission at the latest stage contemporary with the birth of printing, the lemmata in Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (abbreviated below as *ICP*), originally

drafted in Greek around 1460.

2. The Extant Manuscripts of Plato's *Laws*¹

The extant manuscripts of Plato's *Laws* are: (1) Corpus Christi College 96, saec. XV; (2) Escorialensis Ψ.I.1, saec. XVI (lib. V); (3) Biblioteca nacional de España, fonds principal 04573, saec. XV (excerpta e lib. I, III-IX, XI-XII); (4) Vossianus gr. F 74, saec. XV; (5) Vossianus gr. Q 51, saec. XV; (6) Leyden, Wytt. 14, 1800 CE; (7) Rosanbo, Bibliothèque de la Marquise de Rosanbo, 101, saec. XVI; (8) Monacensis gr. 490, saec. XV (lib. V); (9) Laurentianus Plut. 59.1, saec. XIV; (10) Laurentianus Plut. 80.17, saec. XV; (11) Laurentianus 85.9, saec. XV; (12) Conventi Soppressi 180, saec. XV; (13) Riccardianus gr. 67, saec. XV (lib. I-II); (14) Ambrosianus suppl. 146, saec. XVI; (15) Neapolitanus II F 09, saec. XIV (excerpta e lib. II); (16) Vallicellianus B 099, saec. XVI; (17) Parisinus gr. 1807, saec. IX; (18) Angelicus gr. 101, saec. XV-XVI; (19) Barberianus gr. 4, saec. XIV (fragmentum e lib. VII); (20) Barberianus gr. 209, saec. XV-XVI (lib. I-XI 919a3); (21) Palatinus gr. 177, c. 1442-1457 CE; (22) Vaticanus gr. 1, saec. IX; (23) Vaticanus gr. 230, saec. XIV; (24) Vaticanus gr. 1029, saec. XIV; (25) Vaticanus gr. 1031, saec. XIII-XIV; (26) Urbinatus gr. 30; (27) Venetus gr. 184, saec. XV; (28) Venetus gr. 187, saec. XV; (29) Venetus gr. 188, saec. XIV; (30) Venetus gr 526, saec. XV (excerpta); (31) Venetus Appendix Class. 11, 3, saec. XV (lib. I-VII); (32) Vindobonensis suppl. gr. 20, 1468 CE.

3. Method

I collate a Greek manuscript, two Latin manuscripts and two printed editions for the lemmata in Bessarion's *ICP*, and fourteen manuscripts for Plato's *Laws*: (9)-(12), (17), (20)-(22), (24)-(25), (27)-(29), and (32), and two 16th-century printed editions. From the *ICP* I choose the lemmata and paraphrases of the *Laws*, Books X-XI, and the title, some preceding descriptions and the main body in Latin at 101^r, l. 45-101^v, l. 27 in the Aldine edition, I examine the variants there, and on the basis of these results I propose hypotheses on the textual interrelations.

4. Additional Notes on Some Inspected Manuscripts

Codex Venetus gr. 187, according to Post (1934) and Wilson (1962), is written by Bessarion. In the top of the folium opposite to the one paged 1, Bessarion's hand, pretty well identifiable on the basis of the handwriting at foll. 309^v-310^v, indicated, after the titles of the works included, that he was the copyist, perhaps reading in Greek ἐμοῦ βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν τουσκλῶν, which

I suppose is a shorthand for διὰ χειρὸς ἐγράφη ... or ὑπο χειρὸς ἐγράφη ..., and in Latin ‘liber manus b. card. Tusculani’, a shorthand for ‘liber manus Bessarionis cardinalis Tusculani’. However, Mioni (1976) revised this hypothesis by proving that Bessarion wrote a small part of the codex².

Codex Venetus gr. 184 is, according to Wohlrab (1887), Post (1934) and Wilson (1962), is written by Johannes Rhosus for Bessarion. In the bottom of folium 1^r, it reads κτήμα βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν τουσκλῶν; in the bottom of folium 1^v, it reads ‘Platonis omnia opera pulcherrimus et correctissimus B. card. Tusculani.’

