The lineaments of the orthodox account of the descent of Apuleius’ *philosophica* were traced over century ago by Paul Thomas.1 There are two

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1 P. Thomas, “Étude sur la tradition manuscrite des œuvres philosophiques d’Apulée”, *Bull. Acad. Royale de Belgique*, Classe des Lettres, Brussels 1907, 103–47; cf. L. D. Reynolds, “Apuleius. *Opera philosophica*. Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics, Oxford 1983, 16–8. On Apuleius’ *philosophica* in general, see now R. Fletcher, *Apuleius’ Platonism: The Impersonation of Philosophy*, Cambridge 2014; and on his medieval and Renaissance reception, see J. Gaisser, *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass: A Study in Transmission and Reception*, Princeton 2008; as well as her article “How Apuleius Survived: The African Connection”, *Apuleius and Africa*, New York 2014, 52–65. B is available for consultation online through the *Europeana Regia* project.
branches, now called α and δ; α is the more reliable of the two, and the best and earliest representative of α is B (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 10054-56). δ is somewhat younger than α; its earliest representative, N (Leiden, Voss. lat. Q. 10), appears around the beginning of the eleventh century. This is the basis on which Thomas produced his Teubner of 1908 (though not using N), J. Beaujeu his Budé of 1973, and finally C. Moreschini the completely revised Teubner of 1991. As Moreschini was working on his edition for the Stuttgart side of the Cold War split in the house of B. G. Teubner, Frank Regen was working on an edition of the philosophica for the Leipzig side. After the wall fell, and the two branches were once again reunited, it was Moreschini’s edition that Teubner chose to publish. Regen, however, along with Raymond Klibansky, did publish some of his research in 1993 in the form of a (nearly) comprehensive catalogue of the manuscripts of the philosophica with a substantial appendix on their relationships. Regen and Klibansky harshly criticized Moreschini’s edition, particularly for his dismissal of a group of thirteenth-century and later manuscripts, foremost among them R, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1572, as a docta recensio. And so to this day, the question remains open: is R an independent witness to the archetype or not? Given the current lull in editing the philosophica, as we await the promised Oxford text of the corpus being prepared by Giuseppina Magnaldi, it seems a good idea to try to resolve this crux between a bipartite and tripartite stemma.

1. The Tradition of the Philosophica

1.1 The manuscripts

The standard stemma of the tradition is as follows (I present the one from Texts and Transmission, slightly modified):

2 I am grateful to Hans Berndorf for supplying me with details about Regen’s edition.

3 R. Klibansky and F. Regen, Frank Regen, Die Handschriften der philosophischen Werke des Apuleius. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, Göttingen 1993; hereafter, this catalogue will be cited as Klibansky/Regen. The appendix is found on 158-68. Much of the evidence I present here can also be found there; the evidence however occasionally rests on faulty readings, uses a novel system of sigla, and lacks any substantial analysis. Thus many of the examples I use below can be found there, but I have checked the readings in R and B from the manuscripts, and developed my evidence solely from the collation of the manuscripts and from Moreschini’s apparatus.

4 To judge from the work Magnaldi has published thus far, her edition will represent a substantial improvement: “Antiche glosse e correzioni nel De deo Socratis di Apuleio”, RFIC 139, 2011, 101-17; “Antiche note di lettura in Apul. Plat. 193, 223, 242, 248, 253, 256 e Soer. 120”, RFIC 139, 2011, 394-412; “Tracce di antiche omissioni-integrazioni nel De Platone di Apuleio”, Vestigia notitiae. Scritti in memoria di Michelangelo Giusta, Alessandria 2012, 351-65; “Usus di copisti ed emendatio nel De Platone di Apuleio, MD 68, 2012, 153-72; “Antiche tracce di ‘apparato’ nel testo trádito di Apuleio filosofo”, Lexis 30, 2012, 478-92; “Il De Platone di Apuleio: lezioni trádite e congetture”, BStudLat 42, 2012, 570-7.

5 Reynolds, “Apuleius”, 17.
B Brussels, Bibliothèque royale MS 10054–56 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 8), with two principal correctors B² and B³, both much later than the main text

M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 621 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 51)

V Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3385 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 100)

A Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms lat. 8624 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 67)

G Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Gud. lat. 168 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 108)

F Florence, Biblioteca laurentiana, San Marco 284 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 27)

N Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. Q. 10 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 42)

L Florence, Biblioteca laurentiana, plut. 76.36 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 23)

P Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms lat. 6634 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 63)

Other manuscripts:

R Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1572 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 90)

C Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 71 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 10)

H London, British Library, MS Harley 3969 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 46)

O Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 1935 (Klibansky/Regen, no. 87)
In addition to the manuscripts, we have indirect testimonia from Augustine and John of Salisbury: the former had a text undoubtedly superior than that of our archetype, the latter is a witness to a useful but contaminated strain of twelfth-century manuscripts, related probably to C and H.6

1.2 Non-αδ readings in the Teubner text

The state of the text as transmitted is nothing short of atrocious. I can think of no Latin prose text with a comparable medieval circulation which was transmitted in so appalling a condition. Unreliable traditions encourage eclectic editorial practice, and Moreschini’s text offers no exception. Well north of a hundred readings from manuscripts outside of the two main traditions are adopted by Moreschini. I have selected some noteworthy examples taken from the whole corpus (here, as elsewhere, where the contaminati are not reported, they should be assumed to follow αδ):

Socr. prol. 3 p. 107  extimas R] exoptimas BNP om. μ exoptimis cett.
Socr. prol. 4 p. 108  parvam RA Fp2] parum αδ
Socr. 1 p. 117  largius R] longius αδ
Socr. 3 p. 124  munia B2R] mutua B cett. (mutuam M)
Socr. 4 p. 128  ceteri B2AGRO] celeri αδ
Socr. 7 p. 136  conruget RH2] conroget αδ
Socr. 8 p. 143  ventis RB2V2P2CH] venis BVP cett.
Ascl. 10  hominis R] omnis αδ
Ascl. 37  ex utraque natura RGL2 Augustine] exatraque naturam BMFNPL
Plat. 2.2 p. 183  acre RC John of Salisbury] aere αδ
Plat. 1.2 p. 184  lucta R] luctu A luctata αδ
Plat. 1.7 p. 194  multimoda B2R] multi B multimoda multi αδ
Plat. 2.1 p. 221  humana B3R3H] humera αδ
Plat. 2.5 p. 227  domitas R] indomitas αδ
Plat. 2.16 p. 243  inexplebili RH] inexplebilis α inexplicabilis δ

6 See Beaujeu’s introduction to his edition, xxxv and xliv.
Some of these readings could well be the result of happy conjecture; nonetheless, taken in total, the correct manuscripts readings coming from outside αδ are too numerous and in some cases too good to be the product of a docta (or even doctissima) recensio. Instead, they suggest irresistibly that there is at least a third source for the text outside of the α and δ traditions.

