



## Publishing Information

### SECTION I: MULTILAYERED WRITTEN ARTEFACTS AND THEIR INTERNAL DYNAMICS

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Hamburg, State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fol. 23'.  
Different changes in a prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, ein  
*Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Lessing für die Bühne gekürzt v. Schiller* ('Nathan the Wise, a  
play in five acts by Lessing abridged for the stage by [Friedrich] Schiller'); first performance in  
Hamburg in the present version: 2 December 1803 (according to the playbill) <<https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh3323>>. © Public Domain Mark 1.0. See the contribution by  
Martin Schäfer and Alexander Weinstock in this volume.

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## Article

# Ps. Apollodorus, Virgil and the Myth of the Proetides: The Stratigraphy of Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50

Gianmario Cattaneo | Vercelli

## 1. Introduction

Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) is widely regarded as one of the most important Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. He was able to write prose and verse works in Italian, Latin and Ancient Greek<sup>1</sup> and was considered the leading figure in Renaissance philology by European humanists.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he was professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Florence for almost fifteen years and many scholars from Italy and all over Europe came to Florence to attend his classes.<sup>3</sup>

Poliziano published many works during his life (translations, poems and critical essays), which were strongly influenced by ancient Greek and Latin authors, and luckily, we still have a host of preparatory notes Poliziano wrote before producing and publishing these works. These notes can be analysed in order to reconstruct the processes that lay behind his literary products.

As for these processes, Poliziano first used to read the ancient text he wanted to use and then annotated the manuscripts or the printed editions that contained these texts. Sometimes he noted these texts down in separate notebooks and he wrote marginal or interlinear notes in these notebooks as well, in order to highlight a particular passage and make it easier to find later. As we will see, all these documents (manuscripts, printed editions and notebooks) are closely connected, and Poliziano adopted particular strategies to connect and use them. We can therefore compare his activity as a philologist (his ‘philological laboratory’, as Alessandro Daneloni used to say)<sup>4</sup> to a series of ‘layers’ in constant interaction, with an implicit or explicit hierarchy.

To identify these strata and their hierarchy, we must delve into the mass of Poliziano’s autograph notes, which are often difficult to read and study because of his rapid handwriting. In this paper, I shall present an example concerning the sources and ‘layers’ of a chapter of Poliziano’s *Miscellanies*, which regards the myth of the Proetides according to ancient sources such as Ps. Apollodorus and Virgil.

## 2. Angelo Poliziano and his *zibaldoni*: a short overview

First of all, I will provide a brief outline of Poliziano’s life.<sup>5</sup> Angelo Ambrogini, as he was originally known, was born in Montepulciano in Tuscany in 1454. He was called ‘Poliziano’ after his birthplace. His father, Benedetto, was a supporter of the Medici family and was murdered by his political antagonists in 1464. Sometime after his death, but before 1469, Poliziano moved to Florence where he began to study at the *Studium Florentinum* (that is, the local university). He studied Latin and Ancient Greek there and started to compose prose and verse in both languages. Moreover, he soon became one of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s protégés. In 1478, after the so-called Pazzi conspiracy, Poliziano took refuge in the Medicean villa of Cafaggiolo, but because of some disagreements with Lorenzo’s wife, he decided to leave Florence and then started travelling to northern Italian courts such as Venice, Padua and Mantua. Poliziano made up with Lorenzo in 1480 and returned to Florence. It was here that he began his career as a professor at the *Studium Florentinum*, where he took up the chair of Greek and Latin poetry and rhetoric.<sup>6</sup> As for his philological production, Poliziano published a collection of essays in 1489 devoted to lexical and textual problems in texts of ancient authors, under the title of *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (‘First Century of the

<sup>1</sup> On Poliziano’s multilingualism, see the overview provided by Campanelli 2014, 147–150.

<sup>2</sup> On Poliziano’s influence on European humanists, see Sanchi 2014, for instance.

<sup>3</sup> See Refe 2015 and Refe 2016.

<sup>4</sup> See Daneloni 2011a.

<sup>5</sup> For further information, see the biographical profiles of Poliziano by Bigi 1960, Maier 1966, Galand-Hallyn 1997 and Orvieto 2009.

<sup>6</sup> For more on Poliziano’s courses at the *Studium Florentinum*, see Cesarini Martinelli 1996 and Mandosio 2008.



*Miscellanies*').<sup>7</sup> Poliziano passed away in 1494, two years after Lorenzo and two months before his friend Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

Regarding the main topics of his courses at the *Studium*, Poliziano lectured on various Greek and Latin authors such as Homer, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Persius. We are well informed about some of these courses, especially through the commentaries Poliziano wrote for his classes.<sup>8</sup> These commentaries are preserved in the *zibaldoni*, miscellaneous collections of texts and notes (not only the aforementioned commentaries on ancient texts, but also excerpts from different Greek and Latin authors; Fig. 1), which were copied by Poliziano or his co-workers and 'were conceived exclusively for personal use as repositories of materials that could be accessed at different stages for pedagogical purposes or for the composition of original works'.<sup>9</sup>

