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Marcus Musurus and the Transmission of Greek Epigrams^{**}

ABSTRACT: In this article, we study Musurus' conjectures on the epigrams of the *Planudean Anthology* by analysing the notes in the margins of a copy of the Lascaris edition (1494) held in the Vatican Library, including autograph notes of Marcus Musurus' own scholia (Vat. III 81), together with another copy held in the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which was used as a printer's copy for the first two Aldine editions (Grylls 11.313). We conclude that Musurus' role in the transmission of Greek epigrams is of greater significance than hitherto believed.

KEYWORDS:

Marcus Musurus, conjectures, Greek epigrams, scholia to the *Planudean Anthology*

SOMMARIO: Nel presente articolo si studiano le congetture di Musurus agli epigrammi dell'*Antologia Planudea*, analizzando le note nei margini di una copia dell'edizione di Lascaris (1494) conservata alla Biblioteca Vaticana, che include note autografe degli scoli dello stesso Marco Musuro (Vat. III 81), insieme con un'altra copia conservata alla Wren Library del Trinity College, Cambridge, usata come esemplare di stampa per le prime due edizioni aldine (Grylls 11.313). La conclusione è che il ruolo di Musuro nella trasmissione degli epigrammi greci è più significativo di quanto creduto fino ad ora.

PAROLE CHIAVE:

Marco Musuro, congetture, epigramma greco, scholia all'*Antologia Planudea*

The Greek émigré Marcus Musurus (ca. 1475-1517), in his work as an editor at Aldus Manutius' printing house,¹ edited at least nine Greek authors, some of them

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for the first time.² By all accounts, he was not chiefly responsible for any edition of Greek epigrams, but, as we shall see, his contribution to their transmission is more important than suggested by the critical apparatus of the most recent critical editions.³

Thanks in no small measure to the notes of his disciple, the German humanist Johannes Cuno (1463-1513), we know that Musurus gave classes on Greek epigrams at the University of Padua in 1505-1506.⁴ In the wake of these classes, several copies of the Janus Lascaris' edition, printed in Florence in 1494, made their way around Europe accompanied by his notes, which were even transcribed in manuscripts without the corresponding epigrams.⁵

Among these copies there is one held in the Vatican library containing the autograph notes of Musurus himself, the incunabulum Vat. III 81 (= *Va*).⁶ Having lost some of its quires,⁷ it is unfortunately now damaged, but we can work out what notes were on these missing pages from two copies of the *editio princeps* also held in the

¹ He collaborated with Aldus and his successors from 1495 until his departure for Rome in 1516, with some brief interruptions, such as his move to Ferrara and Carpi in 1499, from where he returned to Padua-Venice around 1502-1503 (see Ferreri 2014, pp. 39-57).

² Ferreri 2014, pp. 347-394 mentions the Aldine editions of the *Planudean Anthology* among those which were probably edited or supervised by Musurus, alongside Politianus' *Opera omnia* (1498), Plutarch's *Opuscula* (1509), Pindar's *editio princeps* (1513), Callimachus' hymns and other works (1513), the two volumes of the Attic orators (1513), Strabo's *Geography* (1516) and, beyond the classical world, the Aldine edition of the Greek *Bible* (1518), which was published posthumously.

³ I refer to Waltz *et alii* (1929-2011) (note that I quote this edition by referring to the main editor of each book: *AP* 5, 7 and 9 [Waltz]; 11, 12, and 16 [Aubretton]), and Beckby (1965-1967²) (= 1957-1958). Other editions, such as Stadtmüller (1894-1906), Paton (1916-1918), and Gow-Page (1965-1968), and revised editions, such as Pontani (1978-1981) and Tueller (2014), are cited only if relevant to the discussion.

⁴ On Musurus' classes at the University of Padua, see Ferrai 1876, pp. 35-47; Foffano 1892, pp. 453-470; Sicherl 1978, pp. 45-55; Cataldi Palau 2004, pp. 318-327; Speranzi 2013, pp. 121-130, and Ferreri 2014, pp. 47-48.

⁵ On the transmission of Musurus' scholia, see Pontani 1992, 557-613; Ferreri 2005, pp. 81-114, and Galán Vioque 2022, pp. 237-260. The copies with scholia that I mention in this article are: Berne, UB MUE III 87 (*Be*); Trinity College, Cambridge Grylls 11.313 (*Ca*); Città del Vaticano, BAV Inc. Vat. III 78 (*Xe*); III 79 (*Vu*); III 80 (*Ve*); III 81 (*Va*); Venezia, BMarc. gr. IX 38 (*Ma*); Napoli, BN S. Q. IX. C. 8 (*Na*); Oxford, BBodl. Auct. K 4.2 (*Ox*); Paris, BnF Rés. Yb 484 (*Pa*); Toledo, BCp 81-38 (*To*); and Troyes, BM Inc. 277 (*Tr*). I used *We* in reference to the marginal notes printed on the *editio wecheliana* (1600) which, as stated in f. ¶¶ ii, were printed from *Tr*, François Pitheu's volume, and Paul Petau's lost copy (in the sale catalogue of his heir's books there is a copy of Lascaris' edition [see *Bibliothecae Petaviana* 1720, p. 277, note 1498]).

⁶ Musurus' handwriting was first identified by Mioni 1975, p. 294. See also Gallavotti 1981, pp. 3-27, Pontani 1982, p. 49, and 2002, p. 567-568; Ferreri 2005, pp. 82-83.

⁷ It was bound by the end of the 18th century, when the manuscripts and books in the Vatican library were in appalling condition (see Città del Vaticano, 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» (quoted at Ceresa, Vincenti 2016, p. 409, note 318, and Galán Vioque 2020a, p. 132).

same library, Vat. III 79 and 80 (= *Vu* and *Ve*, respectively)⁸ and from the volume preserved at the Wren Library (Trinity College, Cambridge) with shelfmark Grylls 11.313 (= *Ca*), which will be discussed further later. All were transcribed from Musurus' volume at an unknown date.