1.3 ϕ and R

This tradition I will call ϕ, and as the collations above show, the most plausible candidate for consideration as a ϕ-manuscript is R. If we look at just the four lengthy omissions in the text of the De Platone, the independence of R from both α and δ is obvious:

Plat. 2.9 p. 233 coniungit nam ut illa medicinae Rδ] om. α
Plat. 2.10 p. 235 alia ceterorum pleraque et sui et aliorum, ut stultitia et eiusmodi vitia quae et sui causa vitanda sunt RFα] om. δ
Plat. 2.20 p. 248 dici futurum quod et omnia Rδ] om. α
Plat. 2.21 p. 250 pecuniae sed preasentiam (praesentia F) Rδ] om. α

The fuller text, however, offers no guarantee against contamination; and as one can see above, a δ manuscript, F, to which I will return below, also offers a complete text. Now we can look at some of R’s correct readings, some of which are far better than could be the result of medieval conjecture, such as:

Socr. prol. 3 p. 107 extimas R] exoptimas BNP om. μ exoptimis cett
mund. 7 p. 301 sinus R] sinul B sinum B² simul αδ

Since ϕ readings like these are both certainly correct and beyond conjecture, did they enter the tradition through the archetype or from elsewhere? In other words, are these stemmatic or extrastemmatic readings? As Timpanaro has shown, in some traditions it is possible that a second line of transmission survived into the Middle Ages, where it contaminated other manuscripts but left no progeny of its own.7 In the corpus of the philosophica, there are some examples of extrastemmatic contamination from the De civitate Dei of Augustine, which quotes parts of the corpus extensively often in versions


7 S. Timpanaro, The Genesis of Lachmann’s Method, trans. G. Most, Chicago 2005, esp. 179.
far superior to that transmitted by most of the extant manuscripts (see, for example, *Socr.* 12 p. 146, discussed at 2.5.a below). The way to answer this question for R’s readings is to determine whether one can demonstrate that R, α, and δ all descend separately from a single archetype. The best evidence to demonstrate this comes from the cases where there are two or three different readings which could only represent different ways of reading a single manuscript.

2. THE INDEPENDENCE OF R

2.1 Incorporated corrections

We shall first examine cases of incorporated glosses or corrections.

a. *Ascl.* 1 scribam nomine Bμ] scribam nomini R scribo nomini F scriba bo.ni N scribam nomine boni GPLT scribam boni nomine U

This is a delightfully limpid case of the process of intrusion. The *boni* we find across the δ tradition is factitious, a phantom reading produced from the combination of two separate glosses in the archetype. The archetype almost certainly read:

bo

scribamnomine

The α family transmitted the actual text of the archetype, while R adopted one of its corrections but not the other. The δ manuscripts contain various combinations of the gloss and the main text, most of them combining the two separate glosses into a new word *boni*.

b. *Socr.* 24 p. 177 nec Bμ haec V²AFRO hec nec Gδ

Whatever this word may be, it is deleted by most editors. Nonetheless, across the tradition, one can still see two different readings, nec and haec, the α family with the former, R and some of the contaminati with the latter. The δ family, by contrast, contains both, suggesting an archetypal reading of:

haec nec

nec or haec

An example similar to this may be found later:

c. *Ascl.* 9 non fecit BμG] confecit δ non confecit FR

2.2 Errors of word division

a. *mund.* 17 p. 326 ut Liparae, ut Aetna, ut Vesuvius *edd.*
Moreschini’s apparatus is impossibly confused, as it divides this phrase into three. In order to untangle the manuscript readings, let us start with his three entries in entirety:

ut Liparae BVR *Tho. Beau.* : ut Lipara FNPL² (ex lippara) U, ut Lipara *Iunt.*, ut Liparis *Flor.*

ut Aetna *Iunt. Tho. Beau.* : utthahetna B, euuta etna FNLPu uita et V, uita et R, et Aetna *Gold.*

ut Vesuvius *Iunt.* : nautuae (nautae V) subius BV, ut vesubius FNPLU, nentue subius R, vesubius V

The situation is not quite so bad as this apparatus would make it seem, when the real problem with word division is taken into account. The intrusive *e* before *uut* in δ is really just the missing *e* from *Lipara*, while the strange *ne* in R before *ntve* (which is just a simple minuscule error for *utve*) is really just the missing syllable from the end of Aetna. This situation is made worse by transcription error: B in fact reads:

utlipareuetaetnautuatesubius

which has been divided as:

ut||lipareueta|et|nautuea|subius

Moreschini’s reading reports the *na* twice. So in reality a only has two mistakes (when we discount word division), a superfluous gemination of the *u* in the second *ut*, and the hypercorrected *Vaesubius*; δ has only the first of these, and a word division of *ut lipara euuta etna ut vesubius*. R reads: *ut lipareuta et nentue subius*. One must feel some twinge of pity for the poor scribes tasked with trying to make sense of this cascade of mountain names from an undoubtedly corrupt exemplar. Ultimately, the only problem in the exemplar was the iterated *u*, which could have been a misguided correction attempting to change the *et* into *ut*. Regardless, the actually interesting fact here is that we have two different models of word division:

ut lipareaueta et nautuea subius

ut lipara eueta etna ut vesubius

ut lipareuta et neutue subius

The affiliations here clearly indicate a tripartite division:

lipar(a)e BR] lipara e δ
ut R] uut Bδ
Since all three branches transmit nonsense, one cannot fall back on the idea of R as a *docta recensio*, unlike V, for example, which at least attempts to turn the sequence of letters into recognizably Latin words *ut Liparae vita et nautae subius*. One might also note that R’s *Aetne* is an accepted spelling, more closely modeled on the Greek.8

