

1 Towards a New Biographical Profile

1.1 The question of Andronikos' birthplace and name

When contemporary scholars approach the investigation of Andronikos Kallistos' work, the first puzzling issue they encounter concerns his birthplace. Many sources point to an origin in Constantinople. Among these, and on more than one occasion, is the Byzantine scholar himself. Here is a list of the sources pointing to a Constantinopolitan birth, in chronological order.

(1458–1459 and 1462–1466) the *rotuli* from Bologna's *Studium* show that a certain *Andronicus Constantinopolitanus* or *grecus de Constantinopoli* or *de Constantinopoli*¹ was a lecturer in Greek language and teacher of moral philosophy during those academic years (mistakenly registered also as *Andromachus*, *Andronycus* or *Andromicus*);²

(28 April <1459>) the heading of an autograph letter in Greek addressed by Kallistos to Palla Strozzi reads: τῷ εὐγενεῖ καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Παλλάντι τῷ Στρογγίᾳ Ἀνδρόνικος Βυζάντιος εὖ πράττειν ('Andronikos of Constantinople greets the noble and learned lord Palla Strozzi');³

(1 June 1462) at the end of a document validating Palla Strozzi's testamentary dispositions,⁴ Kallistos himself adds a few lines in Latin: *ego Andronicus filius Alexii Constantinopolitanus fui praesens et testor de praesentibus scriptis in die in qua dicta scripta sunt facta* ('I Andronikos, son of Alexios, of Constantinople, was present and witness to the present agreements on the day the things that had been written were carried out);

(26 April 1464) in a Latin letter by Francesco Filelfo to Alberto Parisi,⁵ Andronikos is referred to as *Byzantius*, that is 'Constantinopolitan';⁶

1 The importance of the information emerging from the *rotuli* — edited in Dallari 1888, 51, 62, 64–65, 67, 70 — has been first pointed out by Perosa 1953, 8.

2 The misspelled form *Andromachus* appears also in Theodoros Gazes' will preserved in codex Vat. Reg. lat. 1899; see Dorez 1893, 4.

3 For the letter, part of the Piancastelli collection kept at the library of Forlì, see the discussion *infra*, § 1.3.3 and Plate 9.

4 Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fascicolo 35, carta 2. See Gentile 1992, 299–300. For a reproduction, see *infra*, § 2.4.2.

5 See De Keyser 2015a, 1009. Perosa 1953, 7 mistakenly referred this letter to 4 April.

6 Thus can be observed the archaising use both in Greek (Βυζάντιος) and Latin (*Byzantius*) of this adjective for indicating a provenance from Constantinople.

- (27 April 1464) in a letter in Greek written by Filelfo to Kallistos himself, the heading reads: Φραγκίσκος ὁ Φιλέλφος Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ χαίρειν ('Francesco Filelfo greets Andronikos of Constantinople');⁷
- (29 April 1464) similarly, Filelfo addresses another Greek epistle to Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Βυζάντιος;⁸
- (31 October 1464) in a Latin letter from Filelfo to Alberto Parisi, Andronikos' name is again associated with the adjective *Byzantius*;⁹
- (c. 1468) in the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 198 Andronikos signed his poem in praise of Bessarion's book *In Calumniatorem Platonis* again as Ἀνδρόνικος Βύζαντιος;¹⁰
- (1471–1473) the ledgers of *Entrata e uscita del Camerlengo del Monte Comune*, refer to regular thrimonthly payments to 'Messer Andronico Callisto da Constantinopoli', from September 1471 until October 1473;¹¹
- (c. 1473) in the ms. Turin, Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti, NN.V.7 (fol. 50r), the author of the two Greek compositions written in memory of Albiera degli Albizi is referred to as *Andronicus Byzantius*;
- (c. 1473–1474) the heading of the prefatory letter to the translation of Aristotle's treatise *De generatione et corruptione*, prepared in Florence by Kallistos for Lorenzo il Magnifico, reads: *Andronicus Callistus Byzantius clarissimo viro Laurentio Medici Florentino salutem*;¹²
- (21 March 1475) in a letter sent by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, to his *referendarius* in Cremona, the ruler mentions 'Andronico da Costantinopoli doctore greco';¹³
- in an undated ode by Filelfo, addressed to Ἀνδρόνικος Βυζάντιος, lines 5–6 read: τόνδε (*scil.* Ἀνδρόνικον) Βύζαντος πόλις ὡς ἀρίστη | γείναθ' ('as Constantinople, the noblest city, gave him birth').¹⁴

⁷ The text has been published in Legrand 1892, 110–111 (epist. 62); see now De Keyser 2015a, 1009–1010.

⁸ See Legrand 1892, 111–112 (epist. 63) and De Keyser 2015a, 1012.

⁹ See De Keyser 2015a, 1061–1077.

¹⁰ See more *infra*, § 1.3.2.

¹¹ See again *infra*, § 1.6.

¹² See Rashed 2011, 203.

¹³ Milano, Archivio di Stato, Registro missive, no. 121, fol. 56r; see Cammelli 1942, 202.

¹⁴ Legrand 1892, 203–205.

On the basis of such evidence, Andronikos' latest biographers, Giuseppe Cammelli and Emilio Bigi,¹⁵ rejected the hypothesis of a Thessalonian origin suggested by Christian Friedrich Boerner more than two centuries ago.¹⁶ There are two sources which qualify Andronikos as native of Thessaloniki. Firstly, Giorgio Merula's (1430–1494) *Emendationes in Plinium*, in which the lectures at the *Studium Bononiense* about Theocritus are said to have been held by *Andronicus Thessalonicensis*.¹⁷ Secondly, book XXI of Raffaele Maffei da Volterra's (1451–1522) *Commentarii Urbani*, where the author does not seem to show any doubt concerning Thessaloniki as Andronikos' city of origin.¹⁸

On the one hand, it is undeniable that the indication *Constantinopolitanus*, written by Kallistos himself in Palla Strozzi's will, presents Andronikos' desire to be identified in the West as Constantinopolitan. The recurrence of the adjective *Byzantius*/Βυζάντιος, as in the letter addressed to Palla and in Filelfo's Greek and Latin epistles, indicates the same aim. On the other hand, however, it is difficult to explain away Giorgio Merula's and Volterrano's further comments, which explicitly speak of Andronikos as a Greek from Thessaloniki. These comments seem to provide more detailed information about Kallistos' geographical provenance. In addition, one should not forget that Thessaloniki was the native city of Theodoros Gazes, Andronikos' *necessarius*,¹⁹ *consanguineus*²⁰ and *consobrinus*.²¹ The uncertainty between Constantinople and Thessaloniki is still

15 See Cammelli 1942, 106 ('Che Andronico Callisto fosse nato a Costantinopoli sembra cosa da non porsi in dubbio') and Bigi 1961 ('Mancano precise notizie sulla data della sua nascita [...] è certo invece che egli nacque a Costantinopoli, e non a Tessalonica, come sulla base di una notizia del Volterrano aveva affermato il Boerner').

16 See Boerner 1750, 165.

17 *Et sane, ut liberius loquar, errores pudendos et temerarios fecere, qualis ille est quem in trigesimo primo notavimus; id quod arguit Andronicum Thessalonicensem praeceptorem nostrum hos minime iuisse. Nam is, quum olim Theocritum Bononiae mihi interpretaretur, de Crathide ea exposuit quae in Plinio iam legeramus moxque a Strabone tractata invenimus, et Crathim fluvium dici, non Catharim* (ed. Venice 1474 = *ISTC* im00504000); see on the subject Dionisotti 1968, 160.

18 *Andronicus item Thessalonicensis praeceptor in Graeca disciplina secundum Theodorum habebatur, forte et lingua patria superior* (see Cammelli 1942, 193 n. 1). Boerner's argument, which identifies Thessaloniki as Kallistos' birthplace, rested on Maffei's account.

19 See De Keyser 2015a, 1285–1286.

20 See Leone 1990, 62–63, epist. 9 (edited also in Legrand 1892, 331–332).

21 See Dorez 1893, 4.

found in even the most recent scholarship,²² given the absence of decisive evidence.²³ I believe that the most plausible hypothesis remains, for the moment, the one which Antonio Rollo suggested some years ago: Andronikos was born in Thessaloniki, and then, in his early youth, moved to Constantinople to study, thus shaping his cultural personality in the capital.²⁴

Be that as it may, lacking archival evidence or explicit statements, we are unable to say exactly *when* he was born. On the basis of the only indication of age (διὰ γῆρας, ‘because of my old age’) given by Andronikos himself in his letter of the year 1476 written to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, we assume, however, that Kallistos was born between the first and second decade of the fifteenth century and was therefore a contemporary of Gazes and Bessarion.²⁵

The second point of discussion concerns the form in which the full name of Andronikos is recorded in the accounts of his contemporaries.²⁶ One variant is countersigned by name and surname concurring morphologically in the same case, e.g. Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιστος in the nominative. The other variant always bears the surname declined in the genitive case (Καλλίστου), as if some sort of patronymic.²⁷

²² For Constantinople, see, for instance, the section dedicated to Andronikos Kallistos in Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131; in favour of Thessaloniki argues Russell 2013, 132–133.

²³ This cannot be the case of the colophon applied by an anonymous hand on the margin of fol. 189v of Mutin. α U.9.10, a codex from Kallistos’ collection: ἐπὶ ἔτους, ζαλὴ μ(η)νὶ μαρτίῳ εἰς τὰς κθ’ ἡμέρας δ’ παρέλ(α)βε Εἰσασηλὴ τὴν μ(εγά)λ(ην) πόλ(ιν) Θησαλονίκη (‘In the year 6938 [= 1430], on Wednesday 29 March, Ismael conquered the large city of Thessaloniki’). This record has been improperly linked with Andronikos’ stay in that city by Centanni 1984–1985, 201; on the contrary, it refers to the fall of Thessaloniki. One finds another record on the same folio referring to the pillage of the Isle of Lefkada on 26 May 1430.

²⁴ I quote here a passage from Rollo 2006a, 369: ‘È possibile che Andronico, nato a Tessalonica, si fosse trasferito precocemente a Costantinopoli, e che avesse in seguito di proposito sovrapposto al dato biografico reale quello ideale: nella capitale bizantina aveva condotto i suoi studi, lì aveva formato la sua personalità culturale, da lì era partito alla volta dell’Occidente in cerca di fortuna’. See also Boerner 1750, 165.

²⁵ The fact that Andronikos had reached a venerable age by the time of his departure from Italy seems to be confirmed by the testimony of Raffaele Maffei da Volterra: *demum in Galliam comatam penetravit [...] ubi parvo post tempore, cum esset iam magnopere senex, morbo exstinctus est* (see Cammelli 1942, 199, 213). However, this remains a problematic source, which may have contaminated information about different people; see *infra*, § 1.5 and 1.7.

²⁶ This issue was first presented in Pontani 1989, 127 n. 77.

²⁷ If it were the case, Κάλλιστος might have been the name of an ancestor (that is, e.g., a grandfather or a great-grandfather), since Andronikos’ father’s name was certainly Alexios and not Kallistos, a fact witnessed in the will of Palla Strozzi; see *supra*, § 1.1 and *infra*, § 2.4.2.

This 'mixed' form in most occurrences has an article between the two names (Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ Καλλίστου), and is witnessed in a number of epistolary testimonies, which will be discussed in detail later within this chapter: 1. a passage from a letter by Cardinal Bessarion addressed to Theodoros Gazes, convincingly dated by David Speranzi to the second half of the year 1453;²⁸ 2. a group of three letters all dating from May to June 1462, sent to Andronikos and Michael Apostoles from the baths of Viterbo again by Cardinal Bessarion and his attaché, Nikolaos Sekundinos;²⁹ 3. two letters by Theodoros Gazes to Andronikos written in <1472>;³⁰ 4. a testimony by Konstantinos Laskaris in the form of a letter to Juan Pardo written after 1476.³¹

On the other hand, compelling arguments support the validity of the form where both names agree in case, Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιςτος; 1. that form was used by Andronikos himself to sign a brief poem in praise of Homeric poetry, which he placed at the end of the *Batrachomyomachia* in Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 15v);³² 2. in the manuscript tradition of the aforementioned letters by Bessarion and Sekundinos, there is considerable fluctuation between the two forms;³³ 3. in the Latin correspondence by Italian humanists who became acquainted with Andronikos there is always a concordance between the two terms (i.e., nom. *Andronicus Callistus*, gen. *Andronici Callisti*, and so on).

²⁸ See *infra*, § 1.2.2. The text of this letter is handed down in the last codicological unit of Marc. gr. Z. 527, in the hand of Bessarion's protégé Alexios Keladenos.

²⁹ Two letters out of three are by Bessarion (ed. Mohler 1942, 511–513) and one by Nikolaos Sekundinos (ed. Boissonade 1833, 377–387; printed also in *PG* 161, cols 691–696). See *infra*, § 1.3.5.

³⁰ See *infra*, § 1.6. The heading of the letter, copied at fol. 68r of Laur. 55.9 (within a codicological unit in the hand of Alexios Keladenos), reads Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστου.

³¹ See *infra*, § 1.7.

³² See *RGK* I 18; Avezzù 1989–1990, 85 is credited with having correctly deciphered the *monokondylion*.

³³ See *infra*, § 1.3.5. I have checked a fair amount of manuscripts transmitting the group of epistles sent to Andronikos by Bessarion and Nikolaos Sekundinos in 1462. Most of them are addressed Ἀνδρόνικῳ τῷ Καλλίστου (see e.g. Vat. Ott. gr. 90, Ambr. F. 88 sup., and Par. gr. 2652), thus displaying the genitive form Καλλίστου. However, there are some remarkable exceptions: this is the case, for instance, of the heading Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστῳ at fol. 154v of codex Matr. 4790 (in the hand of Konstantinos Laskaris), as well as of the expression πρὸς Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον at both fol. 93r of Berol. Phillipps 1616 (in the same hand of the copyist of Par. gr. 2652, <Antonios> [*RGK* II 37]) and fol. 227v of Oxon. Barocci 125. Finally, fol. 167v of Uppsal. gr. 8 presents a bizarre juxtaposition of two forms: in fact, the heading of the first letter reads Ἀνδρονίκῳ τοῦ Καλλίστου (thus declining both article and surname in genitive) and, just a few lines below, one comes across the alternative form Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον.

The issue cannot be solved based on the documentation currently available. Furthermore, it is impossible to determine here the possible shifts from the one form to the other.³⁴ Hence, this monograph will use the form Ἀνδρόνικος Κάλλιστος, since it is already well rooted in the modern scholarship.

1.2 First traces of Androkinos' activity (before 1453)

1.2.1 An Italian sojourn before Constantinople's fall?

The time and circumstances of Andronikos' arrival in Italy present another challenging question to the reassessment of his biographical profile. One problematic source is the ode addressed to him by Francesco Filelfo.³⁵ Lines 9–12 of this short poem read: οὗτος ἐν ψυχῇ μέγα τι φρονήσας | γαῖαν ἀρχαίου λέλπειν Λυκούργου | καὶ διὰ σφοδροῦ πελάγους Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων. These verses have been often interpreted as a piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that Kallistos was present in Italy before the fall of Constantinople around the late 1430s and early 1440s. Cammelli first argued that the phrase Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων might suggest the arrival in Italy during the council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–1439), for the copious number of Byzantine delegations is widely documented on this occasion. According to another interpretation of Filelfo's verses, the phrase Λατίνων ἦλθεν ἀκούσων could be understood as 'he came here in order to attend classes by Latin scholars', as other Byzantine learned men did.³⁶

In addition to this, it remains common in scholarship³⁷ (mainly relying on Alessandro Perosa's reconstruction)³⁸ that Kallistos' presence in Italy dates to the year 1441. This conclusion rests on three claims: 1. Vespasiano da Bisticci's chronicle of that year stating that Iohannes Argyropulos stayed at the Paduan residence

³⁴ Something similar seems to have happened to the name of the monk Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. The entry no. 20826 within the *PLP* recorded him as Ξανθόπουλος, Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος; and still, the very first words of his *Historia ecclesiastica* read as follows: Νικηφόρος ὁ Καλλίστου τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν συνέταξεν [...] (see *PG* 145 col. 604).

³⁵ See the editions by Legrand 1892, 203–205 and Cortassa and Maltese 1997, 65–66.

³⁶ According to Guido Cortassa and Enrico V. Maltese, Andronikos was prompted to move to the West by the same desire for wisdom that led, for example, learned men such as Filelfo to move to Greece; see Cortassa and Maltese 1997, 65–66.

³⁷ This is the case of both outdated contributions (see, for instance, Bigi 1961 or Centanni 1984–1985, 201–202) and more recent publications, as e.g. Bossier 2004, XII–XIII, Déroche and Vatin 2016, 885, the short biographical record printed in De Gregorio and Martinelli Tempesta 2018, 215 and Franchi 2019, 333.

³⁸ See Perosa 1953, 7–9.

of Palla Strozzi and that an 'altro greco dottissimo' was there too;³⁹ 2. the identification, by Aubrey Diller,⁴⁰ of Andronikos' handwriting in the colophon of the Par. gr. 1908 (Simplicius, *in Arist. Phys.*), copied by Iohannes Argyropulos for Palla in 1441; 3. the sense of intimacy between Andronikos and Palla Strozzi, which one might infer from a letter by Kallistos addressed to Strozzi in the year 1459⁴¹ and which — as Perosa has argued — can be explained only if one presumes that the two men had known each other for some time.⁴²

The first point, that Kallistos was the anonymous Greek scholar accompanying Argyropulos at Palla's house in 1441, is merely speculative without further evidence.