When Angelo Poliziano passed away, this mass of working papers and notes landed in the lap of his student Pietro Del Riccio Baldi, also known as Pietro Crinito (1475–1507),<sup>10</sup> who tried to reorder and reorganise them in a series of volumes. Crinito started to follow Poliziano's classes around 1491 and became one of his closest collaborators. As regards his literary works, after his master's death he edited and promoted the publication of Poliziano's *opera omnia*, which was published in 1498 by Aldo Manuzio,<sup>11</sup> and in 1504 he published the treatise *De honesta disciplina* ('On the honest discipline'), a series of essays concerning different aspects of Greek and Latin culture, which was largely influenced by Poliziano's *Miscellanies*.<sup>12</sup>

When Crinito died, Poliziano's *zibaldoni* passed on to Pier Vettori (1499–1585), who was professor of Greek and Latin at the *Studium Florentinum* from 1538 until he died. In 1780, the library of the Vettori family was bought by Charles Theodore, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1724–1799). His library was later acquired by the Library of the Dukes of Bavaria, and today the most important *zibaldoni* of Angelo Poliziano reorganised by Crinito are kept at the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich,<sup>13</sup> where their shelf marks are Munich, BSB, Clm 748, 754, 755, 756, 766, 798, 807 and Munich, BSB, gr. 182.<sup>14</sup>

The study of these manuscripts is crucial because it allows us to reconstruct the background of Poliziano's activity as a philologist, commentator and professor at the *Studium Florentinum*. In the group of manuscripts I mentioned, a peculiar role is played by the codex Munich, BSB, gr. 182 because, like Paris, BnF, gr. 3069 and Vatican City, BAV, gr. 1373,<sup>15</sup> it is one of the few *zibaldoni* that only contain extracts from Greek authors.

The texts Poliziano transcribed in the manuscript Munich, BSB, gr. 182 come from the Lexicon of Suidas or Suda; the scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, *Theogony* and *Shield*; Ps. Apollodorus' *Library*; the scholia on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and *Knights*, and Eustathius of Thessalonica's *Commentary on the Odyssey*.<sup>16</sup> In this paper, I will focus on the section which contains excerpts from Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (fols 76<sup>v</sup>–90<sup>v</sup>, indicated by the siglum 'M' in the critical editions of the *Library*) and I will analyse the relationship between this section and other works by Poliziano. In particular, the study of this part of the manuscript allows us to get new data and reconstruct the sources of a chapter of Poliziano's *Miscellanies* (1.50).

<sup>7</sup> The *Centuria secunda* remained unpublished after Poliziano's death and was only rediscovered in the twentieth century. Both Centuries were republished recently by Dyck and Cottrell (2020) along with an English translation of them. On the *Miscellanies*, see Grafton 1977, Lo Monaco 1989, Fera 1998 and Fiaschi 2016 in particular.

<sup>8</sup> Poliziano's commentaries for his courses were published in Lazzeri 1971 (Ovid, *Letter of Sappho to Phaon*), Lattanzi Roselli 1973 (Terentius, *Andria*), Gardenal 1975 and Fera 1983 (Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*), Cesarini Martinelli 1978 (Statius, *Silvae*), Pastore Stocchi 1983 (*Carmen de rosis*), Cesarini Martinelli/Ricciardi 1985 (Persius), Lo Monaco 1991 (Ovid, *Fasti*) and Silvano 2019 (Homer, *Odyssey*).

<sup>9</sup> I owe this definition to Torello-Hill 2017, 106. On the humanistic miscellanies, see the overview provided by Cortesi and Fiaschi 2012.

<sup>10</sup> On Crinito's life and works, see especially Ricciardi 1990. On his manuscripts and library, see Marchiaro 2013a and Marchiaro 2013b.

<sup>11</sup> On Crinito's role in the publication of Poliziano's *opera*, see Martelli 1978 in particular.

<sup>12</sup> On *De honesta disciplina*, published by Angeleri 1955, see Pierini 2017 and Cattaneo 2022a.

<sup>13</sup> On the various passages of Crinito's library, from Pier Vettori to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, see Arnold 1994, 96–98; Hajdú 2002, 81–90; Mouren 2010; Marchiaro 2013a, 22–23.

<sup>14</sup> These manuscripts are catalogued in Marchiaro 2013a, 189–232.

<sup>15</sup> On Par. gr. 3069, see Maier 1965, 227–232; Silvano 2019, xxxvi–lix; on Vat. gr. 1373, see Maier 1965, 286–287. The reproductions of these manuscripts are available online at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105159048>> and <[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1373](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1373)> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

<sup>16</sup> The content of this manuscript is described in Maier 1965, 201–203; Hajdú 2012, 32–35; Marchiaro 2013a, 228–232. Several studies are devoted to the different sections of this manuscript: Papathomopoulos 1973 (Ps. Apollodorus); Silvano 2005 (Eustathius of Thessalonica); Cattaneo 2022a (Suidas). The manuscript is available at <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00012910?page=1>> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