A similar case can be found later in the same passage:

\[b. \textit{mund. 17} \text{ p. 327} \]

\[
\text{hiatu reseratum } \delta | \text{hiatur esse ratum } B, \\
\text{hiacure seratum } R, \text{hiatus esse raptum } V
\]

The correct reading is preserved by \(\delta\), while the faults in both R and \(\alpha\) arise out of faulty word-division. The latter read a passive verb *hiatur* and *ratum* at the end, which left an awkward *esse* in the middle, read naturally as *esse*. The former saw a future participle *hiatur(a)e* (the alternation between *c* and *t* is trivial here) and then *seratum*, which is at least close to a genuine Latin word. The only way these three variants could exist is by common descent from a single exemplar in *scriptura continua*, reading:

\[
\text{hiatureseratum}
\]

Once again, one cannot resort to the theory of the *docta recensio*, since neither \(\alpha\) nor R makes sense in the sentence.

\[c. \textit{Socr. 7} \text{ p. 137} \]

\[
\text{rapere sed reddere } R^{2} | \text{reddere } \delta | \text{red rapere sed reddere } R
\]

R has an obvious double reading here: the phrase begins in the codex with an unmistakable *red* followed by the phrase as it stands in \(\alpha\). The corrector then deleted *red* with *puncti* under the *r* and *d*. A possible explanation for this bizarre reading is that the archetype from which R is ultimately derived had both readings, something along the lines of:

\[
\text{rapere sed reddere}
\]

\[d. \textit{mund. 9} \text{ p. 308} \]

\[
\text{gelatus umor rigore frigoris inhorrescit } \textit{edd.}
\]

---

8 This is not the only instance where the text in R offers a stricter Greek orthography; see also *Plat. 1.1* p. 181 delum B\(\delta\] delon R
Moreschini’s apparatus is misleading once again; he divides this into three separate entries, which obscures the fact that this is a simple case of corruption from *scriptura continua*. Combining the three entries we get the following:

\[
\text{gelatu summo rigore frigoris inhorrescit } B \quad \text{corr. < sub rasura >}
\text{inhorrescit } B \quad \text{gelatae summo rigore inhorrescunt } \delta \quad \text{gelatus humor rigore frigoris inhorrescit } R
\]

The reason why the obviously correct *gelatus umor* became *gelatae summo* was because of the misanalysis of the “s” and the iteration of the “r”. The archetype likely read:

\[
\text{gelatusumorrigorefrigorisinhorescit}
\]

That is the correct reading, and that is what R transmits, ignoring the trivial orthographical variant *humor*. At some point, the archetype was badly corrected to misdivide *gelatus umor rigore* as *gelatu sumo rigore* and then delete the iterated “r”.

Moreschini does not tell us that the whole phrase here from *gelatu* to *frigoris* was scraped off in B, to be replaced by *gelatu|sunto|rigore|frigoris* in a later hand. (The reading *gelatae* he attributes to B is nowhere to be found here; presumably his “gelatu B” refers to the *galatu* (sic) added in the margin by a much later hand.) The original reading is thoroughly erased: all that can be picked out are the clubbed ascenders of the original “l” and the final “s”. This second mark is important, since it points to an original *frigoris* which is precisely the word omitted in the δ manuscripts. *Inhorrescit* does remain in the original text of B, which gives us in all an almost legible reading, although it is not clear what might be the subject of the verb.

The scribe of δ was evidently not pleased with this, and, mistakenly supposing symmetry between this clause and the one proceeding it which begins *fractae et discissae*, conjectured *gelatae*, probably because, like the scribe of B, he assumed that the s went with the following word. He then thought he caught a doublet in *rigore frigoris*. Finally, he also fixed the verb, giving us the comprehensible reading *gelatae summo rigore inhorrescunt*.

This example is yet another piece of evidence that R’s ancestor was copied directly from the archetype. It also suggests one of two possibilities, either that the scribe of φ ignored the work of the corrector altogether, or else that the archetype was corrected here after φ was copied.

\[\text{e. mund. 26 p. 348 omne Asaticum edd.] omne atticum } \delta \quad \text{omnes atticum B omnes iaticum } R\]
Here we are dealing with another problem of word division, a fact obscured by Moreschini’s division of this into two entries in apparatus. Assuming *scriptura continua* again, the correct reading is:

omnesiaticum

The first “a” has left no mark in the extant tradition, which allows us to assume that the archetype had the erroneous reading:

omnesiaticum

This is the reading we find in R, with the word division falling after the “s” making a comprehensible *omnes* followed by the nonsense *iatricum* (incidentally, another piece of evidence that R cannot be a *docta recensio*). B divided the sequence the same way, but emended the nonsense to a real geographical adjective *atticum* which at least is capable of being read even if flatly wrong. (It is amusing to reflect on how ‘the Hellespont forms the western boundary of every Attic kingdom’.) The δ hyparchetype, however, recognized the need for a neuter adjective, and simply changed *omnes* to *omne*. The confluence of *atticum* in both α and δ should lead us to suspect that a corrector had supplied it in the archetype as a plausible replacement for *(s)iaticum.*

2.3 Bipartitions

The cases thus far have tripartite divisions, but important evidence can be gleaned from bipartite divisions as well:

a.  *Ascl. 30*  
nec stabit aliquando nec corrumpetur sempiternitate *edd.* nec stabili quando nec corrumpetur sempiternitate *BuvD* non corrumpetur aliquando stabili sempiternitate *FR Rom.*