Careful examination of his notes reveals that Musurus may have had access to Heidelberg, UB Pal. Gr. 23 + Paris, BnF suppl. Gr. 384 (= *P*) in Padua in the early 16th century, since some of his conjectures match its text against the witness of Maximus Planudes' *Anthology*, Marcianus gr. 481 (= *Pl*), then the foremost and virtually only source of knowledge on Greek epigrams.⁹ Such is the case, for example, in the following passages:¹⁰

7.333.1 (f. P^v; p. 337) δαίμονος *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : δαίμοσιν *P Va* (σιν *supra* ϖεξ) 1566 1600 Waltz Beckby : δαίμοσι *Ca* (σι *supra* νοξ)

7.472.2 (f. Πii; p. 309) χόλοποιός *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* *We* : χόλοιπός *P Va Ca* 1521 1549 1550 1550b 1566 1600 Waltz Beckby (*sed uariae lectiones in principio*: χόλ- / χό λ- / χ' ώλ-)

7.702.5 (f. Oi; p. 286) ὑποδύντα *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : ὑπ' ὀδόντι *P Va Ca* Waltz Beckby : ὑπ' ὀδόντα *We*

9.36.1 (Secundus) (f. Zviii; p. 115) πολέμου *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* *We* : πελάγους *P* Waltz Beckby : πελάγευξ *Va* 1566 1600

9.650.6 (f. BBv; p. 497) θανάτου *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : θαλάμου *P Va* 1550 1550b *We* Waltz Beckby

11.54.6 (f. Nv^v; p. 255) τῶ *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : καὶ *P Ve Vu Ca* 1566 1600 Waltz Beckby¹¹

11.346.5 (Automedon) (f. Λiv^v; p. 209) ἀργύριον *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : αὔριον *P Ve Vu Ca* 1566 1600 Waltz Beckby

Besides *Va*, the copy preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge (*Ca*) is also particularly relevant to the study of Musurus' role in the transmission of Greek epigrams. It contains very few scholia – only from the beginning until f. Aiv^v –, which are similar to those found in *Va*, proving that it was copied from Musurus'

⁸ I quote from *Ve* and *Vu* when the relevant page is missing in *Va*.

⁹ On Greek epigrams in this period, see Hutton 1935, p. 1946; Laurens 1989, pp. 375-543. On whether Musurus had access to *P*, see Cameron 1987, pp. 187-198, 1993, pp. 178-186; van Miert 2011, pp. 241-261, and McDonald 2013, pp. 259-270. Apart from the anthology published by Reiske (1752 and 1754), *P* was not used as the main source of any edition until Brunck's *Analecta* (1772-1776).

¹⁰ I quote here and in what follows from the most relevant early editions until the *editio wecheliana* of 1600 (I refer to the editions of 1494, 1503, 1519, 1521, 1531, 1549, 1550, 1550b and 1566 [see full references *infra*]), for consistency using *edd. vett.* for all these older editions except those expressly mentioned. For the sake of convenience, I add in parentheses the folium of Lascaris' edition and the page of the *editio wecheliana* on which each epigram or note appears.

¹¹ It is also attested in the *sylloge Parisina* (Paris, BnF suppl. Gr. 352, f. 181, and Paris, BnF Gr. 1630, f. 135). On this *sylloge*, see Maltomini 2008, pp. 29-47.

volume.¹² The Cambridge volume is missing its two final quires (II, KK), replaced by 21 folia copied in 1506¹³ by, according to David Speranzi,¹⁴ the aforementioned German scholar Johannes Cuno, who used Aldus' first edition as exemplar.¹⁵ The significance of this copy, however, lies in the fact that the entire volume is full of notes, some of which are identified as having been written by Aldus Manutius himself, who, as we shall see, undoubtedly used it as a working copy for his first edition of Greek epigrams, while his successors also used it for the second one.¹⁶

The first was printed in Venice in 1503. During its preparation, Aldus, or most likely an unidentified corrector working for him, wrote numerous notes on the Cambridge copy about punctuation,¹⁷ accents and breaths,¹⁸ corrections of misprints,¹⁹ headings and ascriptions of the epigrams,²⁰ and conjectures to the text.

¹² For instance, this copy features the same scholia to *AP* 9.357, the epigram that opens Planudes' *Anthology*, as *Va*, *Ve*, and *Vu*. All other witnesses of these scholia follow the so-called *recensio lascariana* (see Pontani 2002, pp. 591-592; Ferreri 2005, pp. 84-88, and Galán Vioque 2022, p. 247).

¹³ See its colophon at f. KKvi, quoted *infra*.

¹⁴ See Speranzi 2018, p. 42.

¹⁵ Whenever it differs from the Lascaris' edition, Cuno's text coincides with the text of Aldus' first edition, and it also often agrees with the text of *Pl*, which reinforces the hypothesis that Aldus had access to *Pl* or to some of its apographs (see *infra*). This is what happens, for instance, at *AP* 5.2.6 (Meleager) (f. KKi; p. 613) *χαριζόμενος* 1494 : *χαριζόμενον P Pl Vu* 1503 *Ca*; 5.16 (Marcus Argentarius) (f. KKiv; p. 622) *Μάρκου Ἀργενταρίου P Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.65.4 (f. KKvii; p. 627) *κείσσον* 1494 : *κρείσσον P Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.107.3 (f. KKi; p. 628) *λίαν* 1494 : *λίην P Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.114.5 (f. Πvii^v; p. 609) *γίνεται P Pl* 1494 : *γίγνεται* 1503 *Ca*; 5.118.1 (Marcus Argentarius) (f. KKvi; p. 625) *ἠδύμνοε* 1494 : *ἠδύπνοιε Pl* 1503 *Ca* : *ἠδύπνευστε P*; 5.251.3 (f. Πvi; p. 606) *πολλὰ* 1494 : *πολὸν P Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.257.2 (Palladas) (f. Πvi; p. 607) *σοβαρᾶς ἔνεκεν* 1503 *Ca* 1521 : *σοβαρῆς ἔνεκε* 1494 : *σοβαρᾶς ἔνεκα P Pl*; 5.263.3 (f. Πiii^v; p. 600) *ὄθ' Ἡρῶ P Pl* 1494 : *ὄτ' Ἡρῶ* 1503 *Ca* (f. Πiii); 5.280.3 (f. Πiii^v; p. 602) *ἔχεις ὕπνον* 1494 : *ὕπνον ἔχεις P Pl* 1503 *Ca* 1521; 5.281.2 (f. Πiv; p. 595) *ἀναπλέκοντι* 1494 : *ἀμ πλέκοντι D* : *ἀμφιπλέκοντι P Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.282.3 (f. Πiii^v; p. 602) *θέλγειν P* 1494 : *θέλγον Pl* 1503 *Ca*; 5.298 (f. Πvi^v; p. 607) *Ἰουλιανοῦ* 1494 : *Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ Ὑπάρχων Αἰγυπτίου P Pl* 1503 *Ca*.