The second point, the recognition of Andronikos' handwriting that Diller suggested some decades ago, needs to be re-examined from both a textual and a palaeographical point of view. The picture below (Fig. 1.1) shows a detail from the lower margin of fol. 213v and is accompanied by a transcription of the text.

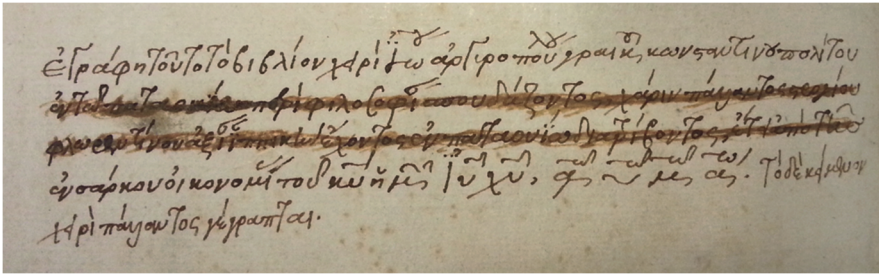


Fig. 1.1: Par. gr. 1908, fol. 213v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

ἐγράφη τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον χειρὶ Ἰω(άν)νου Ἀργυροποῦλου Γραικοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλιτου |
ἐν τῷ Παταουῖ περὶ φιλοσοφίας σπουδάζοντος, χάριν Πάλλαντος Στρογίου | Φλωρεντίνου,

³⁹ See Greco 1976, 159–160.

⁴⁰ Diller 1967, 406–407.

⁴¹ About this letter, now preserved at the Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì, see more *infra*, § 1.3.3. The edition of the Greek text, provided with an English translation, is given *infra*, Appendix 4.

⁴² '[...] Al tempo della lettera, tra Andronico e Palla, si sono già stabiliti rapporti di una certa dimestichezza, che presuppongono precedenti contatti personali. Andronico conosce bene Palla, la sua famiglia, la gente di casa; egli ha avuto modo di sperimentare personalmente l'ἐπιεικές e il φιλόανθρωπον di Palla e dei suoi e l'amore di Palla per la lingua greca; ormai è convinto che la loro benevolenza nei suoi riguardi è quella di un tempo e non ha subito alterazioni (ἀμετάβλητον)' (Perosa 1953, 9–10).

ἀξίαν ἱππικὴν ἔχοντος, ἐν Παταούῳ διατρίβοντος, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς | ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ
κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, α^{-ω}υ^{-ω}μ^{-ω}α^{-ω}. τὸ δὲ κείμενον | χειρὶ Πάλλαντος γέγραπται.⁴³

This book has been written by the hand of Iohannes Argyropulos, Greek of Constantinople, in Padua, at the time he was studying philosophy, at the behest of the knight Palla Strozzi of Florence, living in Padua, in the year 1441 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. The text has been written in the hand of Palla.

What mostly deserves attention is the nature itself of this *subscriptio*. It should be noted that Andronikos is *not* the copyist of the codex, that he did *not* collaborate in its production and that he did *not* contribute to it in any way, either with marginal notes or with interlinear revisions. Indeed, the only pieces of information gathered from the colophon of the Paris codex⁴⁴ are the following: the manuscript has been copied for Palla Strozzi by Iohannes Argyropulos in 1441, at which time he was studying philosophy in Padua (thus achieving a doctoral degree in 1444). The tone of these few lines does not resemble that usually characterizing the colophons placed by scribes while finalising the elaboration of a manuscript. It seems rather akin to that of a recollection, an evocation of an episode of the past. In addition, the meaning of the last sentence ('the text has been written in the

⁴³ As the image shows, lines 2–3 have been crossed out — at a later time — by someone who, for unknown reasons, wanted to erase some of the information presented. The text of this record was transcribed for the first time in Diller 1967, 407.

⁴⁴ Here a brief description: paper, mm 337 × 240, fols V (in parchment) + 214 + VI' (fols I'–III' last of the last quire; fols IV'–VI' in parchment). Quire composition: 21 *quiniones*. After the first sheet of the third quire, seven sheets have been added by Palla Strozzi (see below) to recover a textual loss. Quire numeration: Greek letters in the lower central margin of the first and last sheet. Folding: *in-folio*. Watermarks: a drawing similar to *Monts 24 Harlfinger* is clearly visible throughout the manuscript. Ruling scheme: Sautel–Leroy 20E2 (two columns). Written area: c. 220 × 160 mm. Lines: 40. The codex bears annotations in the hand of Palla Strozzi. Hereby two examples of his contributions. By means of the seven added sheets (fols 22–28), as anticipated, Palla filled a textual gap of codex Parisinus common to several witnesses to the tradition of Simplicius, as Mutin. α V.8.3, written around the year 1522, and Marc. gr. IV 15. In the superior internal margin of fol. 22r Palla recovers part of the text of column b of the previous page (fol. 21v: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν μὴνίσκων ψευδογραφίας), and adds: *deinde sequitur in alio exemplari sic ut τινὲς δὲ etc., ibi desunt*. Then, in the supplementary sheets the missing section (= Simpl. in Arist. Phys., ed. Diels 1882, 58,25–69,35, up to the words ὠρισμένοις πως οὖσιν) is copied; the link is marked by a note in the central inner margin of fol. 28v: *sequitur οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ φύσεως μὲν οὐ etc.* The margins of fols 33v–34r are completely occupied by a long passage (84,13 μέρη τὸ ὅλον – 85,26 τῶν μερῶν οὐκ ἔσται), thus being integrated. Finally, there are three notes by Iohannes Argyropulos to Simplicius' text, expressed in a formulation which mixes Greek and Latin: fol. 55r = *credo τῆλε* [in the text τῆδε]; fol. 158v = *credo ἀπείρου λόγος* [in the text κενοῦ τόπος]; fol. 162v = *credo οὖσιν* [in the text ἔχουσιν].

hand of Palla') is still in need of interpretation. The key to solving the problem is given by another document, the will of Palla Strozzi. In describing the manuscript which was to be donated upon his death to the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua, Palla wrote these lines:

Un volume in bombigina con assi con un poco di chuoio rosso di sotto. Expositione di Simplicio in greco sopra tre primi libri della phisica d'Aristotile, el qual non è di mia mano, ma è di mano di messer Giovanni Argiropolo greco di Constantinopoli, el quale io gli feci scrivere quando egli fu qui in Padova a Studio nel 1441.⁴⁵

These lines convey exactly the same information given by Andronikos in Par. gr. 1908. The text (τὸ κείμενον) he is referring to is therefore that of the colophon itself, which represents a translation and a verbatim quotation from Strozzi's last will, written in the very hand of Palla (χερὶ Πάλλαντος) in 1462. This observation is complemented with palaeographic considerations concerning the writing style of these lines, the *ductus* of fol. 213v of Par. gr. 1908 being comparable to 'mature' samples of Andronikos handwriting. As it will become clear in the following chapters, it could not be definitively dated to the beginning of the 1440s; rather, it would perfectly fit the year 1462, that is, at the end of the period of Kallistos' consistently documented (although not uninterrupted) stay at Palla Strozzi's residence in Padua.

Third, the sense of familiarity, which Alessandro Perosa used to identify Kallistos with the anonymous scholar living at Palla's house in 1441, no longer seems as compelling as before, since palaeographic and historical evidence has recently emerged, which shows Kallistos and Palla Strozzi were in contact with each other at least since 1457.⁴⁶

In summary, there are no compelling arguments to substantiate the claim that Andronikos arrived in Italy in the early 1440s, whether for the Council or for the purpose of study.

1.2.2 Between Constantinople and Crete

In a recent article devoted to a chapter in the textual tradition of Quintus of Smyrna, Stefano Martinelli Tempesta has republished, translated and discussed part of one of Bessarion's famous letters. Handed down in the Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols

⁴⁵ Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fascicolo 34, carte 21–22. See Fiocco 1964, 295–296.

⁴⁶ See *infra*, § 1.3.3.

240r–244v, copied by Alexios Keladenos),⁴⁷ these are all anepigraphic and undated. In particular, Martinelli Tempesta's discussion concerns the penultimate letter (no. 34 in Mohler),⁴⁸ which is without a doubt addressed to Theodoros Gazes.⁴⁹ It concerns some books which Bessarion intends either to recover (a codex of Theophrastus lent to Giovanni Tortelli) or to have copied (some works by Quintus Smyrnaeus and Galen). The Cardinal is apparently away from Rome, busy with the Bolognese diplomatic delegation. An entire paragraph is devoted to Andronikos Kallistos:

Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Καλλίστου, ὃν ἄλλοτε συνέστησας ἡμῖν, ὅτε ἐπιλαθόμενοι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθημεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος οὐδέν, φιλοῦμεν μὲν καὶ διὰ σέ, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτόν. χρηστός γάρ καὶ μέτριος ἀνὴρ καὶ σπουδαῖος καὶ ὅλως σοί τε καὶ τῇ σῇ συγγενείᾳ προσήκων. δεδιώς δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ Πλάτωνα λέγω,⁵⁰ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου δόξαν ἀποφαίνομαι, οὐ φαύλου ζώου, ἀλλ' εὐμεταβόλου, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων τινῶν καὶ εἰς ὀλίγα.⁵¹

Regarding Andronikos Kallistos, whom you have recommended to us on another occasion, since thereupon we did not provide you any answer due to our forgetfulness, <be aware of the fact that> we respect him on your account no less than his own: he is, in fact, an honest man, measured, gifted, by all means worthy of you and of being your relative. But I say this, following Plato, with concern, as I am uttering an opinion about a human being, which, while not a worthless creature, is nevertheless an inconstant one, save in very few instances and on rarest occasions.

The tone of the letter suggests that Andronikos, 'an honest man, measured, gifted' and worthy of being a relative of Theodoros, had recently arrived in Bologna in front of Bessarion, seeking employment through Gazes. We learn that this is not the first time the Cardinal has received a recommendation for Kallistos, who was already known to him for his talents. As Martinelli Tempesta argues, the letter must have been produced between 4 July 1453, when Bessarion is informed of the fall of Constantinople, and March 1455, when, following the death of Nicholas V, he quickly returns to Rome for the conclave, and Theodoros moves to Naples.⁵² David Speranzi, while studying the whole *corpus* transmitted by the Marc.

⁴⁷ Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 278–288.

⁴⁸ The text is handed down at fols 243v lin. 14–244r lin. 23 of Marc. gr. Z. 527.

⁴⁹ Diller 1977 identified the addressee, thus correcting the mistaken identification with Michael Apostoles by Mohler 1942, 478–484. For further details on the subject, see Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 270 n. 30 and Speranzi 2017, 146.

⁵⁰ See ps.-Plat. *Epist.* 13, 360c–d.

⁵¹ I give here the text as edited by Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 280.

⁵² Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 282–285.

gr. Z. 527, was able to go further into the details, defining more precisely the time-frame in which the letter was written, that is the last months of the year 1453.⁵³

Therefore, Bessarion's letter to Theodoros — the first reference to Andronikos Kallistos' presence in Italy — bears evidence for his stay in Bologna by end of the year 1453 and the beginning of 1454. It remains unclear, however, how long Andronikos had been living in the country before seeking Bessarion's support through Gazes, and where he had spent most of his time immediately before turning to Italy. By means of non-systematic studies of his manuscripts, nothing has yet emerged attesting to any 'Eastern' activity of Kallistos. In other words, the lack of indisputable philological, palaeographic, and codicological evidence has made it so far impossible to identify any manuscript testifying Andronikos' activity before the second half of 1453.

As previously noticed, Kallistos most probably studied in Constantinople, the city he 'felt' he came from, even if Thessaloniki were his birthplace. While in the capital, Andronikos certainly had the chance to buy the books he needed during his education and to make copies of them.⁵⁴ No indisputable evidence links any manuscripts marked by Kallistos' handwriting to his study in Constantinople; however, some books in his hand can be localised within the territories of the erstwhile Byzantine Empire because of their palaeographic and codicological features.

This is the case of Par. Suppl. gr. 541,⁵⁵ a small *in-quarto* paper manuscript of miscellaneous content nearly entirely handwritten by Kallistos (see Plate 1). A few leaves (136r–154v) are the work of an anonymous scribe (Fig. 1.2) — whose writing resembles Thomas Bitzimanos' — not convincingly identified in the past with Georgios Gregoropoulos.⁵⁶

⁵³ See Speranzi 2017, 143–162.

⁵⁴ A discussion on the manuscripts purchased in the Byzantine East will follow in the chapter dedicated to the development of Kallistos' book collection; see *infra*, § 2.1 and 3.1.

⁵⁵ For a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 43).

⁵⁶ The identification with Gregoropoulos has been first suggested in Harlfinger 1971, 411 and then included in RGK II 78, on which Centanni 1984–1985, 217 and Cataldi Palau 1998, 505 build upon.

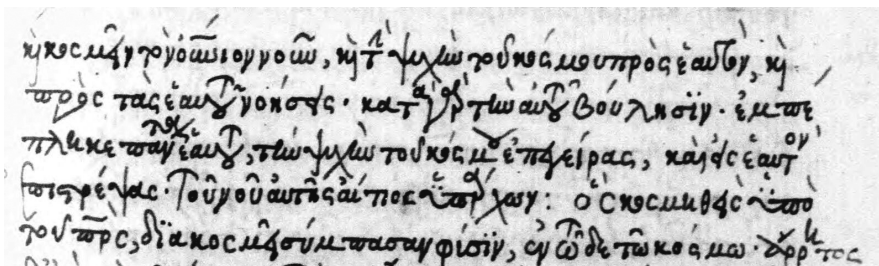







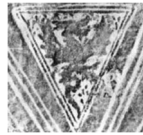
Fig. 1.2: Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 137r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There is, in addition, a third (anonymous) scribe at <fol. 201v>, who has been overlooked and to whom we will return later.⁵⁷ A homogeneous composite, the Paris codex is particularly relevant to our study, as it still preserves its original Byzantine binding. Two experts in this field, Dominique Grosdidier de Matons and François Vinourd, recognized this binding to be of Cretan manufacture. The decorations are typical of the products modelled on the island; they are comparable, for instance, with well-known Cretan codices, like Par. gr. 828 and 1107, linked to Michael Apostoles' environment (see Table 1.1).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ I found the same hand collaborating with Kallistos in other manuscripts likely copied in Crete; see *infra*, § 2.1.1.2.

⁵⁸ I would like to thank Christian Förstel, curator of the manuscript department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for allowing me to access a detailed description of the codex. A very similar binding is found in Monac. gr. 449, of which the Cretan Michael Lygizos is partially the scribe (fols 1r–13v, colophon applied in Gortyna in the year 1464/1465; see *RGK I* 282). One comes across a similar binding in codex Salmanticensis 17, investigated by Martínez Manzano 2014, 250–252 (see also Martínez Manzano 2010, 510–515, with plate VI). I take advantage of this footnote for a brief observation. The Cretan origin of the bindings of these manuscripts is not in dispute; this does not imply, though, that every single text contained in them originated in Crete. It should always be borne in mind that many books may have been produced theoretically elsewhere before landing on the island, as the quires may have been kept untied for a long time.

Table 1.1: Samples of Cretan bindings.

Par. Suppl. gr. 541	Par. gr. 828	Par. gr. 1107
		
		

The analysis of the watermarks found in Par. Suppl. gr. 541 confirms its production around the mid-fifteenth-century. There are three drawings: *Enclume sommée d'une croix*, similar to Briquet 5955/5956 (1425–1452, known in several similar variations);⁵⁹ *Monts dans un cercle*, vaguely similar to Briquet 11882 (Venice, 1457–1459);⁶⁰ and *Fleur*, identical to Briquet 6306 (1438–1455, variously localized)⁶¹.

The watermark *Fleur* deserves particular attention. With regard to Greek manuscripts, it has been been filed under no. 80 in Dieter and Johanna Harlfinger's catalogue, after being found in Marc. gr. Z. 606, a book completed by Theodoros Agallianos in 1446.⁶² On the one hand, this further confirms the 'Byzantine' origin of Par. Suppl. gr. 541 before 1453; on the other, it provides indications concerning the place of production of the volume. From what we learn from the bibliography,⁶³ Agallianos was active mainly in Constantinople, and nothing is said about a stay in Crete. However, by cross-referencing some palaeographic data, I propose a revision to currently-held views. One clue associating the activ-

⁵⁹ See fols 3–137 and in particular fol. 21.

⁶⁰ See fols 218–291 + the central bifolium 319/320.

⁶¹ See the first quire and fols 138–217, 292–353.

⁶² Harlfinger 1974–1980.

⁶³ About his activity and manuscripts see *RGK* I 126 = II 163 = III 208; *PLP* 94; Blanchet 2011 (with further bibliography).

ity of this copyist with the isle of Crete is found in Par. gr. 1919, on which Agallianos collaborated with the well-known Cretan scribe Georgios Tribizias.⁶⁴ Another clue is the fact that some books coming from Agallianos' quill circulated on the island. Vat. gr. 2156, subscribed in 1450,⁶⁵ bears annotations in the hand of Lauro Quirini,⁶⁶ whose presence in Crete dates from 1453 onwards. The activity of Agallianos as scribe, therefore, is not likely to have taken place exclusively in Constantinople, but also in Crete.