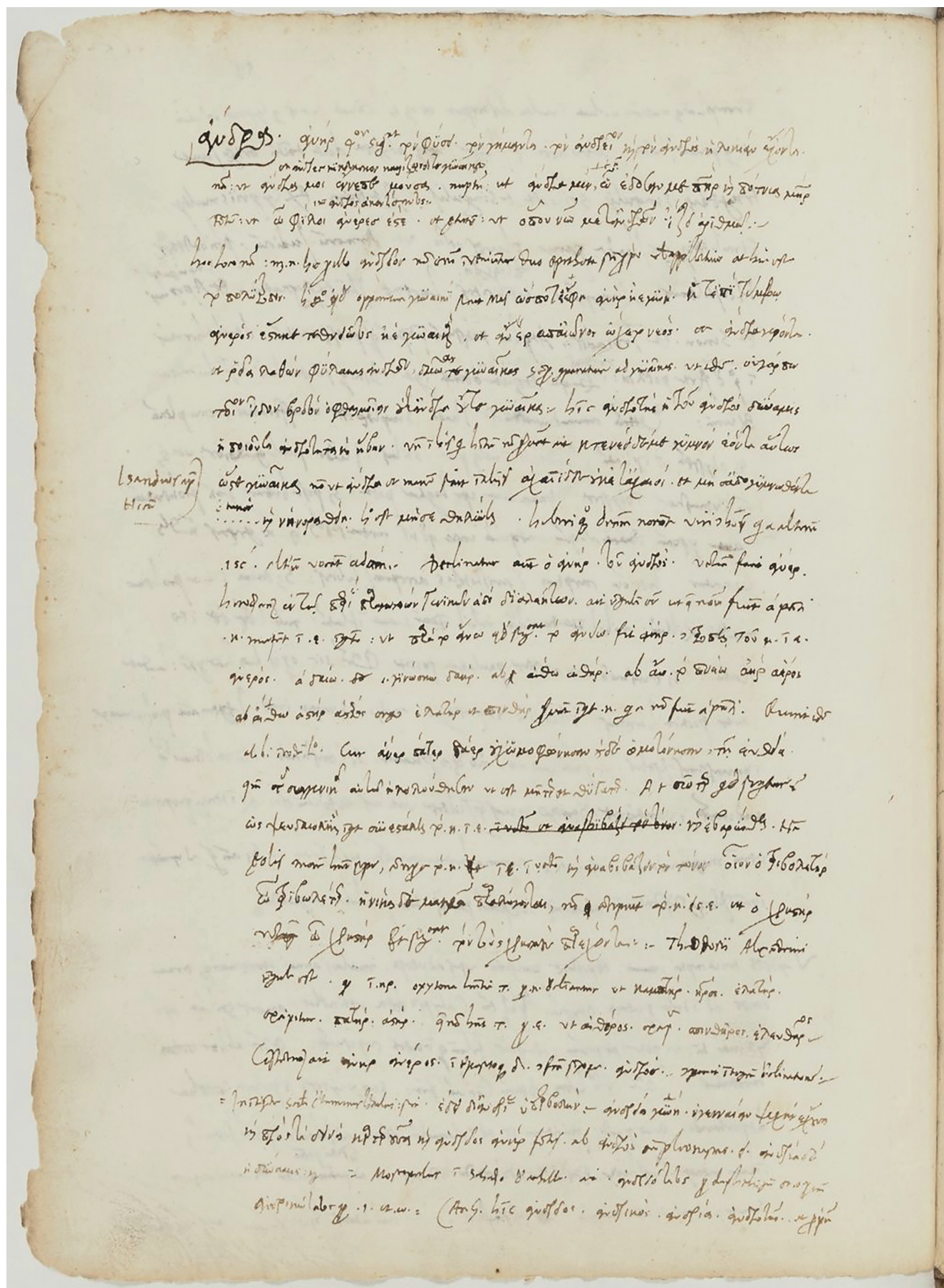


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 3069, fol. 53r: An example from a zibaldone: the beginning of Poliziano's commentary on the *Odyssey*.



### 3. Manuscript M in the manuscript tradition of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library*

Before discussing the main topic of my paper, I will briefly analyse the position of M in the *stemma codicum* of Ps. Apollodorus. I would just like to add that Poliziano finished copying it on 7 September 1482, as it says so in the *subscriptio* on fol. 90<sup>v</sup> (‘τέλος. Florentiae, in Pauli, 7 septembris 1482’ [‘The end. In Florence, in the Church of St Paul,<sup>17</sup> 7 September 1482’]).

Richard Wagner, who published the first critical edition of the *Library*, was not aware of the existence of M, even though this manuscript had already been described in Hardt's catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in Munich.<sup>18</sup> Aubrey Diller rediscovered the section of M with the extracts from Ps. Apollodorus in the 1930s: he demonstrated that M derives from Paris, BnF, gr. 2722 (R),<sup>19</sup> but he did not conduct a detailed analysis on the text.<sup>20</sup> The first scholar who shed light on M's contribution to the *constitutio textus* of the *Library* was Manolis Papathomopoulos. Thirty-five years after Diller's papers, Papathomopoulos collated M for the first time and presented three lists of variant readings from it.<sup>21</sup> Papathomopoulos' collation was used by Paolo Scarpi, whose edition follows Wagner's text to a large extent.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, in 2010 Papathomopoulos published a critical edition of the *Library*, which takes the witness M fully into account.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, Claudio Meliadò noticed that Papathomopoulos had made some mistakes in reporting several variants (including those of M).<sup>24</sup> Papathomopoulos provided a new *stemma codicum*, too,<sup>25</sup> and he confirmed Diller's hypothesis: M (and Oxford, BL,

Laud. gr. 55 (O) as well)<sup>26</sup> was copied by Poliziano from R when the latter codex still had all its folia (regarding the present condition of R, Diller says ‘out of twenty-nine leaves, only seventeen are extant’<sup>27</sup>).