¹⁶ There are ink stains everywhere, revealing that it was in the printing house. For other printed volumes used as printer's copy, see Hellinga 2014, p. 40. For the identification of Aldus' handwriting in this volume, which is called into question by Ferreri 2014, p. 202, note 11, see Renouard 1834, pp. 42-43, and Speranzi 2018, p. 30, and 41-42.

¹⁷ See, for instance, the punctuation notes added to epigrams *AP* 9.394 (Palladas) (f. Hvi), and 9.192 (Antiphilus) (f. Hvi^v).

¹⁸ See, for instance, the corrections overwritten on *AP* 7.2.5 (Antipater of Sidon) (f. Yii), and 9.656.1 (f. BBv^v).

¹⁹ See, for instance, the corrections of misprints at epigrams *AP* 6.84.6 (Paulus Silentarius) (f. ΘΘi); 6.125.5 (f. ΘΘi^v); 7.242.4 (Mnesalces) (f. Oii^v); 7.431.5 (f. Ov^v); 7.519.2 (Callimachus) (f. Πiii); 7.524.5 (f. Oviii); 7.555.1 (Joannes the poet) (f. Piii^v); 9.573.4 (f. Bi^v); 9.439.6 (Antiphilus) (f. Δvii^v); 11.415.3 (f. Λi^v); and 16.276.3 (Bianor) (f. AAviii).

²⁰ See, for instance, f. Θi, where he added the ascriptions to epigrams *AP* 11.275 (ἄδηλον); 9.160 (ἄδέσποτον); 9.161 (ἄδηλον); 9.198 (ἄδηλον), which were missing from Lascaris' edition; ff. Niii-Niii^v, where, rightly splitting one from the other, he added τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Ammianus) to epigrams *AP* 16.20; 11.149; 11.151; 11.142; 11.350; 11.376; 11.435, and 11.436, initiating the tradition of ascribing all these epigrams to Ammianus that extends to the *editio wecheliana* (f. Niii has been reproduced at Grafton 2011, p. 102, plate 30); and f. Yii^v, where he added Σιλενταρίου εἰς αὐτόν to Παύλου at *AP* 7.4 (Paulus Silentarius).

Almost all of these were later included in the printed version.²¹ In very faint ink, he also marked with a straight horizontal line and Arabic numerals where each new page of his edition was to begin.²²

Some of the textual suggestions lead us to conclude that the author of the notes may have had access to Marcianus gr. 481 (= *PI*), Maximus Planudes' autograph *Anthology* of Greek epigrams, then already in Venice as part of Cardinal Bessarion's donation to the Republic of Venice,²³ or to one of its apographs.²⁴ See, for instance, the following passages:

7.431.7 (anonymous or Simonides) (f. Ov^v; p. 297) ἦς *PI* 1494 Waltz Beckby : ἦς *P* : ἦν *PI*² *D Ca* 1503 *edd. vett.*

9.645.2 (Macedonius) (f. ΓΓiv^v; p. 511) Θαρσαλέη 1494 : σαρδιεη *P* : Σαρδαλέη *PI D Ca* 1503 *edd. vett.* : Σάρδιες, ἡ Salmasius Waltz Beckby

11.14.3 (Vu, f. Niiii; p. 251) οὐδεις *P* 1494 *edd. vett.* Waltz Beckby : οὐδεις μὲν *PI Ve Vu Ca* 1566 1600

16.91.2 (f. Ψii; p. 447) ἔχεις 1494 : ἔβης *PI D Ca* 1503 *edd. vett.* Aubreton Beckby

16.312.2 (f. ΓΓii^v; p. 508) ἴδιος 1494 : γνήσιος *PI Ca* 1503 *edd. vett.* Aubreton Beckby

In addition, the corrector often filled in what was missing in the ascriptions and *lemmata* printed by Lascaris based on his reading of *PI*. See, for instance:²⁵

16.34 (Theodoretus) (f. Xii; p. 430)

Θεοδωρίτου γραμματικοῦ. Εἰς εἰκόνα ἄρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνη.

Θεοδωρίτου [...] ἐν Σμύρνη 1503 1566 1600 : Εἰς εἰκόνα [...] ἐν Σμύρνη. Θεοδωρίτου γραμματικοῦ *PI* 1519 *edd. vett.* : Θεοδωρίτου 1494 (γραμματικοῦ εἰς εἰκόνα ἄρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνη *add. Ca post* Θεοδωρίτου)

16.38 (Joannes Barbocallus) (f. Xii^v; p. 431)

²¹ See, for instance, the conjecture to *AP* 7.25.9 (Simonides) (f. Yvi; p. 399): λήθει *P PI* 1494 : λήθη *Ca* 1503 *edd. vett.* : λήγει Stadtmüller (*ex coniectura Porsoni*) Aubreton Beckby.

²² For these lines and the numbering as a sign that this is a printer's copy, see von Velsen 1871, p. 4; Sicherl 1997, pp. 3-4 (plates II-VI); Hellinga 2014, p. 42, and 57-58, and Galán Vioque 2023, pp. 14-15.

²³ On the difficulties in consulting these manuscripts, see Lowry 1974, pp. 133-144, and Labowsky 1979, pp. 60-63.

²⁴ I also add the readings from Paris, BnF gr. 2739 (= *D*), when it differs from the 1494 edition. This manuscript was copied by Michael Apostoles between 1464 and 1470, and has been pinpointed as the manuscript from which Lascaris ultimately derived the text of his edition (see Lauxtermann 2009, p. 48).

²⁵ See also *supra*, note 20.

Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ τοῦ Βαρβουκάλλου. Εἰς εἰκόνα Συνεσίου σχολαστικοῦ ἐπὶ νίκη μάχης ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν Βηρυτῶ.

Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ [...] ἐν Βηρυτῶ 1503 1566 1600 : Εἰς εἰκόνα [...] ἐν Βηρυτῶ. Ἰωάννου [...] Βαρβουκάλλου *Pl* 1519 *edd. vett.* : Εἰς εἰκόνα Συνεσίου σχολαστικοῦ, Βαρβουκούλλου 1494 (ἐπὶ νίκη μάχης ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν Βηρυτῶ. Ἰωάννου ποιητοῦ τοῦ *add. Ca post* σχολαστικοῦ) : Εἰς εἰκόνα Συνεσίου *D*

16.41 (Agathias) (f. Xii^v; p. 432)

Ἀγαθίου σχολαστικοῦ. Εἰς εἰκόνα ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν τοῖς Πλακίδιου ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ νέου σκρινίου.

Ἀγαθίου [...] σκρινίου *Ca* 1503 1566 1600 : Εἰς εἰκόνα [...] σκρινίου. Ἀγαθίου σχολαστικοῦ *Pl* 1519 *edd. vett.* : *om.* 1494 : Ἀγαθίου *D*

16.208 (Gabriel the prefect) (f. Ωvii^v; p. 471)

Γαβριελίου ὑπάρχου. Εἰς Ἔρωτα καθεύδοντα ἐν πιπεροπαστῆ.

Γαβριελίου [...] καθεύδοντα 1503 1566 1600 : Εἰς Ἔρωτα [...] πιπεροπαστῆ. Γαβριελίου ὑπάρχου *Pl* 1519 *edd. vett.* : Εἰς Ἔρωτα καθεύδοντα 1494 (Γαβριελίου ὑπάρχου *add. Ca ante* Εἰς Ἔρωτα *et ἐν* πιπεροπαστῆ *post* καθεύδοντα)

As for Aldus, he undoubtedly had access to *Pl*, since in the final pages of his 1503 edition he added an erratum or Ἐπιδιόρθωσις (ff. MMvii^v-NN ix), where he makes page-by-page corrections of errors and misprints in his edition, proposes headings taken from *Pl*, and even suggests the insertion of whole epigrams missing from both his edition and that of Lascaris. Aldus transcribed them from *Pl*, and above all from *Pl^b*, as attested in this appendix (*Pl*, ff. 81-100).²⁶ His suggestions were incorporated into the second Aldine edition (1521).²⁷

²⁶ This is the case, for instance, with *AP* 11.98 (Ammianus), quoted in the appendix at f. Niii, and included in the 1521 edition at f. 91^v; 11.41.1-2, 4-8 (*App.* f. NNiii; 1521, ff. 104^v-105); and 7.297 (Polistratus) (*App.* f. NNv^v; 1521, f. 143); and 7.76 (Dioscorides) (*App.* f. NNv^v; 1521, f. 146). On the other side, it is remarkable that at *AP* 16.30.1 (Geminus) he follows the reading of *Pl*'s apograph *Qb* (London, BL 16409), what he did not at *AP* 16.212.3 (Alpheius).

²⁷ See, for instance, the notes to *AP* 9.240.1 (f. Gi; p. 45) (Philip) [C] Ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ σελίδι [...] τὸ “κορύπτων” ἐν ἄλλῳ “κορύπτης” γράφεται (κορύπτων 1494 *edd. vett.* : κορύπτης *Pl* 1521 1550 *We* : Καλύπτρης *P*); 9.86.6 (Antiphilus) (f. Diii; p. 66) [D] Ἐν τῇ δ' [...] “τύμβον”, ἐν ἄλλῳ “πότμον” γράφεται (τύμβον *P Pl* 1503 1519 1531 1549 : πότμον *Pl suprascriptum* 1521 *edd. vett.*); and 7.342.1 (f. Δviii^v; p. 78) Ἐν τῇ ιγ τὸ “κάτθανον”, ἐν ἄλλῳ “προύλαβον” (κάτθανον *P Pl* 1503 *edd. vett.* : προύλαβον *Pl suprascriptum* 1521). This is also the case with a note to *AP* 7.560.7 (f. Tvii; p. 378), a line which Pino González 2021, p. 227 mentions as a proof of Juan de Verzosa's knowledge of *P*. However, ἔπλεο, the reading of *Pl^b*, was already recommended by Aldus in the erratum (1503: f. NNvi: Ἐν τῇ ια' τὸ, ἔπλετο, ἔπλεο γραπτέον), and it was printed in the Aldine second edition (1521: f. 152) (it is also attested in *D* [f. 112^v], and, later, in the 1566 [p. 262] and 1600 [p. 378] editions). Thus, Verzosa probably read the *Planudean Anthology* in a copy of the second Aldine (1521). While

For this second Aldine edition, we will see that Aldus' successors accepted some conjectures present in *Ca*, which were taken from Marcus Musurus' incunabulum (*Va*). As mentioned above, the few scholia present in this copy coincide with the text of *Va*, and certain conjectures are found only in the copies with Musurus' scholia (*Va*, *Ve* and *Vu*), not in the other copies, whose scholia follow the *recensio lascariana*.²⁸

The link between Musurus and the notes in the Cambridge incunabulum is confirmed by two notes attributing a conjecture to him, using the abbreviations *M[arcus] M[usurus]*, or simply *M[usurus]*:

7.357.1 (f. Ovi^v; p. 301) κατακρύπτῃς *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* Waltz Beckby : Μ. Μ. κρυφ' ἀλιτραίνῃς ἢ γ' ἀμαρτήσεις *Ca*

16.27.5 (f. Πiv^v; p. 315)²⁹ τέρμυ' ἐδάην *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* Beckby Aubreton : τέρμυ' ἔπαθον *Va* : τέρμυ' ἔπαθον *M. Ca*

Musurus' notes were probably transcribed in this copy between 1506, when he was teaching Greek epigrams at the University of Padua, and 1509, the year he left Padua when the University closed following the occupation of the city by the troops of the league of Cambrai.³⁰ A note written by Johannes Cuno to epigram *AP* 5.2, in which he refers to a conjecture heard directly from Musurus in Padua, is dated 1506: «hoc audiui [...] a Marco Musuro [...] Patauii 1506» (f. KK^v). This is also the date of the epigrams and other poems copied by Cuno³¹ at the end of the book to replace the two missing quires (II, KK): «τέλος σὺν θεῶ 1506» (f. Iivii).³² There is also a note on *AP* 13.29 (f. Hii^v), again presumably written by Cuno, dated 1509.³³

most of his manuscripts were bought by Antonio Agustin (1517-1586) and rest today in the Royal Library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid), the fate of his printed books is unknown (see Alsina Rovira 2010, p. 2448). On the other side, it should be recalled that Pontani 2002, p. 559, note 3 previously lamented the lack of research on the sources of the notes of the erratum. For the nature of this appendix, which was reprinted in the 1519 edition (pp. 399-410), see Maltomini 2020, p. 204.