All the manuscripts transmit nonsense, and in fact we find the same nonsense in both the α and δ traditions. Nonetheless, what we have here is an error of word division in the archetype from an original *necestabialiquando.* Quite sensibly a corrector changed the seeming nonsense *stabali quando* into *stabili quando.* R, along with F, besides the characteristic disturbance of the word order, preserves both readings, thereby doubling the *(a)i.* Hence the archetype could have read:

(i) stabali quando
Under this theory, he archetypes of α and δ read only the incorrect correction, while ϕ read both.

b. Ascl. 24  vate somniis T² August.] vatas omnes B  vittas omnis B² vates omnis R vates ominis δ  vates omnis somniis

The archetype of α read vatas omnis while that of δ read vates omnis. But R transmits both the correct somniis as well the mistaken s on vates and the extra somniis. This double reading indicates that the archetype likely read:

somniis
vatesomnis

The two main families read only the main text, and not the correction, whereas ϕ read both.

c. Ascl. 22  compositum est . . . constitutum esse Bψγδ]  compositum . . . constitutum est esse RF  compositum et . . . constitutum esse B²

Moreschini erroneously attributes to B the reading compositum est . . . constitutum esse; in reality, the main hand of B presents the same reading as all the other manuscript besides R and F. Both readings are plausible; Moreschini and Beaujeu print the majority reading, while Thomas, with greater acumen in my view, printed the reading he knew only from F. The actual textual (as opposed to semantic) distinction between the two readings is the placement of est. The difference between the two possibilities is about the space of thirty characters, depending on abbreviation: sic compositum (est) per voluntatem dei hominem constitutum (est). We have evidence from both B and R that the archetype had lines of about thirty characters in length: hence it seems very likely that here we are seeing a misplaced addition.

divinaatquemortalitsicçpositû
pervoluntatëthominëcostitutû  est

2.4 Independent errors of word division in R

Another category of bipartite divisions are where R presents simple mistakes arising out of faulty word division. While easy to spot and correct, these errors are very telling; they confirm that R descends from an archetype written in scriptura continua independent of α and δ (I do not note separately for these instances the fact that B is written in continua).
The most compelling – indeed, the conclusive – evidence for R’s independence would be authentic material preserved in R which is not found in the other manuscripts. If, as I have argued, the stemma is tripartite, such cases ought to be very rare, since the only way it could occur is through independent omission or else by means of interlinear or marginal supplement in the archetype which only R copied. Nonetheless, there are three instances in the *De deo Socratis* and one in the *De Platone* which could represent genuine material preserved only in R.

a. *Socr.* 6 p. 133  
inter terricolas caelicasque B^4^H inter homines caelicasque RO inter caelicasque *cett.*

Both α and δ evidently omitted the word following *inter*, which leaves two possibilities, that it was omitted in the archetype (which would make both readings medieval conjectures) or that it was transmitted in the archetype in some fashion and independently omitted in both α and δ, but retained in ϕ. I fail to see any plausible editorial justification for presuming that either B^3^ or H could preserve authentic material. H, as we have seen, is a learned recension, itself deriving ultimately from N. As a corrector, B^3^ is undoubtedly clever, but too clever by half – for example, a little later, at *Socr.* 12 p. 146, he replaces a whole nonsense phrase in the main hand, *et vere illos secundum*, with the sensible and undoubtedly correct *hos prosperare et utere contra illos*. All the other codices transmit the first version, while the second comes verbatim from Augustine’s quotation of the line in the *De civitate* (9.3). There is no reason to suppose that the genuine phrase was found in the archetype – just as H used Cicero, so B^3^ used Augustine to restore the corrupt phrase. These suspicions are confirmed by Pasquale Arfè’s spectacular unmasking of the corrector’s identity: Giovanni Andrea Bussi, the secretary of Nicolas of Cusa and the editor of Apuleius the *editio princeps* of...
Apuleius.\textsuperscript{9} The fact that \textit{terricolas} can be attributed to two individuals, Bussi and William of Malmesbury, known for their clever and adventurous textual interventions, should make us suspicious of the \textit{terricolas}. Indeed Bussi does not even print \textit{terricolas} in his edition, opting instead for \textit{mortales}, confirming its status as his own (ultimately rejected) conjecture.\textsuperscript{10}

And indeed \textit{terricolas} stands condemned for other reasons: the word does not appear until the sixth century at least, in the \textit{Regula Augustini}, a grammatical text, and the first instances of it are only found in lists of -\textit{cola} words. Nonappearance of a word elsewhere does not rule out the possibility that Apuleius used it, but the fact that this word becomes moderately common in the Middle Ages should make us highly suspicious that it is a medieval supplement. Indeed, it is such an easy guess in parallel to \textit{caelicolas} that Bussi and William probably came up with it independently.

The proper counterpart to \textit{caelicolae} are \textit{hominis}: see, for example, Catullus 30.4, \textit{nec facta impia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent}, Ausonius, \textit{ecl.} 19.2, \textit{caelicolum duo sunt et duo festa hominum}, and indeed Apuleius himself (implicitly) in a passage discussing the same theme as this one.\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Hominis} of course is hardly a flashy conjecture, and even a somewhat dull copyist could have inserted it. But R (and it is beyond doubt that O got the reading from R) does not tend to fix up the text at all, which on balance suggests that \textit{hominis} is genuine and transmitted from the archetype. It may well have been an insertion by the corrector ignored independently by a and δ.

\textit{b. Socr. 8}, p. 137 terrarum <aquarum> flammarum \textit{Merc.} terrarum quaedam flammarum R terrarum flammarum \textit{cett.}

The Paris 1625 edition of Josiah le Mercier (the father-in-law of Salmasius) was the first to provide the correct restoration, \textit{animalia terrarum aquarum flammarum}. Where all the other codices have a lacuna, R has \textit{quaedam} unreported by Moreschini. One could object that this \textit{quaedam} is a dittography – R transmits a \textit{quaedam} a few words earlier in the same words, where the other manuscripts read \textit{quae}. Nonetheless, it beggars belief that R independently inserted a word precisely where a word had dropped out of the paradosis, and that R’s new word would just happen to

\textsuperscript{9} Pasquale Arfé, “The Annotations of Nicolaus Cusanus and Giovanni Andrea Bussi On the \textit{Asclepius}”, \textit{JWI} 62, 1999, 29-59.