Moreover, as regards M, we should note that Poliziano did not simply transcribe his antigraph R, but proposed a series of conjectures and corrections, some of which would be later matched by those of modern editors. For instance, Apollod. 2.20 ἐκ Πιερίας (*sic*) was corrected to ἐκ Πιερίας (‘from Pieria’), just like Heyne did three hundred years later.<sup>28</sup> Another interesting example comes from Apollod. 2.17: in this case, all the manuscripts read ἐξ ἀμαδονάδων νυμφῶν, but ἀμαδονάδων is a meaningless word. The *editor princeps* Benedictus Aegius therefore proposed to correct it to ἐξ ἀμαδρυάδων νυμφῶν (‘from the nymphs Hamadryades’).<sup>29</sup> Similarly, in M, Poliziano initially wrote ἀμαδονάδων, but then wrote δρυ above δον; it seems he understood that Ps. Apollodorus was referring to the Hamadryades here, a type of nymph whose life depended on the trees to which it was attached.<sup>30</sup>

### 4. The stratigraphy of Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50

4.1 *The starting point (or point of arrival?)*: *Miscellanies*, 1.50  
Poliziano shows his profound knowledge of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* in a chapter of the aforementioned *Miscellanies* published in Florence in 1489. In *Miscellanies*, 1.50, Poliziano aims to correct a passage of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (25.47):<sup>31</sup> in the first part of the chapter, he cites Pliny's text according to the ‘vulgatissimi codices’ (‘the most widespread manuscripts’):<sup>32</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Poliziano was prior of the Church of St Paul in Florence from 1477; see Curti 2017.

<sup>18</sup> See Hardt 1806, 222–225.

<sup>19</sup> R is the archetype of the whole manuscript tradition of Ps. Apollodorus; on this manuscript, see in particular Wagner 1926, viii–xi; Diller 1935, 306–308; Papathomopoulos 1973, 13–24; Wilson 1983; Degni 2008, 215–216; Papathomopoulos 2010, 15–16. A digital reproduction is available at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722547k>> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

<sup>20</sup> See Diller 1938, 209: ‘For the lost portions the future text may rely on M as well as O. M will be very difficult to use, however, since the writing is almost illegible and the text is excerpted and often paraphrased in Latin’. Diller's major contribution on Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* appeared three years earlier (Diller 1935), but M was considered.

<sup>21</sup> Papathomopoulos 1973, 26–34.

<sup>22</sup> See Scarpi 1997, xvi–xvii.

<sup>23</sup> See Papathomopoulos 2010, 15–17.

<sup>24</sup> See Meliadò 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Papathomopoulos 2010, 17.

<sup>26</sup> For more on O, see Wagner 1926, xix–xx; Diller 1935, 310–312; Papathomopoulos 1973, 24–26.

<sup>27</sup> Diller 1938, 209.

<sup>28</sup> Heyne 1782, 85. On this edition, see in particular Huys 1997, 321 and Fornaro 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Aegius 1555, 43<sup>v</sup>. On this edition, see Huys 1997, 320.

<sup>30</sup> These Greek mythological figures are both attested by Greek authors (Apollonius of Rhodes; Nonnus of Panopolis; Athenaeus) and Latin ones (Propertius; Ovid).

<sup>31</sup> On Poliziano's studies on Pliny the Elder, see Fera 1995, Fera 1996, Viti 2012, Guida 2018 and Vespoli 2021.

<sup>32</sup> On the meaning of ‘codices vulgati’ in Poliziano's philological works, see Rizzo 1973, 72–74. The variant readings of Pliny's passage are reported in Mayhoff 1897, 131.

Melampodis fama divinationis artibus nota est; ab hoc appellatur unum hellebori genus melampodion. Aliqui pastorem eodem nomine invenisse tradunt, capras purgari pastore illo animadvertente, datoque lacte earum sanasse Parotidas furentes.

The reputation of Melampus in the arts of divination is well known, from whom one species of hellebore is called melampodion. Some relate that a shepherd with the same name discovered it: while the shepherd was watching his she-goats, they were purged [by it], and by giving them the goats' milk he cured the daughters of Parotas.<sup>33</sup>

Poliziano says that an ancient codex in the library of the Medici family reads 'Proetides' ('daughters of Proetus') instead of 'Parotides' ('daughters of Parotas').<sup>34</sup> indeed, here Pliny talks about the myth of the crazy daughters of Proetus, who were cured by Melampus the seer. After that, Poliziano reports the myth of the Proetides according to Apollod. 2.26–29:

But in his *Library* (for that is the title of his book), Apollodorus of Athens attributes the cleansing of Proetus's daughters to the seer Melampus rather than to a shepherd. He also says that to Proetus and Stheneboea were born the daughters Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who, as soon as they grew up, were plagued by insanity [...]. After they began to rave, they first wandered throughout all the territory of the Argives, and then indeed even ran through Arcadia and the entire Peloponnese, in desolate places, heedless of modesty, until Melampus, [...] a seer and the first to discover how to heal by means of medicines and purgatives, vowed that he would cure the young women if a third of the realm were paid over to him as compensation. Since Proetus by no means agreed, deterred by so vast a price, the madness of the girls began to blaze up more and more each day [...]. Therefore, with the calamity spreading farther and farther, Proetus agreed to pay the price demanded. But now Melampus said he would not cure them until another territory of the same size was made over to his brother Bias as well. At this point [...] Proetus agreed to this price. Then and only then did Melampus enroll all the strongest men as his companions and drive the young women

with shouts and some sort of frenzied dance (for that is what he calls it) all the way down from the mountains to Sicyon. Although the eldest daughter, Iphinoe, died in the pursuit, the rest came to their senses upon using the purgative. Then Proetus gave over his daughters to Melampus and Bias [in marriage], and after that he himself sired a son, Megapenthes. Thus far, in essence, Apollodorus.<sup>35</sup>

According to what I said in the previous paragraphs, the source of this passage could be R (which does not contain the folio with Apollod. 2.21–75 anymore, but still had all its folios at that time) or it could be M (because Poliziano often uses his *zibaldoni* as a source).<sup>36</sup> However, the identification of Poliziano's sources is far more complicated, as we shall see.