Moreover, regarding the analysis of the watermark *Fleur* (Briquet 6306 = Harlfinger 80) found in Par. Suppl. gr. 541, one observes how often this motif occurs in other codices or sections of codices which can in all likelihood be traced back to mid-fifteenth-century Crete: Ambr. M 41 sup., partly copied by the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos;⁶⁷ Haun. Fabr. 63,4^o and Par. gr. 2008,⁶⁸ both in the hand of Lygizos; the second codicological unit (= fols 57–142) of Ambr. C 47 sup., copied by the hand of the Cretan copyist Georgios Tribizias;⁶⁹ Par. gr. 2803, a manuscript entirely in the hand of Tribizias;⁷⁰ Haun. NKS 6,4^o, a codex copied by a Cretan hand in the writing-style τῶν Ὀδηγῶν.⁷¹

Data coming from studies of textual criticism support the hypothesis of a Cretan origin of most of the texts contained in the codex Par. Suppl. gr. 541. The text of Aristotle's *Mechanica* (fols 155v–169r, watermark *Fleur*), for instance, is akin to the one handed down in Marc. gr. IV 57,⁷² copied in Crete (Heraklion) by the *protopapas* Iohannes Symeonakes⁷³ before 1446. As a result of my collation, which

⁶⁴ For times and length of Tribizias' stay on the island of Crete see now Speranzi 2016a, 143–158 (with reference to further bibliography).

⁶⁵ See RGK III 208.

⁶⁶ See Stefec 2012b, 149 n. 195.

⁶⁷ See Harlfinger 1974–1980; for the identification of the scribe, see Harlfinger 1971, 414 and RGK I 282.

⁶⁸ See respectively Schartau 1994, 396 and Young 1953, 23 (where the copyist was mistakenly believed to be Emmanuel Atramyttenos; the correct identification with Lygizos is to be found in RGK I 282 = II 386).

⁶⁹ See a description of this item in Stefec 2014, 151–152. The first unit of the codex is by the monk Gregorios; the first identification is by Stefec 2010a, 71 (still mentioned as *Anonymus* KB Harlfinger, later specified in Stefec 2014, 137). For the verification of the watermark, see Dorandi 2009, 20.

⁷⁰ See Liakou-Kropp 2002, 183–186.

⁷¹ See Schartau 1994, 284.

⁷² See van Leeuwen 2016, 31, 56, 68. According to Bottecchia 1982, 84, codex Parisinus (*siglum* P^s) happened to be even a direct copy of the codex Marcianus (*siglum* U^m) (a description of which is found in Mioni 1972, 246–247).

⁷³ For his activity as scribe, see RGK I = 184 II = 244 III 306.

has shed light on the original features of the text,⁷⁴ the verses of the so-called pseudo-Phocylides (fols 54r–57v, watermark *Enclume*) can be traced back to a source common to many books produced in Crete.⁷⁵ Accordingly, Rudolf S. Stefec pointed out that for the Greek version of Boethius' *De consolacione* (fols 200v–315v, watermark *Fleur*) the manuscript Par. Suppl. gr. 541 is a *Schwesterhandschrift* to Vind. Phil. gr. 51, which was realized from a lost source at the time of the arrival in Crete of refugees from Constantinople.⁷⁶ Finally, with regard to Ioannes Pediasimos' commentary on Cleomedes (fols 33v–52r, watermark *Enclume*), Paula Caballero Sánchez recently demonstrated the dependence of the Paris manuscript of Kallistos on a source (now lost) that must have been on the island of Crete between the second and third quarter of the century.⁷⁷ Among the apographs of this source, she identified the manuscript Oxon. Barocci 111, in the hand of the aforementioned Symeonakes and the Ambr. M 34 sup., copied by Lygizos. The possibility, therefore, that Kallistos did spend some time in Crete at a certain point of his career is worth considering. In this regard, in the following chapters evidence will be presented that a number of manuscripts have to be linked to Kallistos' graphic and scholarly activity on the island.⁷⁸

A decisive hint comes from a so far unknown draft letter, dating to the years 1472–1474, written by Michael Apostoles. The letter, which has recently been published from Par. Mazarine 4461,⁷⁹ gives us confirmation of the steps of Andronikos' career between East and West. Apostoles claims he could have already met Kallistos for a discussion, if he had liked it, ἐν τε Κρήτῃ ἐν τε Βωνωνίᾳ καὶ Ῥώμῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ γε ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ ('in Crete, Bologna, Rome and also there in Florence'),⁸⁰ thus mentioning the places where Andronikos resided between the 1450s and the 1470s.

⁷⁴ That is, the text before correction. One of the issues with the critical edition by Derron (1986) is that the editor did not distinguish the original text from later corrections. Though they are likewise in the hand of Kallistos, they are in a different ink. In all likelihood they were applied when Andronikos was already living in Italy, since they derive from a comparison with Vat. gr. 915, i.e. a manuscript that circulated at Bessarion's house.

⁷⁵ These manuscripts are: Par. gr. 2008, in the hand of Lygizos; Laur. Redi 15, copied by Emmanuel Zacharides (more on this codex in Vendruscolo 1995, 357–362); Par. gr. 2866, partially in the hand of Antonios Damilas; Oxon. Barocci 64 and Lond. Harley 5664, both work of Andreas Donos. These manuscripts have been first grouped together in Derron 1986, XCVIII.

⁷⁶ See Stefec 2012a, 44–45.

⁷⁷ See Caballero Sánchez 2018, 122–125, 138–139.

⁷⁸ See *infra*, § 2.1.

⁷⁹ See Villa 2021.

⁸⁰ Villa 2021, 448, lines 15–16.

Finally, a piece of literary evidence seems to corroborate this picture. It consists of Andronikos' own words in his *Monody on wretched Constantinople*.⁸¹ In a remarkable passage, full of *pathos*, Kallistos appeals to the still-free Peloponnese⁸² and the other great cities that had been spectators of Byzantium's dramatic fall, addressing them thus:

Ὡ Ῥώμη θεία, τί ποτε δράσεις, τῆς θυγατρὸς γενομένης δούλης; [...] Ὡ Πελοπόννησος δυστυχής, νῦν σὺν τοῖς δυσὶν αὐταδέλφοις τοῦ κλεινοῦ βασιλέως θρηνήσετε, καὶ πέμψετε κοπετούς, αἷμα μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκπέμποντες [...] Ὡ θειοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη πόλις τῶν Ἑνετῶν, τί δράσετε, νῦν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὑμῶν καὶ φίλης φθαρείσης;⁸³

O holy Rome, what will you do now that your daughter is a slave? [...] O wretched Peloponnese, now together with the two brothers of the illustrious emperor you will burst into weeping and wailing in grief, blood, rather than tears, gushing from your eyes [...] O holiest and mighty city of the Venetians, what will you do now that your sister and friend has been destroyed?

In this desperate invocation to Rome, the Peloponnese and Venice there is an evident insistence on the second person plural. In the following paragraph, however, there is a sudden switch to the first-person plural:

Ὡ φίλοι Κρήτες, τί πάθωμεν νῦν τῆς πικρᾶς ὀρφανίας ἐπεισελθούσης ἡμῖν; Τύψομεν ἥπου τὰ στήθη καὶ ξανοῦμεν τὰς παρειάς [...] καὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον διάζομεν ὥς τινες ἡμιθνεῖς, ἔλκοντες βίον ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ θανάτου μηδὲν διαφέροντα.⁸⁴

O Cretan friends, what shall we endure now that we are doomed to this bitter condition of orphans? We shall beat our chest and we shall scratch our cheeks [...] we shall spend all our time as if half dead, dragging on a painful life that is no different from death.

These words seem to suggest that Kallistos learnt of Byzantium's fall while living on the island together with his 'Cretan friends', by which might be meant the learned men and scribes with whom he collaborated.

In this sense, perhaps, the allusion to Daedalus in the following lines acquires a new meaning too.

⁸¹ The most important witness to this work is Par. gr. 1774, partially copied by the scribe Konstantios, whose activity might be localised in Crete; see more *infra*, Appendix 2 (where the text of the *Monody* is republished and provided with an English translation).

⁸² The fall of Mystras (1460) is definitely a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Monody*.

⁸³ Lines 480,13–24 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

⁸⁴ Lines 480,27–30 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

Φεῦ τίς Δαίδαλος νῦν με πτερώσας πρὸς τὴν Πόλιν ἀπάξει καὶ στρέψει πάλιν ταχέως;
 Βούλομαι γὰρ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ προσμεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα περιχυθῶ τοῖς παιδικοῖς καὶ κειμένοις, τὸ
 δ' ἵνα μὴ πολὺν ὁρῶ χρόνον ἃ μὴδ' ἐπάειν ἰσχύω.⁸⁵

Alas, which Daedalus could give me wings to go now to the City and bring me back? For I want to see, but not linger, on the one hand embracing what I loved there, on the other not looking too long at what I cannot even stand to hear.

Flying from the Minotaur's labyrinth in Crete with his wings of wax, Daedalus is asked to bring Andronikos back to Constantinople for a last glance and a farewell to the city devastated by the Turks.

Giuseppe Cammelli's old suggestion⁸⁶ (later considered by Agostino Pertusi),⁸⁷ that Kallistos must have learned about Constantinople's fall while still in the East, was up until now unsupported by any concrete evidence. Thanks to these findings, it can now be confirmed as an historical-biographical fact.

1.3 Seeking fortune in Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara (1453–1462)

1.3.1 Copying manuscripts at Bessarion's residence (1453–1455)

Around the end of 1453, as seen, Kallistos had been living for some time with Bessarion. While in Bologna, Andronikos practised the activity of copying manuscripts for a fee more intensively than he would do during the rest of his career in Italy.⁸⁸ Almost all the manuscripts bearing Kallistos' handwriting and owned by the Cardinal can be shown to pertain to this (first) stay in Bologna (1453–1455). The evidence from the material analysis of the manuscripts provides detailed indications of Andronikos' scribal activity during these years.⁸⁹ It is not hard to imagine that Kallistos had intended to remain as close as possible to the Cardinal,

⁸⁵ Lines 482,22–25 ed. Orlandi (see *infra*, Appendix 2).

⁸⁶ Cammelli 1942, 114.

⁸⁷ Pertusi 1976, II, 354: '[...] la monodia lascia chiaramente intendere che egli (*scil.* Andronico) si trovava non lontano dalla città [...]'. On the contrary, Botley 2019, 182 seems still convinced that Andronikos was in Constantinople at the time of the fall: 'He was in the city when it fell to the Ottomans in 1453'.

⁸⁸ Kallistos was to copy again manuscripts for Cardinal Bessarion in the late 1460s while in Rome; see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

⁸⁹ See *infra*, § 2.1.3.

thus hoping to secure a more solid settlement through his intercession. Nevertheless, an unforeseen event was to force Bessarion to leave Bologna suddenly: the delegation ended between 23 and 24 March 1455, when the Cardinal left for Rome after Pope Nicholas V's sudden death.

1.3.2 Andronikos Kallistos, Andronikos Kallipolites, and Andronikos Kontoblakas

Contrary to general belief, Andronikos Kallistos was not in Pavia in the spring of 1456. This information had been gathered from some Greek letters⁹⁰ sent by Filelfo to a certain Andronikos Kallipolites.⁹¹ The identification of Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης with Andronikos Κάλλιστος, mainly found in outdated publications⁹² (but also in recent ones),⁹³ turned out to be unfounded. The tendency to merge the two figures has been prompted by several peculiar coincidences: 1. this Andronikos Kallipolites appears to have a good — and not merely epistolary — relationship with Francesco Filelfo, just like Kallistos; 2. in a letter to Kallipolites, Filelfo introduces one of his young students eager to learn Greek, Bonaccorso of Pisa,⁹⁴ the same person who was to complete the purchase of Kallistos' library in 1475 in Milan together with Giovanni Francesco Della Torre;⁹⁵ 3. Filelfo asks (in vain) Kallipolites to allow him to consult (and possibly have a copy of) a manuscript with the difficult grammatical text by Apollonius Dyscolus⁹⁶ — a request

⁹⁰ The text of these two letters (with a French translation) is edited in Legrand 1892, 80–82 (epist. 41), 83–84 (epist. 43), 85–86 (epist. 44). See now De Keyser 2015a, 657–658, 659–660, 665–666. For checking some readings, one can also consult the manuscript Trivultianus 873 (fols 164r–165r).

⁹¹ *PLP* 10429.

⁹² See Calderini 1913, 256–257 and Diller 1967, 407 n. 4.

⁹³ See Botley 2002, 202; Botley 2006, 414 n. 66; Martinelli Tempesta 2009, 9; Monfasani 2018, 414; Botley 2019, 184 n. 25; Monfasani 2019, 20–21. In the newly published critical edition of Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary by Jeroen De Keyser the question of identity of these figures is not outlined, thus completely equating Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης = Andronikos Βυζάντιος = Andronikos Κάλλιστος; see for this the entry in the general index (De Keyser 2015a, 2169). I shall take advantage of this footnote to mention that in the past the figure of Andronikos Galesiotes (*PLP* 3526) was also unduly superimposed on that of Kallistos in the bibliography; Scaduto 1982, 344, 460, 466 is in this respect misleading.

⁹⁴ Legrand 1892, 80–82 (epist. 41). See De Keyser 2015a, 657–658. A biographical account on Bonaccorso is given in Ballistreri 1969.

⁹⁵ See *infra*, § 3.2.

⁹⁶ Legrand 1892, 83–84 (epist. 43). See now De Keyser 2015a, 659–660.

which was to be repeated some years later (in 1461) to Andronikos Kallistos himself, through a letter to Palla Strozzi.⁹⁷

More than a hundred years ago, Theodor Klette convincingly demonstrated the impossibility of identifying Andronikos Καλλιπολίτης with Andronikos Κάλλιστος.⁹⁸ The German scholar's argument mainly relied on the cross analysis of two pieces of evidence: a Latin letter⁹⁹ dating 6 August 1466, sent by Filelfo to the *protonotarius* Catone (or Catanio) Spinola living in Genoa; a Greek letter¹⁰⁰ sent by Filelfo again to Andronikos Kallistos, dating 28 August 1466. In the first letter, Filelfo informs Catone that he has finally found the Greek teacher he was looking for: a *vir graecus genere et callipolites, sed non graece solum in omni doctrinae genere praestantissimus, verum latinis etiam musis deditissimus charissimusque*, named Andronikos, who will be soon moving to Spain seeking for fortune. According to the letter, however, the Greek teacher would prefer to settle, upon adequate payment, in Genoa at Catone's, rather than moving to Salamanca. In the second letter — to which we will return later — Filelfo congratulates Andronikos Βυζάντιος (= undoubtedly Kallistos) for having managed to leave Bologna and having settled in Rome at Bessarion's house. In addition to this incongruence, which in itself makes it impossible to identify the two Ἀνδρόνικοι, one should consider also the toponym Καλλιπολίτης, indicating a provenance from Gallipoli (the modern-day Turkish city of Gelibolu, formerly Καλλίπολις).¹⁰¹ In Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary, this indication accompanies both the addressee of all three Greek letters written in 1456 and, ten years later, the same figure mentioned in the Latin letter from 1466 to Catone Spinola. In contrast to this, the denomination Βυζάντιος/Byzantius is always attached to Kallistos. It has never been noticed that, instead of Kallistos, the profile of Andronikos Kallipolites would better fit to another namesake obscure émigré, that is, Andronikos Kontoblakas.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ See *infra*, § 1.3.5.

⁹⁸ Klette 1890, 93–97.

⁹⁹ See De Keyser 2015a, 1190–1191.

¹⁰⁰ See Legrand 1892, 123–125 (epist. 72) = De Keyser 2015a, 1191–1192.

¹⁰¹ I have examined the possibility that the denomination Καλλιπολίτης could mean 'native of the Καλλίπολις *par excellence*', thus indicating a Byzantine from Constantinople. I encountered the employment of the epithet καλλίπολις in reference to the city of Byzantium by classical authors; see the case of Themistius (*Or.* 3, 63,2 Downey; *Or.* 6, 123,6 Downey; *Or.* 34, 219,17 Downey – Norman). However, it seems not convincing that Filelfo might have sporadically referred to Andronikos Kallistos with this epithet (instead of the usual Βυζάντιος/*Byzantius*).

¹⁰² *PLP* 13053.

