

2 Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space: On Kallistos' Scribal Activity

The present chapter gives an outline of Kallistos' scribal activity, beginning with the earliest manuscripts produced when he was still living in the territories of the collapsing Byzantine Empire and the very first scribal tasks accomplished in Italy (i.e. at Bessarion's residence, in Bologna). Next comes an analysis of Kallistos' manuscript production between Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome and Florence. Manuscripts that were part of his own book collection are distinguished from those that were not. Palaeographic remarks close the chapter.

2.1 The beginnings, from Byzantium to Italy

The first batch of evidence about Andronikos' scribal activity consists of manuscripts, which can be all linked back to the years of his presence in the Byzantine East, between Constantinople and Crete.

2.1.1 Crete (before 1453)

As already highlighted in the previous chapter, the manuscript Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (Plate 1) presents clear Byzantine codicological features and may therefore be used as a starting point for this analysis. Dieter Harlfinger¹ is credited with having identified the watermark *Fleur* we have already been focusing on while speaking of the Paris manuscript in the first codicological unit of the codex Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, A 4 (= fols 1–71, Arist., *Phys.*), which is likewise in the hand of Kallistos (Plate 2). One might infer therefore that this unit also was manufactured in the Byzantine East and, more precisely, in Crete. However, before drawing any conclusion, one should first widen the range of investigation to gather more evidence.

The scrutiny of Kallistos' manuscripts brought to light more samples of books bearing the watermark *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger. Among these is Vat. Ross. 1025 (see Fig. 2.1), which contains Aristotle's *De anima* along with Philoponos' commentary.²

¹ See *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 136.

² For bibliographical references and a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 45).

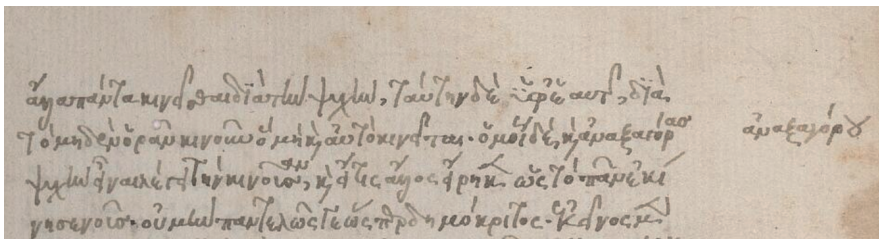


Fig. 2.1: Ross. 1025, fol. 3r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Also this volume, made up of two coeval codicological units (I = fols X–33; II = 34–309), presents both the *Fleur* and the *Enclume* featured in Par. Suppl. gr. 541³ and in the Erlangensis. We currently lack reliable critical studies on the textual transmission of Aristotle's *De anima*⁴ and Philoponos' commentary, which would help to identify the antigraph of Vat. Ross. 1025. Yet, an interesting clue comes from a record written down by Kallistos at fol. Xv. The text of this record⁵ is found in a group of manuscripts originating from Cretan *scriptoria*, such as Berol. gr. fol. 67 (now kept in Kraków), copied by Georgios Tzangaropoulos, and Scor. T.II.21, realized around the year 1464/1465 by the *protonotarius* Andreas, a collaborator of Michael Apostoles in Crete.⁶ With regard to the commentary of Philoponos, partial collations of some *recentiores* provided an equally valuable insight to the hypothesis of a Cretan origin of the Rossianus, for its text proved akin to that of Ambr. D 80 inf.,⁷ a book manufactured by the Cretan scribe Thomas Bitzimanos,⁸ and to that of the Mutin. α V.6.11,⁹ which is in the hand of Aristobulos Apostoles, son of Michael.¹⁰

³ See *supra*, § 1.2.2.

⁴ For an attempt at an identification of some families, see Siwek 1965.

⁵ Inc.: ἐν μὲν τῇ φυσικῇ ἀκροάσει...; expl.: ...ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει τὸν λόγον. For the whole text of the record (to be found also in Bern. 135, Ambr. F 113 sup., and Vrat. Rehd. 15 [see *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, *suo loco*]) refer to Konstantinides 1887, 216–217; see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 45).

⁶ See for this Rashed 2001, 265–270. Furthermore, Ambr. G 61 sup. (owned by Lauro Quirini, who was active in Crete) has been identified by Rashed as common ancestor of this group of manuscripts for the text of *De generatione et corruptione*.

⁷ Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 1031.

⁸ RGK I 141 = II 187 = III 236.

⁹ Puntoni 1896, 505.

¹⁰ RGK I 27 = II 38 = III 46. The clearest evidence of the relationship between these manuscripts is the abrupt interruption of the text (due to difficulties in reading the damaged antigraph) they present in the second book of the work by the words ἀέρος λέγω καὶ ὕδατος ... ἡμῖν σώματος μεταξύ ἢ ἀντίληψις (Io. Phlp., in *Arist de an.*, ed. Hayduck 1897, 426, 27–33). While waiting for

Material analysis of the codex Cambridge, University Library, Nn.III.18 qualifies it as being another sample of Andronikos' scribal activity in Byzantium. A volume containing Thucydides' historical work (see Plate 3), the Cantabrigensis provides evidence for the drawing *Fleur* and, in addition, for the aforementioned watermark *Enclume*.¹¹ Moreover, Powell's pioneering studies on the transmission of Thucydides' text reveal that this manuscript (*siglum* N) descends from a lost antigraph, from which in turn an entirely Cretan strand of the tradition stems. To this branch belongs a handful of manuscripts copied by scribes active on the island between 1450 and 1475, such as Michael Apostoles, Michael Lygizos, Antonios Damilas, and Georgios Tzangaropulos.¹²

Even in Cambridge, less than a one-mile-walk from the University Library, another manuscript written entirely in the hand of Kallistos is preserved. A witness to the text of Herodotus' *Historiae*, the codex no. 30 (1.2.9) today kept at the Emmanuel College interestingly shows the same codicological and palaeographic features as the former.¹³ The analysis of the watermarks has brought to light once more evidence for both the drawings *Fleur* and *Enclume*.¹⁴ We are usually able to identify the models from which Kallistos derived the texts copied in the manuscripts made in Italy; this is not the case with the antigraph of the Cambridge Herodotus, which is believed to have gone missing.¹⁵ This might be another hint pointing toward a genesis in the East from a lost Byzantine source.

While cataloguing manuscripts in Venice, Elpidio Mioni recognized *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger (= Briquet 6306) among the leaves of Marc. gr. Z. 374. This contains

further investigation, one can outline three hypotheses: 1. the Ambrosianus and the Mutinensis, undoubtedly more recent than the Rossianus, are both descendants of the latter; 2. the Ambrosianus is a copy of the Mutinensis or viceversa (one of them being, in this case, a sibling to the Rossianus); 3. the Rossianus, the Ambrosianus, and the Mutinensis are all siblings to each other and descend from the same unidentified ancestor, available on the island between 1450 and 1475.

11 While in Italy, Kallistos was to restore the codex and correct the text by collating it with two other witnesses: Marc. gr. VII 5 (owned by Palla Strozzi) and Par. Suppl. gr. 255; see more *infra*, § 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.

12 See Powell 1938b, 105.

13 Powell 1937 is credited with having established a comparison between the Cambridge Thucydides and the Cambridge Herodotus.

14 For a description, see *infra*, 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 2).

15 The Cantabrigensis is the only fifteenth-century manuscript which has been taken into account because of its interesting readings in the newly published critical edition by Nigel G. Wilson (*siglum* S); see Wilson 2015a and Wilson 2015b.

Michael Apostoles in Crete.¹⁹ Their antigraph is Ambr. F 110 sup., for which a Cretan origin is likely too.²⁰ Thus, the common source of both the Marcianus by Kallistos and the Mutinensis by Apostoles must have been available on the island around the middle of the fifteenth century.

According to this data, the first codicological unit (= fols 1–8) of Ambr. L 35 sup. (Fig. 2.3) can also be included into this group.

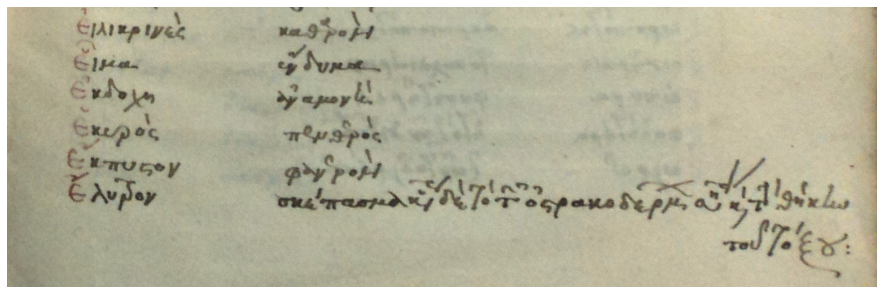


Fig. 2.3: Ambr. L 35 sup., fol. 2r; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

In this *quaternio*, Andronikos transcribed a short text entitled λεξικὸν συνοπτικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον, which seems to stem from Zonaras' lexicon.²¹ The features of Kallistos' writing convincingly match the aforementioned ones. In addition, there are further hints pointing at a Cretan origin of this *quaternio*: 1. this alphabetical lexicon has been transcribed on paper bearing the aforementioned watermark *Enclume*; 2. the fact that this codicological unit belongs to a composite manuscript merging sections copied by the Cretan scribe Michael Lygizos (units III = fols 13–48 and IV = fols 49–150, with the exception of fol. 116),²² and by <Angelo

¹⁹ The subscription at fol. 215v reads: Μιχαῖλος Ἀποστόλης Βυζάντιος μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος πενία συζῶν καὶ τήνδε τὴν βίβλον μισθῶ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐξέγραψεν; see the description in Puntoni 1896, 497–498. I report here the discovery of some *marginalia* in the hand of <Apostoles> in the 'Cretan' manuscript Berol. Phillips 1615 (Demosthenes); see fols 6r, 10r, 15v, 37v, 69r, 112r.

²⁰ This manuscript was to belong to the collection of Manuel Sophianos later on. See Pontani 1991.

²¹ See Studemund 1886, 117. Stefano Martinelli Tempesta is credited with the discovery of Andronikos' handwriting (see Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 108, 109, 132–133, 136). The scholar also identified a marginal annotation in the hand of Georgios Alexandros Chomatas at fol. 30r (see Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 132, 138).

²² Martinelli Tempesta 2013, 140.

Vadio> (fol. 116 and unit V [= fols 151–160]), a learned man who resided in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century and was presumably the owner of the book;²³ 3. the presence of the original Byzantine/Cretan leather binding, whose decorations bear similarities to those of Par. Suppl. gr. 541.

The scribal activity of Kallistos in the East — as well as at a later time in Italy — did not only consist in the copying of manuscripts. A complementary aspect concerns the restoration of old books, most dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, belonging to his collection. In this regard, material analysis has brought to light historical and cultural aspects related to Andronikos' work as *instaurator*, such as the identification of the place and time in which this task was performed and the identification of the manuscripts used as antigraphs for the recovery of missing passages of the text.

For the works by Nikephoros Blemmydes handed down in the manuscript Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (a thirteenth-century-book that was to end up a few decades later in the hands of Giorgio Valla)²⁴ we are now provided with reliable data confirming that the restoration was performed in Crete, in all likelihood before 1453. First, the watermarks²⁵ found in these parts of the manuscript (fols 107–114, 127–139, 147–149, 151–157; see a specimen at Fig. 2.4) point to a Byzantine/Cretan origin. In addition, the antigraph used for completing the text (Monac. gr. 225) proved to be available at that time on the island.²⁶

²³ For the Greek writing of Angelo Vadio da Rimini, which we identify in the Ambr. L 35 sup., refer to Stefec 2012b.