#### 4.2. Ps. Apollodorus' passage in manuscript M and in 'our Virgil'

Poliziano used to copy or translate Ps. Apollodorus' text very carefully in M, but he was very concise in the case of Apollod. 2.26–29; indeed, he summarised Apollod. 2.26–29 in just one sentence.<sup>37</sup> On fol. 81<sup>r</sup>, he simply wrote: 'Acrisio ex Eurydice Lacedemonis Danae; Proeto ex Steneboea Lysippe, Iphinoe, Iphianassa, quae insanierunt' ('Acrisius had Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon; Proetus had Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who went mad, by Steneboea').

Nevertheless, in the margin of the same folio, Poliziano wrote: 'De insania Proetidum et Melampode [in Fastianis *del.*] 196) in Virgilio nostro' ('On the madness of the Proetides and on Melampus, see fol. 196 in our Virgil'; Fig. 2). Indeed, as Francesco Lo Monaco has already demonstrated, Poliziano usually does not recopy a passage of the *Library* that he has already written somewhere else in his notes (in particular in the *Commentary to Ovid's Fasti*).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Translation from Dyck and Cottrell 2020, 1.267.

<sup>34</sup> Observe that Pliny's 'vetustissimi codices', which Poliziano usually consulted, read 'Proecidas' (Florence, BR, 488) and 'Protidas' (Florence, BML, Plut. 82.1–2). See Viti 2012, 158–159 on Poliziano's use of these manuscripts.

<sup>35</sup> Translation from Dyck and Cottrell 2020, 1.269–271.

<sup>36</sup> See Daneloni 2011b.

<sup>37</sup> See section 6.1 below.

<sup>38</sup> Lo Monaco 1991, XXVII–XXIX. See Cattaneo 2022b as well.







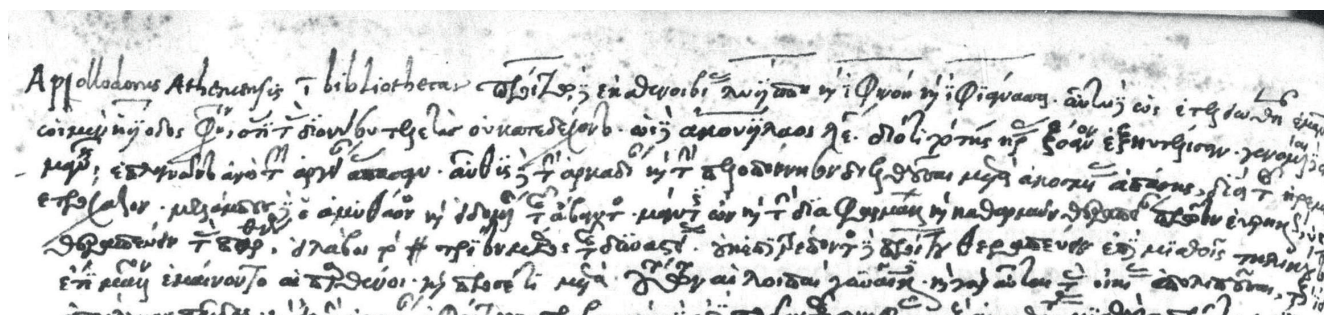


Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196v: Apollod. 2.26–29 in ‘our Virgil’.

Since Poliziano says that the myth of the Proetides can be read on folio 196 of ‘our Virgil’, it means that he probably copied a collection of sources regarding the Proetides (or perhaps just Apollod. 2.26–29) on fol. 196 of a manuscript or a printed edition of Virgil’s *opera* that he owned. Indeed, Virgil refers to this myth in *Eclogues*, 6.48:<sup>39</sup> ‘Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros’ (‘The daughters of Proetus filled the fields with feigned lowings’<sup>40</sup>).

As Roberto Ricciardi has rightly pointed out, when Poliziano talks about ‘our Virgil’ in his autograph notes, he is referring to a specific incunable of Virgil, which he largely annotated in the 1470–80s and is now preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the shelf mark Paris, BnF, Rés g. Yc. 236.<sup>41</sup> It is an exemplar of Virgil’s *opera omnia*, published in 1471 by the German printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz.<sup>42</sup>

In fol. 25v (according to the number Poliziano wrote at the top of each folio), it reads *Eclogues*, 6.48<sup>43</sup> and in the margin Poliziano commented: ‘Idem [i.e. Marcus Valerius Probus, who is mentioned in the previous note]: Proetides Preti filiae regis Argivorum. Hesiodus docet ex Preto et Sthenoboea Amphidamantis natas; has, quod Iunionis contempserant numen, insania exterritas quae crederent se boves factas, patriam Argos reliquisse, postea a Melampode,