²⁸ This is the case, for instance, with the conjectures to *AP* 7.420.6 (Diotimo) (f. Ovii^v; p. 303) χορὸν *supra* μέλος *Va*²; 9.550.1 (Antipater) (f. Hi; p. 118) κλεινήν; 11.194.4 (Lucillius) (f. Mii; p. 224) αὐτοῦς; 16.6.4 (f. Avii; p. 18) γᾶς; 16.123.6 (f. Ψvi; p. 454) χώρω; 16.156.3 (f. Ωi^v; p. 460) βακχεῦ; 16.183.7 (f. Ωv; 466) ἐγεγήραμεν (all these conjectures are commented *infra*).

²⁹ Musurus' proposal is attested in several witnesses of this ancient epitaph. See, for instance, Polyb. 8.10.4, Strab. 14.5.9, Diod. Sic. 2.23.2, Plut. *De laude ipsius* 546a, and Ath. 8.14.15.

³⁰ See Ferreri 2014, p. 52. It is likely that he moved to Venice after staying temporarily in Bologna and other places (see Ferreri 2014, pp. 52-53).

³¹ For the identification of Cuno's handwriting, see *supra*.

³² Moreover, after the final epigrams of book 7 (*AP* 5.56 [Dioscorides]), Cuno also copied Lascaris' epigrams 8 and 4, which appear anonymously and coincide with the text of the 1503 edition, and the other texts that Aldus had included in his edition (a famous mathematical puzzle attributed to Euclid,

Musurus' impact on the transmission of Greek epigrams can be seen in a number of ways. Numerous conjectures made by Musurus (*Va*) and copied into the Cambridge volume of Lascaris' edition (*Ca*) later appear printed in Aldus' second edition (1521). Such is the case with the following examples:

7.37.1 (Dioscorides) (f. Yv; p. 397) ὄν *P Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1531 1549 Waltz Beckby : ὄς *Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.*

7.220.3 (Agathias) (f. Pi^v; p. 328) ἀκοῆς *P Pl D Va Ca* 1521 1550 1550b Waltz Beckby : ἀκοῆς 1494 *edd. vett.*

7.232.4 (Antipater) (f. Oiiii^v; p. 295) ἀμφοτέρων *Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1531 : ἀμφ'ἐτάρω *P Brunck Waltz Beckby* : ἀμφ'ἐτάρων *Suda* (ἀμφ'ἐτάρω *Laur.* 55.1 Adler) *Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.*

7.434.4 (f. Oiiii; p. 294) μόνον ὃ *P Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1549 : καὶ μόνον / σοὶ μόνον / μόνον ἰὼ *Va* : μόνον, ἰὼ *Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Waltz Beckby

9.304.4 (Parmenion) (f. Av; p. 12) αἰσχυνέσθ' 1494 1503 1519 : αἰσχυνέσθ' *P Pl D Va* (θ *supra τ*) *Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Waltz Beckby

11.146.2 (Ammianus) (f. Nii^v; p. 247) πεντάκι *P Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1531 1549 Beckby Aubreton : πέντε *Vu Ve Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.*

11.162.3 (Nicarchus) (f. Kv^v; p. 190) καινὴν *P Pl² Ve Vu Ca* 1521 1550 1550b Beckby Aubreton : κενεὴν *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

11.194.3 (Lucillius) (f. Mii; p. 224) *om. P Pl D* : *om. spatio relicto* 1494 1503 1519 : ταῖς πρὶν *Ve Vu Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* : <ὁ ἀγρεὺς> *in fine metri causa addidit* Preisendanz Beckby Aubreton

11.257.2 (f. Lvii^v; p. 217) καὶ περίαμμα *P Pl² D Ve Vu Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Beckby Aubreton : καίπερ ἴαμα *Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1531 1549

11.418.2 (Trajanus) (f. Liii; p. 205) παρερχομένας 1494 1503 1519 : παρερχομένοις *P Pl D Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Beckby Aubreton

Some of the above conjectures agree with *P* and *Pl* as opposed to Lascaris' edition.

Furthermore, there are occasions when Musurus' conjectures are reproduced in some of the first editions, but later forgotten:

which first appeared in print in the 1503 edition [«The Ass and Mule Problem»], the poem *In thermas Pythias*, attributed to Paul the Silentiary, but written by Leo Magister [see Mercati 1924, pp. 210-248], and other epigrams, including at the end epigrams taken from the *Ἐπιδιόρθωσις* that were later also published in his 1521 edition in the position indicated in the notes). In these final pages he continued to follow Musurus' notes (see, for instance, *AP* 5.262.3 [f. Iii^v; p. 594] ἰστάμενοι *P Pl* 1494 1503 : ἰσταμένης *Ve Vu Ca* (-ης *supra lineam*); 5.279.6 [f. Iii^v; p. 595] φείδεται *P Pl* 1494 1503 : κήδετα *Ve Vu Ca*; and 5.287.4 [f. Iiiii^v; p. 603] λέξω 1494 : λέξας *Ve Vu Ca* : *om. Pl* : ἀρτίπος *P*).

³³ All these quotations have been reproduced at Galán Vioque 2020b, p. 225.

7.702.2 (f. Oi; p. 286) ἐξ ἀμίης *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : ἰππεῖης *Va Ca* 1566 1600 : ἐξαμίτης
Waltz Beckby (*ex coniectura I. G. Schneideri*)

9.242.3 (Antiphilus) (f. Zv^v; p. 109) ἦδ' ὄτ' *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* Brunck : οὐποτ' *Va* 1566 1600
: οὐδ' ὄτ' *P* Jacobs Stadtmüller Waltz Beckby

9.345.1 (Leonidas of Alexandria) (f. Ivii; p. 173) Οὐ τόσον Ἀθάμας *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*
Brunck : Οὐ τόσον οὐδ' Ἀθάμας *Va Ca* 1566 1600 : Οὐ τόσον [οὐδ'] Ἀθάμας Jacobs : Οὐ τοσονδ'
Ἀθάμας Stadtmüller Beckby : Οὐ τόσον αἰν' Ἀθάμας Waltz (*ex coniectura Sitzleri*).