Some short works of this Byzantine scholar remain, even though his handwriting has not yet been identified: 1. a speech, composed in Latin and praising the study of Greek literature,¹⁰³ which is likely to have been composed at the time of his stay in Italy; 2. an elementary grammatical course for beginners;¹⁰⁴ 3. an invective against the citizens of Brescia.¹⁰⁵ All three suggest that he was active as lecturer for the Greek language and literature. Kontoblakas is known to have spent most of his time in the north of the peninsula (i.e. Lombardy and Veneto, where the activity of Andronikos Kallipolites is recorded too), apparently between the 1450s and the 1460s, and to have been in contact with some Italian scholars, to whom he surprisingly seemed to have had a very bad relationship. A witness to this is, for example, the invective written by him against the citizens of Brescia, who had imprisoned him for six months. It might not be a coincidence that in this polemical speech Kontoblakas chooses Francesco Filelfo as a fictive interlocutor and well-respected judge in the dispute. Filelfo is the same learned man the mysterious Andronikos Kallipolites was shown to have good and stable contact with. The unfriendly attitude shown by Kontoblakas was subject to criticism by some Italian scholars at the time, including Pietro Bravi, a learned man from Verona, who in turn wrote an invective against him.¹⁰⁶

103 This speech, transmitted with the title of *Andronici Contoblacae natione greci oratio in laudem litterarum graecarum* (see Vat. Reg. lat. 1557, fols 34r–36v) has been edited and commented in Schmitt 1971, 275–277. With regard to a supposed teaching activity of Kontoblakas in Bologna, Schmitt 1971, 266 apparently committed a mistake by merging the profiles of Kontoblakas and Kallistos.

104 See Rollo 2012, 103 n. 1. The text of Kontoblakas' Εἰσαγωγή is handed down in two manuscripts, Vat. gr. 1822, fols 146r–194r (see a catalogue entry in Canart 1970, 221–222), and Genoa, Durazzo-Pallavicini 234 (B VI 23), fols 1r–44v (see Puncuh 1979, 303–304). In both cases the grammar seems to be copied by hands of Western students; with regard to the scribe of this codicological unit of Vat. gr. 1822, a certain Λάζαρος (RGK III 378), Canart 1970, 222 spoke of 'alumnus quidam occidentalis [...] manu imperita'. The watermarks which have been detected in both manuscripts might indicate a provenance from North-Italy; see e.g. the drawing *Tête humaine* similar to Briquet 15618 [Verona, 1462] found in Vat. gr. 1822, or the drawing *Oiseau* similar to Briquet 12129 [Vicenza, 1473–1478] witnessed in the Genoa codex.

105 As reported by Kristeller II 44, the text is handed down in the manuscript of Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 28 (fols 37v–40v). See Monfasani 1990.

106 See Kristeller II 23. The text of the *Invectiva Petri Bravi Veronensis in quendam greculum Andronicum latini nominis impugnatores* has been edited from the manuscript Padua, Museo Civico, B.P. 1223, fols 20v–21v in Hankins 2003, 417–419. Hankins thought of Andronikos Kallistos as at the addressee of this invective, but, as was rightly observed, it is certainly Kontoblakas, considering the reference to an imprisonment; see Monfasani 2011, 182 n. 3 and Lamers 2015, 88 n. 96. On Pietro Bravi see Kristeller I 83, II 11, 23, 470, 495; for a sample of his Greek

Kontoblakas knew Bessarion and worked for him for some time (as an assistant or as a scribe, one might guess), but at some point their relationship fell apart. At the foot of a letter sent from Rome (on 13 February 1472) to the Parisian humanist and librarian Guillaume Fichet, the Cardinal accuses Kontoblakas of ingratitude:

Andronicus ille Contoblas, monstrum naturae, ut omnium ignarissimus contemnendus est. Nihili homo est, et non minus indoctus quam ingratus, quandoquidem parum id quod scit domi nostrae didicit et nostro pane nutritus. Valeat cum ingratitudine sua!¹⁰⁷

One has to condemn this Andronikos Kontoblakas, a monster of nature, as the most ignorant of all men. He is a good-for-nothing and is no less illiterate than he is ungrateful, for indeed what little he know he owes to our house, and with our bread he has been fed. May he be gone with his ingratitude!

Forced to leave Bessarion's house and seek his fortune elsewhere, Kontoblakas moved to the North. He might be identified with the 'altro Andronico greco' mentioned in a letter to Niccolò Michelozzi by Giuliano de' Medici, a piece of evidence which has never been taken into account.¹⁰⁸ The text of this epistle, written in vernacular Italian and dating 9 August 1473, reports a request by a certain Andronikos to hold Greek classes either in Florence or, if not possible there, in Pisa. It might not be a coincidence, then, that he indicated the city of Pisa, since a school of humanities (giving shelter to other émigrés like Demetrios Kastrenos) had recently been founded there by Bonaccorso, the same person who had learned Greek in the 1450s from Andronikos Kallipolites on the recommendation of Filelfo.¹⁰⁹

handwriting see *RGK* I 345 (Bravi copied in Padua fols 146v–151v of the manuscript Lond. Harley 6290). The same polemical mood emerges in an unpublished exchange of letters between a certain Andronikos (maybe Kontoblakas) and an unknown Gregorios. This correspondence had already caught the attention of Herbert Hunger a few decades ago; see Hunger 1978, 21–22. To my knowledge, the text of these letters, which I plan to publish in the near future, is handed down in five manuscripts: Monac. gr. 265, Vat. gr. 1393, Par. Suppl. gr. 196, Ambr. D 118 inf. and Vall. Carte Allacci 116.

107 The text of the epistle has been edited in Legrand 1892, 235–238 and then in Mohler 1942, 561–563 (no. 77).

108 See Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Ginori Conti, 29.34, carta 2r. The expression 'un altro Andronico greco' is not surprising, for at that time a more 'famous' Andronikos (namely, Kallistos) had already been teaching Greek in Florence at the *Studium* for three years (see *infra*, § 1.6).

109 Might Kallipolites be the 'Andronicus grecus' acknowledged as author of some Latin distichs to Federico da Montefeltro written on the latter's wife's death, Battista Sforza, in 1472. I

Setting this hypothesis aside, which remains in need of further confirmation, Kontoblakas was to leave Italy and spend the rest of his life abroad teaching Greek. The last piece of information we know about him is a letter he sent in 1477 from Basel to his pupil Johann Reuchlin, who was leaving Basel for Paris, in order to encourage him to continue studying Greek.¹¹⁰

1.3.3 Teaching Greek in Ferrara (?), Padua, and Bologna (1455–1459)

It is not known whether on the day of Bessarion's departure from Bologna Andronikos had already been teaching Greek privately in the city for some time. The official position as public lecturer for Greek language at the university was held by Lianoro Lianori¹¹¹ for the academic years 1455/1456, 1456/1457, and 1457/1458; in addition, the employment of Kallistos in Bologna dates at the earliest to the academic year 1458/1459.¹¹²

It is uncertain where Kallistos resided between 1455 and 1458. A brief stay in Ferrara could be assumed for the year 1456, as will be seen in more detail below.¹¹³ Then, it has long been held that Andronikos was present in Rome around 1457,¹¹⁴ as he was believed to have collaborated with the hieromonk Kosmas and Manuel Atrapes in copying the Laur. 60.16, a composite manuscript made of units completed in Rome and dating to 1457. This evidence suggested that Kallistos had left Bologna shortly after the conclusion of Bessarion's legation and resided in Rome between 1456–1457 together with him and other émigrés from his entourage.

transcribe here this short composition from Vat. Urb. lat. 1193, fols 120v–121r: *Tanti fama ducis totum celebrata per orbem / compulit ut caelo collocet ipse suo / Iuppiter atque tuum pateat iam nomen Olympo, / agmine quod fortes Marte viros superas. / Sic ego dum radiis nomen fulgeret ab alto, / protinus exarsi, quo tua sacra colam / numina grata diis musisque dicata serenis, o Federice, salus et decus Italiae.* Cinquini 1908, 250–251 attributed these verses to Kallistos, though we lack any evidence for Kallistos being in contact with Federico da Montefeltro or spending time in Urbino, unlike other Greeks (like Demetrios Kastrenos) did.

110 See Legrand 1892, 238. A record of Kontoblakas' teaching activity in Basel was to be included some years later in the epistolary of Reuchlin himself. In a letter sent by Reuchlin to his brother Dionys on 7 March 1506, he tells that he first learned Greek in classes given by Kontoblakas while living in Basel (i.e. 1474–1477); see on this Schmitt 1971, 267–269.

111 For Lianoro and his Greek manuscripts refer to Martínez Manzano 2015a, in part. 156–171. I recently found Lianoro's writing in <Matr. 10099> (Juvenal), wherein he added some *graeca* (see e.g. fols 40v and 47r).

112 See Dallari 1888, 43.

113 See *infra*, § 1.3.4.

114 See, for instance: Eleuteri 1981, 153; Pietrobelli 2009, 91; Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131.

David Speranzi definitively proved that this reconstruction was wrong by means of a complete codicological investigation of Laur. 60.16. On the contrary, he demonstrated that between 1456 and 1458 Kallistos was mostly somewhere else, far from Rome and from Bessarion's household. First of all, the independent nature of the various units which make up the codex Laurentianus — assembled around 1457 by its owner, that is, Gaspare Zacchi, Bessarion's secretary during the Bolognese legation — became clear.¹¹⁵ Then, Speranzi noticed that the quire written by Andronikos (containing the *Encomium in Gordium martyrem* by Basil of Caesarea), folded as a letter before being bound within the codex, had been sent by Kallistos to Rome via courier, addressed to Zacchi himself.¹¹⁶ Finally, Speranzi suggested that in those years Andronikos was staying in Padua, at Strozzi's residence. This last piece of information is based on the recent discovery of Kallistos' addition of the *graeca* in Ptolemy Par. lat. 17542, manufactured in Padua at Nofri Strozzi's house, son of Palla, in the spring of 1457.¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is not unlikely that Kallistos had been residing for a certain period in Veneto (hosted by the Florentine nobleman), perhaps even since mid-1455, a *terminus post quem* likely being the month of March, as Bessarion suddenly left Bologna for Rome.

115 Speranzi 2016a, 54–70 (with the identification of Zacchi's Greek handwriting).

116 Speranzi 2016a, 62–63. On the verso of the last leaf (fol. 97v) of this *senio* (fols 92–97), Speranzi noted the presence of a now erased note *Romę. Apostolico reverendo protonotario domino G(aspari) Volaterrano*. With reference to the relationship between Andronikos and Gaspare Zacchi I cursorily note the following. In the front-leaf of the codex Lond. Royal 16 C XXIII (for a description of this manuscript, see *British Library* 1999, 238–239; the copyist has been identified with Demetrios Skaranos in Rollo 2014a, 140–141), I came across a Latin epigram in elegiac distich: *Gaspara qui credit Graios celasse libellos / erratque et recta fallitur ille via, / Andronicoque loquor docto semperque morato / at male de nobis credidit ille diu*. These lines seem to suggest that a certain Gaspare was unfairly accused by a certain Andronikos to have stolen — or better, 'hidden from sight' (*celasse*) — some Greek books. The verb *celare* might indicate here Gaspare's lack of willingness to let Andronikos access his Greek manuscripts. Whereas there is no decisive evidence to identify the two characters with Zacchi and Kallistos, one important clue must be taken into account. As pointed out by de Lannoy 1977, VI, XIX, with regard to the text of Philostratus' *Heroicus*, the London manuscript provided with the mention of Gaspare and Andronikos turned out to be the antigraph of Comensis 1.3.19, i.e. a manuscript copied by Andronikos Kallistos (in collaboration with Michael Lygizos; for a description and further bibliography see Stefec 2014, 154–155 and *infra* 6.1 [catalogue entry no. 3]). If this is not coincidental and we are talking about the same people, the London Philostratus could be identified with the manuscript registered at no. 145 (*Idem* [scil. *Philostratus*] *de Eroicis viris de imaginibus et de vitis sophistarum*) in the inventory of Gaspare Zacchi's library; see Di Benedetto 1978, 187.

117 Speranzi 2016a, 213–214.

As anticipated, the *rotuli* on the lecturers at the *Studium Bononiense* record for the year 1458/1459 the teaching activity of a certain 'Andromachus Constantinopolitanus', whom Perosa first identified with Kallistos.¹¹⁸ This experience, though, must not have been highly gratifying for him. Palla Strozzi is the addressee of a famous letter, currently kept among the manuscripts of the Collezione Piancastelli in the Biblioteca Comunale di Forlì (see Plate 9),¹¹⁹ which confirms Kallistos' presence in Bologna in 1459. The letter dates from 28 April; there is no explicit indication of the year, but the information is easily deduced from the reference to the arrival in Bologna of Pope Pius II, travelling together with Cardinal Bessarion towards the Council of Mantua. From these lines Kallistos' desire to meet the Cardinal and then immediately return to Padua at Strozzi's residence clearly emerges. It is likely that Andronikos did as he intended and moved to reside permanently in Padua at the end of the spring of 1459. For after this date the Bolognese *rotuli* lack further information and no epistolary or documentary evidence suggests that Kallistos stayed longer in Emilia.

1.3.4 Gathering evidence for Kallistos' activity in Ferrara (1456? and 1459–1460)

In the pioneering book dedicated to the distinguished Byzantine scholars who came to the West to teach Greek, Humphred Hody (1656–1707) was the first to quote, with regard to Kallistos' activity in Italy, a short excerpt from a letter of recommendation sent by the English humanist John Free (c. 1430–1465) to the Italian scholar Ludovico Carbone (1430–1485).¹²⁰ From this extract, whose source Hody did not indicate, it seems we can glean information about a short stay of Kallistos in Ferrara. In more recent times Walter F. Schirmer published the full text of Free's letter to Carbone, which has been handed down, along with other epistles, in form of autograph draft, in a manuscript now kept in Oxford (Bodleian

¹¹⁸ See Dallari 1888, 51 already quoted in Perosa 1953, 8 (the name appears misspelled also in the *rotuli* from the years 1462–1466). It is the first instance of a foreign scholar teaching Greek in the Bolognese University.

¹¹⁹ Bibl. Comunale di Forlì, Raccolte Piancastelli, Sezione Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, ad vocem Andronico Bisanzio. The letter is an autograph by Kallistos, as I have already proved; see for this Orlandi 2014a, 166–167. Published for the first time, with some slight errors, in Perosa 1953, 10, the text has been republished and provided with an English translation *infra*, Appendix 4.

¹²⁰ See Hody 1742, 228–229. The work by Hody remained for some years as a handwritten memoir and was published after his death by the physicist and scholar Samuel Jebb (c. 1694–1772).

Library, Bodl. 587).¹²¹ While commenting it, Schirmer, unlike Hody, did not associate its content with the activity of Kallistos, referring instead to ‘a Greek named Andronicus, who has been recommended’.¹²² This has contributed to the dissociation in the literature of this account from the figure of Kallistos. It is worth, at this point, to report first the whole text:¹²³

Io(an)nes Fre¹²⁴ An(glicus) s(alutem) p(lurimam) d(icit) clarissimo viro domino Lodovico de Carbo(ni)bus

Quod raro ad te litteras dem, suavissime Lodovice, non est quod apud nos in oblivionem veneris. Nihil enim tale in me cadere potest, et maxime erga te, quem a tempore initae inter nos amicitiae unice¹²⁵ semper et amavi et colui; et quamquam¹²⁶ innumeri fere sunt qui te et divinas virtutes tuas amplectuntur, me tamen habes ὃς τοῖς ἅπασιν τῶν πρωτείων¹²⁷ ἀμφισβητῶ, μᾶλλον¹²⁸ δὲ οὐκ ἀμφισβητῶ, συγχωροῦσι γὰρ ἅπαντες.¹²⁹ Itaque causam puta esse cur scribendi officio non satisfaciam vix punctum temporis ad id mihi dari, et si quando datur, non adsunt quibus meas epistulas praestam [sic]. Verum hoc tempore, quando ad vos proficiscitur doctissimus vir et mihi necessitudine maxima coniunctus Andronicus grecus, nullus prorsus ex(cusationi) lo(cus) relinquitur;¹³⁰ intendit autem istic τῆς σεμνοτάτης φι(λοσο)φίας¹³¹ insignia sumere. Est sane in greca literatura adeo excellens ut, mea quidem sententia, nemini hac nostra aetate concedat, ne tuo quidem, ut bona venia¹³² dicam, Theodoro.

Est preterea modesto ingenio suavique et suae gentis vitio maxime alieno. Hunc igitur <tibi> commendo quem velim amplectatis ὥς τὸν φίλον φίλτατον¹³³ et eo magis ὅτι ἐμοί

121 See Schirmer 1963, 124 n. 122. Letters by Free in the Bodleian manuscript are handed down at fols 157r–166v.

122 Schirmer 1963, 124 (‘empfohlen wird ein Grieche namens Andronicus’).

123 Oxon. Bodl. 587, fol. 159r. I have corrected some readings throughout the text and given account of the explanations of non-ordinary abbreviations. Schirmer is credited with the explanation of a number of unusual abbreviations: An(glicus); ex(cusationi) lo(cus), φι(λοσο)φίας, po(testa)tis. Some clues (such as the incorrect calculation of spaces) show that the Greek given by the quotations was added at a later time.

124 This is the way the form of the name appears in full in the other letters (see fols 159v, 161r, 164r).

125 *supra lin. scriptum*.

126 *post quamquam del. quam mul(ti)*.