Amythaonis filio, sanatas [ita ait *del.*]’ (‘The same. Hesiod reports that they were born from Proetus and Sthenoboea, Amphidamas’s daughter. Because they had despised Hera’s divinity, they became terrified by madness, thinking that they had become cows, and abandoned their homeland Argos; later they were healed by Melampus, Amythaon’s son’<sup>44</sup>). This passage corresponds to Probus, *Commentary to Virgil’s Eclogues*, 6.48, 345 Hagen.<sup>45</sup>

So there is no trace of Ps. Apollodorus. However, Poliziano wrote ‘quaere (196)’ (‘see folio 196’) above ‘Proetides’. The ink he used to write it is darker than what he used for Probus, *Commentary to Virgil’s Eclogues*, 6.48, so it seems that these two notes were written at two different times. On fol. 196v, which was originally blank, Poliziano copied Apollod. 2.26–29 (Fig. 3); it seems the passage was too long to be included on fol. 25v, which was already full of notes, so Poliziano decided to use a blank folio at the end of the volume.

The text that he copied on fol. 196v is quite relevant because, as I said before, the folio of Poliziano’s antigraph, which contained Apollod. 2.21–75, is currently missing. Rés g. Yc. 236 can therefore be used to fill in the gaps currently in R.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On Poliziano’s exegesis on the *Bucolics*, see Ricciardi 2021. On Poliziano’s studies on Virgil, also see Ricciardi 1968, Gioseffi 1992, Ottaviano 2011 and Paolino 2016.

<sup>40</sup> Translation from Fairclough and Goold 1999, 65.

<sup>41</sup> For more on this incunable, see in particular Castano Musicò 1990, Ricciardi 2021 and Vespoli 2023.

<sup>42</sup> Vergilius, *Opera*, Rome: Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1471 (ISTC iv00151400; USTC 990039).

<sup>43</sup> It is worth adding that in Poliziano’s *Commentary to the Bucolics*, which is preserved in the *zibaldone* Munich, BSB, Clm 754, fols 169–217v and is still unpublished, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48 is not commented. In fact, in fol. 215v, Poliziano first commented ‘stuprat’ (*Ecl.* 6.37) and after that he moved on to ‘fultus’ (*Ecl.* 6.53).

<sup>44</sup> Translation from Most 2018, 167.

<sup>45</sup> On Poliziano’s studies on Ps. Probus’ commentaries to Virgil, see in particular Gioseffi 1991, 280–299 and Gioseffi 1992.

<sup>46</sup> See Wagner 1926, viii. I recently wrote an article on the contribution of Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196v to the *constitutio textus* of Ps. Apollodorus’ *Library* (Cattaneo 2022b).

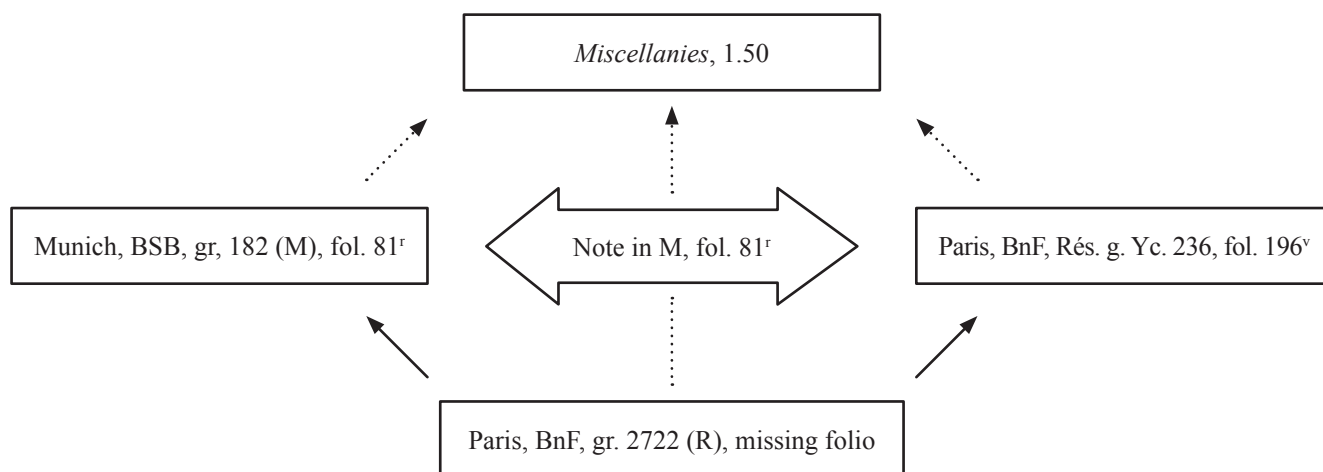


Fig. 4: Diagram of the sources.

## 5. Conclusion

Fig. 4 shows a hypothetical diagram of the sources of Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50. As said, we do not know the exact sources of Apollod. 2.26–29 in Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50, but we can try to establish a sort of hierarchy between the ones that we are aware of.

The starting point is represented by manuscript R, from which Poliziano copied Ps. Apollodorus' extract in Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196<sup>v</sup>. Since Poliziano did not have enough space to include it on fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, he may have copied it on another folio, and he wrote 'quaere (196' over *Ecl.* 6.48. Later, when he decided to produce an anthology of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* in manuscript M, he did not copy the passages he had already transcribed elsewhere. Hence, he did not include Apollod. 2.26–29, but in the margin of fol. 81<sup>r</sup>, he wrote 'De insania Proetidium et Melampode 196) in Virgilio nostro'; this note represents the link between all these documents.

