

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF PSEUDO-ARCHILOCHUS, FRR. 327–328 W.

Guillermo Galán Vioque  
University of Huelva, Spain  
vioque@uhu.es

**Abstract:** This paper unveils a new manuscript witness of the fragments of Pseudo-Archilochus, fr. 327–328 W. and presents new evidence to support the attribution of these fragments to Marcus Musurus, as was already postulated by their first editor, Giovanni Tarditi.

**Keywords:** pseudo-Archilochus, spurious fragments, Marcus Musurus, new manuscript witness

In 1961, Giovanni Tarditi produced the first edition of fragments 327 and 328 W. of pseudo-Archilochus, after finding them in a bifolium (ff. 104–105) of the manuscript Città del Vaticano, BAV Barb. gr. 69 (= *B*)<sup>1</sup> thanks to a tip from Carlo Gallavotti.<sup>2</sup> This is a miscellaneous codex containing various works, most of which can be linked to Leone Allacci (c. 1586–1669) and Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661).<sup>3</sup>

From the outset, the attribution to Archilochus, which is explicit in that the poet's name precedes each poem, was suspected to be spurious.<sup>4</sup> Due to the lexical similarities of the fragments to Aristophanes' comedies and their scholia, and, to a lesser extent, to Hesychius' dictionary, Tarditi deduced that their author must have been a humanist active at the time that the first editions of these two authors were published. As is well known, these editions were the work of the Greek scholar, Marcus Musurus (1475–1517), whom Tarditi credited as author of these poems.<sup>5</sup>

Other scholars postulated that their author was the aforementioned Leone Allacci, the copyist of the two pseudo-Archilochean fragments in *B*, the only known witness to date,<sup>6</sup> or else the French writer Jean-Jacques Bouchard (1606–1641), whose work they resemble in both theme and tone.<sup>7</sup> Either possibility would place both compositions in the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup>

However, in line with the dating proposed by Tarditi and in light of the appearance of the *editiones principes* of Aristophanes in 1498 and of Hesychius in 1514, the new manuscript witness presented here pushes the composition of the poems back to the early sixteenth century.

This new evidence has long remained hidden in the final guard leaves of a copy of Lascaris' edition of the *Planudean Anthology* (1494), preserved today in the *Biblioteca Capitular* of the Toledo Cathedral (Spain) with shelfmark Inc. Toledo, BCp 81–38 (= *To*) (see plate 1).<sup>9</sup> A handwritten *subscriptio* on the upper edge of f. Ai<sup>v</sup> reveals that the scholia inscribed in its margins were copied from an unidentified volume containing Musurus' notes as early as 1518 by the Dominican friar Zanobi Acciaiuoli (1461–1519) in Rome at the Oratory of St. Sylvester, where he was living at that time:<sup>10</sup>

*Scholia haec descripsit fr. Zenobius Acciaiolus ordinis praedicatorum ex epigrammatario graeco M. Musuri cretensis archiepiscopi Monembasiensis, anno domini 1518 in oratorio Sancti Sylvestri in colle Quirinali.*<sup>11</sup>

These scholia were copied by Fr. Zenobius Acciaiolus, member of the Order of Preachers, from the Greek book of epigrams of M. Musurus of Crete, Archbishop of Monemvasia, in the year 1518 in the oratory of St. Sylvester on Quirinal hill.

It is not difficult to trace how this volume ended up in Toledo, over 2,000 kilometers from Rome. Thanks to a brief reference in Friedrich Jacobs' 1798 edition of the *Greek Anthology*,<sup>12</sup> we know that in the late eighteenth century, Acciaiuoli's volume was in Rome, in the library of Cardinal Francesco Saverio de Zelada (1717–1801), notorious in his day for his penchant for enriching his own library with other people's books.<sup>13</sup> This copy probably travelled to Toledo around 1798–1799 along with the cardinal's Greek manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, it is listed in Lorenzo Frías' handwritten catalogue of printed volumes of the Cathedral of Toledo's chapter library dated to 1808 (see Madrid, BNE 13449 [olim Uu-25], f. 467).<sup>15</sup>

As was customary at the time, in addition to copying the scholia, Acciaiuoli used the guard pages to copy some texts that he deemed useful so that he could preserve them and have them on hand.