²⁴ See *infra*, § 3.3.

²⁵ *Monts* <*dans un cercle*> 84 Harlfinger (similar to that of Erlang. A 4, see below) fols 112, 114, 127/134; *Tête humaine* similar to Briquet 15616 (1448–1456; same as Oxon. Barocci 63 [see more data below]) fols 129/132, 130/131; *Monts* 52 Harlfinger (similar to that of Erlang. A 4, see below) fols 136/139, 149, 152/156, 153/157.

²⁶ See Valente 2021, 37–42.

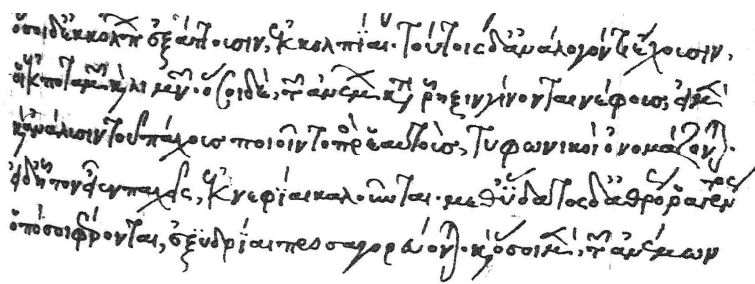


Fig. 2.4: Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, fol. 109r; © Bodleian Library.

Accordingly, Kallistos completed the text of the Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (Plutarch) by supplementing the missing section (fols 1–40). The material aspects (writing and watermarks) indicate a rather early date for the restoration. Furthermore, Rudolf S. Stefec discovered in this manuscript *marginalia* in the hand of Lauro Quirini, whose activity in Crete is well known.²⁷

Finally, despite the lack of a philological proof, codicological evidence (in addition to an apparent palaeographic homogeneity with all the previous findings) leads to the conclusion that the restoration of Mutin. α U.9.10, a collection of rhetorical works, was also undertaken on the island of Crete. For in its restored sections (fols 2r–25v, 95r–102v, 191r–215r), the aforementioned drawing *Enclume* appears.

2.1.1.1 The apographs of Par. gr. 2403

In a fundamental study on the exegetical tradition of the *Odyssey*, Filippomaria Pontani highlighted a few years ago the importance of the witness Par. gr. 2403 (thirteenth–fourteenth century, *siglum* D). This manuscript contains, in addition to Homer's work, a unique sylloge of texts of different genres (Cleomedes, Aratus, Lycophron, Pindar and Nicander). With reference to the *Odyssey*, Pontani's philological investigations have brought to light the dependence of a section of the manuscript Mutin. α U.9.22 (see Plate 5), copied by Andronikos Kallistos, on the Par. gr. 2403.²⁸

²⁷ See Stefec 2012a, 42–43. For more details about Quirini's activity see also Stefec 2014, 173–174, 192–193 and Martínez Manzano 2019b, 193–199, 206. I recently found other traces of his Greek and Latin writing in <Vat. gr. 2364> (see e.g. fols 145r–147v).

²⁸ Pontani 2011, 277–282, 371–377.

Nothing definite is known so far about the history of the Paris codex before its stay in Venice in the mid-1500s and its entry into the library of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé. Pontani had put forward the hypothesis of a Florentine location of the codex, which in theory is not incompatible with what is known about Andronikos' biography. However, the codicological features and the writing that characterize the aforementioned section of the Mutinensis prove to be incompatible with a dating consistent with the timespan spent by Kallistos in Florence (1471–1474); furthermore, both codicological and palaeographic features of the Mutinensis are somewhat closer to those of the manuscripts described so far in the previous pages, which are proper examples of 'Byzantine' production. It is therefore necessary to consider the hypothesis that Kallistos consulted the Paris manuscript (or an apograph of it) in the East, before his arrival in Italy.

It is worth noting in this regard that from Par. gr. 2403 descend not only some of the scholia to the *Odyssey*, but also other texts copied by Andronikos and scattered today in several books belonging to his collection. For Cleomedes' *Caelestia*, the Paris manuscript has been identified as an antigraph of the Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 113r–152v) (see Plate 6).²⁹ From the same model Andronikos took the scholia to Aratus³⁰ for his Mutin. α T.9.14 (fols 1r–53r) (see Plate 7) where he also copied the *Alexandra* of Lycophron (fols 116r–188r, along with the commentary of Tzetzes) and the *Hymns* of Pindar (fols 188r–262v); it is striking that for both Lycophron and Pindar a dependence of the Mutinensis on Par. gr. 2403 has been likewise recognized.³¹ The last work for which the Paris manuscript has been identified as an antigraph to a book belonging to Kallistos is the *Theriaka* of Nicander,³² copied in Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68r–98r) (Plate 8). In addition, from a codicological point of view, significant concurrences between these manuscripts deserve to be noted: the watermark *Monts* — in a very small-format variant, unfortunately unknown to the repertoires — that I found in the leaves of the Aratus Mutin. α T.9.14 (e.g. at fols 21/24 and 30/31) is identical to that found in the Nicander Mutin. α T.9.2; in this codicological unit there is also another variant of the drawing *Monts* — likewise unknown to the repertoires and vaguely similar to the

²⁹ Todd 1990, IX.

³⁰ Martin 1974, XI–XII.

³¹ See Günther 1999, 325 (with references to Lycophron) and Irigoin 1952, 377–390, especially 386–387 (for Pindar). As noticed by Irigoin, it is remarkable that some of the other witnesses to the text belonging to the same branch are by the hand of Cretan scribes.

³² Jacques 2002, CLI–CLVII.

type Briquet 11654 (Vicenza 1449) — which I found identical in some units of Mutin. α U.9.22.³³

Therefore, it is evident that at a certain moment of his ‘Byzantine’ activity Kallistos must have had at his disposal a single manuscript, most likely the Paris codex itself (or one of its apographs), containing all these texts combined together. A valuable clue to the location of the model used by Andronikos comes from Jacques’ researches on the tradition of the *Theriaka* of Nicander. He has identified Par. gr. 2403 as the progenitor of a family, which he renamed the ‘Cretan family’.³⁴ In fact, the common denominator among the witnesses to this family coming from the Paris manuscript is that they were written by copyists, whose origin and/or activity is known to be Cretan: an example is Vat. Urb. gr. 145, belonging to Angelo Vadio and copied by Michael Lygizos and Georgios Tribizias.

In conclusion, according to this information, it is possible that Andronikos consulted and used Par. gr. 2403 (or an apograph of it) as a model during his time spent in Crete, the traces of which have been reconstructed in these pages.

2.1.1.2 Tracing the footsteps of an unknown scribe: The *Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg

The manuscript Mutin. α U.9.18 (Nemesius, *De natura hominis*) is wholly in the hand of a still unidentified scribe. Ernst Gamillscheg was the first to recognise Andronikos’ handwriting in this small *in-quarto* made of paper bearing the watermark *Monts* similar to the type 11656 Briquet. In this case, Kallistos’ work merely consists of the addition of titles and initials in red ink (see Fig. 2.5). Gamillscheg assigned to the main scribe the *nom de plume* of *Anonymus* β-π, in accordance with the peculiarity of the shape of these letters.³⁵ The source for Nemesius’ text is the manuscript Lond. Harley 5685, a manuscript that seems to have remained mostly in the territories of the former Byzantine Empire throughout the fifteenth century.³⁶

³³ The same watermark is also found in Mutin. α Q.5.20, in the section of the scholia to Pindar (fols 116–181), for which, to my knowledge, no dependence on Par. gr. 2403 has yet been acknowledged.

³⁴ Jacques 2002, CLI–CLVII.

³⁵ See Gamillscheg 1978, 238. At a later time Andronikos added on the lower margin his characteristic ‘double’ quire numeration with Greek letters (α’–ι’) and Arabic numerals (see more *infra*, § 6.1) and bound this manuscript together with Mutin. α U.9.3 (α’–κη’); see Gamillscheg 1978, 238 n. 63.

³⁶ See Morani 1981, 7–15.

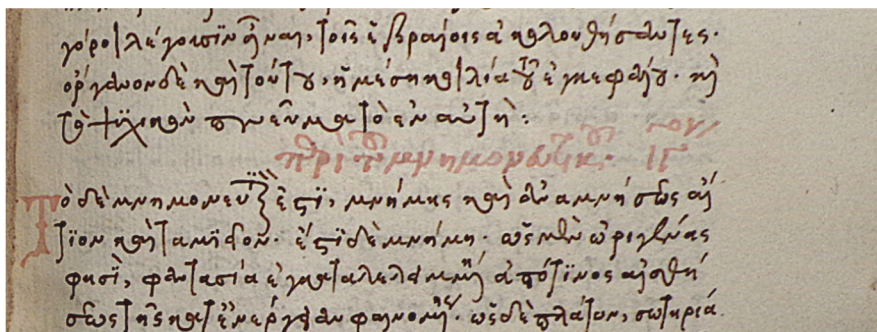


Fig. 2.5: Mutin. α U.9.18, fol. 37r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

The *Anonymus*' handwriting has been discovered by Gamillscheg in another book from Andronikos' library, Mutin. α W.5.5. This *in-folio* miscellaneous collection of lexicographic works was produced by the *Anonymus* β-π (Fig. 2.6) in collaboration with several scribes (Kallistos, Georgios Tzangaropoulos,³⁷ Emmanuel Zacharides,³⁸ and another unknown copyist); it is worth noting that both Tzangaropoulos and Zacharides are scribes known to have been active in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century. In codicological terms, this manuscript bears evidence for paper watermarked *Enclume* in the aforementioned type similar to 5955 Briquet, i.e. a witness to the manuscript production on the island.

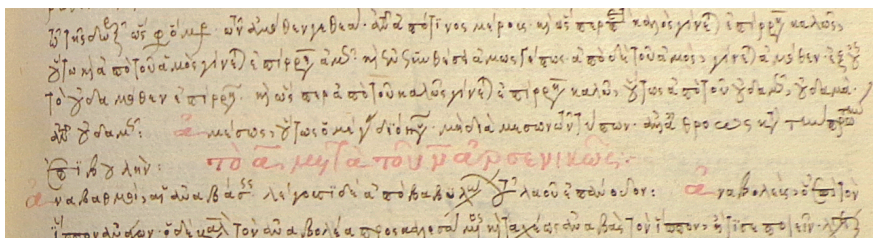


Fig. 2.6: Mutin. α W.5.5, fol. 22r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

³⁷ See RGK I 72 = II 193 = III 121.

³⁸ See RGK I 114 = II 146 = III 189. For a detailed account of the scribes participating in the copy of the Mutinensis, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 28).

According to these findings, it seems that the collaboration between Kallistos and *Anonymus* β-π took place during the late 1440s and early 1450s on the island of Crete. Thanks to new data it is possible to clarify this picture.