Codex Venetus gr. 198 is, according to Morelli ((1802) 120-1), written by Georgius Presbyter Cretensis under the direction of Bessarion. It is a copy of Bessarion’s original Greek version of the *ICP*, which includes a part entitled in red ink, βησσάριωνος καρδινάλεως καὶ πατριάρχου κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῶν νόμων τοῦ πλάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ, εἰς τὸ λατινικόν, ἐρμηνεΐας, πρὸς αὐτὰ τοῦ πλάτωνος παραβολή τε καὶ αὐτέξετασις, which can be translated as Bessarion the Cardinal and Constantinopolitan Patriarch’s Commentary on, and Examination of, the Translation of Plato’s *Laws* from Greek into Latin. This part was later edited as the fifth book of the 1469 Latin version of *ICP*, entitled “Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete.”

Bessarion’s Greek draft was also copied in four other codices but the part discussing Georgius Trapezuntius’ translation of Plato’s *Laws* is extant only in Codex Venetus gr. 198 (Mohler (1927) *Einleitung*).

The process of revising, and translating into Latin, the Greek draft was aided by Niccolò Perroti (Monfasani (1981) esp. 204-7). As Bessarion’s preservation of copies of his Greek text and his Latin edition suggest (Labowsky (1979) 115-6), their ideas would have been under further revision after 1469. But the details of the process are yet to be investigated.

The printed edition of the *ICP* published by Aldus Manutius in 1503 comes from the previous edition in Rome with lemmata in Greek printed with no accents. For a note under the contents in the Aldine edition says: “The same author’s *Correctio* of books on laws by Plato, translated by George of Trebizond; in which Greek words by Plato himself are recited and emended with their accents; for accents are lacking in the books printed in Rome; furthermore Plato’s words are translated by Bessarion with his argument proposed. After that the Trebizondian’s translation is subsequently assessed because it is so much useful for both of those who are instructed with Greek letters and who want to make good Latin from good Greek.”

5. Sigla

I. codices Platonis *Legum*:

A: Parisinus gr. 1807, s. IX

O: Vaticanus gr. 1, s. IX

J: Vaticanus gr. 1031, s. XIII-XIV

L: Laurentianus Plut. 80.17, s. XV

R: Vaticanus gr. 1029, s. XIV

a: Laurentianus Plut. 59.1, s. XIV

o: Conventi Soppressi 180, s. XV

c: Laurentianus Plut. 85.9, s. XV

K: Venetus gr. 188, s. XIV

N: Venetus gr. 187, s. XV, partim exaratus a Bessarione

Ε: Venetus gr. 184, s. XV, exaratus a Iohanne Rhoso pro Bessarione

P: Palatinus gr. 177, c. 1442-1457 CE

w: Vindobonensis suppl. gr. 20, 1468 CE

B: Barberianus gr. 209, s. XV-XVI (lib. I-XI 919a3)

II. editiones impressae Platonis operum

Mus: Aldus Manutius et Marcus Musurus, ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ *Omnia Platonis Opera*, Venetiis, 1513.

St: Serranus, I. and Stephanus, H., ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ: *Platonis opera quae extant omnia*, 3 t., Genevae, 1578

III. Bessarionis *In calumniatorem Platonis graece*

V¹⁹⁸: Venetus gr. 198, continens βησσαρίωνος καρδινάλεως καὶ πατριάρχου κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῶν νόμων τοῦ πλάτωνος ἐκ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ, εἰς τὸ λατινικὸν, ἐρμηνείας, πρὸς αὐτὰ τοῦ πλάτωνος παραβολή τε καὶ αὐτέξετασις

V^{198π}: paraphrasis Bessarionis

V^{198λ}: lemma Bessarionis

IV. Codices vel Libri impressi Bessarionis *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*, liber quintus, alias *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete*, auctore ipso et Nicolao Perroto interpretibus latine

Mon^{inc}: Monacensis Inc. c.a. 20, Romae, ante annum 1469 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)

(= Venetus Inc. 0219, Romae, [anno 1469], excussus ab Arnolde Pannartz et Conrado Sweynheim (Biblioteca nazionale Marciana))

U: Urbinatus lat. 196, s. XV, exaratus Florentiae a Petro de Traiecto anno 1472 (vide fol. 277^r)

Pa^{lat}: Parisinus lat. 12946, s. XV, exaratus ab Ioachino de Gigantibus Rotenburgense Germanico anno 1476 (vide fol. 423^r)