Thus, in the initial folio Ai, which the editor left blank, Acciaiuoli transcribed the following texts:

- a scholium to *AP* 9.474.6.<sup>16</sup>
- a scholium to an unidentified epigram in which Nic. *Th.* 158 is quoted.<sup>17</sup>
- a correction to *AP* 7.468.8 (Meleager).
- a scholium to *AP* 6.167.3 (Agathias).
- gloss to the term ἄσκυλον, testified in *AP* 6.21.2 (Julianus).
- an excerpt from the scholia to Pindar (*scholia uetera ad Pi. O.* 13.32b.4-13).<sup>18</sup>
- an excerpt from Pausanias (Paus. 1.37.2).<sup>19</sup>
- a scholium to *AP* 9.779.5-6.

And on the final guard leaves, he included the following texts:<sup>20</sup>

f. a:

-an excerpt of the *scholia uetera ad E. Hipp.* 264<sup>21</sup>

(the rest of the folio is blank)

f. a<sup>v</sup> (in two columns):<sup>22</sup>

Column A		Column B	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Source</i>
- Bi. 9	Stob. 4.20a <sup>23</sup>	Phan. Fr. 1	Stob. 4.20b
- Bi. 10	Stob. 4.20a	S. fr. 855	Stob. 4.20a
- Mimn. fr. 1	Stob. 4.20a		
- Bi. 11	Stob. 4.20a		
- Mosc. 2	Stob. 4.20b		

f. b:

Column A		Column B	
<i>Text</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Text</i>	
- Call. <i>Aet.</i> 43	Stob. 2.4	Ps.Arch. fr. 328.19-21	
- E. fr. 213	Stob. 4.20a	Three sentences and two distichs not testified elsewhere	
- Ps.Arch. fr. 327		Musurus' poem <i>ὡς ἀπὸ Σαπφοῦς</i> <sup>24</sup>	
- Ps.Arch. fr. 328.1-18		Paus. 5.22.3-4	
		<i>Suda s.u.</i> Ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς... (v 108) <sup>25</sup>	

The Toledo volume is therefore the oldest manuscript witness of the pseudo-Archilochean fragments. The path by which these spurious poems found their way into the Barberini manuscript (B) is easy to trace, since Acciaiuoli's incunabulum (*To*) later belonged to Allacci, the copyist of the two fragments who twice left his *ex libris* on f. Ai<sup>v</sup>: *ex Bibl. Allatii*.<sup>26</sup>

The presence of two poems attributed to Archilochus, who was little more than a name during the Renaissance,<sup>27</sup> undoubtedly caught Allacci's attention. This prompted him to transcribe them in the bifolium now bound in B, meaning that the manuscript witness that has hitherto been considered unique and the oldest can now be viewed as a late copy.

Regarding the text, *To* presents these variants:

fr. 257

1 Κάπυς *To*: κάπυς *B*

fr. 258

4 διασπεκλώμενοι *To*: διαεσπεκλώμενοι *B* [*ε*<sup>1</sup> *supra* ~~ε~~]

9 εισδῶνον *To*: εἰδῶνον *B*

It is especially remarkable that this witness confirms both that Κάπυς (fr. 257.1) should be considered a proper name, and Condello’s conjecture that fr. 258.9 reads εἰσδῦνον.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, *To* presents these explanatory glosses:<sup>29</sup>

fr. 258

4 βινούμενοι *To B* : σινου[μενοι] (*sic*) / παζόμενοι *To supra lineam* (cf. Hesych. π 2236)

5 διασφηνόμενοι *To B* : στρεβλούμενοι *To in margine*

6 χορδούμενοι *To B* : τεμνόμενοι *To supra lineam* | κατασποδούμενοι *To B* : τυπτόμενοι *To supra lineam*

8 λαυσταύρων *To B* : πόρνων *To supra lineam*

11 διφώντων *To B*: ζητούντων *To supra lineam*

They are written in a slightly paler ink, except the last one, which appears to have been copied at the same time as the text, perhaps as a correction to it.