In the University Library of Bologna, there is another manuscript mostly copied by the *Anonymus*. This is the Bonon. 2638, a tiny codex³⁹ consisting of three independent units with a currently upset order of sheets and quires. The second unit (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91; rhetorical-grammatical writings by Planudes), which bears the same paper watermarked *Monts* found in Mutin. α U.9.18, is entirely in the hand of <*Anonymus* β-π>; and <Andronikos>, just like in the Modena manuscript, is responsible for the addition of initials and titles in light-red ink⁴⁰

³⁹ I give here a more detailed description of the manuscript than that found *infra*, § 6.2 (catalogue entry no. 65). Paper, fifteenth century (*ante* 1453), mm 206 × 141, fols I+117+I' [blanks 23–26]. Composite manuscript, made of three codicological units: I (= fols 1–37; Constantinople?); II (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91); III (= fols 93–98, 100–117). Formerly kept in the library of the convent of Canonici Regolari di San Salvatore. The watermark found in the first unit, copied by an unknown scribe, is a drawing *Ciseaux* without correspondence; see fols 9/16, 12/13, 2/26. The order of the folios is incorrect. Quire composition: 1–2⁸; 3⁸⁺⁴⁺¹ (= fols 17–22, 27, 29 + 23–26 + 28); 4⁸. To the original leaves of the third quire (= 17–22, 27, 29) a *binio* was added (= 23–26) along with a single leaf (= 28). Numeration with Greek letters (α'–δ') in the lower central margin of the first sheet. The written area is mm 23[129]54 × 23[81]35 (25 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 20D1n). Contents (excerpts from grammar treatises): 1r Ἀνάγνωσις σαφειστάτη πῶς δεῖ συντάσσειν (fragments; inc.: πρὸ πάντων δεῖ γινώσκειν, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα εὐθείαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέχει [see Vind. Phil. gr. 347, fol. 139r and Lond. Harley 5744, fol. 15r]); 5r Georg. Choer., *De figuris poeticis* (inc. πάσης παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας γραφῆς); 9v Ioseph Rhakend., *Synopsis artis rhetoricae* 18 (inc.: τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη ἢ ἀπὸ πλεονασμοῦ [cf. Tryphon, *De passionibus dictionum* 3]); 14v Tryphon *De passionibus dictionum* 1 (inc.: τὰ τῶν λέξεων πάθη εἰς δύο γενικώτατα διαίρουνται); 16v Manuel Moschor., *De vocum passionibus* 1 (inc.: ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν λέξεων); 19v [Io. Philp.] *De dialectis* (inc.: διάλεκτός ἐστι γλώττης ἰδίωμα); 29v Manuel Moschor., *De dialectis* (inc.: Ἰᾶς διάλεκτος λέγεται ἢ τῶν Ἰώνων); 35r Max. Planudes, *Atticismi* (inc.: Ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν μνημονεύω τοῦ δεῖνος). The second codicological unit (= fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91) was probably made in Crete (c. 1445–1453). At e.g. fols 46/49, 77/82 a watermark *Monts* (small-sized) is found, without correspondence. Quire composition: 1⁸ (= 92, 38–43, 99), 2–7⁸. Numeration with Greek letter (α'–ζ') in the lower outer margin of the first sheet and lower inner margin of the last sheet, in the hand of <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg>. The written area is mm 19[156]29 × 22[91]29 (29 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 22D1b). Contents: 92r Max. Planudes, *Dialogus grammaticalis*; *De syntaxi* (des. mut.: ἐνεργεῖν τε καὶ πάσχειν 113,8 Bachmann). Finally, the third (incomplete) unit is made of fols 93–98, 100–117. We do not know whether also this part, which is the work of an unknown scribe, was made in Crete (c. 1460–1490, according to the watermarks [*Tête de boeuf* without correspondence; see fols 95/96, 111/112]). Quire composition: 1⁸⁻² (wants 1 and 8), 2–3⁸, 4²; the numeration is missing. The written area is mm 18[158]29 × 23[92]28 (28 lines, ruling scheme Sautel–Leroy 20D1). This unit contains part of Aelius Aristides' *Contra Platonem* (inc. mut.: οὕτως εἶχον ὥστε μηδὲ 202,18 Jebb).

⁴⁰ See fols 44r, 48v, 50v, 51r, 52v, 56r, 62r, 63r, 69r, 72r, 76r, 77rv, 79v, 81v, 83r, 84r, 92r.

(Fig. 2.7), which is the same used for both Mutin. α U.9.18 and Mutin. α W.5.5. Moreover, other codicological features of Mutin. α W.5.5 are identical to those of Mutin. α U.9.18: it is size and *mise en page* (with regard to written area, ruling scheme, number of lines per page). This may suggest that the *concepteur* of the manuscript was Kallistos himself, to whom at least the Mutinensis belonged with certainty.

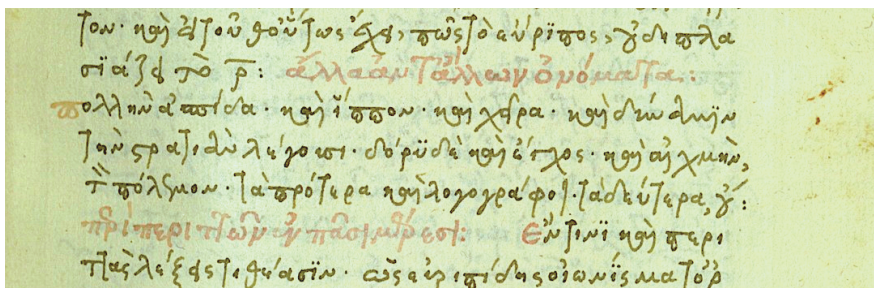


Fig. 2.7: Bonon. 2638, fol. 77r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

Moreover, a manuscript kept in Oxford at the Bodleian Library, Barocci 63, shows evidence of a scribal collaboration which likely took place in Crete. This codex is quite problematic from both palaeographic and codicological points of view. It is composed of five independent codicological units. The first, the fourth and the fifth are not of interest within the scope of the present topic. The second one is wholly in the hand of Michael Lygizos,⁴¹ whose scribal activity on the island has already been mentioned. The third codicological unit (= fols 120–183) deserves a closer look. Despite the fact that the current order of the leaves is extremely messy, this unit is codicologically homogeneous. Aubrey Diller first signalled the presence of Kallistos (Fig. 2.8) as one of the scribes responsible for the transcription of works by Libanius and Aelius Aristides.⁴²

⁴¹ Identification in *RGK I*.

⁴² Diller 1967, 408–409.

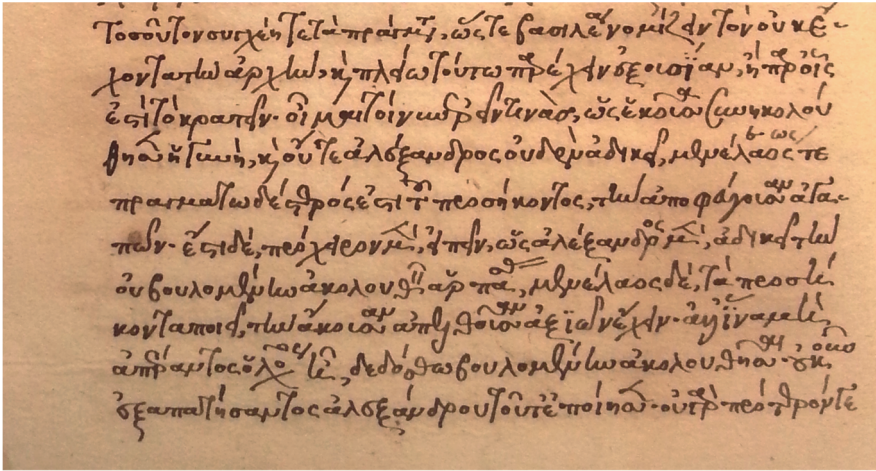


Fig. 2.8: Oxon. Barocci 63, fol. 129v; © Bodleian Library.

A collaborator of Kallistos was, in this case, Georgios Tribizias. A third scribe, whose handwriting has so far been confused with Kallistos',⁴³ worked together with both Kallistos and Tribizias. It is the same copyist responsible for a single sheet (<fol. 201v>) in Par. Suppl. gr. 541.⁴⁴ We can compare here the Oxoniensis (Fig. 2.9, lines 1–4 of the picture, up to the word ταύτην) and the Parisinus (see below, Fig. 2.12), which has already been presented as a remarkable witness to Andronikos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East. Finally, it has been so far overlooked that lines 22–29 of fol. 135r are the work of another scribe, who is none other than <Anonymus β-π> (Fig. 2.9 [last lines]).⁴⁵

⁴³ So Diller 1967, and more recently, Liakou-Kropp 2002, 164, who speaks of variations in writing ('Schriftschwankungen'). A first attempt towards a distinction of the hands is in Rollo 2014b, 288; see more *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 31).

⁴⁴ See also *supra*, § 1.2.2 and 2.1.1.

⁴⁵ I found the hand of this anonymous scribe in another manuscript as well which is not related to the activity of Andronikos Kallistos: <Ott. gr. 210> (see e.g. fol. 72r and following).

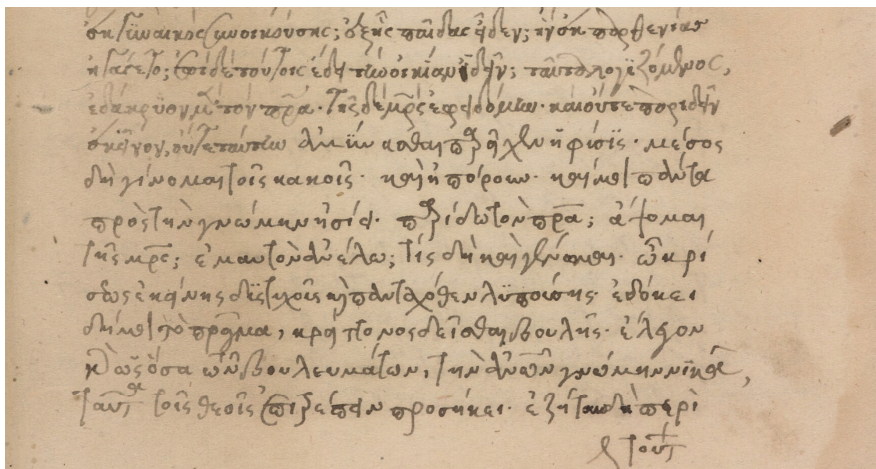


Fig. 2.9: Oxon. Barocci 63, fol. 135r; © Bodleian Library.

It may be worth noting that some features of the *mise en page* (e.g. c. mm 160 × 90 for the written area and 29 lines per page) closely resemble those of many aforementioned manuscripts. The results of the analysis of the watermarks also point in this case to its originating in the East before Constantinople's fall.⁴⁶ Moreover, the inclusion itself in the Barocci collection may suggest that this book was kept for a long time in Crete.⁴⁷

New evidence of the collaboration between Kallistos and *Anonymus* β-π finally comes from the leaves of another codex now belonging to the same collection and of proven Cretan origin, i.e. Barocci 76. This well known book, containing the so-called Konstantinos Laskaris' *Desideraten-Liste*,⁴⁸ is made up of numerous independent codicological units. In the first volume of *RGK* and in more recent contributions the work of scribes such as Michael Lygizos, Michael Apostoles (along with his collaborator *Anonymus* MA Stefec)⁴⁹ and Andreas Donos had already been signalled. We can add that three leaves (<fol. 363r–365v>) of a unit which is now unfortunately incomplete are in the hand of the <*Anonymus* β-π Gamillscheg> (see Fig. 2.10 and 2.11, lines 6–9); moreover, as seen in previous

⁴⁶ See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 31).