Aldina: liber quintus, *In calumniatorem Platonis*, alias *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete*, Venetiis, in aedibus Romani Aldi, anno 1503

V. Codex Georgii Trapezuntii Platonis Legum Tralationis

GT: Urb. lat. 228

GT^{cit B}: Bessarionis citatio Georgii Trapezuntii tralationis in eius *In calumniatorem Platonis*

VI. sigla critica

X^{ac}: lectio ante correctionem

X^{pc}: lectio post correctionem

om.: omisit vel omiserunt

add.: addidit vel addiderunt

scrips.: scripsit vel scripserunt

L: lemma

P: paraphrasis

6. Hypotheses on the Textual Interrelations of the Indirect Transmission of Plato's *Laws* in Bessarion's Lemmata

Reference to the place of a set of variants is made either by the chapter number of the *ICP* in Latin, Book Five, which is equal to the book number of the *Laws*, the lemma or paraphrase number which I count there, and the page and section of the Stephanus edition (1578) followed by the line in Burnet's edition of the *Laws* (1906) or by the chapter, page and line in the 1503 Aldine edition of the *ICP*, Book Five. However, when the lemma or paraphrase under discussion appears only in the Greek draft of the *ICP*, Book Five, in Venetus gr. 198, reference is made by the chapter number and the usual above-mentioned way of referring to Plato's text.

Hypothesis 1: V¹⁹⁸, Mon^{inc}, Pa^{lat}, U and Aldina have a common close ancestor in Greek.

V¹⁹⁸, Mon^{inc}, Pa^{lat}, U and Aldina have a common multi-word omission, hardly reparable, although

probably, in view of the contrast with Georgius Trapezuntius' interpretation, intentional, against the others at XI, 101r, l. 54 and XI, L1, 915b5.

XI, 101r, l. 54 et peregrini (codd. ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶ ξένων) GT(Urb. lat. 228) : om. Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

XI, L1, 915b5 ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶ ξένων/τῶν ξένων/ξένων AORJL aco KNE P w B Mus St GT: om. V^{198π} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

Hence V¹⁹⁸, Mon^{inc}, Pa^{lat}, U and Aldina have a common close ancestor in Greek.

This hypothesis is corroborated by a common hardly reparable omission at XI, L8, 930b6.

XI, L8, 930b6 μὴ pr. scrips. AO ac^{aco} KNE P w Mus St *non adducta nouerca*, vertit GT GT^{citB}: μὴ non scrips. causa haplographiae JLR c^{pc}(inferiore puncto notavit) V^{198λ} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina *adducta nouerca filios educare*, vertit Bessario

So also it is by the transposition at L4, 923a3.

XI, L4, 923a3 ὑμῖν ἐστιν / ἐστι AOJLR aco KNE P w Mus St *difficile nobis est*, vertit GT ἐστι ὑμῖν V^{198λ} ἐστι ἡμῖν Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

Also, some variants in orthography or elision below provide lesser support.

XI, L1, 915b6 γίγνηται AORJL aco KNE P w Mus St: γένηται B V^{198π} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

XI, L4, 923a4 γιγνώσκειν AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St: γινώσκειν V^{198λ} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

XI, L9, 931a3 ταῦτ' AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St: ταῦτα V^{198λ} U Aldina ταυτα Mon^{inc} ταύτα Pa^{lat}

Hypothesis 2: Mon^{inc}, Pa^{lat}, U and Aldina derive from a Greek ancestor of V¹⁹⁸.

Mon^{inc}, Pa^{lat}, U and Aldina have a common hardly reparable omission in their lemmata against V¹⁹⁸ and the others at XI, L4, 923a4 and XI, L7, 930b1.

XI, L4, 923a4 χορήματα AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} *premiam*, vertit GT: om. Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

XI, L7, 930b1 ἄν scrips. AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St *quiuis ... habeant*, vertit GT V^{198λ}: non scrips. Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

They have some other common variants against V¹⁹⁸ and the others at XI, L4, 923a4 (bis).

XI, L4, 923a4 ὑμέτερο' AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} *uestram* GT: ἡμέτερα Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina *nostram* GT^{citB} Bessario

XI, L4, 923a4 ὑμᾶς AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} *vos* GT GT^{citB}: ἡμᾶς Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina Bessario

Hence the Latin version of the *ICP* possibly derives from V¹⁹⁸.