9.404.2 (Antiphilus) (f. Hiii; p. 124) χειρῶν *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* *We* Brunck Stadtmüller
Waltz Beckby : κηρῶν *Va* 1550b 1566 1600

11.75.1 (Lucillius) (f. Kii^v; p. 182) τοιοῦτος *P* Brunck Aubreton Beckby : *om.* *Pl* 1494 1503 :
βέλτιστος *Ve Vu* 1521 *edd. vett.* : πανάριστος *Ca*

Of greatest significance are the conjectures proposed by Musurus that have found their way into modern editions and appear in their critical apparatus with the abbreviations *Mus.*, *Schol. Wechel.* (or *Wech.*) (= 1600 edition by the heirs of Andreas Wechel), or *schol. Bern.* (referring to the volume of Lascaris' edition preserved in Berne [*Be*]).

Besides these, however, there are seventeen hitherto undetected cases where Musurus' proposals have been erroneously attributed to other scholars or have gone unnoticed, and which should now be restored to Musurus, as follows:³⁴

(1) 5.156.1 (Meleager) (f. Iviii; p. 611)³⁵

Ἄ φίλερως χαροποῖς Ἀσκληπιὰς οἶα γαλήνης
χαροποῖς *Ve Vu Ca* (ρο *supra* λε) 1566 1600 Stadtmüller Beckby Waltz Gow-Page : χαλεποῖς *P Pl*
1494 *edd. vett.*

Modern editors (Stadtmüller, Beckby, Waltz, Gow-Page and Tueller)³⁶ attribute this conjecture to Stephanus, who is in fact the first to accept it in his edition (1566, p.

³⁴ For a similar conclusion regarding Musurus' conjectures to Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Euripides' tragedies, see Cavarzeran 2014, pp. 3-37. There are also inadvertent attributions in modern editions of conjectures first attested in *Ca*. See, for instance, the following examples: *AP* 7.378.3 (f. Ovii; p. 301) ὑμέναιον ἐπὶ *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : ὑμέναιου ὑπὸ *Ca* (cf. Toup 1790, II, p. 88) : συνέναιον ὑπὸ (Waltz and Beckby correctly attribute συνέναιον ὑπὸ to Jacobs, but ὑπὸ is already testified in *Ca* as a correction); 7.421.7 (f. Yviii; p. 406) ὑπένερθε *Ca* 1566 1600 : ὑπερθε *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : ἔννερθε 1531 (Waltz and Beckby attribute this to Opsopaeus [see 1540, p. 467]); 11.171.8 (f. Ξii; p. 268) χρήματα κληρόνομοι ἦρπασαν ἀσπασίως *Ca Tr alia manu* 1521 *edd. vett.* : *om.* *P Pl* 1494 1503 1519 (Aubreton and Beckby attribute this to the second Aldine edition [1521]); 11.338.2 (f. Λiii^v; p. 206) ἐν ὀπῇ *Ca* 1503 *Va manu recentiore* *edd. vett.* Aubreton : ἐνοπῆν *P Pl* 1494 Beckby (Aubreton attributes this to himself); and 16.183.2 (f. Ωv; p. 466) πάρα *Ca* Aubreton : παρὰ *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : πέρι Meineke Beckby (Aubreton attributes this to himself).

³⁵ In quoting the text I follow Beckby's edition, unless stated otherwise.

470). However, it was already attested as a correction in *Va*'s apographs, including *Ca*.

(2) 5.274.5 (Paul the Silentiary) (f. Iii^v ; p. 595)

τοῦτον καὶ Φαέθοντι καὶ Ἴαδι, βάρβαρε, δείξω,

Ἴαδι *Vu Ve* Brunck Waltz Beckby : αἰδοῖ *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

The same modern editors cited above, probably following Jacobs (1802, xi, p. 144), who claims to follow some of Joseph Justus Scaliger's miscellaneous notes, and Pierre-Daniel Huet (1700, p. 45),³⁷ attribute this correction to Scaliger. Actually, it is attested in the copies of Stephanus' edition, which have preserved his conjectures (see Leiden, UL 756 D 09, p. 458, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. Yb 355, p. 458).³⁸ However, it is already present at *Va*'s apographs (f. Iii^v).

(3) 7.323.1 (f. *Oi*; p. 285)

Εἷς δὴ ἀδελφειοῦς ἐπέχει τάφος·

εἷς *Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Stadtmüller Walz Beckby : εἰς' *P* : Δις *Pl* : Δις 1494 1503 1519 1549

Stadtmüller, Walz and Beckby ascribed this emendation to Aldus Manutius.

(4) 7.420.6 (Diotimus) (f. *Ovii*^v; p. 303)

... ἐπεὶ οὐ θιάσους, οὐ χορὸν οἶδ' Ἀχέρων.

οὐ θιάσους, οὐ χορὸν Boissonade Waltz Beckby : οὐθ' ἱερὸς *P* : < > οὐθ' ἱερὸς *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.* : οὐκ ὠδὰς οὐ μέλος *Va* : χορὸν *supra* μέλος *Va*² : οὐτ' ὠδὰς οὐ χορὸν (ἢ μέλος *infrascriptum*) *Ca* : οὐθ' ὠδὰς οὐ χορὸν 1550 1550b

Waltz and Beckby attribute this conjecture to Jean-François Boissonade (see Dübner-Couigny 1864, i, p. 467). This is true of οὐ θιάσους, but χορὸν appears earlier as a correction in *Va*², and *Ca*, and even in the 1550 editions.

(5) 7.480.1-2 (Leonidas) (f. Iiii^v ; p. 313)

Ἦδη μεν τέτριπται ὑπεκκεκαλυμμένον ὄστεῦν

³⁶ Paton and Pontani accept *χαροποις*, but both fail to mention that it is a conjecture.