⁴⁷ As is well known, Francesco Barocci (1537–1604) was born in Candia and spent a long period of his life in Crete, where he purchased many Greek manuscripts.

⁴⁸ See on this issue Martínez Manzano 1998, 55, 59.

⁴⁹ Identification in Stefec 2014, 197.

cases, <Andronikos Kallistos> is here responsible for the addition of initials and titles in light-red ink, along with some marginal notes (Fig. 2.10). Annotations to this section have been applied on the outer margins, probably at a later time, by Lygizos, who likewise copied the text of Synkellos in the Par. gr. 2557 (fols 1r–50r).⁵⁰

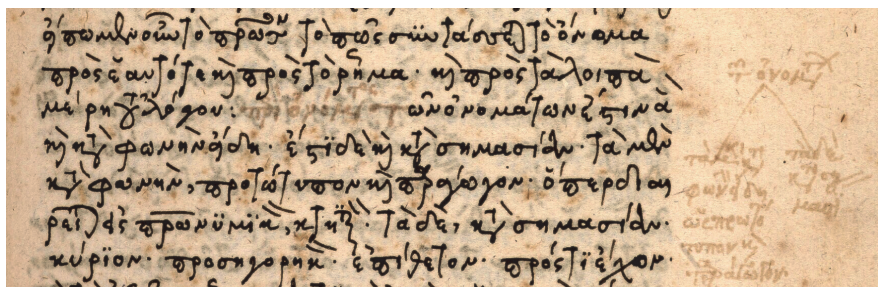


Fig. 2.10: Oxon. Barocci 76, fol. 364r; © Bodleian Library.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the hand who wrote the title of the work at the beginning of fol. 363r (Μιχαὴλ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ συγγέλου [sic] τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῶν ἱεροσολύμων μέθοδος etc.; see Fig. 2.11, lines 1–5) matches with that of the unknown scribe collaborating with Kallistos in the making of Barocci 63 and Par. Suppl. gr. 541.⁵¹

⁵⁰ From a philological point of view, what little remains of Michael Synkellos' text handed down by Barocci 76 reveals apparent similarities with that of Par. gr. 2557. Also the diagram τῶν ὀνομάτων supplemented by Kallistos in the outer margin of fol. 364r of Barocci 76 has been reproduced by Lygizos in the lower margin of fol. 2v of Par. gr. 2557.

⁵¹ One could gather in this small corpus also the writing of the first unit of Neap II.F.32, which bears the watermark *Fleur* 80 Harlfinger and which had been so far attributed to the hand of Kallistos. See Harlfinger 1974–1980, s.v. *Fleur*, *Tour*, *Monts* and *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 138 (Harlfinger). The identification with Kallistos, which is in this case not convincing, has been repeated in Gamillscheg 1978, 236 n. 45, Formentin 1995, 157 and in more recent contributions, such as Parenza 2014, 361.

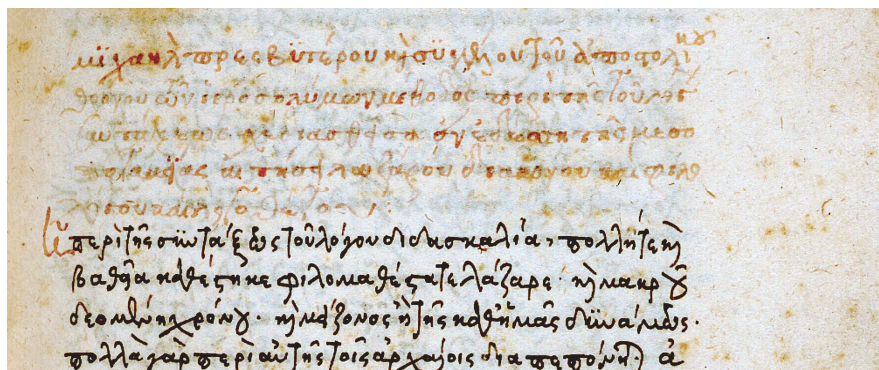


Fig. 2.11: Oxon. Barocci 76, fol. 363r; © Bodleian Library.

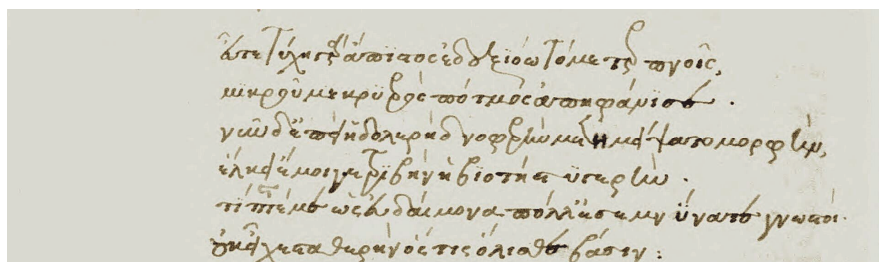


Fig. 2.12: Par. Suppl. gr. 541, fol. 201v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2.1.2 Constantinople?

While investigating the activity of Byzantine refugees participating in Italian Humanism, we frequently experience a paradox. We easily succeed in reading, analysing, and dating their books when these date back to the period of their activity in Italy; on the contrary, it is considerably more difficult to investigate the traces of their intellectual engagement in Byzantium due to the destruction of books and scholarly materials after the fall of the Empire. Yet it was there that these scholars accomplished their education, purchased books and copied them for themselves. As far as Andronikos is concerned, while it has been possible to narrow down his activity on the island of Crete in the years immediately preceding his arrival in Italy, it is much more difficult to single out books that can be traced back to an earlier period, namely to his time in Constantinople.

The aforementioned Erlangensis A 4 is made up of six independent codicological units.⁵² Besides the drawing *Fleur* (unit I)⁵³ pointing to Crete, different watermarks are found within other sections copied by Kallistos (units II, III and V); while sharing a dating from the late 1440s until the early 1450s, they may however indicate a provenance from elsewhere. They are *Monts <dans un cercle>* 84 Harlfinger (mid-fifteenth century; unit II [= fols 72–79]) and *Monts* 52 Harlfinger (almost identical to 11656 Briquet [c. 1438–1453, variously located]; units III [= fols 80–102] and V [= fols 209–264]).

As has been demonstrated in recent times, the text of Aristotle's *Parva naturalia* contained in the third codicological unit of the Erlangensis (= fols 80–102) descends from a lost source which was still preserved in the territories of the Byzantine Empire before the fall of Constantinople and had no progeny in the frame of Italian humanism.⁵⁴ Likewise, the existence of a lost Byzantine source — maybe Constantinopolitan — shall be assumed with regard to the fifth unit (= fols 209–264) containing Plato's *Gorgias*, *Lysis*, *Menexenus* and *Clitophon*. For both *Lysis* and *Clitophon* a derivation from Vat. gr. 226 owned by Manuel Chrysoloras has already been traced back.⁵⁵ As for the *Gorgias*, the Erlangen manuscript turned out to be an apograph (in all likelihood indirect) of a Constantinopolitan source, i.e. Par. gr. 2110 (fourteenth century).⁵⁶ The text of *Menexenus* in the Erlangensis has not been collated.⁵⁷

52 Units IV and VI are more recent than the others and date to the 1460s; for details refer to the description *infra*, 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 4).

53 Within this unit (see e.g. at the *bifolium* 33/40) the drawing *Tour* 8 Harlfinger also appears, which is similar to Briquet 15908 (Udine, 1449). Akin to this is the watermark found at fols 75–90 of Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (which are in the hand of Kallistos too; identification in *RGK* II 25). These folios within the Paris manuscript have to be considered therefore as other witnesses to Andronikos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East. The text of the arithmetical problem by Isaak Argyros copied at fol. 90r bears textual proximity to that of Par. gr. 2107, Gud. gr. 40, and Vind. Suppl. gr. 46 (I owe this information to the courtesy of Fabio Acerbi).

54 See what has been newly pointed out about the Erlangensis (*siglum* E') in Primavesi 2018 and Primavesi, Rapp and Morison 2023. A younger offspring of this source for the text of Aristotle's *Sens.* and *Mem.* is the first unit of Berol. Phillipps 1507 (B⁶), most part of which was copied by Iohannes Arnes. For a detailed study of the Berlin manuscript see Isépy and Prapa 2018. For the scribal activity of Arnes, acting between Constantinople and Mystras, refer to Speranzi 2019 (with further bibliography).

55 For *Lysis* see Martinelli Tempesta 1997, 23–25; for *Clitophon* refer to Slings 1987, 40–41.

56 See Díaz de Cerio and Serrano 2001, 353–355. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Parisinus must have been in the East, in Constantinople, where it was acquired by Francesco Filelfo during the 1420s (see Martinelli Tempesta and Speranzi 2018, 203, with previous bibliography).

57 State of the art is sketched by Tsitsiridis 1998, 92–94.

Other manuscripts sharing the same codicological features can be traced back to Kallistos' scholarly and scribal activity in the Byzantine East, maybe in Constantinople. This is the case, for instance, of Oxon. d'Orville 115, transmitting Eustathius' commentary on Dionysius Periegetes. According to Aubrey Diller,⁵⁸ this codex (*siglum* O), wholly in the hand of Kallistos, is a sibling of Scor. R.I.6 (*siglum* S), a manuscript copied by Michael Apostoles in the second half of the year 1453 during his captivity, as convincingly suggested by Teresa Martínez Manzano.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Oxoniensis provides evidence to the paper water-marked *Monts* 52 Harlfinger, i.e. the same drawing found within units III and V of the aforementioned manuscript of Erlangen.

One of the most important manuscripts belonging to Andronikos' library, that is Vat. gr. 1314, cannot be excluded from this picture. This extensive miscellany entirely in Kallistos' hand⁶⁰ deserves a particular mention, since it is the only extant witness providing a date (12 March 1449) and an autographed mention of Andronikos' name and surname (see Fig. 2.13).⁶¹

⁵⁸ See Diller 1975, 181–207.

⁵⁹ See Martínez Manzano 2016a, 280–282 who draws attention to the subscription at fol. 206v: Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρέως οἰκουμένης περιηγήτης Μιχαῆλος Ἀπόστολης Βυζάντιος δορυάλωτος in which Apostoles 'alude a su origen constantinopolitano pero [...] menciona expresamente su condición de cautivo'. Interestingly, during the period of imprisonment between Constantinople and a certain settlement on the Black Sea, Apostoles was able to dedicate himself to the transcription of a manuscript. The conditions of detention, as prohibitive as they were, did not fully interrupt forms of intellectual activity, such as copying a book or taking care of private correspondence. We are aware of a letter (no. 4 in Stefec 2013a) sent by Apostoles to Iohannes Argypoulos, who was at that time in Constantinople. In the letter Michael gives information about his condition. For the identification of the addressee see Rollo 2014c, 328–329. Likewise, we can mention the case of Theodoros Agallianos and Georgios Scholarios. In one of his writings, Theodoros reports that he had an exchange of letters in the last months of 1453 with the future patriarch during the period of their imprisonment (Agallianos in Bursa, Scholarios in Edirne); see Blanchet 2008, 71–73.

⁶⁰ For a description, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 48).

⁶¹ Fol. 15v (lower margin).