127 *πρωτάων cod.*

128 *μᾶλλον cod.*

129 Synesius, *Epist.* 17,7–8.

130 *ex corr.*

131 Synesius, *Epist.* 1,2.

132 *veniam cod., corr. Schirmer.*

133 Synesius, *Epist.* 16,16 (ὥς φίλων φίλτατον).

καταθύμιος ἔστι [sic], ut, si qua in re opera tua uti velit,¹³⁴ experiatur litteras nostras alicuius apud te po(testa)tis esse; te vero¹³⁵ predatore virtutum suarum multos illi conciliabis amicos. Itaque δίδου τε οἱ αἰδοίαν χάριν καὶ ποτ' ἄστῶν καὶ ποτὶ ξείνῳ<ν>.¹³⁶ Mitto ad te aliquid nugarum mearum quas sub montibus Euganeis proxime lusimus. Eas ubi bis ter legeris, verum si ita meruerint, committe marito.¹³⁷ Tu fac sine tuis ad nos literis Andronicus non redeat, et si quid praeter eas aliquid abs te editum commiseris, erit mihi quam gratissimum; quod si sepius feceris, levius aliquanto feram τὸ ἀποσθερεῖσθαι<ι> [sic] τῆς θειοτάτης σοῦ ψυχῆς.¹³⁸

John Free, Englishman, conveys his best regards to the illustrious Sir Ludovico Carbone

That I only rarely send you letters, dearest Ludovico, is not due to the fact that I have forgotten you. Indeed it is not possible for such a thing to happen to me and even more so regarding you, whom from the beginning of our friendship I have always uniquely loved and respected. And although almost infinite is the number of those who appreciate you and your divine virtues, you nevertheless have me 'disputing the primacy to all, indeed I do not dispute it at all, for everyone accords it'. Believe therefore that the reason why I do not fulfil the duty of writing to you is that I am not allowed even a moment of time to do so, and if I am sometimes allowed, there is no one to whom I can entrust my letters. And yet, at this moment, when the Greek Andronicus, a very learned man bound to me by a very great friendship, is leaving and heading towards you, there is no longer any place left for excuses. He intends to pursue there the honours of venerable philosophy. He is really excellent in the knowledge of Greek literature to the extent that, in my opinion, at the present day he is not inferior to anyone, not even to your Theodore (*scil.* Gazes), and this I say in good will.

He is also mild-mannered and kindhearted, and most certainly a stranger to the vice of his people. I therefore recommend him to you; I would like you to welcome him 'as your dearest friend' and all the more so because I am very fond of him, so that, should he wish to have recourse to your help in any matter, he may come to know that our letters are of some importance to you; and you, by endorsing his virtues, will guarantee him many friends. So 'grant him kind respect as much among citizens as among foreigners'. I send you something of my poetic jokes that I have recently composed at the foot of the Euganean Hills. Once you have read them two or three times, as long as they have earned it, give them back to the 'husband'. Please arrange that Andronicus does not return to us without your letters, and if in addition to these you will have sent something else composed by you, that will be most

134 *supra lin. scriptum.*

135 *ex corr.*

136 Pind., *Olymp.* 7,90 [δίδου Pind.].

137 There is no uncertainty in the reading of the word *marito* in the manuscript; however, the meaning of the expression *committe marito* remains unclear.

138 Synesius, *Epist.* 10,11–14.

pleasing to me; if you will do this more often, it will be much easier for me to bear 'being deprived of your soul's divinity'.

From these lines we get some information: 1. Andronikos is leaving from the place where Free is in order to reach the place where Carbone lives; 2. the words of praise expressed by Free suggest a close acquaintance with the Byzantine master and his skills as a talented scholar, as if the two had known each other for a long time; 3. along with the recommendation Free gives some assurances about the moral integrity of Andronikos, defined 'a stranger to the vice of his people' (i.e. paedophilia);¹³⁹ 4. the reason for Andronikos' stay in the place where Carbone resides seems to be the achievement of academic appointment in that city (*insignia sumere*), perhaps as a result of some teaching activity;¹⁴⁰ 5. Andronikos' stay is intended to be of short length: upon his return, he will be able to bring with him letters with news of Carbone.

Despite the lack of explicit geographical and chronological data, information about the stages of Free's Italian stay — along with what is known about the activity of Carbone — makes it possible to present some hypotheses. We must not forget that everything must match with the movements of Andronikos in the 1450s. A hint that Andronikos might have already spent some time in Ferrara after his first sojourn in Bologna at Bessarion's residence comes from a manuscript that has never been associated with him. Some *marginalia* to the text of Pollux' *Onomasticon* in Laur. 58.1¹⁴¹ — partly copied by the so-called 'scribe G' (traditionally identified with Gian Pietro da Lucca, †1457)¹⁴² — are the work of <Kallistos> himself. His interventions consist of slight corrections and additions to fols 98r–100v. The

139 The mention of the moral integrity of this Andronikos does not seem incidental and supports, I believe, the identification of this Andronikos with Kallistos. This might actually evoke the charge of paedophilia raised some time before by Pietro Bravi da Verona against another Byzantine named Andronikos, namely Kontoblakas (see *supra*, § 1.3.2). In his invective Bravi had in fact accused the *graeculus* Ἀνδρόνικος of not even being worthy to bear his own name, and had maliciously distorted it in Παιδόνικος. For the prejudices of the Westerners against the Byzantines active in Italian Humanism, see also the remarks by Lamers 2015, 86–91. On the paedophilia in Byzantium see Koukoules 1955, 505–512.

140 For the expression 'insignia (doctoratus) sumere', refer e.g. to the archival documents published in the series of *Acta graduum Academicorum Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua, 1922–2008).

141 Bibliography on the codex is summed up *infra* 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 69).

142 Fols 1r–12v and some *marginalia* are his work; the identification is by Speranzi 2005, 475. See also Martinelli Tempesta 2015b and Martinelli Tempesta and Speranzi 2018, 206. Fols 13r–16v, 68r–113v are work of another scribe (= 'B'). Fols 28r–67v are in another anonymous hand (= 'C') acting also in codex Perus. F 54 (see Hoffmann 1983, 114 plate 8). Finally, fols 17r–27v (along with a small piece of fol. 28rv) are a later restoration by Francesco Zanetti.

marginal note καὶ Δημοσθένους ‘τὰ βάθρα σπογγύζειν καὶ τὸ μέλαν τρίβειν καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον’ placed at fol. 98r (Fig. 1.3) signals, for instance, a *locus parallelus* in Demosthenes (*De corona* 258).

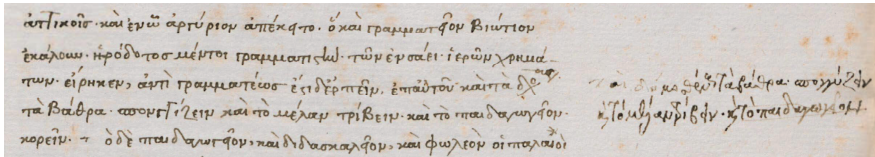


Fig. 1.3: Laur. 58.1, fol. 98r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Gian Pietro da Lucca was a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua and Guarino in Ferrara in the mid-1440s and consistently resided in Venice in the years 1451–1456.¹⁴³ It is likely that he was the owner of Laur. 58.1, as his annotations are found throughout the manuscript.

We ask when and where Kallistos had the possibility to consult it. We know, for instance, that certain books written in the hand of Gian Pietro da Lucca had for a time been present in several cities: Mantua, Ferrara, Verona, and Lucca.¹⁴⁴ We have no trace of Andronikos’ activity in Mantua, Verona or Lucca. On the contrary, an attempt to date Kallistos’ annotations in the Laurentianus to a period spent in Ferrara around the years 1455–1456, where he may have first met Free, remains possible. In addition, the graphic features of these annotations resemble very closely those of the earliest autographs of Kallistos’ activity in Italy as a scribe.¹⁴⁵

As is known, Free spent the years 1456–1458 in Ferrara to study classics, together with other English students, at the school of Guarino.¹⁴⁶ Free’s move to Padua probably dates from the end of 1458; he was to stay there at least until March 1461. It seems that he later moved from Padua to Florence and hence to Rome, where his death may have occurred around the year 1465.¹⁴⁷ A companion

¹⁴³ For a detailed biographical account, see Pignatti 2001.

¹⁴⁴ For the fate of this batch, refer to Speranzi 2005. Martinelli Tempesta 2015b recently shed light on the possibility that some books coming from the collection of Gian Pietro were in Ferrara in the late 1450s or in the early 1460s.

¹⁴⁵ See on this *infra*, § 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 (with *specimina*).

¹⁴⁶ For references to the presence of English scholars in these years see Weiss 1967, 84–127; Schirmer 1963, 91–145; Rundle 2019, 174–227; some remarks are in Wilson 2017, 50.

¹⁴⁷ The last detailed biographical account on Free remains Weiss 1967, 106–112; fundamental is also Schirmer 1963, 114–126.

of Free in Ferrara, Ludovico Carbone trained there as a scholar and had already been studying Greek language and literature before Free's arrival at the school of Theodoros Gazes (before the latter moved to Rome).¹⁴⁸ After obtaining his doctorate in 1456, Carbone became a professor in Ferrara and he was to remain there continuously for about ten years until 1464–1465, when he was called to teach rhetoric in Bologna.¹⁴⁹

The whole set of John Free's *epistolae familiares* preserved in the manuscript Bodl. 587 has been dated by Schirmer, on the basis of some references to historical facts recalled in them, to the years 1457–1458 and therefore located, for the most part, in Ferrara. However, at the time of the letter sent to Carbone containing the recommendation of Andronikos, Free seems to have already moved from Ferrara to Padua; quite striking in this regard is the reference to some *nugae* composed 'at the foot of the Euganean Hills' (*sub montibus Euganeis*). Free did not move to Padua before the fall of 1458.¹⁵⁰ Since he apologizes for having delayed sending news to Carbone, it is possible to assume that not little time had passed before Free decided to write a letter to his friend. For these reasons it is plausible to propose for the letter a dating to the year 1459.

Taking into account what is known about Andronikos' activity in the meanwhile (as said,¹⁵¹ he was teaching Greek in Bologna in the spring of 1459, planning to leave as soon as possible for Padua), a *terminus post quem* for the dating of Free's letter to Carbone and, consequently, the time of the beginning of Kallistos' short stay in Ferrara is necessarily set after April 1459. Upon his return to Padua from Bologna, Andronikos must have soon left Padua for Ferrara, bringing with him the recommendation letter by Free. He must have spent a short period of time there, in which he may have carried on his studies, may have copied manuscripts,¹⁵² and taught Greek, as said in the epistle.

In conclusion, Kallistos' first stay in Ferrara may have taken place around 1456, whereas the second sojourn in that city may have lasted from the second half of 1459 to the year 1460.

148 A key witness to the teaching of Gazes in Ferrara are the *recollectae* by Carbone studied by Tissoni 2009 and Tissoni 2018.

149 On the biography of Carbone refer to Paoletti 1976.

150 See Weiss 1967, 108–109.

151 See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

152 See more *infra*, § 2.2.1.

1.3.5 Again in Padua at Strozzi's house (1461–1462)

In 1461 Kallistos was certainly back in Padua, as a series of letters from Filelfo to Palla Strozzi confirms. The first one dates from 1 January.¹⁵³ Filelfo appealed to Strozzi to intercede with Andronikos, to provide him with a copy of some texts he believed the Byzantine owned: Cornutus' *De natura deorum* (this copy corresponds to the manuscript Vat. gr. 1314, fols 191r–213r) and works by Palaephatus and Michael Synkellos.¹⁵⁴ In the following letter, dated 28 January 1461, Filelfo asks Palla to gather more information from Andronikos on the possibility that these texts (Cornutus, Palaephatus and Synkellos) were available in Candia, in Crete, as Kallistos himself seemed to have suggested.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, he asks Palla to borrow or to acquire a copy upon payment of one of Andronikos' manuscripts, containing Apollonius Dyscolus' *De constructione* (= Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fols 58r–129v), a text which Filelfo had wanted for a long time. A letter dated 19 April 1461¹⁵⁶ concludes the correspondence regarding these texts and informs us

153 [...] *Agit enim istic apud vos Andronicus Callistus noster, vir disertus et doctus. Isti autem esse audio* τὸν τε Παλαιφάτον Περί παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Κορνοῦτον Περί ἀλλαγριῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Σύγκελ<λ>ον γραμματικόν. *Peto igitur abs te maiorem in modum ut eos libros aut nobis exscribi cures mea impensa, aut ad nos ire, qui hic excribantur redituri ad dominum quamprimum [...]* (ed. De Keyser 2015a, 805).

154 Manuscripts belonging to Kallistos with works by Palaephatus and Synkellos have not been identified. In the case of Synkellos, I verified whether Andronikos' book might have been Ambr. M 51 sup., a manuscript from the Valla-Pio collection (see *infra*, § 3.3.). It lacks, however, any traces of Kallistos' hand.

155 *De libris quid responderit Andronicus Callistus, ex tuis litteris didici. Velim ex eo certior fias apud quem eiusmodi hospitentur* ἐν τῷ Κάνδακι, *apud Laurumne Quirinum an apud alium quondam. Ad haec audio Andronico isti esse Apollonium grammaticum* Περί συντάξεως ῥημάτων. *Quoad eius fieri licet, rem mihi gratissimam navabis, si dederis operam ut codex ille excribendus eat Mediolanum, e vestigio rediturus ad vos. Quod si id minus, saltem velim eam curam suscipias, ut istic apud vos exscribatur. Nam quod impenderis, dabo ad te quamprimum [...]* (ed. De Keyser 2015a, 808). We cannot exclude that works by Michael Synkellos and Palaephatus never belonged to Andronikos' collection. The suggestion to turn to people living in Crete and handling with manuscripts, like Quirini, corroborates the link between Andronikos and people acting on the island. In all likelihood, such contacts had originated during Kallistos' stay there (see for this *supra*, § 1.2.). Finally, on the issue of the identification of Filelfo's codex containing Cornutus, see Krafft 1975, 317–318.

156 *Apollonium tuum de praepositionum constructione idcirco tua opinione celerius redire ad te curavi, ut intelligeres nos librariis etiam graecis non carere, idque ut ostenderes Andronico Callisto, si quos petieramus libros misisset ad nos, eos non diu fuisse a domino abfuturos. Nam quod vir doctus inficias ierit eiusmodi libros esse apud se, est hic apud nos testis locupletissimus, qui eos et viderit et lectitaverit in eodem apud Andronicum codice, quo etiam Apollonius continetur. Itaque non possum non mirari quid causae fuerit, quod gratificari nobis noluerit Andronicus, praesertim*

that Filelfo returned the manuscript of Apollonius Dyscolus owned by Palla Strozzi, after Kallistos had refused to temporarily grant his copy.

I previously mentioned a document containing Palla Strozzi's will, underigned by Andronikos among others. Kallistos' stay in Padua thus lasted around three years, from the spring of 1459 to the one of 1462. During this time, Kallistos managed to enrich his manuscript collection, gathering some copies for himself from Palla Strozzi's antigraphs. A famous example — illustrated on several occasions by Francesco Donadi¹⁵⁷ — is the codex Ambr. H 52 sup., containing Lysias' *Orations* and Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen*, a direct copy by the hand of Iohannes Rhosos of Pal. gr. 88, owned by Palla. Likewise, Mark Sosower¹⁵⁸ assumed the existence of a common antigraph (now lost) owned by Palla, from which descended two witnesses to Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum*, that is, Par. gr. 2069, copied by Kallistos, and Pal. gr. 162 by Iohannes Skutariotes. Marwan Rashed¹⁵⁹ argued that Par. gr. 2032 (a book likely owned by Strozzi) was the antigraph to a manuscript (now unfortunately lost) included in Andronikos' collection and employed by him as antigraph during his Italian stay for the copy of some Aristotelian treatises in Vat. gr. 249 (in all likelihood in Rome) and in Vat. gr. 2201 (in Florence). Other manuscripts which Andronikos accessed in Padua at Palla Strozzi's residence are Par. gr. 1852 (Arist., *EN*), Par. gr. 1906, 1908 and 1909 (Simpl., in *Phys.*), Urb. gr. 151 (Planudes), Vat. gr. 1324 (Lucian), on some of which he also left handwritten notes.

Finally, during these years, Andronikos strengthened his contacts, even from a distance, with Bessarion and all the members of his milieu. Kallistos participated over years in the Platonic-Aristotelian debate going on within the intellectual humanist circles. A recent finding by Teresa Martínez Manzano sheds light

cum multo magis libris graecis abundemus quam ipse, et iis quidem in omni doctrinae genere. Itaque poterat beneficium veluti foenerari. Nec enim id eo factum existimo, quod nobis esse aliquid noluerit, quod sibi soli esse opinaretur. Nam sine illis etiam aliquid possumus [...] (ed. De Keyser 2015, 831–832).

¹⁵⁷ See Donadi 1976 and Donadi 2005, 27–30.

¹⁵⁸ See Sosower 1986, 143 n. 6; this hypothesis had been supported already by Einarson 1976.