However, V¹⁹⁸ has a hardly reparable transposition against the others at L8, 930b7.

XI, L8, 930b7 τῶι τε οἴκωι καὶ τῆι πόλει AO: τῶ τε οἴκῳ καὶ τῆι πόλει ac(ι quoque dextra subscripto) Mus St Aldina τῶ τε οἴκωι καὶ τῆι πόλει R(ι dextra subscripto) τῶ τε οἴκῳ καὶ τῆι πόλει JL ο KNE P w *domui suae ac ciuitati*, vertit GT U τω τε οἴκω και τη πολει Mon^{inc}: τότε οἴκω και τη πώλη Pa^{lat} τῆ τε πόλει και τῶ οἴκω V^{198λ}

Therefore the Latin versions derive not from V¹⁹⁸ but from some Greek ancestor of V¹⁹⁸.

This conclusion is supported by the variants at X, L1, 899a6.

X, L1, 899a6 899a6 δῆ AO JLR aco KNE B Pal Mus St U Aldina: δεῖ w δὲ V^{198λ} δε Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat}

Hypothesis 3: Mon^{inc} and Pa^{lat} derive from one of Aldina's ancestors, not U.

Mon^{inc} and Pa^{lat} have a number of common errors as follows:

XI,101v, l. 27 pacta U Aldina: postea Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat}

XI, L4, 923a4 ἀυτῶν AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: αὐτὸν Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat}

XI, L6, 929a6 μηδαμῶς AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: μη δαμῶς Mon^{inc}μη δαμῶς Pa^{lat}

XI, L6, 929a6 ἐν δίκῃ A²(ι suprascripto)O ἐν δίκῃ ac(ι dextra subscripto) Mus St Aldina ἐν δίκῃ A JLR ο KNE P w V^{198λ} U: εδικη Mon^{inc} ἐδίκη Pa^{lat}

XI, L6, 929a8 οὔτως AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: ουτω Mon^{inc} οὔτω Pa^{lat}

XI, L7, 930b1 ἱκανῶν AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: ικανον Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat}

XI, L9, 931a2 ἀψύχους AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: αψιχους Mon^{inc} αψίχους Pa^{lat}

XI, L9, 931a3 ἐμψύχους AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: εμψιχους Mon^{inc} ἐμψίχους Pa^{lat}

Hence Mon^{inc} and Pa^{lat} both derive from U or Aldina or their ancestor.

However, Aldina was, as its editorial remark suggests (see my note on this edition in section (4)), made by inspecting Mon^{inc} and has a peculiar error at XI, L6, 929a7.

XI, L6, 929a7 ἐξεθρέψατο AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Pa^{lat} ἐξεθρεψατο Mon^{inc}: ἐξεθρόψατο Aldina

Therefore both derive from U or some ancestor of Aldina.

However, U has a hardly reparable omission common to A^{ac} and O^{ac} against the others at XI, L11, 935d3.

XI, L11, 935d3 τήν scrips. A^{pc}(s.l. altera manu THN) O^{pc}(s.l. altera manu τήν) JLR aco KNE P w Mus St Aldina Pa^{lat} την scrips. Mon^{inc}: non scrips. A^{ac} O^{ac} U(folium continens hoc lemma deest in V¹⁹⁸)

U has also a peculiar error against the others at XI, L11, 935d3.

XI, L11, 935d3 γελοῖα AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St Aldina Pa^{lat} γελοια Mon^{inc}:
γελοίου U

Therefore Mon^{inc} and Pa^{lat} derive from one of Aldina's ancestors and not from U.

Hypothesis 4: Pa^{lat} derives from Mon^{inc}.

Pa^{lat} has a hardly reparable omission against the others.