\textsuperscript{10} The anonymous referee of this journal drew my attention to the reading in the \textit{editio princeps} here.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Plat.} 1.11 p. 204-5: Decurum trinas nuncupat species, quaurum est prima unus et solus summus ille, ultramundanus, incorporeus, quem patrem et architectum huius divini orbis superius ostendimus; aliud genus est, quale astra habent cetera que numina, quos \textit{caelicolas} nominamus; tertium habent, quos medioximos Romani veteres appellant, quod [est] sui ratione, sed et loco et potestate diis summis sint minores, \textit{natura hominum} profecto maiores.
have a similar visual and phonetic shape to the omitted word, *quaedam* to *aquirum*. Rather, it was dittography that facilitated the replacement of *aquirum* with *quaedam*, particularly if earlier corruption had already rendered *aquaram* deformed, with omission, for example, of the initial “a” (a feature we have already seen above in 2.1.e).

\[\text{c. Socr. 10 p. 143} \quad \text{nonne audis} \] nonne vides nonne audis R

This is another R reading not reported by Moreschini. All the other manuscripts transmit the perfectly sensible *nonne audis quid super tonitru Lucretius facundissime disserat* introducing a quotation from the *DRN* (6.96-8). R begins this phrase with *nonne vides nonne audis*, a reading one might be awfully tempted to characterize as a doublet. But this is a genuine Lucretian phrase (6.813), *nonne vides audisve*, from the same book as the following quotation, though much later. I think that there is some reason to accept it is genuine, but genuine or not, I do not think one can chalk up this reminiscence of Lucretius directly preceding a quotation of Lucretius to merely mechanical error. And if so, then *nonne vides* is not a medieval accretion (Lucretius was scarcely read), but an ancient one, omitted in α and δ by a simple two word *saut du même au même*.

\[\text{d. Plat. 1.2 p. 183} \quad \text{pueri eius} \] puericie eius R aere cett. in percipiendo *edd.* imperciendo R in perciendo cett. primitias . . . imbutas refert] *post refert add.* maioribus annis politicas R

This sentence, describing Plato’s education and an important fragment of Speusippus, was evidently already deformed in the exemplar (pp. 183-84 Moreschini): *Nam Speusippus domesticis documentis instructus et pueri eius acre in percipiendo ingenium et admirandae verecundiae indolem laudat et pubescentis primitias labore atque amore studendi imbutas refert et in viro harum incrementa virtutum et ceterarum convenisse testatur*. Only R and C preserve the correct reading *acre*, and no manuscript transmits the undoubtedly correct *percipiendo*. R offers two variants unreported by Moreschini. The first is *pueritiae for pueri*, which offers little ground for choosing one way or the other. More importantly, R adds the words *maioribus annis politicas*. As it stands, this supplement is nonsense; nonetheless, it retains something of the authentic flavour of biography with the words *maioribus annis*.\(^{12}\) It is exceedingly doubtful that

\(^{12}\) See, for example, *Consult. Zacch* 1.12.1: *quid momenti fuit infantem in cunis uagisse, deinde in puerili ignorantia remoratum, aut lubricum adolescentiae tempus annis non transisse maioribus...?* The phrase in *annis maioribus* is also found in legal contexts, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 4.8.6.
a copyist could have composed so apropos a supplement, particularly since
the context requires none. Further, it cannot possibly be R’s own supplement
since it is itself corrupt: politicas is a deformation of an original politas. Any
mid-thirteenth-century scribe who came across the word politas in a work
on Plato may well have automatically written politicas or something similar.
With imbutas . . . politas, compare the expression found a little later (1.2 p.
188): cum principes harum familiarum impolitas sententias et inchoatas
auditoribus tradidissent, eas hic cum ratione limando tum ad orationis
augustae honestissimam speciem induendo perfectas atque etiam
admirabiles fecit. For the moral sense of politus, compare Varro, rust. 1.2.10:
uirum omnibus uirtutibus politum. The fact that this supplement provides
a characteristic Apuleian clause-ending (planus/ditrochee), unlike imbutas
refert, confirms its authenticity. Hence, the restored passage should read:

Nam Speusippus
domesticis documentis instructus [planus]
et pueri eius acre in percipiendo ingenium et admirandae
verecundiae inolem laudat, [planus/cretic-trochee]
et pubescentis primitias labore atque amore studendi imbutas
refert, maioribus annis politas, [planus/ditrochee]
et in viro harum incrementa uirtutum et ceterarum convenisse
testatur.
[planus/cretic-trochee]

For Speusippus, instructed by the family records, both mentions his
keen talent for perception as a boy and his natural endowment of
admirable modesty, and relates how his first-fruits as he entered youth
were imbued with hard work and love of study, and then polished as he
got older, and testifies that the increase of these and other virtues came
together in him as a man.13

2.6 Hard cases
As argued above, the omissions strongly indicate that R cannot be placed
into either of the two families, since it does not share the characteristic
omissions of either, and neither of them share those of R. There is, however,
one exception:

a. Ascl. 30 remeat . . . agitatio δ] om. Rα

The larger context is essential here: sed magis et ipsa immobialis
aeternitas, in quam omnium temporum agitatio remeat et ex qua
omnium temporum agitatio sumit exordium. The omission of half of this phrase was virtually inevitable at some point in the manuscript tradition: this is as typical a case of saut du même au même as can be conceived. Due to this unique circumstance, it is not entirely impossible, although still very unlikely, that R and α independently omitted the same text. It is also possible, however, and much more likely, that the archetype itself contained the omission, which was subsequently supplied by the corrector. In light of all the other evidence, this reading does not give sufficient warrant to hold that R was even in part derived from α.