¹⁵⁹ See Rashed 2001, 218–229. However, Kallistos' engagement with Strozzi's manuscripts is interesting as it improves our knowledge about Palla's library. The discovery of some autograph notes — so far unacknowledged — by <Andronikos> in Vat. gr. 1950 (fols 230r, 232r, 234v, 235v, 236r = Xenoph., *Agésilas*), together with philological evidence about the transmission of Xenophon's works (see Serra 1978–1979, 80, 103; Serra 1979, 15; Jackson 1990; Schmoll 1990; Muratore 1997, Muratore 2022), corroborates the idea that this manuscript belonged to Palla Strozzi, as first suggested in Sosower 1986, 143, 151. Concerning Kallistos' interventions on the text of *Agésilas*, see *infra*, § 5.3.2.

on the terms of Andronikos' engagement in the editorial story of *In calumniatorem Platonis*: Kallistos was commissioned to revise the text of the third book (which was to later become the fourth) of the work, handed down in the hand of Bessarion himself in the codex Scor. Σ.III.1 (fols 152r–185v).¹⁶⁰ Andronikos' personal contribution within the controversy consists of a pamphlet in defence of his relative Theodoros Gazes, the latter having taken Aristotle's side in this *querelle*. In a brief polemical work, Michael Apostoles attacked Gazes who had written in turn a pamphlet known as *Adversus Plethonem pro Aristotele de substantia*.¹⁶¹ The work by Apostoles¹⁶² was disliked by Bessarion. Kallistos' reaction to Apostoles' treatise occurred in form of a long philosophical epistle offered to the Cardinal, commonly referred to as *Defensio Theodori Gazae*.¹⁶³

The role played by the monk Hesaias of Cyprus¹⁶⁴ at several stages of the controversy, both from the point of view of textual and material evidence, has not yet been emphasized enough. It must be mentioned that Hesaias was the addressee of a letter written by Georgios Trapezuntios in response to Bessarion's Ὅτι ἡ φύσις βουλεύεται.¹⁶⁵ Again to Hesaias, Theodoros Gazes dedicated the paper known as *Adversus Plethonem pro Aristotele de substantia*,¹⁶⁶ which was to trigger Michael Apostoles' reaction and Kallistos' counter-reaction. Hesaias was the first to receive the writing sent by Apostoles to Bessarion, as Michael himself tells us.¹⁶⁷ As we learn from Bessarion's words,¹⁶⁸ Andronikos read the treatise prior to the Cardinal. The newly discovered draft letter by Apostoles — which has already been mentioned for other reasons¹⁶⁹ — confirms the fact that Kallistos laid his hands on the work before it reached the Cardinal: 'against the will of the author

¹⁶⁰ See Martínez Manzano 2018, 379–380 and plate 8.

¹⁶¹ The text is in Mohler 1942, 151–158. See also Powell 1938a.

¹⁶² The text is in Mohler 1942, 161–169 (edited under the Latin title *Ad Theodori Gazae pro Aristotele de substantia adversus Plethonem obiectiones*).

¹⁶³ The text, first edited in Mohler 1942, 171–203, is hereby critically edited (with an account on the manuscript tradition) and provided with an English translation; see *infra*, Appendix 1.

¹⁶⁴ See on him *PLP* 6745; recent findings in Speranzi 2018, 197–200 and Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123–125, 133–134, 137.

¹⁶⁵ This text was to be later inserted by the Cardinal himself as chapter three of his extended reply, the philosophical treatise *De natura et arte*; see Accendere and Privitera 2014; Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015.

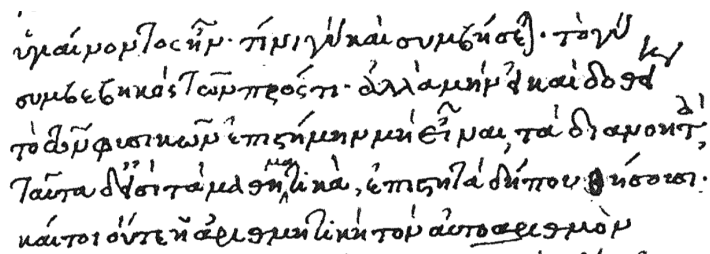
¹⁶⁶ Mohler 1942, 151–158.

¹⁶⁷ See Stefec 2013a, 54–56 (*Epist.* 13, 14, 15), 149.

¹⁶⁸ Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ὁ Καλλίστου, πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐξητακώς τε καὶ διακωδωνίσας, οὕτως αὐτὰ τε καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡμῖν πέπομφεν; see the text in Mohler 1942, 511–513 and Cattaneo 2020a, 149–153.

¹⁶⁹ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

and Bessarion', Andronikos allegedly 'stole the book from Hesaias' while the latter was delivering it to the Cardinal.¹⁷⁰ Finally, we can identify <Hesaias> as the copyist of the fourth codicological unit of Scor. Φ.III.15, i.e. one of the two main witnesses to Kallistos' reply to Apostoles composed in defence of Gazes¹⁷¹ (Fig. 1.4).



ἡγάγοιτο ἡμῶν· πρὶν γὰρ καὶ συμβῆσαι· τὸν
 συμβεβηκὸς τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ δοθέν
 τὸν δὲ φασὶν ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ μὴ εἶναι, τὰ διαμονή,
 ταῦτα δὲ τὰ μέλη καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδύποιν ἡσώσῃ.
 καὶ τοῖς ὅτε ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὸν ἀποσεσῶμεν

Fig. 1.4: Scor. Φ.III.15, fol. 189r; © Real Biblioteca del Monasterio.

Rudolf S. Stefec attributed to this period two letters sent by Michael Apostoles to Andronikos.¹⁷² Deciphering the meaning of these letters is not easy given Apostoles' very cryptic language,¹⁷³ but, briefly, it seems that in both of these short messages Michael asks Kallistos to show himself to be more sympathetic; in the first letter (no. 36) Andronikos is reproached for not being spontaneously friendly; in the second one (no. 39) the existence of a remote seventh-degree kinship is recalled: this should lead them not to be hostile to each other. According to Stefec, the tone of these letters would suggest ongoing good relations: this is the reason why it has been proposed to date them before May 1462, that is, at the time Apostoles had not yet received Kallistos' harsh reply. It remains problematic, however, to give any certain chronological reference for these epistles.

Either way, Andronikos' firm but measured intervention in the debate gained the appreciation of Bessarion, which he expressed in a short letter sent from Viterbo's thermal baths on 19 May 1462.

¹⁷⁰ See Villa 2021, 448 lines 18–21. As far as manuscripts are concerned, it has already been pointed out that Hesaias was the possessor of one of the main volumes transmitting the treatises of the controversy, Ambr. F 88 sup; see Speranzi 2018, 197–200.

¹⁷¹ The letter by Apostoles also gives us the name of the person who delivered the text by Andronikos to him, bringing it to Crete from Italy; for Apostoles hereby names a ἱερεὺς Iohannes, who can be identified with the priest Iohannes Plusiadenos; see Villa 2021, 448 lines 1–7.

¹⁷² See Stefec 2013a, 71 (epist. 36), 73 (epist. 39), 151–152.

¹⁷³ See on this topic Rollo 2014c.

Βησσαρίων καρδηνάλις Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Καλλίστου φιλοσοφεῖν

Ἀνέγνων καὶ τὰ Μιχαήλφ φύρδην κατὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου Θεοδώρου συντεθειμένα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς ἐκείνου σωφρονισμούς· κρίσιν τὲ καὶ ψήφον περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἐξήνεγκα, ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἐπεσταλμένοις ὄψει, ὧν σοι πέμπομεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα. περιττὸν γὰρ καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥάδιον φαρμακευομένῳ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μακρηγορεῖν. εὖ πράττοις. ἐδόθη ὅπου καὶ τὰ πρὸς Μιχαήλον.¹⁷⁴

Cardinal Bessarion wishes to Andronikos Kallistos to be a wise man

I have read both the work coarsely compiled by Michael against our friend Theodoros and your call for restraint to him. I have gained for both a judgement and a preference, which you will see within the letters that have been sent to him, of which we send you the copy. For it is unnecessary and not easy at all for me while undergoing therapy even to be verbose to you. Farewell. This was sent at the same time as that to Michael.

174 I quote here the Greek text as it is handed down in the manuscript Laur. 58.33 (fol. 91v), just correcting the form of the name Βησαρίων in Βησσαρίων. These lines have already been printed in Boissonade 1833, 388 from Par. gr. 3053, in *PG* 161, cols 691–696, and then in Mohler 1942, 513 (epist. 50). However, one should be aware that the text edited by Mohler (thence reprinted now in Cattaneo 2020a, 155) is an undisclosed mixture of Par. gr. 3053 and Laur. 58.33, which are witnesses to two different versions, as far as I could verify by means of full collations. The ‘revised’ version of the text is that transmitted by Laur. 58.33, its apograph Oxon. Barocci 165, its copy Matr. 4790 and Matr. 4766, the latter being in turn apograph to the former. The textual features of the other version, which is more inaccurate than that found in the Laurentianus, are the following: Μιχαήλου (vs. Μιχαήλφ); συγκεχυμένα (vs. συντεθειμένα); ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων (vs. περὶ ἀμφοτέρων); the words ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἐπεσταλμένοις ὄψει ὧν are missing; οὐ (vs. οὐδὲ); the greeting εὖ πράττοις is omitted; καὶ ὅτε καὶ ὅπου (vs. ὅπου). The manuscripts which preserve this ‘rough’ version (apparently closer to the original one) are Berol. Phillipps 1616 and its apograph Par. gr. 2652; Par. gr. 3053, which is in turn a copy of Par. gr. 2652; finally, Berol. Phillipps 1610, a late sixteenth-century copy of Berol. Phillipps 1616. That most of these variant readings originated from a rewriting of the text (this bearing, thus, interlinear additions and corrections) is proven by the presence of further combinations of words in other witnesses: this is, for instance, the case with the words ὅπου καὶ ὅτε καὶ in Scor. Φ.III.15, its copy Ambr. B 141 sup., the latter’s apograph Ambr. D 118 inf. and Uppsal. gr. 8; ὅπου καὶ and ὅτε καὶ are variant readings to each other. The Uppsalensis clearly bears evidence of a ‘mixed’ text, based on the ‘revised’ version but still presenting some features of the ‘rough’ one: see ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων instead of περὶ ἀμφοτέρων. Mixed features are found also in Vat. gr. 1393 and its apograph Vall. Carte Allacci 108. I shall give a detailed account on the transmission of this short epistle in the near future.

Two weeks later (on 5 June), Bessarion's assistant Nikolaos Sekundinos expressed his satisfaction about the text of the *Defensio* with a letter too.¹⁷⁵

1.4 The second stay in Bologna (1462–1466)

The letter by Sekundinos is probably the very last Kallistos received during his stay in Padua. Then, on the day of Palla Strozzi's death, which occurred on 18 May, Kallistos moved back to Bologna, where, after a three year pause, he again took up the public teaching of Greek language and literature, together with moral philosophy (but only *diebus festis*).¹⁷⁶ In the preface to his *Grammatica*,¹⁷⁷ Konstantinos Laskaris mentions this activity, which Kallistos practised until the summer of the year 1466.¹⁷⁸

A short passage from a letter sent by Andronikos to Demetrios <Chalkondyles>, written between 1463 and 1465, lists the Greek authors studied in his courses:¹⁷⁹

“Ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ’ ἐμὲ εἰδῆς, ἴσθι με ἑλληνιστὶ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντα τοῖς ἐταίροις τοὺς τοῦ Πινδάρου ὕμνους καὶ τὰς τοῦ Φαλάριδος ἐπιστολάς καὶ προσέτι τὰ Θεοδώρου γραμματικά, ῥωμαῖστί δὲ ἀναγνώνσαντα ἤδη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους πολιτικά τε καὶ οἰκονομικά, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερὰν τελετὴν ἄλλο τι τῶν τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει περὶ φύσεως συγγραφέντων ἀναγινώσκειν ἀρξόμενον.

175 I shall soon give a critical edition and a translation of Sekundinos' letter (first printed in Boissonade 1833, 377–387), after investigating the whole manuscript tradition. For Sekundinos' translation into Latin of some chapters of Kallistos' *Defensio* (edited by Monfasani 1985), see more *infra*, Appendix 1.

176 This emerges from the *rotuli* edited in Dallari 1888, 62, 64–65, 67, 70. On the subject, see Perosa 1953, 8. During his absence from Bologna, Greek was not taught for the years 1459/1460 and 1460/1461, and courses were held *diebus festis* by Gianmario Filelfo during 1461/1462. For further information on Kallistos' teaching activity in Bologna, see also the introduction by G. M. Anselmi in Chines 1992, 5–6.

177 For the text see Martínez Manzano 1994, 199.

178 For a more precise chronological *terminus ante quem*, set as August 1466 by a letter by Filelfo to Kallistos, see *infra*.

179 The letter was first published in Powell 1939, 19–20 from Cantabr. Trinity College O.2.36. I would like to thank James Kirwan, Senior Library Assistant of the Trinity College library, for providing me with digital scans of the Cambridge codex, which enabled me to correct in many points the text edited by Powell. I give here (see *infra*, Appendix 5) a new critical edition of this correspondence revised through the collation of a new witness, i.e. Vall. F 40 (fols 65r–68r), and accompanied by an English translation.

So that you too are informed about me, you should know that I am explaining to my companions Pindar's hymns, Phalaris' epistles and Theodoros' *Grammar*, I have already lectured in Latin on the political and economic works of Aristotle, and after Easter I will begin to lecture on some other works by Aristotle on nature.

Andronikos explicitly claims to read in Greek Pindar, Phalaris, and the grammar by Gazes;¹⁸⁰ furthermore, he informs his interlocutor that he has already read in Latin — perhaps for the classes on moral philosophy — Aristotle's political and economic writings, and that he is going to add very soon to his course some works on *Physics*. It is possible to recognize some manuscripts which Kallistos employed for his courses: Mutin. α T.9.14 and Laur. Ashb. 1144 may have been used for classes on Pindar, Mutin. α T.9.2 for Phalaris.¹⁸¹ The codex of Gazes' *Grammar* that was in Kallistos' private collection has not been yet identified with certainty, despite the fact that his handwriting has been found in three witnesses to this work.¹⁸² It would be interesting to know which Latin manuscripts Andronikos owned and used for his classes of philosophy. Theocritus is not mentioned, but we know from other sources that Andronikos also lectured on the *Idyllia* during his stay in Bologna.¹⁸³ Traces of Kallistos' classes on Theocritus are found in codex Salmanticensis 71, a manuscript recently examined by Teresa Martínez Manzano.¹⁸⁴

Andronikos' teaching and scholarly activity in Bologna has been often recorded in the memoirs of his contemporaries. Our main sources are again Francesco Filelfo's Greek and Latin letters. Some of these are directly addressed to Kallistos;¹⁸⁵ other letters — which are mostly in Latin — only briefly mention the Byzantine scholar.¹⁸⁶

180 New data on the manuscripts containing Gazes' *Grammatica* (some of them perhaps manufactured in Bologna) and its employment in Andronikos' school will be discussed in the following chapters. See *infra*, § 2.3.1 and 4.1.5.2.

181 The same opinion is shared by Gamillscheg 1978, 242 and Günther 1999.

182 Neap. II.D.9, Ott. gr. 52, Vat. gr. 13; see *infra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entries nos 88, 108, and 112).

183 On Kallistos' classes about Theocritus one should mention again the record by Giorgio Merula's quoted *supra*, § 1.1.

184 See Martínez Manzano 2011. The Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation originating from Andronikos' school. More evidence about classes on Theocritus held by Kallistos *infra*, § 5.3.1 and 5.4.

185 These letters are in Greek and were first edited in Legrand 1892. See now De Keyser 2015a.

186 This is, for instance, the case with the first piece of evidence we come across: a cover letter Filelfo wrote on 26 April 1464 to his friend Alberto Parisi (see De Keyser 2015a, 1009): Filelfo asks Parisi to deliver a letter he had sent to Andronikos. Filelfo was turning to Kallistos because

A record of Kallistos' Bolognese teaching comes from a letter dated 31 October 1464, sent again to Alberto Parisi.¹⁸⁷ Here Filelfo writes about the debate on his *Sphortias*¹⁸⁸ prompted by Galeotto Marzio da Narni, lecturer of rhetoric at the *Studium Bononiense* for two academic years (1463/1464 and 1464/1465).¹⁸⁹ Filelfo is surprised that the latter's proficiency of Greek is so poor; then, in Bologna he might have turned to such a worthy learned man and teacher as Andronikos.¹⁹⁰ More generally — as these lines show — Filelfo criticizes all those Bolognese intellectuals who do not take the opportunity to learn Greek from Kallistos.¹⁹¹ He comes back to this subject in a letter written some months later to Argino da Busseto (21 March 1465). Filelfo congratulates his friend for attending Andronikos' classes: it is inconceivable — he writes — that a man of letters would totally ignore Greek.¹⁹² On the same day, he wrote two more letters: one in Latin to Bernardo Moretti,¹⁹³ and one in Greek to Kallistos.¹⁹⁴ The main topic of both letters is the same: Andronikos should not give in to Galeotto Marzio's provocations, as the latter — aware of the Kallistos' relationship with Filelfo — is maliciously trying to draw him into the debate on the *Sphortias*.¹⁹⁵

of an 'Aristotelian issue' raised by a corrupted passage in the text of Plutarch's *De placitis philosophorum* (1,10); we learn the details of this from two epistles sent to Kallistos between 27 April and 29 April (see De Keyser 2015a, 1009, 1012). Filelfo contacted Bessarion, as well, for the same reason, as shown by a Latin letter sent to the Cardinal on the same day (26 April 1464; see De Keyser 2015a, 1008–1009).