XI,101r, l. 45 titulus: de libro undecimo scrips. Mon^{inc} Aldina ex libro undecimo U: non
scrips. Pa^{lat}

XI, L1, 915c1 λαβῶν AOR JL aco KNE P w B Mus St Mon^{inc} U Aldina: om. Pa^{lat}

Pa^{lat} has also some peculiar errors as follows:

XI, 101v, l. 2: adaequaerint GT Aldina: adequaerint Mon^{inc} U adequaerit Pa^{lat}

XI, 101v, l. 9: dehonestatae Aldina: dehonestate Mon^{inc} U de honestate Pa^{lat}

XI, L9, 931a3 εὔνοιαν AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina ευνοιαν Mon^{inc}:
εὔνιαν Pa^{lat}

XI, L11, 935d4 ἐὰν ἄνευ θυμοῦ AO JLR aco KN P w Mus St U Aldina εαν ανευ
θυμου Mon^{inc}: ἐὰν εὐθυμου Pa^{lat}

XI, L11, 935d5 πολίτας AO JLR aco N P w Mus U Aldina πολιτας Mon^{inc}: πωλίτας
Pa^{lat}

Certainly, Mon^{inc} has a peculiar error at XI, P1, 921c7.

XI, P1, 921c7 χρημάτων AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198π} U Aldina Pa^{lat}: κρηματων
Mon^{inc}

However, this misspelling is easier to correct for the scribe of Pa^{lat}, although he or she has little command of Greek. Therefore it is more likely than contrariwise that Pa^{lat} derives from Mon^{inc}.

This derivation is supported by the variants at XI, P1, 921d2 and XI, L4, 923a5.

XI, P1, 921d2 μηνός AO JLR aco KN P w Mus St V^{198π} U Aldina μηνός Ξ μηνος
Mon^{inc}: μινος Pa^{lat}

XI, L4, 923a5 πυθίας AO JLR aco KNE P w Mus St V^{198λ} U Aldina: πυδίας Mon^{inc}
παιδίας Pa^{lat}

Hypothesis 5: Pa^{lat} also is descended from Aldina or its close ancestor.

Pa^{lat} and Aldina have against Mon^{inc} and U a common addition in the description preceding the main body at 101r, l. 46 and 101r, l. 48.

XI, 101r, l. 46 reprehensio ...commisit non scrips. Mon^{inc} U: scrips. Aldina Pa^{lat}

XI, 101r, l. 48 caput xii Aldina: capitulum Pa^{lat} non scrips. Mon^{inc} U

They also have a variant there.

XI, 101r, l. 46 septendecim Aldina: decem et septem Pa^{lat}

Aldina also has a peculiar description there.

XI, 101r, l. 48 Perq̄pia Platonis sententia de cultu parentum, scrips. Aldina: non scrips.
Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U

Hence the description preceding the main body of text in Pa^{lat} derives from Aldina or its close manuscript.

Hypothesis 6: Bessarion inspected K, probably with N, for his making of the lemmata.

The lemmata more likely than otherwise derive from the manuscripts in Bessarion's collection, K, N and Ξ.

X, L2, 905e5 ἄρα R V^{198λ} Aldina U ἄρα Pa^{lat}: ἄρα AO JL aco KNΞ B Pal w St *forsan*,
vertit GT ἄρά Mus αρα Mon^{inc}

X, L2, 906a2 φόβων AO JLR aco K^{ac} B Pal w: φόβον K^{pc}(eodem atramento s.l. ο)NΞ
Aldina U Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} Mus St (verba post ἡνίοχοι (905e7) absunt a lemme in V¹⁹⁸)
(*agricolis ... timentibus*, vertit GT)

XI, L11, 935d5 κωμωιδούντες AO ο κωμωιδούντες a Mus St κωμωιδούντες JLR P w
κωμωιδούντας c(ι dextra subscripto)Aldina κωμωιδούντας KNΞ U κωμωιδουντας
Mon^{inc} κωμωιδούντας Pa^{lat}

However, they do not derive from Ξ at XI, L6, 929a6.

X, L2, 905e5 μείζουσιν AO JLR aco KN B Pal w Mus St Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina: μείζουσιν Ξ
XI, L6, 929a6 ὄν AO JLR aoc KN w Mus St V^{198λ} Pa^{lat} U Aldina ον Mon^{inc}: ὄς Ξ (*non
liceat alicui ... irascat*, vertit GT)

XI, L6, 929a6 ἐπίηι A²(ι suprascripto)O ἐπίη Mus St Aldina ἐπίη A JLR aco KN P w
V^{198λ} Pa^{lat} U επιη Mon^{inc} ἐπείη Ξ

Nor do they from N or N^{ac} at XI, L8, 930b4, 930b6 or XI, L11, 935d4.