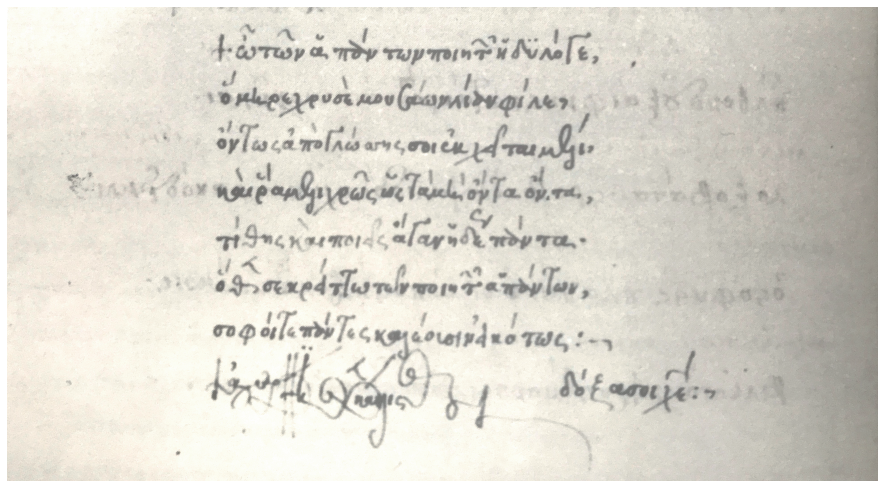


Fig. 2.13: Vat. gr. 1314, fol. 15v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The issue of the name has already been highlighted in the previous chapter.⁶² Contrary to general belief, the subscription was not meant to highlight the authorship of the transcription of the text (= Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*), but rather to sign the short poem composed by Andronikos himself in praise of Homer's poetry.⁶³ There is no need to dwell now on every single feature of Vat. gr. 1314, for it will be called into question on several occasions in the course of this work. Still, it is worth highlighting one feature distinguishing this manuscript as a piece of considerable value. Vat. gr. 1314, as well as other aforementioned books, bears throughout its quires the watermark *Enclume*, thus revealing a common origin to the manuscripts presented above in the erstwhile territories of the collapsing Byzantine Empire. The ancient sources of many of these late Byzantine manuscripts were lost by the time of the fall of Constantinople. Thus, the cultural impact of such ultimate offsprings brought to the West by Greek scholars is remarkable in its extent. This is the case with some texts transmitted in Vat. gr. 1314. With regard to the work of Cornutus (*De natura deorum*), for instance, the Vaticanus turned out to stem from a lost Byzantine source (*siglum* ϕ) and proved to be the ancestor

⁶² See *supra*, § 1.1.

⁶³ This entry has been known since the times of the pioneering repertoire of Greek copyists edited by Marie Vogel and Victor Gardthausen (see Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 30). In this case the definition of 'colophon' is nevertheless misleading.

of the entire manuscript tradition spreading later on throughout Italy in the fifteenth–sixteenth century.⁶⁴

In conclusion, we can list of the manuscripts which bear evidence to Kallistos' scribal activity in the Byzantine East:

- Bonon. 2638 (fols 92, 38–43, 99, 44–91)
- Cantabr. Univ. Library, Nn.III.18
- Cantabr. Emmanuel College, 30
- Erlangensis A 4 (fols 1–99, 209–264)
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 (unit II, original leaves of unit III)
- Ambr. A 185 sup. (fols 228–243)
- Ambr. L 35 sup. (fols 1–8)
- Mutin. α Q.5.20 (unit IV)
- Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit III)
- Mutin. α T.9.14 (with the exception of fols 1–7)
- Mutin. α U.9.10 (fols 2–25, 95–102, 191–215, restoration)
- Mutin. α U.9.18 (titles in red ink)
- Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit V)
- Mutin. α W.5.5 (see more details *infra*, § 6.1 [no. 28])
- Oxon. Barocci 63 (see more details *infra*, § 6.1 [no. 31])
- Oxon. Barocci 76 (titles in red ink)
- Oxon. d'Orville 115
- Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (fols 107–114, 127–139, 147–149, 151–157, restoration)
- Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (fols 75–90)
- Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (but fols 136v–154v and 201v are not in Kallistos' hand)
- Vat. gr. 1314
- Vat. Ross. 1025 (but fols 19r–20v and 36v are not in Kallistos' hand)
- Marc. gr. Z. 374
- Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (fols 1–40, restoration).

2.1.3 In Bologna at Bessarion's residence (1453–1455)

Historical, codicological, and philological arguments allow us to group together manuscripts (or parts of manuscripts), which were made by Kallistos, after his arrival in Italy, in Bologna at Bessarion's house in collaboration with copyists working in the Cardinal's circle. In this regard, a significant hint is the record of

⁶⁴ See Krafft 1975, 137–142, 252–318.

Bessarion's official title which is found in these books: Cardinal of Tusculum (*cardinalis Tusculanus*). Bessarion maintained this title between 1449 and 1463, when he also obtained the appointment of Latin patriarch of Constantinople, whereas from 1468 onwards he was to hold that of Bishop of Sabina (*episcopus Sabinorum*).⁶⁵

This kind of evidence, while generally valuable, must be treated with caution for the following reasons: firstly, Bessarion's *ex-libris* found on the guard leaves could have theoretically been added years after the production of a manuscript; secondly, in the case of a composite manuscript, with codicological units from various periods of time, the note would obviously refer to the moment in time when these units were grouped together to form a single volume.

This is the case, for instance, of Marc. gr. Z. 527, the so-called 'second volume' of Bessarion's own philosophical works, as recent studies have illustrated.⁶⁶ This manuscript bears the indication *episcopus Sabinorum*; however, it is made of units produced by 'more generations of copyists'⁶⁷ who worked together with Bessarion over time, and originated from different quires which lacked a binding for many years. The first codicological unit (= fols 1–16), where Kallistos' handwriting appears along with that of Emmanuel of Constantinople,⁶⁸ in all likelihood originated in Bologna at the time of their activity in the city.⁶⁹ It is worth mentioning that the manuscript also consists of a Latin codicological unit (= fols 176–199), containing the Latin version of Bessarion's *De natura et arte contra Georgium*

65 Other manuscripts copied by Kallistos for Bessarion and kept today at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana were not produced in the time span 1453–1455. This is the case, for instance, of Marc. gr. Z. 198, i.e. the final copy of the treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis*. A first *terminus post quem* for any manuscript containing this work is set at the year 1457, since the Cardinal had not even completed the first version of his treatise prior to that date. An additional hint to the fact that Marc. gr. Z. 198 does not belong to the period 1453–1455 is the title of Bessarion, who is recorded as 'Latin patriarch of Constantinople' (i.e. *post* 1463). Similarly, Marc. gr. Z. 238 (scholia to Aristotle's works, partly copied by Kallistos) refer to a later period, for Bessarion *ex libris* reads *episcopus Sabinorum*. For these manuscripts, see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

66 See Speranzi 2016a, 50–52, 109–112, 133, 139–194 and Speranzi 2017a.

67 See Speranzi 2016a, 51–52.

68 For an updated profile of Emmanuel see Orlandi 2019b (with previous references). I report here some new findings about his scribal activity: <Neap. II.D.7>, <Urb. gr. 110> (fols 19r–141v), and <Vat. gr. 1018> (635v lin. 18–637r). All these manuscripts seem to be linked with the years of Emmanuel's 'Byzantine' activity, i.e. before his arrival in Italy.

69 For the manuscripts copied in Bologna by Emmanuel (known at that time as *Anonymus Ly Harlfinger*) see Martínez Manzano 2015a, 162–170.

Trapezuntium. It has never been observed that in these leaves we find marginal annotations and corrections in Latin in the hand of <Theodoros Gazes> (Fig. 2.14).⁷⁰

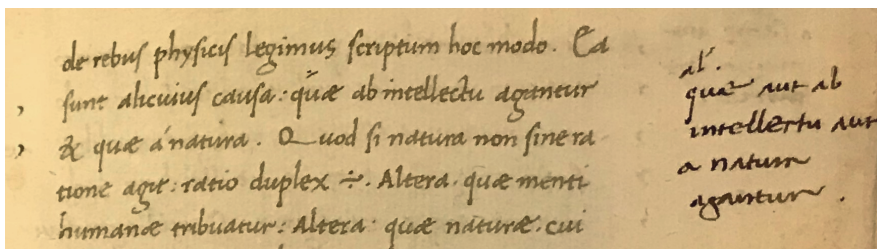


Fig. 2.14: Marc. gr. Z. 527, fol. 212r; © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

Likewise, the examination of the composite manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 522 seems to indicate that its different parts did not originate at the same time at the same place. David Speranzi observed that, in contrast to units I–II, probably written in Rome by the monk Kosmas and Manuel Atrapes in the second half of the 1450s, the rest of the book dates back to previous years.⁷¹ Units III and IV, which are both in the hand of Kallistos, share the codicological features of unit V, work of the aforementioned Emmanuel (who was to reside in Bologna even after the departure of Bessarion). Units III–V, thus, had been manufactured there by the time of the Cardinal's legation.⁷²

The issue of Marc. gr. Z. 192 (Proclus, *Theol. Plat.*) is similar, although slightly more complicated to describe. As stated again by Speranzi, Kallistos (fols 1r–44v) did not work in this case in collaboration with other copyists.⁷³ His copying abruptly stopped at fol. 44v, shortly after the beginning of book II,⁷⁴ right in the middle of the fifth quire (fols 41–50). Georgios Tribizias continued the transcription of Proclus' text until fol. 70v, that is until the conclusion of the seventh quire. Quires 5–7 (fols 41–70, three *quiniones*) follow the same ruling scheme adopted by Kallistos: Sautel–Leroy 20D1, c. 170 × 90 mm, 27 lines. From fol. 71r onwards (until the end of the codicological unit, at fol. 264), the ruling scheme changes:

⁷⁰ For samples of Gazes' Latin writing, refer to Gionta 2004 (e.g. plate La), Orlandi 2015 (e.g. page 270, Fig. 2) and Orlandi 2020a.

⁷¹ See Speranzi 2017, 172 n. 124.

⁷² See Aleotti 2022, 40–43.

⁷³ See Speranzi 2016a, 63 n. 55.

⁷⁴ Chapter 2, just after the words ἐκφαίνει καὶ πόσοις.

the written surface is several centimetres wider on each side and the number of lines of text increases from 27 to 29. Three copyists worked on fols 71–264: Manuel Atrapés (71r–114r), the monk Gregorios (114v–144v), and Iohannes Plusiadenos (145r–264v).⁷⁵ It is likely that they collaborated in Rome from the second half of the 1450s onwards, as we lack any evidence concerning their activity as copyists at the time of Bessarion's legation in Bologna (1450–1455). Eleftherios Despotakis's research on the activity of Iohannes Plusiadenos confirms this hypothesis; he dated the copy of units II, III and IV by Plusiadenos to the years 1462–1463 and located them in Rome. It is hard to say whether Tribizias collaborated with Kallistos in Bologna or whether he continued the work in Rome, thus completing the three previously ruled quires. In conclusion, the most reasonable hypothesis about the making of this codex is that it began around 1453–1455 in Bologna — where Kallistos resided with Bessarion — and was continued in Rome between the second half of the 1450s and the first years of the 1460s.