187 On this figure see Frati 1931.

188 For details about the debate and a critical edition of the text, see De Keyser 2015b.

189 See Dallari 1888, 64, 67; see also Perosa 1953, 7. A recent account on Galeotto of Narni can be found in Miggiano 2008.

190 See De Keyser 2015a, 1065–1066: *Crede mihi, Alberthe carissime, nullo pacto fieri posse quenquam satis excultum latinis litteris, ubi graecas ignorarit omnino. Quare non possum vos omnis, qui Bononiae agitis, non mirari plurimum quod, cum vobis viri doctissime eruditi copia data sit ad graecam disciplinam penitus consequendam, malitis indocti esse quam docti. Nunquam equidem discendi gratia traiecissem in Thraciam Constantinopolin (qua in urbe septennium egi), si istiusmodi mihi Andronicus Byzantius in Italia esset oblatus. At facitis vos quemadmodum avari solent, qui et famem et sitim in summa abundantia patiuntur. Quales discipuli futuri sunt, cum istorum magister in tanta versatur incitia? [...]*. This is only a brief excerpt of a quite long letter covering many pages (1061–1077) of the edition by De Keyser.

191 Concerning the success of Kallistos' Bolognese courses, it should be noticed that Cammelli 1942, 116–117 — to whom these pieces of evidence were unknown — had already believed they did not have great success.

192 De Keyser 2015a, 1089–1090.

193 De Keyser 2015a, 1090–1091.

194 De Keyser 2015a, 1091.

195 See on this work De Keyser 2015b.

These pieces of evidence seem to describe a period characterized in many ways by great enthusiasm, but also by lack of stability. Bolognese intellectual circles rejected the spread of Greek studies, thus provoking apprehension amongst the Greeks active in the city. Filelfo refers to such disturbance (ταραχαί) in the letter which informs about the end of Kallistos' Bolognese stay, dated 28 August 1466:

Ὅτι μὲν τῶν Βονωνιέων ἀπαλλαγείς ταραχῶν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεστάτῳ λιμένι πάσης εὐδίας τὲ καὶ γαλήνης ἤδη διάγεις, παρὰ τῷ τελείας ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σοφίας τεμένει, Βησσαρίωνι, συνήδομαί σοι τὰ μέγιστα τῆς εὐτυχίας. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἐλπίσεις ἂν τυχεῖν τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὑπὸ τοιοῦτῳ δεσπότη τελῶν;¹⁹⁶

I am very happy for you that you now live calmly and in tranquillity in the safest harbour, in the sanctuary of virtue and wisdom — that is, at Bessarion's house — far from Bologna's disturbance. In fact, what sort of benefits should you not obtain from such a patron?

Filelfo says he is happy about Andronikos' recent move to Bessarion's in Rome: he could not find a safer and calmer space, thus finally leaving behind the precariousness and misunderstandings.

1.5 The Roman years at Bessarion's house (1466–1471)

From August 1466 to summer 1471 Kallistos was in Rome as Bessarion's guest. As a proper patron, the Cardinal gave shelter to the most illustrious Greek scholars of the time, and invited to his 'court' some of the best Italian humanists. The so-called 'academy' at Bessarion's residence was growing and was to be led from 1467 onwards by Theodoros Gazes.¹⁹⁷

Unlike the Bolognese stay, Kallistos' Roman years lack evidence coming from the voices of his contemporaries: there are on the whole only four occurrences.

¹⁹⁶ De Keyser 2015a, 1191.

¹⁹⁷ A list of the names of the scholars acting in the 'academy' was elaborated by Niccolò Perotti in his comment to Statius' *Silvae* (Vat. lat. 6835, fol. 55v: *Non Theodorum dico, non Catum, non Valerium, non Andronicum, non Narniensem Theophrastum, non Domicium Veronensem, Pomponium, Octavium, Lucillium, Pierum Durantinum, sed Bentevoleum nostrum, sed Rufum, sed Almadianum, sed Alexin, sed caeteros qui adhuc adolescentes in huiusmodi studiis versantur: quanquam, nisi me animus fallit, nec priores illos nec ipsum Academiae principem Bessarionem pigebit aliquando in his extraordinariis studiis animum relaxare*, namely, Gazes, Giovanni Gatti, Valerio Simonelli, Kallistos, Teofrasto da Narni, Domizio Calderini, Pomponio Leto, Ottavio Ubaldini, Lucillio, Pierio Durantino, Pierio Bentivoglio, Matteo Rufo, Giovanni Battista Almadiani, Alexios Keladenos). See also Speranzi 2011, 120–121 (with previous bibliographical references).

The first one is a letter from Filelfo to Theodoros Gazes (21 January 1469) showing happiness for Andronikos' condition under the protection of Bessarion:

Gaudeo equidem plurimum eruditissimum virum mihique amicissimum Andronicum Callistum, necessarium tuum, apud vos agere, idest in Musarum et sapientiae domicilio; quem ut meis verbis salvere iubeas abs te peto.¹⁹⁸

I am glad that your relative Andronikos Kallistos, a very learned man and a very dear friend of mine, is staying with you, that is to say in the house of Muses and wisdom. I beg you to greet him for me.

In addition, there is a letter from Gazes to the cardinal Marco Barbo, where Kallistos is briefly mentioned.¹⁹⁹

As he had already done in Bologna more than ten years earlier, Kallistos completed some commissioned copying work in Rome, too, for his patron Bessarion and, occasionally, for others, like Nicholas of Kotor, the bishop of Modruš.²⁰⁰ However, the activity as a scribe must have been a very marginal obligation during these years. The Cardinal was soon to entrust Kallistos with the definitive clean copy of the treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis*, the parchment codex Marc. gr. Z. 198.²⁰¹ Bessarion's choice was likely motivated by the awareness that Andronikos' accuracy and profound knowledge of the matter would guarantee the best conditions for the work of copying. Andronikos benefited in turn from the possibility of consulting Bessarion's library for his own needs, by collating texts on which his philological activity had been focused for years.²⁰²

In Rome, Andronikos also worked as an assistant for the preparation of some printed editions. A documented case of collaboration with Giovanni Andrea Bussi (1417–1475), bishop of Aleria,²⁰³ is worth mentioning in this regard. In the preface

198 De Keyser 2015a, 1285.

199 The letter dates between 18 September 1467 and 18 March 1471; see on this Leone 1990, 62–63. Contrary to the impression given in Filelfo's letter, two further pieces of evidence offer a different view on Kallistos' stay in Rome: 1. the record by Raffaele Maffei da Volterra, according to which Andronikos lived in Rome in such misery that he was forced to leave for Florence to seek his fortune there (*Romae apud Nicenum vivebat profitebaturque non pari quidem virtuti emolumento. Quapropter sicuti plerique alii eius generis coactus est egestate urbem deserere Florentiamque se conferre*; see Cammelli 1942, 180); 2. some verses by Giannantonio Campano (1429–1477), mocking Andronikos' financial condition (see Martinelli Tempesta 1995, 138). The verses by Campano are found in Vat. lat. 2874 (fol. 29rv), as already signalled by Kristeller II 355.

200 See more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

201 Diller 1967, 406–407 first identified Kallistos as the scribe of the manuscript.

202 See *infra*, § 2.1.3 and 2.3.1.

203 See on him Miglio 1972 and Miglio 2002, 30–51.

to the edition of the Latin translation of Strabo's *Geographia* (printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1469),²⁰⁴ Bussi claimed to have collaborated with Theodoros Gazes, his 'counsellor' for highly critical philological issues, as well as with Andronikos Kallistos and Lampugnino Birago.²⁰⁵

As is well known, pope Paul II (August 1464–July 1471) had always had suspicions towards philhellenic humanistic circles because of their potential pagan and anti-Christian deviances. These suspicions prompted him to ask for the closure of the so-called Roman 'academy', thus restricting the space in which intellectuals could be active, such as Giovanni Andrea Bussi himself, who benefited from the collaboration with the members of the circle like Kallistos, Gazes, and the young man Alexios Keladenos. It is therefore no wonder that the condition of the Byzantine émigrés in Rome became progressively more disadvantageous towards the end of the 1460s.

The possibility of taking over Iohannes Argyropulos' place as lecturer at the Florentine *Studium* persuaded Andronikos to leave Rome and move there. In the summer 1471 he was with certainty in Florence: the *terminus post quem* of his arrival can be found in the recommendation letter sent from Bessarion to Lorenzo de' Medici on 23 August.²⁰⁶ His arrival should be thought of as a sort of turnover with Argyropulos officially leaving Florence on 23 July.²⁰⁷

1.6 The Florentine period (1471–1474)

It has never been sufficiently elucidated when exactly Andronikos' teaching in Florence started, and what it consisted in. We know about Andronikos' activity from the summer 1471. However, in the official accounts of the Florentine *Studium*, Kallistos' name only appears from the academic year 1473–1474 onwards.²⁰⁸ Therefore, the last biographers were not convinced that the Byzantine

204 ISTC is00793000.

205 [...] *In quo* (scil. in recovering some passages of Strabo's text) *Theodoro meo Gazae atque Andronico, Lampo item Birago, graece latineque doctissimis viris, non exigua gratia est habenda*; see Miglio 1978, 35. See also Orlandi 2020a, 231–232, 239.

206 The letter, in Italian vernacular, is kept in the State Archive of Florence (Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 46, doc. 122). See Cammelli 1942, 179–180.

207 See Cammelli 1942, 176. Argyropulos first went to Rome, as proved by the letter dated 26 October 1471 published in Cammelli 1941, 133.

208 See Verde 1973, I, 298; II, 24; IV, 1, 95–96, upon which rest some recent contributions, like Megna 2009, XXV–XXVI, Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 131 and De Gregorio and Martinelli Tempesta 2018, 215.

scholar held an official teaching position (that is, with a regular salary) from September 1471. Instead, they suggested private forms of allowances granted by Lorenzo.²⁰⁹ Some documents from the State Archive in Florence, first published some years ago by Jonathan Davies and not yet taken into account, allow us to solve the issue once and for all. The ledgers of *Entrata e uscita del Camerlengo del Monte Comune*, refer to regular thrimonthly payments to ‘Messer Andronico Callisto da Constantinopoli’, from 3 September 1471 until October 1473; these payments amounted to a modest salary of roughly 200 florins per year.²¹⁰ After all — as Cammelli and Perosa had already observed²¹¹ — in an elegy to Lorenzo de’ Medici, dated by Perosa to the summer 1473,²¹² Angelo Poliziano, Andronikos’ most illustrious student, asked Lorenzo to ‘keep’ (*servare*) Kallistos in his place, to avoid the risk that he might leave the city, thus implying that he had been already holding a position there for some time (vv. 9–18):

Tu tantum Andronicum serves! O quantus ab illo
spiritus in nostri pectoris ima venit!
O quos ille tibi gignit nutritque poetas,
dum tonat argolicis troica bella modis!
Iam tibi Aristotelem vertit, penitusque retrusas
naturae arcano concinit ore vices.
Unica materies illi es, spes unica solus;
una illi vitam tu dare voce potes.
Parva petit, dare magna soles; da parva petenti:
parva tamen nescis si dare, magna dato.²¹³

In this famous elegy two *auctores* are mentioned, whose works were read in Kallistos’ courses: Homer and Aristotle. Teaching Aristotle represented without a doubt an element of continuity with Iohannes Argyropulos’ courses. Lines 13–14 (*iam tibi Aristotelem vertit, penitusque retrusas / naturae arcano concinit ore vices*)

209 See Cammelli 1942, 181–185: ‘Purtroppo a questo punto ci vengono a mancare le documentazioni [...] Noi ci domandiamo [...] quale mai fu la sorte di Andronico Callisto, se cioè egli potè ottenere l’elezione nello Studio, e in caso affermativo, quale fu lo stipendio che gli fu assegnato al momento dell’elezione’. See also Bigi 1961: ‘Non sappiamo se l’insegnamento di Andronico in questa città fosse un vero e proprio incarico ufficiale’.

210 See Davies 1998, 174–175. Andronikos was paid with some delay. His first salary, for instance — referring to his first teaching period (three months, that, is from 3 September to 3 December 1471) — was credited one year later (on 12 September 1472).

211 See Cammelli 1942, 186–187 and Perosa 1953, 11.

212 See Perosa 1953, 11.

213 I quote here vv. 9–18 of the edition by Maier 1971. See also Megna 2009, XXV–XXVI.

allude to the Latin translation of Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* completed by Andronikos and dedicated to Lorenzo.²¹⁴

However, Kallistos' Florentine courses were not only about Aristotle, as the famous *recollectae* of classes kept in the manuscript Laur. 66.31 clearly show. This codex has transmitted annotations concerning Andronikos' interpretation on Homer's *Iliad*,²¹⁵ Demosthenes' *De corona*, and Theocritus' *Idylls* written down by an anonymous student.²¹⁶ Pindar's *Olympians* should also be taken in consideration: a Latin translation by the hand of Bartolomeo Fonzio, along with marginal notes referring to Andronikos' classes, is preserved in the manuscript Magliab. VII 1025.²¹⁷ In another famous elegy by Poliziano, dedicated to Fonzio, the main authors read by Andronikos are mentioned again within a few lines (193–198):²¹⁸

Rursus in Andronici doctum me confero ludum
qui tumidos nodos laxat Aristotelis,
Smyrnaeique docet iocunda poemata vatis:

214 The text of the Latin version is handed down in two codices, Laur. 84.11 and Neap. VIII.E.18 (see for the latter Kristeller VI 114b). The long preface to the translation with the dedication to Lorenzo was first published in Hankins 1994, 37–42 from the Laurentianus. More recently, Rashed 2011 offered the *editio princeps* of the whole text, not acknowledging though the existence of Neap. VIII.E.18. A list of works noted by John Leland (c. 1535) shows that another copy of the translation by Andronikos was kept in Cambridge in the first half of the sixteenth century at the *publica bibliotheca minor* (i.e. the library built and equipped with books at the expense of Thomas Rotherham which opened in 1474/1475); see Clarke 2002, 70–72. To this day this copy — referred to in Leland's list as *Andronici Calysti Bizantii interpretatio in libro Arist. de. generat. & corrupt.* — has disappeared.

215 For some remarks about the Latin version of the *Iliad* transmitted from this codex, arranged in the framework of Andronikos' school, see *infra*, § 4.2 and 5.4.

216 See more in Orlandi 2014a (with further bibliography).

217 On the attribution of the writing to Fonzio and a first study of the translation see Fera 1997.

218 The elegy is edited in Bausi 2003. It mentions some of the most eminent disciples attending Andronikos' classes in Florence: Ugolino Verino (see on him Bausi 1996), Carlo Marsuppini *Iunior* (son and namesake of the chancellor) and Giovambattista Buoninsegni (see Kristeller 1972 and Megna 2021, 308–308). Together with these scholars, who were all Poliziano's close friends, one should also group the addressee of the poem, Bartolomeo Fonzio, as well as many Florentine intellectuals who attended Iohannes Argyropulos' courses, like Donato and Piero Acciaiuoli, Alamanno Rinuccini, and Francesco Filarete. It seems thus that Raffaele Maffei da Volterra was not exaggerating when mentioning the *magnus discipulorum concursus* which distinguished Andronikos' lectures; see Cammelli 1942, 192. The memory of Andronikos' teaching in Florence was to survive for a long time. In a famous letter of 19 March 1480, Poliziano would trace the stages of his education in Florence under Aryopulos, Kallistos, and Chalkondyles; see Picotti 1955, 74. Still in 1524, the mysterious Stephanus Joanninensis was to recall that Lorenzo invited *Andronicum virum in omni disciplinarum genere doctissimum atque eminentissimum atque peripatheticum Florentiam ad eius Achademiam atque ad publice profitendum*; see Della Torre 1902, 9–10.

iam populat Graias Dardana flamma rates;
fulminei post haec aperit Demosthenis artem,
aequiparat nostri quem Ciceronis opus.²¹⁹

The class on Homer's *Iliad* took place at the same time Poliziano was carrying out (upon Lorenzo's request) a translation in Latin of the first books of the poem. Demosthenes must have been of great interest too, for he was the 'Greek Cicero' which the Plutarchean *synkrisis* in *Parallel Lives* presented to humanist culture, an idea that infused the culture throughout the fifteenth century.²²⁰ Moreover, it can be hypothesised that Kallistos dedicated lessons to Hellenistic and Late Antique Greek poetry as well. The presence in his library of texts from these periods in itself does not suggest anything more than a personal interest for such texts.²²¹ It is far more relevant that in Vat. gr. 1373 – a book owned by Poliziano (and partially in his hand)²²² coming from Andronikos' school milieu – the same epigrams from the *Anthologia Planudea* found in some other manuscripts of Kallistos' collection were transcribed.²²³

Undoubtedly, Andronikos also read and interpreted Apollonius Rhodius. Proof comes from the Latin version transcribed by Bartolomeo Fonizio, transmitted in Ricc. 153. This codex contains at fols 90r–95v the beginning of a translation *verbum de verbo* of the text *secundum Andronici interpretationem*, clearly conceived for study purposes. The *retractatio* by Fonizio, kept today in Ricc. 539,²²⁴ is modelled upon this translation. Concerning manuscript production, many codices related to Kallistos teaching and philological activity can be linked to the years 1471–1474. By way of example, I cursorily mention some of the books – annotated by Andronikos – which I have assigned to the collection of one of his

²¹⁹ I quote from Maier 1971.