XI, L8, 930b4 καταλείπουσα O^{pc}(s.l. altero atramento ει) J^{pc}(eodem atramento s.l. ει
ligatura)L a^{pc}(s.l. ει ligatura)co NΞ P: καταλίπουσα AO^{ac} J^{ac} R a^{ac} K w Mus St *liberis ...
relictis*, vertit GT V^{198λ} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina

XI, L8, 930b6 ὄντων O^{pc}(s.l. altero atramento N) JL a^{pc}(s.l. altero atramento N)c^{pc}(i.m.
altera manu altero atramento ὄντων)ο^{pc}(altera manu s.l. ν) KN^{pc}(ν inposito) w Mus St
V^{198λ} Mon^{inc} Pa^{lat} U Aldina: ὄντως AO^{ac} a^{ac}c^{ac}ο^{ac}N^{ac}Ξ P *non cogens sed consulens ista lex
sit. cum uxorem dicere necessarium non sit. nisi ad liberos domui suae ac civitati creandos
nutriat filios suos non aducta noverca*. vertit GT ὄντος R

XI, L11, 935d4 ἤ KN^{pc}(altero atramento accentu refecto) Mus St U Aldina ἤ AO JLR
aco N^{ac}Ξ w ἤ P Pa^{lat} η Mon^{inc} (tralatio pro τί δὲ δὴ ... κωμφοδοῦντες λέγειν, sicut
Bessario notavit, abest a GT)

The Latin versions' derivation could be conjectured from the variants at XI, 931d7.

XI, 931d7 ἄγαλμ' AO JLR ao K P w V^{198λ}: ἄγαλμα c NΞ Mus St

However, the Latin versions at XI, P1, 921d1 come from Bessarion's emendation of either N or Ξ.

XI, P1, 921d1 ξυμβάλλει AO JLR aco NΞ P w Mus St V^{198π} U Aldina ξυμβάλλει
Mon^{inc}: ξυμβάλλει Pa^{lat} ξυμβάλλη K

Therefore Bessarion might have inspected K mostly, but, as his scholia in N or Ξ suggest, he would
very likely have been in a position to inspect N and Ξ as well.

7. Conclusion

From the above hypotheses I conclude that for his lemmata and paraphrases of Plato's *Laws* in his
ICP, which are hypothetically reconstructible from the codices, Venetus gr. 198, Monacensis Inc. c.a.
20 (Roma, 1469), and Urbinatus lat. 196, s. XV together with the first printed edition by Aldo
Manutius (Venice, 1503), Bessarion inspected codex Venetus gr. 188, s. XIV, probably with codex
Venetus gr. 187, s. XV.

Notes:

1. Wilson (1962); Brambough and Wells (1968); *Pinakes*.
2. Mioni's analysis is followed by Jonkers (2017) 82-83; Boter (1989) 58-59; Brockmann (1992) 126-133.

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ベッサリオン（1460年ごろ）『プラトン誹謗者を駁す』第5巻、 別書名『トレビゾンドのゲオルギウス訳プラトン『法律』篇改定』 における本文断片並びに言換えに見る本文間接伝承の有する同篇 本文諸伝承間関係に関する仮説

瀧 章 次

【要旨】

ルネッサンス期に東西文化移転に大きな貢献をなしたベッサリオンはプラトン『法律』篇の同時代トレビゾンドのゲオルギウス、ラテン語訳を改定することにおいて、ギリシア語本文問題個所を断片や言換えで示した。これらの本文間接伝承について、イタリア、ヴェニス聖マルコ寺院図書館所蔵ギリシア語写本 198 番、ドイツ、バイエルン州国立図書館所蔵初期印刷本 Inc. c.a. 20 (1469 年ローマ刊)、ヴァチカン図書館ラテン語写本ウルビナートゥス 196 番並びにアルド・マスティウス発刊印刷初版本 (1503 年ヴェニス刊) から仮説的にその祖本本文伝承経緯を再構した結果、ベッサリオンは、当該断片並びに言換えを作成するに当たり、同篇伝承中世写本、ヴェネツィア、聖マルコ寺院図書館所蔵ギリシア語写本 188 番を主として用い、同所蔵ギリシア語写本 187 番も参照したと推定される。