In addition to this shared omission, there is also a doublet in both R and α:

_b. Plat. 2.27 p. 261_ post multitudo iterant flecti (pro deflecti) . . . hominum multitudo Rα

Obviously, R and α have to be very closely linked here, not only because they both contain this lengthy doublet of 22 words, but they also have the same error within the doublet, flecti for deflecti (both transmit deflecti, in agreement with δ, in the first iteration of this phrase). Once again, this is a simple même au même doublet, but we cannot even entertain the possibility of independence. Rather than conclude that R is derived from α, it seems more plausible to suggest that the iteration was itself contained in the archetype, and then excised as an easy correction by δ. Intriguingly, these kinds of doublets are typical of R, which has another not shared with the other manuscripts (and not reported by Moreschini):

c. mund. 18 p. 330  iamque albi quis lateribus proximaque queque iactantes et acutis angulis mobiles epiglote grece appellantur qui subliunt excucientes honera et recuperantes directis angulis mobiles epiglete gre appellantur sed qui subliunt excutientes honera et recuperantes directis angulis braste vocitantur R

Just as in _Plat. 2.27 p. 261_ above, the doublet preserves two separate readings, here epiglote and epiglete, where α offers aepidetae (epidete VF) and δ expedite, where Apuleius wrote the hapax epiclintae.

These two passages offer the best contrary evidence to the theory defended here, yet neither of them singly nor both of them together actually offer conclusive proof, nor even a sufficient weight of evidence to outweigh all the indications pointing towards R’s independence.

2.7 _A new ancient text in R_

I have made this case for the independence for R solely on the basis of the text of the standard works of philosophical corpus, because I am firmly
convinced that there is sufficient evidence on purely textual grounds to perceive the independence of R from the other two traditions. Nonetheless, for the sake of completeness, I should point out that R uniquely preserves a hitherto unedited text directly following the explicit of the De mundo. This text, just under five thousand words in length, is a summary of fourteen of Plato’s dialogues, and could not possibly have been written any time between the close of antiquity and the copying of R around 1250. There is extremely strong evidence — stylistic, lexical, intertextual, doctrinal, generic — which ties this text closely to the Apuleian corpus, and to the De Platone in particular. Elsewhere I argue that Apuleius is the author, and provide an editio princeps.\textsuperscript{14} Here I will just point out that the quality of the text in R matches precisely what we would expect of a manuscript that contains unique material; a degree of textual independence which indicates that it was copied from a different exemplar than the other surviving copies. There is very strong evidence that this new text travelled with the Apuleian corpus as late as the seventh century; my theory is that it physically dropped out of the archetype after φ was copied.

3. Revisiting the Manuscript Tradition

3.1 R and φ

Up to this point, we have operated under the assumption that R is not φ. Fortunately, this too is capable of demonstration. Besides producing R, φ did manage to influence the main tradition through contamination of F and γ, the parent of A and G. First F:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Socr. prol.} 3 p. 108 rotunditate FR\| rotunda cett.
  \item \textit{Socr.} 22 p. 171 solus om. FR
  \item \textit{Ascl.} 8 dei ipsa FR\| ipsa B\textsuperscript{2} de ipsa cett.
  \item \textit{Ascl.} 39 anne B\textsuperscript{3} ante (aut L aut ante U) B\delta si FR
  \item \textit{Plat.} 1.7 p. 194 et aquam et terram\| aquam terram FR
  \item \textit{Plat.} 2.19 p. 247 isque FR\| isque B usque δ
  \item \textit{Plat.} 2.21 p. 250 abstinentia FR\| abstinentiam Bδ
  \item \textit{mund.} 2 p. 292 sunt et FR\| sunt ut Bδ
  \item \textit{mund.} 8 p. 306 obolitionem Bδ\| obolitionem FR \textit{Beau.}
  \item \textit{mund.} 14 p. 321 loquare FR\| loquaere B locare δ
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{14} J. Stover, \textit{A New Work by Apuleius: The Lost Third Book of the De Platone}, Oxford forthcoming 2015. The text was discovered by Raymond Klibansky; full bibliography can be found in Klibansky/Regen no. 90. On the authenticity of the work, see also J. Stover and M. Kestemont, “Reassessing the Apuleian Corpus: A Computational Approach to Authenticity,” \textit{CQ}, forthcoming 2016; and J. Stover, Y. Winter, M. Koppel, and M. Kestemont, “Computational Authorship Verification Method Attributes New Work to Major 2nd Century African Author,” \textit{Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology}, forthcoming (published online 10 April 2015).
F was written more than a century before R; hence, there must have been a codex containing a text of the same tradition as R written before the eleventh century. Similarly, χ (which otherwise is a member of the α family) written no later than the twelfth century was influenced by φ. Do note that G is extant only for the Asclepius and the De deo Socratis and A for the De deo Socratis and part of the De Platone.

3.2 F, φ and ω

There is, however, another way to account for the place of F in the manuscript tradition. First we need to establish with absolute clarity that F is a δ manuscript.
Plat. 2.15 p. 241 neccessarias cupidine sunt B\textsuperscript{μ} necessaria cupidine sunt F\textsuperscript{δ} necessarias cupidines acuunt R
talem B\textsuperscript{μ}R\textsuperscript{μ} palam F\textsuperscript{δ}

Plat. 2.11 p. 236 si quis B\textsuperscript{2μ} si qui BR sequi δ sequi ut F

Plat. 2.12 p. 238 aspernetur μ] spernetur BR, aspernatur F\textsuperscript{δ}

Plat. 2.14 p. 239 potiantur B\textsuperscript{Fδ}\textsuperscript{δ} potiatur B\textsuperscript{μ} ponantur R