³⁷ Brunck 1776, iii, p. 79 printed Ἴαδι without noting that it is a conjecture.

³⁸ This epigram is absent from Scaliger's apograph of *P*, Leidensis B.P.G. 34 B, which contains at ff. 26^v-38 an anthology of epigrams of *AP* 5, most of not attested in *Pl* (see Aubreton 1980, p. 21, note 4).

ἁρμονίη τ', ὄνερ, πλάξ ἐπικεκλιμένη·

ἁρμονίη τ' Brunck Waltz Beckby : ἁρμονίη τ' *Va* (τ' *supra* ζ) : ἁρμονίη τ' *Ca* (*sic*) : ἁρμονίης *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Waltz and Beckby ascribe this correction to Brunck 1772, I, p. 238, who is actually the first to accept it, but it was previously proposed in *Va*, and *Ca*, at least as far as the change of the -ς into τ' is concerned.

(6) 7.645.4 (Crinagoras) (f. Pii^v; p. 310)³⁹

<κεῖσαι Ἴου>δαίοις ὧν περίοπτος ὄροις;

κεῖσαι Ἴου *P*² (*manu recentiore*) *Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Waltz : *om.* *P Pl* 1494 1503 1519 : ἦ ἐν Ἴου Beckby

Waltz claimed that κεῖσαι Ἴου is written in *P* but by a recent hand, and attributed the conjecture to Aldus' second edition (1521, p. 123^v), while Beckby in his *apparatus criticus* contended that the correction was added to *P* by Aldus himself. It is already testified in *Va*, and *Ca*.

(7) 9.550.1 (Antipater) (f. Hi; p. 118)

Κλεινήν οὐκ ἀπόφημι·

κλεινήν *Va Ca* (*alia manu*) 1531 1566 1600 Waltz Beckby : κείνην *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Both Waltz and Beckby ascribed this proposal to Stephanus (1566, p. 81), but it appears earlier in *Va*, and even in Badius Ascensius' edition (1531, p. 54^v).

(8) 11.194.4 (Lucillius) (f. Mii; p. 224)⁴⁰

μηδὲν ἐλὼν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς κύνας ἐκρέμασεν.

αὐτοὺς *Ve Vu Ca* 1566 1600 : αὐτὸς *P Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Aubreton attributed this correction to Vincentius Opsopaeus (*ca.* 1485-1539), who did in fact propose it (see 1540, p. 246), albeit more than three decades after Musurus. Beckby relegated it to the *apparatus criticus* assigning it to Stephanus (1566, p. 154), who happens to be the first editor to accept it.

³⁹ Here, I follow Waltz's edition.

⁴⁰ Here, I follow Aubreton's edition.

(9) 11.241.4 (Nicarchus) (f. Λiiii; p. 208)

νῦν δὲ λαλοῦντός σου <βδεῖν σ' ἐνόμιζον ἐγώ>.

βδεῖν σ' ἐνόμιζον ἐγώ Jacobs Aubreton Beckby : *om. P Pl 1494 1503 1519* : κᾶμμιγα περδομένου *Va Ca 1521 edd. vett.* Brunck

In his *apparatus criticus* Andreas Schatzman (2012, p. 346), probably following Brunck (1776, II, p. 355, and III, p. 206), assigns Musurus' proposal to Aldus' second edition (1521, f. 83^v). Musurus' reconstruction was popular among the editors until that of Jacobs.

(10) 11.400.6 (Lucianus) (f. Λi; p. 200)

...πάντων δέκτρια Γραμματική.

δέκτρια *Vu Ve Ca 1566 1600* Aubreton Beckby : λέκτρια *P Pl 1494 edd. vett.* *We*

Aubreton and Beckby attribute this correction to Vincentius Opsopaeus (1540, p. 222), although it appears earlier in *Va*'s apographs.

(11) 16.6.4 (f. Avii; p. 18)

καὶ τέκνων καὶ ὄλας γᾶς ἔθρετ' Ὀδρουσίδος,

γᾶς *Va Ca 1521 edd. vett.* Beckby Aubreton : τᾶς *Pl 1494 1503 1519* : γὰρ 1550

Aubreton ascribes this emendation to Joannes Brodaeus (1549, p. 12), while Beckby states that it corresponds to a marginal note by Janus Lascaris, most likely in reference to the copies of Lascaris' edition that follow the aforementioned *recensio lascariana* featuring this note.⁴¹ In *Va* there is no marginal note, since Musurus chose to delete the left side of the upper stroke of the T leaving a Γ.⁴²

(12) 16.104.1 (Philip) (f. Ψiiii; p. 450)

Ἦρη τοῦτ' ἄρα λοιπὸν ἐβούλετο πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἄθλοις

ἐβούλετο *Va Ca 1521 edd. vett.* Beckby Aubreton : ἦθελε *Pl 1494 1503 1519*

⁴¹ It is attested only in *Tr* (and in Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. Gr. 1464, f. 128), being absent from *Be, Ma, Na, Ox, Pa, To* and *Xe*. It is present as a marginal note in *Ca* but, as already mentioned, this copy does not follow the *recensio lascariana*, featuring instead scholia similar to *Va*. It is also absent from Inc. Marc. Gr. IX 28 (= 1373), which contains Lascaris' handwritten notes (see Pontani 2002, pp. 598-613).

⁴² The copyists of *Ve* and *Vu* failed to see this correction in *Va*, and both omit it.

Beckby attributes this conjecture to the 1600 edition, and Aubreton to Badius Ascensius (1531). Both fail to see that it is already in the second Aldine edition (1521, p. 183), and previously quoted in *Va*, and *Ca*.

(13) 16.113.3-4 (Julian the Aegyptian) (f. Ψν; p. 452)⁴³

δεῦρ' ἴδε κόρσης

χαίτην τρηχαλέοις χρώμασιν ἀσταλέην

ἀσταλέην *Va Ca* 1521 *edd. vett.* Aubreton : ἀαλέην *Pl* 1494 1503 1519 1549 1550 Beckby

Aubreton accepts ἀσταλέην, but erroneously attributes this correction to Lascaris' edition (1494) and Dübner (see 1872, II, p. 549, and p. 620), having failed to see that it was already advanced by Musurus in *Va*, reproduced in *Ca*, and first accepted in the Aldine second edition (1521, f. 184^v). For his part, Beckby accepts the reading of *Pl*, adding an exclamation in his *apparatus criticus*.⁴⁴

(14) 16.123.5-6 (f. Ψνι; p. 454)⁴⁵

ἦ γάρ μ' ἴδρυται Διονύσιος οὐκ ἄτερ εὐχῆς

χώρω τῷδ' ἀγαθὸν σύμμαχον Ἡρακλέα.