The discovery of this manuscript witness also provides us with new evidence about the authorship of these poems since several of the texts testified on the flyleaf of the Toledo volume are also documented in another copy of Lascaris’ edition of the *Planudean Anthology*, today preserved at the Vatican Library under signature Inc. III 81 (*Va*). Containing numerous scholia, this is Musurus’ personal copy that he wrote in his own hand around 1505–1506, when he was teaching Greek epigrams at the University of Padua.<sup>30</sup> Apart from the handwritten notes throughout the volume, the guard leaves preserve some disorderly jottings that appear to be quick annotations or a preliminary preparatory draft for a later job. According to Anna Pontani,<sup>31</sup> they are the remains of Musurus’ first commentary on the epigrams of the *Planudean Anthology*.<sup>32</sup>

As is well known, by the mid-eighteenth century, the Vatican Library’s manuscripts and books were in a quite poor condition.<sup>33</sup> In all probability, the booklet containing Musurus’ initial notes on the epigrams, whose value was no doubt underestimated by its eighteenth-century bookbinder, was used as flyleaves to prevent further deterioration. The rebinding is generally dated to Cardinal de Zelada’s tenure as Librarian of the Vatican Library, that is, between 1779 and 1801, but before the death of Pope Pius VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi) in 1799.<sup>34</sup>

In their present condition, among other texts,<sup>35</sup> the guard leaves of *Va* include the following short texts, which are also present in *To*:

	<i>Va</i>	<i>To</i>
schol. uet. Pi. <i>O</i> . 13.32b.4-13	f. 8 <sup>v</sup>	f. Ai
Paus. 1.37.2	f. 9	f. Ai
schol. <i>AP</i> 9.779.5-6	f. 6 <sup>v</sup>	f. Ai
Musurus’ poem ὡς ἀπὸ Σαπφοῦς	f. 15	f. b

*Suda*, s. u. Ὑμεῖς, ὧ Μεγαρεῖς... (v 108)  
Paus. 5.22.3

f. 15<sup>v</sup>  
f. 16

f. b  
f. b

In some of these texts, the resemblance between both testimonies and the original version reveals their direct relationship. This, for example, is the case in the following:

schol. uet. Pi. O. 13.32b	Va / To
2–5 ... ἐν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας ἠνδραγάθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι. Θεόπομπος δέ φησι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν εὐξασθαι τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἔρωτα ἐμπεσεῖν ...	αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Κορινθίων ἠϋξαντο τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἔρωτα ἐμπεσεῖν ...
7 λέγουσιν	λέγεται
8-9 ἐλεγείον εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς	ἐλεγείον εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀριστοτέλους ( <i>sic</i> )
12 δὴ Ἀφροδίτα	δὴ Ἀφροδίτη
Paus. 1.37.2	
7-9 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ	Ἐν Ἐλευσίνι Φύταλόν φασιν οἴκῳ δέξασθαι· μαρτυρεῖ
13 ὀπώρας	ὀπώρου
14 ἱερὰν	ἱερὴν

Even some of the notes on the epigrams copied in *To* are attested solely on the guard leaves of *Va*. Such is the case of the scholium to *AP* 9.779.5–6, which is attested only in *Va*, f. 6<sup>v</sup> and *To* (f. Ai).<sup>36</sup>

All this supports the conclusion that Acciaiuoli discovered the pseudo-Archilochean poems and other texts in Musurus' booklet and copied them on the guard leaves of the volume of the Lascaris edition now in Toledo at the time that he was copying the scholia to the *Planudean Anthology*.<sup>37</sup>

Acciaiuoli probably used the original *epigrammatarium* when it was still intact and detached from Musurus' copy of the Lascaris edition, since the scholia to the *Planudean Anthology* copied by him do not come from this volume. The scholia transmitted in *To* belong to the so-called *recensio lascariana*, while the Vatican volume (*Va*) is the chief representative of Musurus' original scholia, attested in only two other Vatican copies (Inc. Vat. III 79, and 80) and, in part, in Aldo Manuzio's volume, today at the Wren Library at Cambridge Trinity College (Grylls 11.313).<sup>38</sup>

Although the pseudo-Archilochean fragments do not appear in the guard leaves of *Va*, we may infer that they were there originally when it was still an independent booklet. Most likely, by the time the volume was bound, some of the folia were already missing—those on which the poems of Pseudo-Archilochus would have appeared before the booklet was defoliated and used to protect Musurus' copy of the Lascaris edition (*Va*).