Plat. 2.26 p. 260 sed ut magistratus con. Sinko] nec ita sexus esse tus B nec ita sexus esse onestus M nec ita sexus esse V
nec ita sexus esse stratus F\textsuperscript{δ}

mund. 6 p. 301 propontis H]\ propontius F\textsuperscript{δ} propontus B propontus R
faucis B\textsuperscript{μ} fauces F\textsuperscript{δ}
ultraque BMR] utraque VF\textsuperscript{δ}

mund. 9 p. 307 gravidatur B\textsuperscript{μ}R\textsuperscript{μ}] gravidat F\textsuperscript{δ}

mund. 14 p. 320 sinu id est F\textsuperscript{δ}] sin ides BV, sui id est R

mund. 15 p. 321 se dat FNPL\textsuperscript{2U} se dant L sed BR se V

mund. 15 p. 322 claricantes F\textsuperscript{δ}] claria cantes BVR

mund. 16 p. 323 humanis edd.] sumeris BVR meris F\textsuperscript{δ} humeris B\textsuperscript{2}

mund. 21 p. 337 deferre BVR] differre F\textsuperscript{δ}

mund. 26 p. 348 divisa BR] diversa F\textsuperscript{δ}

mund. 29 p. 354 simplici circumactu BR]\ simpliciter cum actu F\textsuperscript{δ}

On the strength of both so many conjunctions on less significant readings, and on a few shared Bindefehler (talem/palam; bifori via/biforidia; suboles/subleves), it cannot be doubted that F was copied from δ, as indeed has been the consensus for a century or more. Nonetheless, as I have shown above, F shares significant readings with R, which indicates that it must have had access to another branch of the manuscript tradition. It also shares important readings with B:

Socr. prol. 1 p. 104 cognostis BF]\ recognostitis R, cognostitis δ
Socr. prol. 4 p. 109 pinnis B\textsuperscript{2μ} pennis B\textsuperscript{μ}AGF\textsuperscript{2} om. δ alis R alis
utrimque O

Socr. 20 p. 166 ea B\textsuperscript{μ}AGF]\ om. ROδ
Ascl. 3 torrenti B\textsuperscript{μ}F\textsuperscript{μ}] torrentis Rγδ

Ascl. 14 nata non B\textsuperscript{μ}F\textsuperscript{μ}] nata Rγδ

Plat. 1.11 p. 203 inerrabili B\textsuperscript{μ}F\textsuperscript{μ}] inenarrabili Rγδ

Plat. 1.14 p. 210 eos δ]\ eo B\textsuperscript{μ}F et Rγ

Plat. 2.24 p. 255 alii BMF]\ om. δ (R deest)

It also contains non-δ readings with BR:

Ascl. 11 ea demum BFRγ]\ eadem vero δ
meum BFR]\ eum δγ

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One way to make sense of these counterindications is to posit radical contamination: that is, while copied from δ, it was contaminated by both of the other two branches of the manuscript tradition. But the contamination could not have come from just any α manuscript: the occasional agreement with B against γ and μ suggests that F must have been contaminated by B itself, if not some unknown gemellus.

But these facts are open to another interpretation. Above, in passage 2.1a, I glossed over F’s reading. As I argued there, this passage clearly points to a line in the archetype which read scribam nomine which was infelicitously corrected to scribo nomini by means of a bo and ni inserted supralinearly. F reads scribo nomini, and in fact is the only complete witness to the corrected text apart from the factitious boni of δ. One could no doubt come up with all sorts of theories to explain this: the simplest solution, however, is that F was contaminated by the archetype itself.

Another passage offers a hint in favour of this interpretation:

| Source  | Greek Text |
|---------|------------|
| Ascl. 22 | lege BFRγ] longe δ |
| Ascl. 23 | semper BFR] om. δγ |
| Plat. 1.6 p. 193 | sensibus BFRγ] sensus δ |
| Plat. 1.12 p. 205 | cogitationes BFRγ] cognitiones δ |
| Plat. 2.22 p. 251 | praesto BFR] professo δ |
| mund. 17 p. 328 | cognitum est vim edd. | cognita est vis CH cognitum est vis BFR cognitus est vis δ |
| mund. 18 p. 329 | spiritus BFR] spiritu δ |
| mund. 22 p. 238 | vicibus BFR] vicinibus δ |

There can be no doubt B offers the correct reading, a quintessentially Apuleian tricolon, and it cannot possibly have come about by scribal conjecture. Yet the conjunction of Rδ suggests that the archetype indeed read ales oculis perspicax, and so we must be dealing with another corrected passage, where persequax was inserted above the line:

| Greek Text |
|------------|
| ales oculis perspicax |

The fact that F alone contains persequax with B cannot be a coincidence, but the fact that it contains it in the wrong position and in place of another authentic word proves that F cannot have gotten persequax from B. Instead, it can only suggest that F (or its unknown, hypothetical parent) got the word...
directly from archetype, misinterpreting the \( i \) \( \textit{persequax} \) as a replacement for \( \textit{perspicax} \) (as if \( [\text{vel}] \) \( \textit{persequax} \) or even \( [d \text{ est}] \) \( \textit{persequax} \)), not an addition.

3.3 The geography of a manuscript tradition

The complexity of the manuscript tradition, as I have sketched it above, can become much clearer when discussed in terms of the actual geographical circulation of manuscripts. After the Apuleian corpus was split into two halves – the \textit{Apology}, the \textit{Florida}, and the \textit{Met.} finding a relatively undisturbed haven in Montecassino, the \textit{philosophica} migrating to the fertile ground of Northern Europe – the story of our half begins in the heartland of the Carolingian Renaissance. There B was copied from the archetype, probably in the ninth century for the court library of Louis the Pious. It next turns up in the possession of Nicholas of Cusa in the fifteenth century. During that time, it acquired some paratextual elements, notes on the first folio and a little recipe for the treatment of epilepsy after the explicit. I have not been able to find other examples of this recipe. Nonetheless, we can assume in the absence of other evidence that the manuscript did not travel far in the Middle Ages. Many of Nicholas’ important manuscript discoveries took place in Cologne, and the distance between Aachen and Cologne is not more than forty miles. In all likelihood, B may have been taken to Cologne by the next century, and remained there until the fifteenth century. At any rate, there is no evidence it was anywhere else; no trace of it is found at Lorsch, where many of the palace manuscripts ended up.