χώρω *Va Ca* Brunck Beckby Aubreton : χαίρω *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Beckby and Aubreton name Joannes Brodeaus (see 1549, p. 436: 'χαίρω' *repono* 'χώρω τῷδε') as being responsible for this correction, but it had previously been attested as a marginal note in *Va*, and *Ca*.⁴⁶

(15) 16.156.3-4 (f. Ωι^v; p. 460)

οὐκέτι γὰρ στυγέω, Βακχεῦ φίλε, τὸν θιασώταν

τὸν τεόν.

βακχεῦ *Va Ca* Beckby Aubreton : Βάκχευ *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

⁴³ Here, I follow Aubreton's text.

⁴⁴ Pontani also accepts the reading of *Pl*.

⁴⁵ Aubreton erroneously affirms that this epigram is missing from *D* and the 1494 edition (see f. 142, and f. Ψνι, respectively).

⁴⁶ It was first accepted by Brunck 1776, III, p. 211.

Beckby and Aubreton assign this correction to Friedrich Jacobs (see 1817, III, p. 673).

(16) 16.183.7 (f. Ων; p. 466)

καὶ μερόπων δὲ φυὴν ἐγερέραμεν, ἢ μὲν ἐλαίη
ἐγερέραμεν *Va Ca* Brunck Beckby Aubreton : ἐγεγήραμεν *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Aubreton attributes this correction to Brunck (see 1776, III, p. 201), while Beckby accepts it without any acknowledgement.

(17) 16.259.1-2 (f. AAv^v; p. 483)

Πέτρης ἐκ Παρίης με πόλιν κατὰ Παλλάδος ἄκρην
στῆσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Πᾶνα τροπαιοφόρον.
ἄκρην *Va* 1531 1566 1600 Beckby Aubreton : ἄκρης *Pl* 1494 *edd. vett.*

Both Beckby and Aubreton attribute this correction to Badius Ascensius (1531, f. 225^v), but it was first proposed by Musurus, as attested in *Va*.

In conclusion, the handwritten notes in the margins of Musurus' and Aldus' copy of Lascaris' edition reveal that the preparation of the Aldine editions of the *Planudean Anthology* was a collaborative process. Furthermore, although he was not chiefly responsible for editing any edition, Musurus' influence on the transmission of Greek epigrams is more significant than originally thought. His notes pervade the Aldine and subsequent editions, and even find their way into modern ones, but his contributions have not been always fully acknowledged.

List of editions of the Greek Anthology mentioned in this article, in chronological order.

Anthologia epigrammatum Graecorum Planudis rhetoris, cura Jo. Lascaris, Florentiae, per Laurentium Franciscum de Alopa, 1494.

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros, Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi, 1503.

Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros, Florentiae, per heredes P. Juntae, 1519.

- Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros*, Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, 1521.
- Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros*, [Parisiis], vaenundatur Badio, 1531.
- Epigrammatum Graecorum, Libri VII, annotationibus Joanni Brodae Turonensis illustrati, quibus additus est in calce operis rerum ac vocum explicatarum Index*, Basileae, [apud Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium], 1549.
- Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum in septem libros*, Venetiis, apud Aldi filios, 1550.
- Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum veterum, in septem libros divisum*, Venetiis, apud Petrum & Ioan. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses, 1550 (= 1550b).
- Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum veterum, in septem libros divisum, magno epigrammatum numero & duobus indicibus auctum* excudebat Henricus Stephanus, [Genevae], Huldrici Fuggeri typographus, 1566.
- Epigrammatum Graecorum annotationibus Ioannis Brodae Turonensis, nec non Vincentij Obsopoei, & Graecis in pleraque epigrammata scholiis illustratorum libri VII*, Parisiis, apud A. Wecheli heredes, 1600.
- Anthologia Graeca, nunc primum e codice msto. edita*, studio Io. Jacobi Reiske, «Miscellanea Lipsiensia nova» 9, 1752, pp. 80-148, 297-323, 434-481.
- Anthologiae Graecae a Constantino Cephalata conditae libri tres*, [ed. J. J. Reiske], Lipsiae, in bibliopolio Gleditschiano, 1754.
- Analecta veterum poetarum Graecorum*, editore Rich. Fr. Phil. Brunck, I-III, Argentorati, Bibliopolium Academicum, 1772-1776.
- Anthologia Graeca, sive poetarum Graecorum lusus ex recensione Brunckii*, indices et commentarium adiecit Fridericus Jacobs. *Animadversiones in epigrammata Anthologiae Graecae secundum ordinem Analectorum Brunckii*, I-V, Lipsiae, in bibliopolio Dyckio, 1794-1814.
- Anthologia Graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini nunc Parisini edita*, cur. Fried. Jacobs, I-III, Lipsiae, in bibliopolio Dyckio, 1813-1817.
- Anthologia Graeca cum versione latina Hugonis Grotii, edita ab Hieronymo de Bosch*, I-V, Ultrajecti, e typographia B. Wild & J. Altheer, 1795-1810.
- Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum*, instruxit F. Dübner, E. Cougny, I-III, Parisiis, Didot, 1864-1890.

- Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, ed. H. Stadtmüller, I-III, Leipzig, Teubner, 1894-1906.
- The Greek Anthology*, transl. by W. R. Paton, I-V, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1916-1918.
- Anthologie grecque. Anthologie Palatine*, texte établi et traduit par P. Waltz *et alii*, I-XIII, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1929-2011.
- Anthologia Graeca*, Griechisch-Deutsch ed. H. Beckby, I-IV, München, Heimeran, 1965-1967² (1957-1958¹).
- The Greek anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*, ed. by A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, I-II, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip*, ed. by A. S. F. Gow, D. L. Page, I-II, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Antologia Palatina*, a cura di F. M. Pontani, I-IV, Torino, Einaudi, 1978-1981.
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