Concerning the copy of Marc. gr. Z. 190 (Timaeus Locrus, *De natura mundi et animae*; Proclus, in *Plat. Timaeum*), we can briefly discuss some details about the frame of its making, building on the studies on the manuscript tradition available for both works.⁷⁶ With regard to the text of Timaeus, Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1r–4v) has been recognised as a direct copy of another manuscript owned by Bessarion, that is Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 382r–386r of which are almost entirely in the hand of the Cardinal himself).⁷⁷ Though, the text of Marc. gr. Z. 190 bears significant traces of contamination from the codex Neap. III.D.28 (fourteenth century, *siglum* N).⁷⁸ Codex N turned out to be a direct antigraph of Laur. Ashb. 1599, a manuscript copied by Kallistos and belonging to his library.⁷⁹ Furthermore, with regard to the text of Proclus' commentary, the first two books copied by Kallistos in Marc. gr. Z. 190 also descend from N. In all likelihood, thus, Neap. III.D.28 (N) circulated in Bologna in circles with close ties to Bessarion: on the one hand, the Cardinal had

⁷⁵ The indication concerning the hands given by Mioni 1981, 304 is wrong and it has been corrected in Speranzi 2016a, 63 n. 55. The manuscript used as antigraph for the text of *Theologia*, both for the part written by Kallistos and by the others, is Monac. gr. 517, which contains corrections by Bessarion; see Saffrey and Westerink 1968, CXIX–CXXVIII.

⁷⁶ For Timaeus Locrus see Marg 1972; for Proclus, refer to Diehl 1903.

⁷⁷ See Mioni 1981, 299 and the observation in Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 305–306 (the scholar first noticed that fols 385v lin. 18–386r are a later addition by the hand of Alexios Keladenos).

⁷⁸ See Marg 1972, 39–41. For bibliography on the Neapolitanus, copied in 1314 by Iohannes Katararios, see Formentin 2015, 159 and Menchelli 2010, 243–244.

⁷⁹ On this codex's inclusion in Kallistos' collection, see *infra*, § 3.4. The fact that both manuscripts (Marc. gr. Z. 190 and Laur. Ashb. 1599) are the work of the same copyist was not acknowledged by Marg.

these texts copied for his library; on the other, Kallistos enriched his collection with the text of *De natura mundi et animae*, by copying it in Laur. Ashb. 1599. Unfortunately, we do not know much more about the fifteenth-century history of the codex; we only know that it later ended up in Aulo Giano Parrasio's collection, Demetrios Chalkondyles's son-in-law, to whom the manuscript certainly belonged. This is proved now by the discovery of some *marginalia* in Neap. III.D.28 in the hand of <Demetrios Chalkondyles> himself (e.g. fols 25v [Fig. 2.15] and 26v).⁸⁰

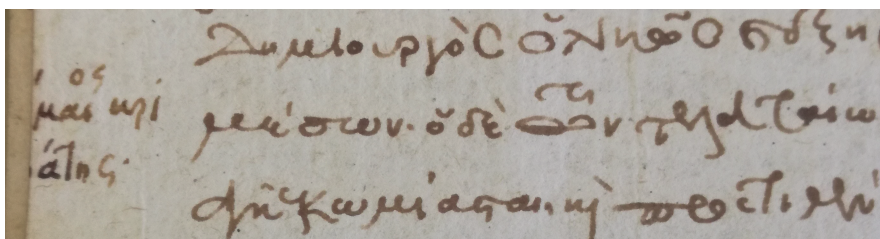


Fig. 2.15: Neap. III.D.28, fol. 25v; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The aforementioned contamination of Timaeus' text in Marc. gr. Z. 190 due to the inclusion of readings from N may have been a deliberate work carried out by Kallistos on the Marcianus; accordingly, he might be the author of the slight changes to the scholia found exclusively in Marc. gr. Z. 190 and in Ashb. 1599.⁸¹

The interplay between the manuscripts of Bessarion's collection and that of Andronikos is shown by the case of the text of the *Apocalypse*. This was copied by Kallistos for the Cardinal in the last folios of Marc. gr. Z. 10. Annotations in Andronikos' hand to the text of the *Apocalypse* have recently been found in a fourteenth-century manuscript preserved in Vienna: it is Theol. gr. 163, which also contains the commentary of Andrew of Caesarea. It is useful to look at the stemma of the family *g* of the *Apocalypse* reconstructed several decades ago by Josef Schmid (Fig. 2.16):

⁸⁰ In addition, traces of a scholarly hand similar to Bessarion's have been found in this manuscript (see e.g. <fol. 85v>). Unfortunately, because of the trimming there are only a few visible *marginalia*, which are not sufficient to support this identification. Given the presence of the hand of Chalkondyles, who was to inherit Gazes' books, one wonders whether this manuscript belonged to Theodoros himself.

⁸¹ See on the subject Marg 1972, 64.

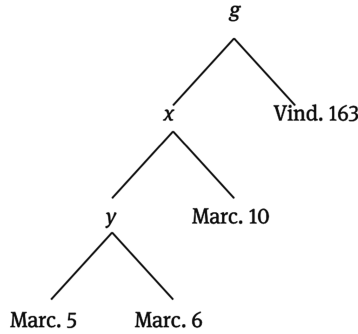


Fig. 2.16: *Stemma codicum* (Apocalypse, family *g*); © Schmid 1956, 293.

Schmid, who was at that time unaware of the identity of Andronikos, had pointed out that the corrector of the Vindobonensis annotated *in margine* the textual innovations found *in textu* in Marc. gr. Z. 10, Marc. gr. Z. 5 and Marc. gr. Z. 6. The analysis of the *marginalia* of the Vind. Theol. gr. 163 led Schmid to exclude the possibility that these innovations came from contamination with other families; they must therefore have been found in the text of the lost ancestor *x*. The identification of Andronikos as both the principal annotator of Vindobonensis⁸² and the copyist of Marc. gr. Z. 10 leads to establish a strong connection between these two manuscripts. This is why it would be worth re-examining Schmid's genealogical reconstruction to see what role Andronikos may have played in this process.

It is clear that not only Kallistos benefited from the circulation of codices within this environment, as Bessarion himself was to enlarge his collection to a certain extent, charging his professional scribes with the task of copying texts from Andronikos' library. We will see in more detail⁸³ in the next pages, for example, that Vat. gr. 1314 served as antigraph for Cornutus' *De natura deorum* and other brief texts for the making of Marc. gr. Z. 531, copied for Bessarion by Demetrios Xanthopulos. From Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18 descends the Thucydides Marc. gr. Z. 364, copied in 1469 by Iohannes Plusiadenos.⁸⁴ From Comensis 1.3.19 descends (from the passage 20,28 onwards) the text of Philostratus' *Vitae sophistarum* copied in Marc. gr. Z. 392.⁸⁵ From the ancient codex of Mount Athos, Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, 161 (composite, twelfth–fourteenth century) derives the text of

⁸² First identification in Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 252–253.

⁸³ See *infra*, § 2.2.1.

⁸⁴ Powell 1938b, 105–106. A description of Marc. gr. Z. 364 is in Mioni 1985a, 125.

⁸⁵ See Stefec 2010a, 76.

Hippolytus copied by Tribizias in Marc. gr. Z. 470.⁸⁶ From the manuscript Laur. 85.21 (twelfth century) stems Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle' *De anima* found in the second codicological unit of Marc. gr. Z. 413, which is likewise in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.⁸⁷ To these instances, already acknowledged by the modern scholarship, we may add in conclusion the case of Marc. gr. Z. 223,⁸⁸ to the making of which both Tribizias⁸⁹ (fols 4r–117v, 123v–170v) and Kallistos⁹⁰ (fols 118r–123r, 171r–228v) worked. From some partial collations, it has emerged that the text of Simplicius' commentary on *Categoriae* and of Philoponos' on *De anima* descends from two manuscripts owned by Andronikos, respectively Ambr. E 99 sup. (thirteenth century, displaying marginal annotations of Kallistos) and Vat. Ross. 1025 (in the hand of Kallistos himself).⁹¹

Here is the list of the manuscripts which bear evidence for Kallistos' scribal activity in Bologna at Bessarion's house:

Marc. gr. Z. 10 (fols 382r–409r)

Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 261r–274v)

Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1r–270v)

Marc. gr. Z. 192 (fols 1r–44v)

Marc. gr. Z. 223 (fols 118r–123r, 171r–228v)

Marc. gr. Z. 337 (fols 130r lin. 21–31)

Marc. gr. Z. 518 (fols 96r lin. 40–46, 96v lin. 1–2)

Marc. gr. Z. 522 (fols 161r–210v)

Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols 1r–9v, 11r–14v, 16rv).

⁸⁶ See Barrett 1964, 69. In all likelihood, also the rest of Aeschylus' tragedies handed down in the Marcianus derives from Ἰβήρων 161.

⁸⁷ See Steel 2019, 411–413 (with previous references).

⁸⁸ A description in Mioni 1981, 337, Liakou-Kropp 2002, 267–269; see also *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 54).

⁸⁹ Identification in Mioni 1976, 286, 310.

⁹⁰ Identification by Dieter Harlfinger *apud* Liakou-Kropp 2002, 268; though, the identification of Iohannes Rhosos as the author of some illuminations is wrong, as they are the work of <Georgios Tribizias> himself.

⁹¹ In this way, a codex has been composed that comprised two texts, Simplicius' and Philoponos', which have never been transmitted together in the manuscript tradition.

2.2 Between Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna (1455–1466)

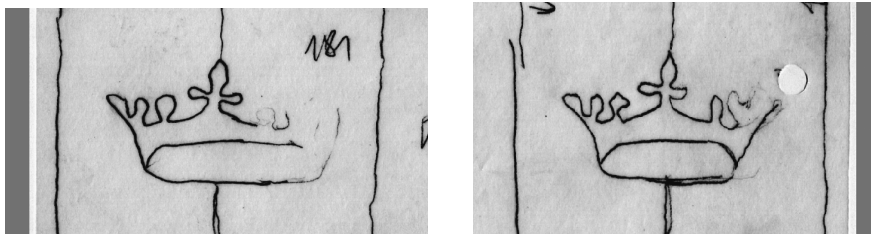
With regard to Kallistos' scribal activity in central and northernmost parts of Italy, between Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna (after the conclusion of Bessarion's legation), the difficulty in identifying with certainty the location of the books which served as antigraphs must be first highlighted.⁹² Moreover, uncertainty remains surrounding Andronikos' movements, especially for the years 1455–1459. Still, codicological, philological, and palaeographic evidence leads to the conclusion that some manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) must have been written within this time span. To begin with, throughout several books copied by Andronikos we come across a drawing *Couronne* to which Ernst Gamillscheg⁹³ first drew attention. This watermark, which is missing in any modern inventory, characterizes the following manuscripts:⁹⁴ Ambr. H 52 sup.; Ambr. P 84 sup.; Mutin. α T.9.1; Mutin. α V.7.1 (first codicological unit); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (with the exception of fols 128–165, which are older); Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit V); Mutin. α U.9.22 (units I–III); Laur. Ashb. 1144; Vat. Ott. gr. 355 (unit I); Mutin. α T.9.14 and Sinod. gr. 370 (in both cases, we refer to the first leaves used for the restoration). The most similar drawing available in Briquet's catalogue is the type *Couronne (à cinq fleurons)* no. 4879, located in Ferrara in 1458. However, two Latin codices share watermarks (see Figs. 2.17–2.18) definitely closer to that found in Kallistos' books; both artefacts were manufactured in central Italy, in the Po Valley, and are currently kept in Germany, in Eichstätt.⁹⁵

⁹² I give here an example. With regard to Sophocles' text (*Antigone*) handed down in Mutin. α T.9.2, Alexander Turyn suggested that the Mutinensis was a descendant of Par. gr. 2711. However, reasonable doubts have been raised: see Tessier 2015b, 181. Either way, the whereabouts of the Paris manuscript in the fifteenth century are still too unclear to draw definitive conclusions.