Based on the data we have, we cannot conclude firmly that Musurus was the author of pseudo-Archilochus frs. 327–328, as he may have simply copied these from some other manuscript. What does seem certain, however, is that evidence of their authorship must be sought in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, and if not in him, then in his environment.<sup>39</sup>

#### Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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ἄρ' εἴω τὰ μέλας κερνάτι τήμος ἐδάμω  
ἀνθά σὺν εὐόμοις ἄβρα λίπη σε φάμοις  
ἴσοι πάντ' ἐένοντο ὄρα κημῖοσ' ἀτ' ὀδόντων  
ἰδοθί νύδ' ἔρην τ' ὄρα κημῖοσ' ἀτ' ὀδόντων  
ἴσοι πάντ' ἐένοντο ὄρα κημῖοσ' ἀτ' ὀδόντων  
ἰδοθί νύδ' ἔρην τ' ὄρα κημῖοσ' ἀτ' ὀδόντων

εὐριπίδου ἀντιόπη

ἴσος δὲ πάντων καὶ ἴσοι ἐκ κληῖονων.  
ἔκ' ἴσοι ἐν αἰσίοις ἔδον ἐκ πεπλομένησιν  
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ἀρχιλόου

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μαρμαίτου μου σούρου ὡς ἀπὸ σαπφοῦς

ἴσος ἐστὶ μοῖνος ὄν σερῖν Κεφῖο  
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μουσεῦ

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Tarditi 1961, 311–316. In Tarditi 1968, 206–207, these poems are numbered 290 and 291, respectively. They have been published by West (1989, I, 106–107); Gerber (1999, 288–291); and most recently, Swift (2019, 200–202), and Condello-Magnani (2019, 140). A reproduction of the relevant folium was published by Tarditi (1961, 313), and the entire manuscript is now available at [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.gr.69](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.69).

<sup>2</sup> See Tarditi 1961, 311 n. \*.

<sup>3</sup> See Condello 2016, 48 (note 64); and Condello-Magnani 2019, 69–104.

<sup>4</sup> Roberto Nickel alone argues for Archilochean authorship of at least fr. 328: “Der Text ist eine Satire auf die Scheinheiligkeit und würde aufgrund seiner Botschaft gut zu Archilochos passen.” (2003, 302).

<sup>5</sup> See Tarditi 1961, 311–316; and Casadio 1996, 78–81. Aristophanes’ *editio princeps* with scholia was published in 1498, and Hesychius’ dictionary in 1514, both in Venice by the Aldine Press. In the case of the Hesychius’ edition, Musurus used the *codex unicus* Venice, BMarc. gr. Z 622, which features the corrections he made between 1509 and 1514 (Speranzi 2013, 284). On Musurus as editor of these volumes, see Ferreri 2014, 93–111 and 174–178.

<sup>6</sup> See Condello-Magnani 2019, 116–131. The copyist’s identity was anticipated by V. Capocci in his *addenda et corrigenda* (1958, XXVI), and later confirmed by Condello (2016, 49), and Condello-Magnani (2019, 70), but see the following note.

<sup>7</sup> See Condello-Magnani 2019, 131–139. His works were full of sexually explicit content and irreverence (see Houle 2005, 1–10). According to Condello-Magnani (2016, 131), Thomas Cerbu (University of Georgia, GA, USA) *per litteras* even states that Jean-Jacques Bouchard might be the copyist of the pseudo-Archilochean fragments in the Barberini manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> For other possible dates that range between the fifth and the twelfth century, see Garzya 1961, 44–45.