²²⁰ See on the subject Resta 1962, 35, 50.

²²¹ Günther 1999 mentioned the presence of manuscripts of Aratus (Mutin. α T.9.14), Nicander (Mutin. α T.9.2), and Lycophron (Laur. Ashb. 1144 and Mutin. α T.9.14) in Andronikos' library.

²²² See Perosa 1953, 11–15, Maier 1965, 286–287, and Maier 1966, 113–115 for some aspects of this codex's content and its link to Kallistos' school. See Pontani 2002 for a thorough study of the codex. As Perosa observed, in the manuscript there are also the *ἐπίγραμμα ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ* composed by Andronikos in praise of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (fols 4r–5r; see *infra*, Appendix 8) and a Greek version of a Latin epigram by Poliziano (fol. 16r; edited in Perosa 1953).

²²³ One can compare the contents of the first leaves of the Vaticanus with the poems handed down in Mutin. α U.9.22 (fol. 189v), Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fol. 172r), and Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (fol. 57v). See Orlandi 2014a, 174–175.

²²⁴ See on the subject Resta 1978, 1054–1131. Bartolomeo himself was to teach Apollonius at the *Studium* some years later, in 1481. As recorded in Kristeller II 19, a very late copy of Fonizio's *retractatio*, dated to the eighteenth century, is kept in the manuscript Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, 1487.

Florentine disciples, so far anonymous.²²⁵ These manuscripts reflect Kallistos' didactic interests: on the one hand Demosthenes, Theocritus and Pindar (respectively, Vat. gr. 2207 and Lond. Burney 109), on the other Aristotelian philosophy (Ricc. 46, Monac. gr. 332, Vat. gr. 2189, and Vat. gr. 2201).

There are not many epistles from these years specifically regarding Kallistos. A common denominator to all extant pieces of evidences is that they reveal a sense of uncertainty and anxiety among the Byzantine scholars active in Italy in the 1470s. One year after Andronikos' departure from Rome, Theodoros Gazes had sent him two short letters, apparently both dating to the year 1472.²²⁶ On 9 August Gazes praises Andronikos for his decision 'not to have joined the others in the journey to the land of the Scythians', that is, to Turkey.²²⁷ This may be an allusion to the fact that Kallistos chose not to follow his fellow Greeks. Moreover, the letter aims at informing Kallistos of Gazes' condition. Life in Rome, according to Theodoros, is not as quiet as before and expectations of a more favourable situation by the election of the new pope Sixtus IV (August 1471) had faded away. In the second epistle, Theodoros announces to Kallistos that he has provided for the transmission of his message to Bessarion and that he has also done so through Iohannes Sophianos. We do not know the content of the message delivered to the Cardinal by Kallistos; we can nonetheless perceive in Theodoros' words a sense of apprehension, for he anxiously advises Andronikos not to reveal his intentions to others and not to attract attention.²²⁸ Accordingly, a passage from a letter by Demetrios Chalkondyles to Giovanni Lorenzi (c. 1440–1502), probably written in the last months of 1472, reports a brief meeting in Bologna

²²⁵ See *infra*, § 4.1.3.

²²⁶ The text was published by Mohler 1942, 576–577 and then by Leone 1990, 72–74.

²²⁷ ὅτι οὐ συναποδημήσας τοῖς ἄλλοις σύ γε εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, ἐπαινῶ σου τὸν λογισμόν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ, οὐπω ἀποδεκτόν αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, πρὶν ἢ τὰ περὶ τοῦς ἀπελθόντας, ὡς ἔσχε, πυθέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ φθονήσεις, οἶμαι, οὐδενὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ εὐτυχίας [...]; see Leone 1990, 72 (epist. 14). About the Scythian-Turkish connection — to which other contemporary authors (e.g. Enea Silvio Piccolomini [Pius II] and Francesco Filelfo) likewise refer — see Bisaha 2006, 43–93, 147–150 and Carile 2008, 25–35. It is perhaps interesting to remark that some years before also Michael Apostoles, in an epistle sent to Iohannes Argyropoulos, had also referred to the 'savage Turks' holding him in captivity on the Black Sea as Σκύθαι καὶ Σαυρομάται (see Stefec 2013a, epist. 4, lines 47,26–48,3); on the identification of the addressee with Argyropoulos see Rollo 2014c, 328–329.

²²⁸ συμβούλευε δὲ καὶ τῷ Σοφιανῷ μὴδὲν ἔξω φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἄλλο τι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις τε καὶ βοηθήμασι. οὕτω γὰρ βέλτιον ἔξει τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἔστι δ' ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ὡς διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, μὴδὲν μὴδενὶ κοινολογεῖσθαι τῶν ἔξωθεν περὶ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπιμένειν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς πρότερον καὶ ὅποσα εἴωθε πρότερον δρᾶν ἔτι δρᾶν καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐμφαίνειν μεταβολὴν [...]; see Leone 1990, 73–74 (epist. 15).

between Demetrios (coming from Padua) and Andronikos (coming from Florence), upon the occasion of Bessarion's arrival in the city (that is, 9–12 May) on his way to France. During this meeting Demetrios learned from Andronikos of Theodoros Gazes' recent unfavourable and unstable situation in Rome. This anxiety soon led Gazes to leave Rome definitively and to move to the monastery of San Giovanni a Piro. The passage is worthy of mention for it is emblematic of the condition of many Greeks residing in Italy:

ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος καθηγεμὼν Θεόδωρος, ὡς ἐπυθόμην ἐν Βονωνίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρόνικου — ἦλθε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ Φλωρεντίας ἐκεῖσε διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς — ἐμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ Νικαίας τὸ γλίσχρον ἐκεῖνο σιτηρέσιον ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐδίδου παρών, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στατῆρας ἑκατὸν οὖς νεωστὶ ἐπηγγείλατο παρέχειν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ὁ μέντοι Θεόδωρος ἐτύγχανεν ἡμῖν γεγραφὼς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἢ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρόνικου ὡς ἂν μὴ τύχῃ προμηθείας τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, οὐκέτι δυνήσεται διατρίβειν ἐν Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲ εὐπορεῖν ἰκανῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. προσδοκῶ γε μὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερα γράμματα διδάξοντα ἡμᾶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκριβέστερον.

Our master Theodoros, as I heard in Bologna from Andronikos — he also came from Florence for the same reason as I did — remained in Rome, still receiving from the Nicene <Cardinal> that modest subsidy that the latter used to give him, along with a hundred staters from the Pope which he had newly promised to give him every year. Well, Theodoros <himself> wrote to me a short while before I heard this from Andronikos that he will not be staying in Rome any longer if he does not get any further consideration from the Pope, nor will he even be able to satisfy his basic needs. I do expect to receive other letters from him informing me further about his condition.²²⁹

The Florentine stay, as the previous ones, was suddenly interrupted. We do not know much about the reasons which prompted Kallistos to leave Florence: a compelling one was probably his precarious financial situation which — as seen in Poliziano's elegy — had been jeopardizing Andronikos' sojourn since 1473. Furthermore, the hope of a more stable settlement, together with the loss of his closest friends' support, might have contributed to his decision.²³⁰

²²⁹ Ed. Noiret 1887, 492 (lines 15–26). I have corrected παριών (Noiret) into παρών by checking the autograph manuscript Vat. lat. 5641, fol. 3v.

²³⁰ It should be kept in mind, for example, that Bessarion died in Ravenna on 18 November 1472, coming back from the diplomatic delegation in France on behalf of Sixtus IV; Theodoros Gazes was to die in 1476.

1.7 From Milan to England (1475–?)

In March 1475, Kallistos travelled to Milan. He was forced to stop in Cremona, as a letter sent on 21 March by the duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza to his *referendarius in loco* proves.²³¹ This is a letter of intercession, in which the duke demands that Andronikos' *capsae* containing *libri greci et latini* be immediately returned.²³² They were temporarily seized by local authorities while waiting for the payment of the duty fees. It is not clear whether the position held by Kallistos in Milan was public or private, for the duke mentions some unspecified 'servitij', which could hence indicate private teaching. However, it should be said that there had been no Greek teachers in Milan since 1464, that is, since Konstantinos Laskaris left the city.²³³ It is also unknown whether Giorgio Valla attended Kallistos' lectures during this brief Milanese stay.²³⁴

At any rate, it is clear that this experience also turned out to be unsatisfying. Overwhelmed by financial difficulties and tired of being disappointed, Andronikos was even forced to sell his precious book collection to pay for his last (as far as we know) travel. As noted in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre²³⁵ (i.e. the buyer of the collection of 'Andronico grecco'), dated 10 November 1476, Kallistos used the amount of money coming from the

231 The text of the letter — first published in Motta 1893, 154 from a document kept in Milan (Archivio di Stato, Registro missive, no. 121, fol. 56r) — is also in Cammelli 1942, 202–203.

232 The presence of Latin books in Kallistos' collection is certainly interesting. However, none of them has so far been identified.

233 For an account on Laskaris' movements in these years and a further bibliography, see Orlandi 2014c, 234.

234 In this regard, we lack evidence proving that Valla was a pupil of Kallistos in Pavia in the year 1465, as claimed in Heiberg 1896, 10 and repeated in other contributions, e.g. Gardenal 1981, 93, Tessier 2003, 190, Raschieri 2020a, and Raschieri 2020b, 318. In his comment to the *Compendium* of Chrysoloras' *Erotemata*, Ludovico Pontico Virunio writes: [...] *ut Ἀνδρόνικος μερίζων ἐστὶ Θεοδώρου ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ, bene autem facit hanc comparisonem Chrysoloras, quoniam amici erant Andronicus praeceptor nostri Georgii Vallae et Theodorus Gaza magnificus rector gymnasii Ferrariensis* (see Rollo 2014a, 108 n. 1). We wonder whether the Greek master of Valla acting in northern Italy in the mid-1460s may have been Andronikos Kallipolites/Kontoblakas and not Kallistos; see *supra*, § 1.3.2. I am preparing a paper on this issue.

235 The text, already edited in Cammelli 1942, 206–207, is republished *infra*, § 3.2, together with all the details of the purchase of Andronikos' manuscripts.

sale to travel to England together with a ‘signore della Morea’, who has been identified with Georgios Hermonymos²³⁶ or Demetrios Kantakuzenos.²³⁷

By the time of the letter by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre, Andronikos had already left Italy for at least eight months. For there is a letter, dated 3 March 1476, written by him from London to the Byzantine nobleman Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos²³⁸ who was in Paris at the service of the King of France, Louis XI. Kallistos asks for the liberation of his friend Georgios Hermonymos, charged with espionage and arrested.²³⁹

The last document concerning Kallistos’ biography deals with the announcement of his death:

ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τυραννούντων φειδωλία Θεόδωρον ἐς ἄκρον πάσης σοφίας ἐληλακότα ἐς Καλαβρίαν ἀπήλασε καὶ ἐν Πολυκάστρῳ – φεῦ – ἀδόξως θανεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, Ἀνδρόνικον δὲ τὸν Καλλίστου ἐς τὰς βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ὅπου φίλων ἔρημος τέθηκε, Φραγκούλιον δὲ ἄνδρα σοφὸν οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ τῆς ἰταλίας, Δημήτριον δὲ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανάκειν βαρβάροις δουλεύοντα. παραλείπω δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐμὸν καθηγητὴν Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀργυρόπουλον ἐν μέσῃ Ῥωμῇ πενόμενον καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην τὰς ἑαυτοῦ βίβλους ἀποδιδόμενον.²⁴⁰

236 See Pietrobelli 2009, 97 n. 48. As pointed out in Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 194 n. 33, the identification with Hermonymos raises some issues. We do not know much about Hermonymos’ movements, besides the fact that he had already been travelling abroad on diplomatic delegation since June 1473 (see Kalatzi 2009, 39, 44–49); at any rate – as Martinelli Tempesta observes – in 1475 Hermonymos was already in England.

237 See Harris 1995, 146–147. Recently, Botley 2019, 187–188 also suggested that Kallistos’ travelling companion might be Demetrios Kantakuzenos. In Botley’s view, this Kantakuzenos is to be identified with a namesake, a lesser-known scribe [= RGK II 129], whose activity began in London in 1476, that is at the time of Kallistos’ arrival in England. Botley’s hypothesis, as fascinating as it may be, is not supported so far by strong evidence. On Kantakuzenos see Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 188–189, 194 n. 33.

238 See PLP 5531.

239 For more details on this, see Kalatzi 2009. The text of the letter first appeared in Boissonade 1833, 420–426 (then in PG 161, cols 1017–1020); it is published again in the Appendix to the present volume. Andronikos passed through France on his way to England, as reported by Raffaele Maffei da Volterra (see Cammelli 1942, 199, 213), for he tells us he visited Hermonymos more than once in Paris. For Kallistos’ letter to Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos, see *infra*, Appendix 6.

240 I give here the text as edited by Martínez Manzano 1994, 161–162 (with slight modifications after collating fol. 148rv of Matr. 4620); a Spanish translation is in Martínez Manzano 1998, 167–169. This testimony contrasts the aforementioned record by Raffaele Maffei (*demum in Galliam comatam penetravit [...] ubi parvo post tempore, cum esset iam magnopere senex, morbo exstinctus est*, reported in Cammelli 1942, 199, 213), according to which Kallistos died in France and not in England shortly after his arrival. We ask therefore also in this case whether Maffei might have merged different pieces of information referring to Kallistos and Kontoblakas (see *supra*, § 1.3.2).

The avarice of the rulers drove Theodoros [*scil.* Gazes], who had reached the top in every branch of knowledge, to Calabria and forced him — alas — to die in obscurity in Policastro, Andronikos Kallistos to the British Isles, where he died without friends, Frankulios [*scil.* Serbopulos], a learned man, I do not know in which part of Italy, Demetrios [*scil.* Kastrenos] to return to his homeland at the service of barbarians. And I do not speak of my learned master Iohannes Argyropulos, who lives in misery in Rome and has to pawn his books every day.

These lines come from a letter sent by Konstantinos Laskaris to the Spanish scholar and poet Juan Pardo.²⁴¹ The passage about Iohannes Argyropulos is fundamental to defining the timeframe in which the letter was composed. Since Argyropulos was still alive when the letter was written²⁴² and his books were sold between October 1481 and November 1484,²⁴³ the epistle was composed between 1481 and 1484 and, consequently, the year 1484 itself represents the ultimate chronological *terminus ante quem* for Kallistos' death. Due to the absolute lack of information, it is not possible to state with any precision the date, which necessarily occurred between 1476 and 1484. Still, it is significant that no manuscript evidence (neither in form of books nor of letters) has come to light to date concerning his sojourn in England; and this might be an indication that he probably did not live very long on the island after landing in 1476.

Table 1.2: Andronikos Kallistos in Quattrocento epistolaries.

Date	Sender	Addressee
<July 1453 – March 1455>	Bessarion	Theodoros Gazes
28 April <1459>	Andronikos Kallistos	Palla Strozzi
<April 1459 – December 1460>	John Free	Ludovico Carbone
1 January 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
28 January 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
19 April 1461	Francesco Filelfo	Palla Strozzi
<before 1462?>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos <Kallistos> ?
<before 1462?>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos <Kallistos> ?

²⁴¹ See *PLP* 21930 (with further bibliography) and Martínez Manzano 1998, 4, 12, 14, 18, 167.

²⁴² Argyropulos was to die on 26 June 1487; see Bigi 1962 (with further bibliography).

²⁴³ See Mercati 1910, 580.

Date	Sender	Addressee
19 May 1462	Bessarion	Michael Apostoles
19 May 1462	Bessarion	Andronikos Kallistos
5 June 1462	Nikolaos Sekundinos	Andronikos Kallistos
<1463 – 1465>	Andronikos Kallistos	Demetrios Chalkondyles
26 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Alberto Parisi
27 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
29 April 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
31 October 1464	Francesco Filelfo	Alberto Parisi
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Argino da Busseto
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Bernardo Moretti
21 March 1465	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
28 August 1466	Francesco Filelfo	Andronikos Kallistos
21 January 1469	Francesco Filelfo	Theodoros Gazes
<18 September 1467 – 18 March 1471>	Theodoros Gazes	Marco Barbo
23 August 1471	Bessarion	Lorenzo de' Medici
<12 May 1472 – 21 March 1475>	Demetrios Chalcondyles	Giovanni Lorenzi
9 August <1472>	Theodoros Gazes	Andronikos Kallistos
<9 August – 18 November 1472>	Theodoros Gazes	Andronikos Kallistos
<18 November 1472 – 21 March 1475>	Michael Apostoles	Andronikos Kallistos
6 February 1473	Francesco Filelfo	Lorenzo de' Medici
21 March 1475	Galeazzo Maria Sforza	Sforza's <i>referendarius</i> in Cremona
3 March 1476	Andronikos Kallistos	Georgios Disypatos Palaiologos
10 November 1476	Gian Francesco Della Torre	Lorenzo de' Medici
19 March 1480	Angelo Poliziano	Lorenzo de' Medici

Date	Sender	Addressee
<October 1481 – November 1484>	Konstantinos Laskaris	Juan Pardo
1 September 1483	Ermolao Barbaro	Giorgio Merula
14 October 1492	Antonio Urceo Codro	Aldo Manuzio