⁹³ Gamillscheg 1978, 243. See also Tessier 2015a, XXVII–XXIX.

⁹⁴ See in detail the correspondent catalogue entries *infra*, § 6.1.

⁹⁵ These data and pictures come from the portal <<https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).



Figs 2.17–2.18: Cod. st. 7; Cod. st. 9; © Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt.

A significant — although not decisive — element to the location of this watermark comes from Ambr. H 52 sup. (Lysias). As anticipated in the previous chapter, this codex proved to have been copied from a book (i.e., Pal. gr. 88) owned by Palla Strozzi,⁹⁶ who resided in Padua for a long time. In addition, Par. gr. 2069 (Theophrastus) (see Plate 10) — which Einarson thought to be also copied from a lost book of Palla Strozzi's⁹⁷ — and Ambr. I 56 sup. (Aristotle's *Historia animalium*),⁹⁸ are both codicologically and palaeographically akin to Ambr. H 52 sup. Both of them bear evidence to a watermark located in Veneto, i.e. *Flèches* 6271 Briquet (Venezia, c. 1462).⁹⁹ It is perhaps significant that the same watermark can be found in manuscripts copied by scribes active in the Po Valley and in Veneto.¹⁰⁰

As we will see, however, it will be the study of the documentary sources along with the analysis of the philological derivations as well as the palaeographic evidence derived from the observation of some collaboration works between Kallistos and other copyists that will confirm case by case the dating and the location of these manuscripts in this time span.

⁹⁶ See Donadi 1976 and Donadi 2016, XXI.

⁹⁷ See Einarson 1976. The manuscript should correspond to the item no. 487 within the list of books donated to the convent of Santa Giustina. See now Cronier 2020, in part. 190–196.

⁹⁸ On the derivation of the Ambrosianus from a lost antigraph (*siglum* ξ) see Berger 2005, 155–158.

⁹⁹ See also the type 11 Harlfinger (c. 1464, copyist Michael Lygizos) in Harlfinger 1974–1980.

¹⁰⁰ See, for instance, the first codicological unit of Mutin. α T.9.2, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, which contains Phalaris' *Epistle*, or the first unit of Mutin. α U.9.3.

2.2.1 The collaboration with Demetrios Xanthopoulos between Padua and Ferrara

Definitely to be excluded from the batch of Kallistos' own books is the Vat. Pal. gr. 142, a composite manuscript containing five codicological units, which are grouped, in turn, in two blocks: the first comprises units I (= fols 2–81, Demosthenes) and II (= fols 82–133, Lycophron, Hesiod), dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and both copied by Demetrios Xanthopoulos;¹⁰¹ the second comprises units III (= fols 134–185, scholia on Theocr. *Id.*), IV (= fols 186–215, Marcianus) and V (= fols 216–271, geographical works), dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century. A detailed, almost exhaustive study by Didier Marcotte,¹⁰² deals with the codicological aspects and all the events relating to the history of the manuscript.

The sections that mainly affect our discussion are the first two, copied by Xanthopoulos. First of all, it has already been highlighted in previous studies on this manuscript that the text of the *Theogonia* found in the second codicological unit of the Palatinus descends from the Mutin. α T.9.14, i.e. a book from Andronikos' collection.¹⁰³ The presence of <Kallistos>' hand in the titles in the section devoted to Demosthenes (Fig. 2.19) has remained thus far unnoticed. This is at any rate a further indication of Andronikos' involvement in the making of these sections of the Palatinus.¹⁰⁴

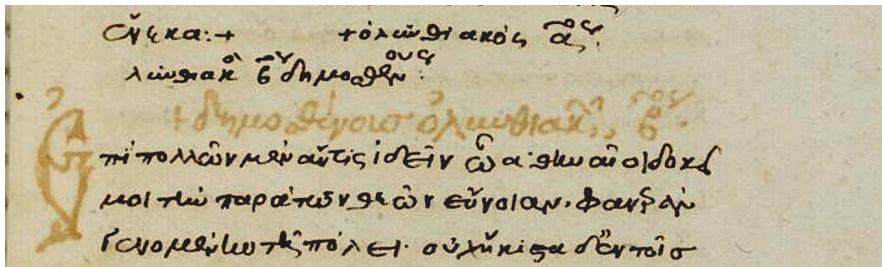


Fig. 2.19: Pal. gr. 142, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁰¹ The identification of the hand is by Stefec 2014, 183.

¹⁰² Marcotte 1985–1986.

¹⁰³ See Marcotte 1985–1986, 71.

¹⁰⁴ See fols 2r, 7r, 13v, and 20v (Δημοσθένους Ὀλυνθιακῶν α', β', γ'; Δημοσθένους περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου).

Corroborating evidence linking Kallistos to the copying task undertaken by Xanthopulos comes from the whole collation of the text of *Olynthiacae* and a partial collation of *De corona*: the Pal. gr. 142 turned out to be an apograph of Par. gr. 2998, a book belonging to Andronikos' own library and fully annotated by him.¹⁰⁵

The presence of Kallistos' hand both in the Palatinus and in the Parisinus and the fact that he was the owner of the Paris codex represent a first relevant hint of a direct apography of the first from the second; in this respect, it is possible to provide evidence taken from the direct comparison of the two manuscript. Here I will just report the case of chapters 312–313 of *De corona*. The clause which extends from τριηραρχικὸν τοῦ ἐμαυτὸν, corresponding exactly with a line of text in the codex Par. gr. 2998 (fol. 68r) was initially omitted by Xanthopulos in Pal. gr. 142 (fol. 75r), because of the accidental 'skipping' of an entire line not corresponding to a *saut du même au même*. However, the copyist may have immediately realised his mistake and recovered the omitted section in the margin.¹⁰⁶

At this point it is quite evident that Andronikos made two books of his own collection (the Demosthenes Par. gr. 2998 and the Hesiod Mutin. α.T.9.14) available to Xanthopulos for him to copy.¹⁰⁷ Whoever sponsored the making of Pal. gr.

105 Here are some results of my collations. *Olynthiacae*: 2,12 ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες] ἀπιστοῦσιν ἅπαντες Par Pal; 2,16 ποιήσωσιν] πορίσωσιν Par Pal; 2,20 post συγκρῦψαι add. καὶ συσκιᾶσαι Par Pal; 2,26 τούτων ἐλπίζετε τῶν αὐτῶν] τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐλπίζετε Par Pal; 3,2 οὐ] οὐχὶ Par Pal; 3,2 τιμωρήσεται τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον] τρόπον τιμωρήσεται τις ἐκείνον Pal Par; 3,3 ποτέ] ποτὲ καὶ νῦν Par Pal. *De corona* (chapters 1–18; 61–70; 104–115; 311–316): 2 ἀκρόσασθαι] ἀκροᾶσθαι Par Pal; 8 βίου om. Par Pal; 11 ante ἐξετάσω add. αὐτίκα Par Pal; 12 post βουλομένοις add. ἀκούειν Par Pal; 12 διδῶσαι] τάττουσι Par Pal; 63 ἐκ πολλοῦ] ἐκ πολέμου Par Pal; 68 τολμήσαι] τολμήσειεν Par Pal; 107 ἀποστολέων] ἀποστόλων Par Pal; 111 περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων] περὶ γεγραμμένων Par Pal; 113 ἐξετασόντων] ἐξεταζομένων Par Pal; 314 νῦν ζῶντα] συζῶντα Par Pal. Par. gr. 2998 preserves only *Olynth.* 2,13–3,3; the leaves containing the previous parts are now lost. That Par. gr. 2998 belonged to Kallistos' collection has been confirmed by the discovery of Baldassar Migliavacca's notes in the codex; see for this Orlandi 2014b, 165, 186–187, and plate XV.

106 It should also be observed that Xanthopulos faithfully copies in the Palatinus almost all the *marginalia* of the Parisinus, including the variant readings. Some examples: 50 ἔχει] γρ. εἰρήσθαι in marg. Par Pal; 54 ἐλαφιβολιώνος] νοεβρίου in marg. Par Pal; 82 προὔξενει] γρ. προξένης in marg. Par Pal; 238 περὶ τῶν ἴσων] περὶ τῶν νήσων in marg. Par Pal.

107 In the study on the manuscript tradition of *Oration 54* (= *Contra Cononem*) codex Neap. II.E.11 (*siglum* Na) is presented, indeed, as a direct copy of Par. gr. 2998 (K); see McGay 2005. Since the Naples manuscript proved to be a work of the same scribe of Pal. gr. 142, i.e. Xanthopulos (identification in Stefec 2014, 183), it was worth verifying whether the dependence of the Naples manuscript on Par. gr. 2998 could apply also to other speeches by Demosthenes. By means of a sample collation of text of *Olynthiacae* and *De corona* the manuscript Neap. II.E.11 proved to be a *gemellus* to Pal. gr. 142: it is therefore likely that the two manuscripts were produced around the same period.

142 remains unknown at the moment; nonetheless, it is possible to say a few words regarding the circumstances of the copy. On the basis of different factors, I would be inclined to locate in Padua the production of this manuscript in the triennium 1459–1462 spent by Kallistos at Palla Strozzi's house. Indeed, the manuscript belonged to the intellectual Giovanni Calturnio (1443–1503), professor of Greek and Latin rhetoric in Padua.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, as will be demonstrated in the following pages, a biographical fact on Demetrios Xanthopulos confirm the Paduan genesis of the codex.

The activity of Xanthopulos as a copyist in Italy¹⁰⁹ — evaluated in recent contributions by Stefano Martinelli Tempesta and David Speranzi¹¹⁰ — has been located so far to only three cities, Rome, Bologna, and Milan. On the one hand, the employment of Xanthopulos as a professional scribe in Rome and Bologna at Bessarion's house in the first years of the 1450s is well documented; on the other hand, Demetrios' presence in Milan during the first months of the year 1454 has been reconstructed through the examination of some manuscripts and is witnessed, in addition, by a letter by Francesco Filelfo to Pietro Pierleoni written in June 1456.¹¹¹ For the following years, however, we lack adequate information about Xanthopulos' movements in Italy.

In Filelfo's Greek-Latin epistolary I found a passage of a letter to Palla Strozzi, sent from Milan to Padua and dated 1 March 1458, which, although it does not explicitly name Xanthopulos, can be associated with him:

Habeo praeterea tibi gratias atque ago maximas quod περί Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλέως morem mihi quamprimum gesseris. [...] Scripsisti praeterea Graecum esse apud te, eundem puto, qui τὸν Ἀρταξέρξου βίον ἐξέγραψε. Mihi graeco librario opus est. Quamobrem si vel istum, cum istinc te non invito abire instituerit, vel alium quempiam ire ad me curaveris, accipiam eum honesta condicione.¹¹²

So thank you and thank you very much for having fulfilled my request concerning the King Artaxerxes. [...] You also wrote me that a Greek lives at your place, the same I believe who copied the *Life of Artaxerxes*. I am in need of a Greek scribe. Therefore, if you would have him come to me, since he has decided to leave but not without your approval, or you make another one come here to me, I will welcome him by offering him suitable accommodation.