<sup>9</sup> This copy remains unidentified in the most recent catalogue of printed books of the *Archivo Capitular* of Toledo Cathedral Library, which states that it was most likely printed between 1501 and 1600 (see Fernández Collado, Rodríguez González, and Castañeda Tordera 2009, 261, n° 969; it was correctly described in the previous

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catalogue: Octavio de Toledo 1906, 9 n. 17). In addition, it is missing in the library's catalogue of incunabula (see Fernández Collado, Rodríguez González, and Castañeda Tordera 2012), despite being included in García Craviotto 1989, I, 62 n° 2389. It is also mentioned in the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) (<<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ia00765000>>). As usual in the incunabula period, this edition lacks a title page (see Cole 1971, 303-316). Besides, it does not have the final quire with colophon indicating date and printer (ff. 273-279), as is the case with most copies of this edition (see Hutton 1935, 117).

<sup>10</sup> See Monfasani 2006, 199. San Silvestro al Quirinale was granted to the Dominicans of the Florentine Congregation of St Mark by Pope Julius II in 1507 as their convent in Rome. On Acciaiuoli's handwriting, see Eleuteri-Canart (1991, 60–62), and Maiorino (2013, 661). What is noteworthy is that his interest in Greek epigrams moved him to collaborate in the edition of Angelo Poliziano's epigrams, included in his *Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1498, ff. kk1<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup> (see Pontani 2002, xxvi–xxx).

<sup>11</sup> Inc. Toledo, BCp 81-38, f. Ai<sup>v</sup> (for a reproduction of this *subscriptio*, see Galán Vioque 2022b, 243).

<sup>12</sup> See Jacobs 1798, I/1, cxxiv: *Haec scholia [= Musurus' notes] reperiuntur in exemplo editionis Florentinae, cui adscripta sunt manu Acciaiolii ex Epigrammatario M. Musuri. Hoc exemplum Romae seruat in Bibliotheca Em. Cardinalis Zeladae, ubi illud tractavit Guil. Uhdenius, qui haec Scholia uulgatis pleniora esse per litteras mihi significauit* ("These scholia are found in the copy of the Florentine edition, where they are attributed by the hand of Acciaiuoli as taken from M. Musurus' book of epigrams. This copy is preserved in Rome in the Library of Em. Cardinal Zelada, where it was handled by Guil. Uhdenius, who made it clear to me through letters that these scholia were more complete than those that have been already published"). He refers to Wilhelm Uhden (1763–1835), Prussian Ambassador to the Vatican from 1795–1802 (see Schönfels 2014), and to the *editio Wecheliana* (Wechel 1600). A large amount of the letters to and from Jacobs are held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek under the heading *Jacobsiana* (see Dachs 1970, 77; for an index, see *Nachlass von Friedrich Jacobs (1764-1847)*, available at <https://bibdorm.bsb-muenchen.de/datenkern-download/13af0f3a-3f06-4e55-9dce-8d4e6236afeb/retrieve>).

<sup>13</sup> See Mercati 1952, 64–65, Pérez Martín 2010, I, 578, and 581; McManamon 2013, 25; and Miguel Alonso 2018, 360.

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<sup>14</sup> See Pérez Martín 2010, I, 568–574; and Guerrieri 2014, 229–250. After his death, most of his printed volumes were purchased by Pope Pius VII (Barnaba Niccolò Maria Luigi Chiaramonti), and ended either in the Vatican Library, or the Piana library in Cesena (see Mercati 1952, 80–89; Bignami Odier 1973, 184, and 219–220 n. 23; Gnola 1998, 697–712; Pérez Martín 2010, I, 582; Errani 2020, 108–131).