Similarly, one can say little with confidence about the origin of \( \varphi \). R was copied in the mid-thirteenth century in Amiens; its archetype may have been local, although some pieces in Fournival’s collections seem to have had a connection with Orléans. Obviously, it was copied from the archetype; if we knew where the archetype was located we would be in a better position. Here F can be of some assistance: besides the \textit{philosophica}, it also contains an important witness to the ten-book tradition of Pliny’s Letters. That tradition stems from a partially extant archetype (New York, Morgan Library, MS M.462), which was at Meaux and then at Paris in the later Middle Ages. It produced two offspring: F and Florence, Bibliotheca laurenziana, Ashburnham 98, which was written in the ninth century and at some point later was at Beauvais, forty miles south of Amiens. The fact that the two manuscripts to which F seems to be more or less distantly related can both be placed within so narrow a zone, strongly suggests that \( \varphi \) was a local product, copied from \( \infty \) perhaps not far from Amiens. Tantalizingly, the abbey of Corbie is just ten miles east of Amiens, a fact which led Klibansky

\[15\] My discussion here is deeply indebted to Klibansky/Regen; for each manuscript listed above, I have already indicated its number in their catalog.
to suggest that \( \varphi \) was housed there.\(^{16}\) There is no conclusive paleographical evidence which points to Corbie\(^ {17}\) and so in the absence of other evidence, all I will suggest is that \( \varphi \) was somewhere near Amiens.

\( \delta \) was also in Northern France. There is no evidence to fix where the earliest copy, \( N \), was made. But soon after \( N \) was written, its sibling \( P \) was copied in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Current scholarship puts the place of its writing in France; the fact that it ended up in the library of the Victorines in Paris supports this supposition. The fragment preceding the \textit{incipit} of the \textit{Soer.} can give us an additional clue:

\begin{quote}
... a lascivis totius delicti exclusa, quod praepotentis nobis non deneget misericordia. Cuius nutu et bonitate consistet atque sanctificantur omnia quae in caelo manent et quae in terra. Amen (f. 2r [3r]).
\end{quote}

This text does not seem to be in print; nonetheless, a full copy of it seems to be found in a tenth-century miscellaneous manuscript, BAV Reg. lat. 300, 78r. It is a sermon in honor of St. Stephen, and based on the ‘Kristeller Rule’ (the provenance of a manuscript is likely to be the provenance of its rarest text), it is thought to have been written at St. Stephen’s in Sens or Auxerre, separated by a distance of about fifty miles.\(^ {18}\) In the absence of other evidence, our manuscript should be placed there too.

As is the case in other textual traditions, the extensive contamination which makes editing the text so difficult is due precisely to its popularity in twelfth-century France. Undoubtedly the cause is the Platonic revival of the period, which saw a dramatic rise in the fortunes of several classical and late ancient texts which gave medieval readers access to Plato’s doctrines: Calcidius, Macrobius, and Boethius, among others.\(^ {19}\) Apuleius never quite gained a comparable circulation, but nonetheless, the diffusion of copies of his works reflects that of theirs on a smaller scale. In this context, the prevalence of contamination makes sense: it was a scholarly revival in Apuleius’ fortunes, and such an audience would have taken an activist role in shaping the texts at their disposal. Fortunately for them, and unfortunately for editors, they had access to three different textual traditions in a relatively small part of Northern France. This also explains partially why \( \varphi \) had little impact on the main tradition of the corpus despite its excellence: it was

\(^{16}\) R. Klibansky, \textit{The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition}, Millwood, NY 1982 (=1939): 6-7, as well as Klibansky/Regen, no. 90.

\(^{17}\) One could adduce R’s bizarre reading at \textit{Soer.} 2 p. 121 enni] cainio R. Corbie ab-

\(^{18}\) Guy Lobrichon, “Moines et clercs à Sens et Auxerre au xe siècle: Culture et société,” \textit{MLatJb} 24/25, 1989-90, 277-94 at 293.

\(^{19}\) See J. Stover, \textit{Reading Plato in the Twelfth Century}, PhD Diss., Harvard 2011.
lodged in territory already occupied by δ’s descendants, and many of its best readings had already in the late eleventh century or earlier been skimmed off from the archetype by F or its parent.

3.4 Editing Apuleius

Much more could be said and needs to be said on the topic of the tradition of the *philosophica*. As a conclusion, let me suggest some possible paths forward. Contamination is far more rampant than previous editors have acknowledged (the ‘Hankins Rule’ – where contamination can happen, it will happen), and the admittedly appalling state of the paradosis offers no fig leaf to cover editorial imprecision. F is important as an independent witness to the archetype, but must be used with caution. C and H are hyper-contaminated and actively edited scholarly texts; they should only be used as a storehouse of (sometimes excellent) medieval conjectures. But the whole α tradition, excluding obviously B, is also contaminated, M and V from δ, A and G from φ. In fact, it is worth examining whether it is time to dust off Thomas’s old theory that B itself is the source of the whole α tradition, and send M, V, A, and G off to honourable retirement. Contamination from φ is perhaps sufficient to explain the good readings in the other α manuscripts. The unlikely theory of Klibansky and Regen that the late manuscripts related to R – which share many of its readings discussed above – are not copies of it, but rather of its archetype, also needs to be more seriously explored.20 The *editio princeps* of Bussi (Rome 1469) also deserves further consideration, particularly in regard to its likely relationship with R. Bussi, in fact, may well have seen R itself when he was a student at Paris, before entering the service of Nicholas of Cusa.21

Here I propose as a working hypothesis that the text of Apuleius perhaps may be constructed on the basis of a tripartite stemma of B, R, and δ, while taking into account the demonstrable fact that the archetype was corrected and that therefore a strict principle of two against one does not work in all cases. What follows is a simplified editorial stemma, to replace that of Reynolds in *Texts and Transmission*, which indicates, I believe, a suitably robust base of manuscript evidence to accurately reconstruct the paradosis:

![Stemma Diagram]

20 Klibansky/Regen 158-168.
21 See Arfé, “The Annotations,” 171 and Stover, *A New Work*, chapter 14.
Unfortunately, Regen’s published work does not allow us to divine what stemmatic basis he was producing his edition on. Nonetheless, the reconstruction presented here accords with the appendix to his and Klibansky’s manuscript catalogue, presented I hope in a more accessible way and on a firmer textual basis.