It is impossible to establish what Poliziano actually did when he was composing *Miscellanies*, 1.50, of course. He could have directly used R or Rés g. Yc. 236 as his source or he could have consulted M and then Rés g. Yc. 236. In the diagram, I have expressed this uncertainty by three dashed lines, which connect R, M and Rés g. Yc. 236 with *Miscellanies*, 1.50.

We can see from this example that Poliziano's literary and philological activity produced a huge kind of 'multilayered artefact', where the addition of a new layer in a book is not only influenced by the pre-existing layers (Poliziano could not copy Apollod. 2.26–29 in Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, so he wrote it on fol. 196<sup>r</sup> instead), but can also influence and be influenced by the layers of other books as well (Poliziano decided not to include Apollod. 2.26–29 in M because it was already included in Rés g. Yc. 236, but he indicated it in the margin of M on fol. 81<sup>r</sup>).



## 6. Appendix: samples from Poliziano's autographs

6.1. *Apollod. 2.24–29 (M, fol. 81<sup>r</sup>)*

I shall present the edition of *Apollod. 2.24–29* here as copied by Poliziano in M, followed by an English translation and a series of apparatuses. The apparatus at the end of the text is divided into several parts: an *apparatus fontium* (A<sup>47</sup>), an *apparatus criticus* (B) and a comparison between Poliziano's text and the apparatus of the current critical editions of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (C).<sup>48</sup>

[24] Lynceus post Danaum rex Argorum ex Ypermnestra Abanta; ex hoc et Agallia Mantinei filia Acrisius et Proetus, qui vel adhuc cum in alvo essent ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Dein de regno bellaverunt, primique ἀσπίδας invenerunt. Victor Acrisius. [25] Proetus in Lyciam ad Iobatem fugit, ut alii, ad Amphianacta, cuius γαμεῖ filiam, ut Homerus, Ἄντειαν, ut tragici, Stheneboeam. Κατάγει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κηδεστὴς μετὰ στρατοῦ Λυκίων, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπων τειχισάντων. Μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἅπασαν κατέκουν. Acrisius rex Argorum, Proetus Tiryntos. [26] Acrisio ex Eurydice Lacedemonis Danae; Proeto ex Steneboea Lysippe, Iphinoe, Iphianassa, quae insanierunt.

[24] Lynceus was king of Argos after Danaus and had Abas by Hypermnestra; Acrisius and Proetus were born from him and Aglaia, daughter of Mantineus, and they quarrelled with one another even while they were still in the womb. Then they fought over the kingdom and became the first inventors of shields. Acrisius was the winner. [25] Proetus fled to the court of Iobates in Lycia, or according to some, the court of Amphianax: he married his daughter, whose name is Anteia according to Homer, or Stheneboea according to the tragic

poets. His father-in-law, with an army of Lycians, restored Proetus to his kingdom, and he conquered Tiryns, which was fortified by the Cyclopes for him (Proetus). They divided the whole Argolid and made it their home: Acrisius became king of Argos, Proetus king of Tiryns. [26–29] Acrisius had Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon; Proetus had Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who went mad, by Stheneboea.

A 25 Homerus] Hom. *Il.* 6.160 tragici] cf. Eur. *TGrF* (40) iiic

B 24 *post ex del.* cly (?) 25 *ex Stheneboea*] *ex corr.* *ex et 26–29 in marg.* De insania Proetidum et Melampode 196) [in Fastianis *del.*] in Virgilio nostro

C 24 Ἀγλαΐας Commelinus : Ἀγαλλίας codd.; Agallia M 25 Τίρυνθος Wagner: Τίρυνθον codd.; Tiryntos M

6.2 *Apollod. 2.26–29 (Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196<sup>v</sup>)*

Here I present the edition of *Apollod. 2.26–29* copied by Poliziano in Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196<sup>v</sup>, an English translation of the passage and the apparatuses. The first apparatus contains the sources cited in *Apollod. 2.26–29*, the second one reports the textual differences between this excerpt and the other manuscripts and editions of Ps. Apollodorus,<sup>49</sup> and the third one is the *apparatus criticus*.

Apollodorus Atheniensis in Bibliotheca: [26] Προῖτω δὲ ἐκ Σθενεβοΐας Λυσίππη καὶ Ἰφινόη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα. Αὗται δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, ἐμάνησαν, ὡς μὲν Ἡσίοδος φησιν, ὅτι τὰς Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξητελείσαν. [27] Γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἅπασαν, αἰθὺς δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον διελθοῦσαι μετ' ἀκοσμίας ἀπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον. Μελάμπους δὲ ὁ Ἀμυθάνορος καὶ Εἰδομένης τῆς Ἀβαντος, μάντις ὢν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτον εὗρηκώς, ὑπὸ σκηνῇ θεραπείν τὰς παρθένους, εἰ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς δυναστείας. [28] Οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος δὲ Προΐτου θεραπείν ἐπὶ μισθοῖς τηλικούτοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμαίνοντο αἱ παρθέναι καὶ προσέτι μετὰ τούτων αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες· καὶ γὰρ αὗται τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολιποῦσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπάλλυνον παῖδας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐφοίτων. Προβαινούσης δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς συμφορᾶς, τοὺς αἰτηθέντας μισθοὺς Προΐτος ἐδίδου. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο θεραπεύειν ὅταν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον

<sup>47</sup> I have used the following abbreviations in apparatus A: *FGrHist*: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, eds Felix Jacoby et al.; M.-W.: *Fragmenta Hesiodae*, eds Rainer Merkelbach and Martin West; *TGrF*: *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, eds Bruno Snell, Stefan Radt and Richard Kannicht.