<sup>15</sup> See Madrid, BNE 13449 [olim Uu-25], f. 467: *Acciaiolii: Epigramas griegos con escolios ms. al margen 4º 81-38 (Acciaiolii: Greek epigrams with handwritten scholia in the margin)* (cf. also f. 416<sup>v</sup>). This volume is absent from the previous handwritten catalogues, one dated to 1727, elaborated by Fr. Diego Mecolaeta and Fr. Martín Sarmiento (see Madrid, BNE 13413, ff. 54–64<sup>v</sup>), and another undated (but supposed to belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> century), where it is mentioned an “*Epigrammata. Grecè*” (Madrid, Universidad Complutense BH 173, p. 26), but it is identified as volume 26–28, an old shelfmark of a copy of Johannes Brodaeus’ 1549 edition still held at the Cathedral library (shelfmark 83-3; cf. Octavio de Toledo 1906, 85 n° 183; Fernández Collado 2009, 275 n° 1032). Brodaeus’ edition is also listed in both the 1727 and 1808 catalogues (f. 60 and f. 467, respectively). On the 1808 catalogue and its manuscript witnesses, see Guerrieri 2014, 242.

<sup>16</sup> This scholium is a note on Eidothea, the sea-nymph daughter of Proteus, who also appears in the *Anthology* at AP 5.17.4 (Gaetulicus), but this epigram is not in the *Planudean Anthology*. Here, Musurus reflects on the legend that Helen remained in Egypt and never went to Troy. This is first mentioned in Stesichorus’ *Palinode* (see Pl. *Phaedr.* 243a; see also Hdt. 2.112–120) and was used by Euripides in his *Helena* (see Woodbury 1967, 157–176).

<sup>17</sup> Nicander’s poems were surprisingly fashionable in the Renaissance and beyond (see Santamaría Hernández 2004, 125–173, and Radici 2012). His *editio princeps* with scholia was printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1499.

<sup>18</sup> For the diffusion of Pindar in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Tissoni 2009 and 2014: 13–14, and Galán Vioque 2022a, 239–254.

<sup>19</sup> Pausanias is one of the main sources for the scholia to the *Planudean Anthology*. Musurus planned to publish Pausanias’ first edition in 1516 using Florence, Bib. Ricc. 29 as the printer’s copy (see Diller 1957, 181; Speranzi 2013, 268–269; Ferreri 2014, 228; 517–518, and Galán Vioque 2019, 289 n. 18).

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<sup>20</sup> Since the guard leaves at the end of the volume are not paginated, I have foliated them as f. a, and f. b.

<sup>21</sup> It is a scholium on the expression Μηδὲν ἄγαν, which is testified in the *Planudean Anthology* at AP 5.299.1 (Agathias) and 7.683.1 (Palladas). The scholia to Euripides' *Hippolytus* were well known to Musurus, as he had copied Venice, BMarc. gr. IX 10, most probably from Paris, BnF gr. 2713 (11th), between 1494 and 1500 (ff. 135–179<sup>v</sup> contain *Hippolytus* with scholia) (see Turyn 1957, 336; Speranzi 2013, 81–82; 229–231; Ferreri 2014, 502–503; and Cavarzeran 2014, 21, and 2016, 27).

<sup>22</sup> In a separate column I add the source when it could be identified.

<sup>23</sup> Thanks to D. Speranzi (2010, 337–338), we know that Musurus had access to Vienna, ONB Phil. Gr. 67, the oldest witness of Stobaeus' *Florilegium*, either while he was teaching in Padua at the beginning of the sixteenth century, or towards the end of his life in Rome in the 1510s. We also know that before fleeing Padua (1510), he copied some *excerpta* of Stobaeus now preserved in Paris (BnF gr. 2130). In addition, he left a dedication to Niccolò Sagundino (1402-1464) in Venice, BMarc. gr. IV 29 (see f. I<sup>v</sup>), which contains Stobaeus' *Florilegium* at ff. 1–309 (see Speranzi 2010, 339–350 [see n. 125]; 2013, 219–220; 247–248; 285–296; Ferreri 2012, 99–107; 2014, 487–488; 546–548; and 499–600).

<sup>24</sup> It was published by Pontani (1973–1974, 578), based on Va. *To* already introduces φάος at l. 6, and offers a different reading on l. 5: εἴη δ' ἄτρικες *To*: εἰ δὴ τὰτρικες *Va*.