<sup>48</sup> To create apparatus C, I consulted the apparatuses of Wagner 1926, Scarpi 1997 and Papathomopoulos 2010. The *sigla* of the manuscripts correspond to M: Munich, BSB, gr. 182; O: Oxford, BL, Laud. 55. The scholars I cite there correspond to Aegius: Benedictus Aegius (ed.), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae, sive De deorum origine ... libri tres*, Rome: Antonio Blado, 1555 (USTC 809792); Commelinus: *Apollodori Atheniensis grammatici Bibliothecae, sive De deorum origine libri tres*, Antwerp: Hieronymus Commelinus, 1599 (USTC 612360); Heyne: Christian Gottlob Heyne (ed.), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae libri tres*, vols 1–2, Göttingen: Dieterich, 1782–1783; Papathomopoulos: Manolis Papathomopoulos (ed.), *Απολλοδώρου Βιβλιοθήκη. Apollodori Bibliotheca*, Athens: Aletheia, 2010; Wagner: Richard Wagner (ed.), *Mythographi Graeci*, vol. 1, *Apollodori Bibliotheca. Peditasimi libellus De duodecim Herculis laboribus*, 2nd edn, Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. The *siglum edd.* indicate the consensus of the modern editions by Wagner, Scarpi and Papathomopoulos.

<sup>49</sup> See the previous note on the *sigla* I used in this apparatus. 'Poliziano' corresponds to Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196<sup>v</sup> here.

τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ λάβη Βίας. Προῖτος δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ βραδυνούσης τῆς θεραπείας αἰτηθεὶ καὶ πλεῖον, θεραπεύειν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις. [29] Μελάμπους δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν νεανιῶν μετ' ἀλαγμοῦ καὶ τινος ἐνθέου χορείας ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐτὰς εἰς Σικυῶνα συνεδίωξε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν διωγμὸν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θυγατέρων Ἰφινόη μετήλλαξεν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τυχούσαις καθαρμοῦν σωφρονῆσαι συνέβη. Καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐξέδοτο Προῖτος Μελάμποδι καὶ Βίαντι, παῖδα δ' ὕστερον ἐγέννησε Μεγαπένθη.

Apollodorus of Athens in the *Library*: '[26] Proetus had three daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa, by Stheneboea. When the daughters of Proetus were fully grown, they went mad, because, according to Hesiod, they refused to accept the rites of Dionysus, or, according to Acusilaus, because they had disparaged the wooden image of Hera. [27] In their madness, they wandered through the whole of the Argolid, and then, after passing through Arcadia and the Peloponnese, rushed through the desert in a state of complete abandon. Melampus, the son of Amythaon and Eidomene, daughter of Abas, who was a diviner and the first man to discover that illnesses could be cured by drugs and purifications, promised to cure the girls if he was given a third of the kingdom in return. [28] When Proetus refused to hand them over for treatment at such a high price, not only did the girls' madness grow worse, but the other women went mad [as well]; for they too deserted their houses, destroyed their own children, and wandered into the wilderness.

The calamity had developed to such an extreme that Proetus now offered to pay the demanded fee; but Melampus [promised] to undertake the cure only if his brother Bias received a share of the land equal to his own. Fearing that if the cure were delayed, a still greater fee would be demanded of him, Proetus agreed to the cure on these terms. [29] So Melampus took the most vigorous of the young men, and with loud cries and ecstatic dancing, they chased the women out of the mountains and into Sicyon. During the pursuit, the eldest of Proetus' daughters, Iphinoe, met her death; but the other two were duly purified, and recovered their reason. Proetus gave his daughters in marriage to Melampus and Bias, and later became the father of a son, Megapenthes'.<sup>50</sup>

**A 26** Ἡσίοδος φησιν] Hes. *fr.* 131 M.-W. ὥς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει] Acusilaus *FGrHist* 2 F 28

**B** Apollodorus] Apollodorus *scr.*, *sed secundum p del.*, *ut vid.*

**C 26** καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον O Poliziano : secl. edd.; serv. Papathomopoulos **27** πρῶτον O Poliziano : πρῶτος Aegius, edd. λάβοι τὸ Poliziano (τὸ post λάβοι τὸ del.), Heyne, edd. : λαβοίτο δὲ τὸ O **28** ἐπὶ πλεῖον Poliziano : ἐπὶ πλεῖστον O edd. Προῖτος ἐδίδου Poliziano : ὁ Προῖτος ἐδίδου O edd. **29** ἀλαγμοῦ O Poliziano : ἀλαλαγμοῦ Aegius, edd. πρεσβυτάτη Poliziano, Aegius, edd. : πρεσβύτη O Ἰφινόη O Poliziano : Ἰφινόη Aegius, edd. Μελάμποδι καὶ Βίαντι] post καὶ del. Προίτῳ Poliziano

<sup>50</sup> Translation from Hard 1997, 63.



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