<sup>25</sup> This epigram is also attested with textual variations in schol. Theoc. 14.48, Phot. υ 47 and 618; AP 14.73.2-8; and Tzetz. *Chil.* 9.273.483–489 and 9.291.877–883. The *Suda* had already been published in Milan in 1499 by Johannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, but the differences between the text of the *editio princeps* and the quotes noted by Musurus in his scholia lead us to believe that he used an unidentified manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> His library was bequeathed to the Pontifical Greek College of Saint Athanasius in Rome, and some of his books were later sold (see Legrand 1895, III, 450, and Bignami Odier 1973, 129-130). A great part of his manuscripts is kept today at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome (see Berthelot 1887, 850, and Martini 1902, 201-233).

<sup>27</sup> There are brief mentions to Archilochus at Angelo Poliziano's commentary on Statius' *Siluae* 1.1 and 4.9 (c. 1480), and at *Nutricia* 644–648 (1491), which probably depend on similar allusions in Latin poetry (see Hor. *epist.* 1.19.23–25; *epod.* 6.13; Ov.

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*Ibis* 53–54, and Mart. 8.12.6), or in the *Greek Anthology* (see *AP* 7.69 [Julianus], 70 [Julianus], 71 [Gaetulicus], 351 [Dioscorides], and 352 [anonymous or Meleager]) (see Bagordo 2010, 85). For similar references to Archilochus in English Renaissance authors, such as Thomas Nashe (1567-c. 1601) and Ben Jonson (c. 1572-1637), see Swift 2019, 52–53.

<sup>28</sup> See Condello 2016, 52 and Condello-Magnani 2019, 140 to 258.9.

<sup>29</sup> Among the texts copied on the guard pages, only this presents explanatory glosses.

<sup>30</sup> On the identification of his handwriting, see Mioni 1975, 294, and Pontani 2002, 575–576. On Musurus' lessons at the University of Padua, see Ferrai 1876, 35–47; Foffano 1892, 453–470; Sicherl 1978, 45–55; Cataldi Palau 2004, 318–327; Speranzi 2013, 121–130; and Ferreri 2014, 47–48.

<sup>31</sup> See Pontani 2002, 583–585.

<sup>32</sup> The hypothesis that Musurus' first commentary on the epigrams existed as a separate booklet at the time that Acciaiuoli was copying the notes on *To* is reinforced by the fact that the scholia present in *To* do not originate in *Va* (see *supra*).

<sup>33</sup> See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Bibl. 40, f. 2: “*Sono nella libreria Apostolica infiniti anzi quasi tutti li libri consumati e guasti dalle tarme, non essendovisi per sin qui trovato rimedio alcuno che vaglia per conservarli da dette tarme*” (“There are an infinite number of books in the Apostolic library, in fact almost all of them are worn out and damaged by moths, as up to now no effective remedy has been found to protect them from said moths” (quoted in Ceresa & Vincenti 2016, 409 n. 318, and Galán Vioque 2020, 132).

<sup>34</sup> See Ferreri 2002, 170–171; and Galán Vioque 2020, 132–133.

<sup>35</sup> For the content of these guard leaves, see Pontani 2002, 576 n. 3, and 583–585; Ferreri 2014, 20–23; 5, and 63; and Galán Vioque 2020, 132–133.

<sup>36</sup> See Pontani 2002, 584.

<sup>37</sup> He copied the scholia to the *Planudean Anthology* twice, since the notes in Inc. Naples, BN S. Q. IX. C. 8 were written by the same hand (see Galán Vioque 2023, 240).

<sup>38</sup> See Galán Vioque 2022b, 240.

<sup>39</sup> For Musurus as a poet, see now Pontani, and Weise 2022, 47–51.

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This research has been funded by the *Centro de Investigación en Patrimonio Histórico, Cultural y Natural* (CIPHCN), and the Junta de Andalucía through the research projects ‘Los escolios a la *Antología Planudea*. Manuscritos e incunables, fuentes literarias y edición crítica (P20\_01022)’, and ‘Estudio y edición de textos griegos inéditos: los escolios de la *Antología Planudea* (UHU-202004)’ (FEDER 2020). Thanks are also due to *Murray Edwards Language Solutions* and *Academic Language Experts* for proof-reading and editing the English version of this article.