¹⁰⁸ See Marcotte 1985–1986. On Calturnio see Pellegrini 2003; new findings in Giacomelli 2020.

¹⁰⁹ *RGK* I 98 = II 132 = III 166.

¹¹⁰ Martinelli Tempesta 2015a and Speranzi 2017, 156–162.

¹¹¹ See Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 271 n. 1.

¹¹² De Keyser 2015a, 705–706.

The copy of the *Vita Artaxerxi* mentioned in the letter is to be identified with the second codicological unit (= fols 64–76) of the Mutin. α T.8.3,¹¹³ entirely in the hand of Demetrios Xanthopoulos¹¹⁴ (Fig. 2.20).

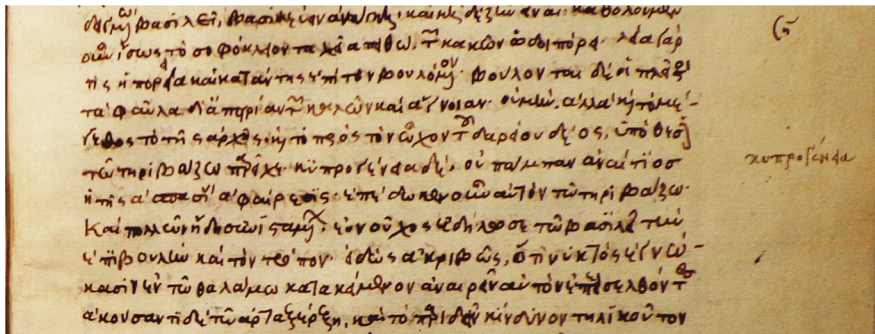


Fig. 2.20: Mutin. α T.8.3, fol. 75r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

In addition, some autograph annotations in the hand of Francesco Filelfo¹¹⁵ are found in the margins. Further confirmation of the identity between this manuscript and that mentioned in the letter comes from the studies of the textual transmission, as Mutin. α T.8.3 copied by Demetrios proves to be for Plutarch's text a direct apograph of the Urb. gr. 96, a book belonging to Palla Strozzi.¹¹⁶

By combining these data we therefore gain evidence for Xanthopoulos' presence in Padua by 1458. The fact that we do not know of any manuscripts copied by Demetrios for Filelfo in the following years leads us to believe that Demetrios remained in Veneto at Strozzi's residence and did not return to Filelfo.

In 1459, as said, Kallistos was to join Demetrios, coming from Bologna. An outcome of their collaboration in this period might be the manuscript Mutin. α P.5.19, which is in the hand of both Byzantine émigrés. Also Iohannes Rhosos, who was likewise engaged in the copying of some books in Veneto at the same

¹¹³ On the manuscript see Speranzi 2013a, 275–276 and Ferreri 2014, 529–531. The presence of Giorgio Valla's *ex libris* on fol. 61v points out the fact that the second codicological unit was added to the previous one at a later stage.

¹¹⁴ Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 43.

¹¹⁵ Identification in De Keyser and Speranzi 2011, 195.

¹¹⁶ The philological data can be read in Manfredini 2013, 22; for Palla Strozzi as the owner of the codex, see Sosower 1986, 150.

time, took part in the making of the Mutinensis by applying illuminations and decorative elements in red ink.

It is unclear for how long the two, Andronikos and Demetrios, remained simultaneously in Padua. At any rate, another city where Kallistos and Xanthopulos may have stayed together for some time, in the late 1450s, is Ferrara. In the previous chapter we presented new documentation bringing evidence to a stay of Andronikos in Ferrara from the second half of 1459 onwards.¹¹⁷ For Xanthopulos it is now possible to provide some palaeographic, philological, and codicological data which likewise point to his presence in Ferrara.

In two manuscripts already attributed to his hand, Vat. Reg. gr. 87 (Xenophon) and Leid. Voss. gr. F 38 (Euripides) I found traces of corrections and additions by the hand of another Byzantine scholar who was active in Ferrara in those years: this is <Demetrios Kastrenos> (Figs 2.21–2.22), formerly known under the name *Anonymus* ου-π Harlfinger.¹¹⁸ From a codicological point of view, it should also be noted that both manuscripts copied by Xanthopulos (and corrected by Kastrenos) are made of paper with a drawing *Basilic* similar to Briquet 2669 (c. 1459), which is a well known watermark, widely attested in the area between Mantua and Ferrara. As far as philological aspects are concerned, it will be to our point to emphasize the fact that Reg. gr. 87, rubricated by Battista Guarini, has already been identified as an apograph of Guelf. Aug. 2° 71.19, the latter being a famous book, owned by Guarino Veronese and for this reason located with certainty in Ferrara at least until Guarino's death in December 1460.¹¹⁹

117 Our *terminus post quem* is, as aforementioned, the epistle to Palla Strozzi of 28 April <1459>.

118 The discovery of the historical identity of the former *Anonymus* is by David Speranzi (see Speranzi 2019, 3–8). In 1458 Kastrenos was certainly still in Ferrara. In two letters, respectively dated 21 January and 1 March, Filelfo urged him to move to Milan (see De Keyser 2015a, 697–698 and 705); although the exact date of his move from Ferrara to Milan is unknown, it is established that in October 1462 he was teaching Greek in Milan. The palaeographic findings on Kastrenos have been enriched exponentially in recent years. I report here some new manuscripts: <Vat. gr. 1018> (fols 627rv, 628v lin. 10–31, 629v, 631v, 632v, 633v–633bisv); <Marc. gr. Z. 509> (fols 77r–79r); <Par. gr. 2761> (fols 2r–4r); <Vat. Pal. gr. 144> (fols 85r–92v = restoration); <Monac. gr. 159> (fols 157r–159v, 169r lin. 7–171r, 172rv, 173v–186v); <Par. gr. 1212>; <Neap. III.B.11>. With the exception of Par. gr. 1212 and Neap. III.B.11, in all cases the writing of Demetrios dates from the years of his Byzantine activity before his arrival in Italy.

119 See Bandini 2010, 441, where the possibility was already mentioned that the copyist of the Reginensis (i.e. Xanthopulos) worked in Ferrara.

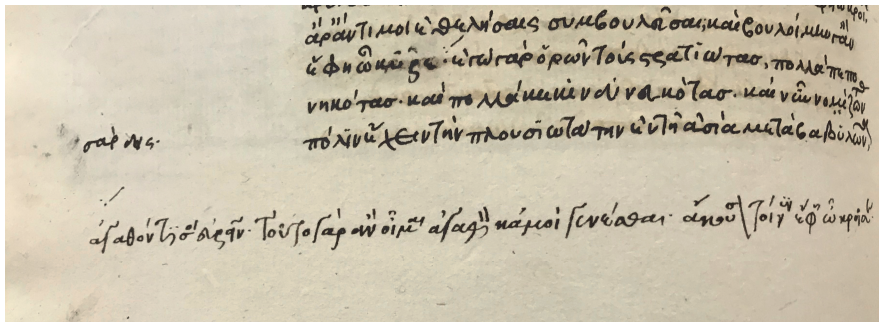


Fig. 2.21: Reg. gr. 87, fol. 114v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

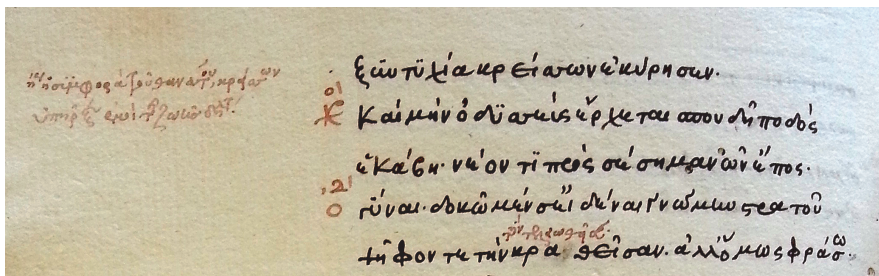


Fig. 2.22: Voss. gr. F 38, fol. 7v; © Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

A *gemellus* to Reg. gr. 87 descends from the same Wolfenbüttel manuscript owned by Guarino: this is the codex Berol. Phillipps 1627, which was copied entirely by Kastrenos on the same paper watermarked *Basilic* of which we spoke before.¹²⁰ We should therefore infer that it was in Ferrara that both manuscripts were manufactured, both the Reginensis copied by Xanthopulos and corrected by Kastrenos, and the Berolinesis realised by Kastrenos. We can also mention the presence on the aforementioned Euripides Voss. gr. F 38 of some marginal notes, which can be assigned to the hand of one of Guarino's pupils, <Michelangelo da Panigale> (Fig. 2.23).¹²¹

¹²⁰ Evidence pointing to a direct derivation of the Berlin manuscript from the Guelferbytanus owned by Guarino is gathered in Orlandi 2013, 196–207.

¹²¹ For details about Michelangelo's activity and some *specimina* of his Greek hand see also Martinelli Tempesta 2016b, 377–370. New data in Rollo 2020a, 132 n. 2.

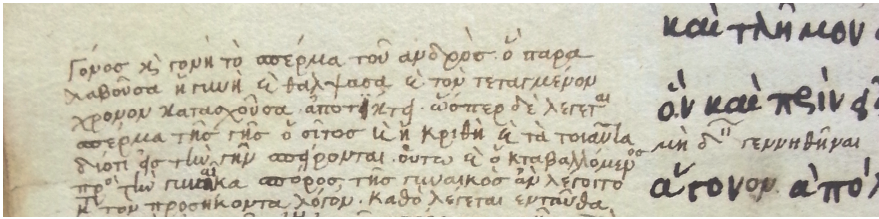


Fig. 2.23: Voss. gr. F 38, fol. 30v; © Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit.

Having concluded the excursus on the testimonies supporting Xanthopulos' activity in Ferrara, the possibility remains to be evaluated that he was in the city at the time of Andronikos' sojourn. In this regard, a peculiar coincidence of people, times and places characterizes the genesis of a special manuscript owned by Bessarion: Marc. gr. Z. 531. In the *pinax* the Cardinal himself highlighted the extraordinary nature of the texts collected in this book: τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον πολλὰ καὶ δυσεύρετα περιέχον ἔστιν ἐμοῦ Βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν Τούσκλων ('this book, which contains a large number of works not so easily found, belongs to me, Bessarion, Cardinal of Tusculum').¹²² Bessarion's statement actually fits with the rarity of some of the texts kept in Marc. gr. Z. 531, such as the extract *De cometis* by Iohannes Lydos or the *Aenigmata* of Eustathios Makrembolites. But the most interesting fact is that most of the texts transcribed by Xanthopulos in Marc. gr. Z. 531 are copies taken from two manuscripts owned by Andronikos: the Vat. gr. 1314 and the Oxon. d'Orville 115.¹²³ I summarize the data in the synoptic table below (Table 2.1).

¹²² We shall remember that this title generally represents a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Marciani graeci; this applies from 1449 to 1463, when Bessarion began to sign himself as 'Latin Patriarch of Constantinople'.

¹²³ For Cornutus' *De natura deorum* see Krafft 1975, 166–170, 252–253, 282–283, 316, where the Vaticanus (*siglum* C) is recognized as the antigraph of the Marcianus (*siglum* Y). With regard to the *Aenigmata* of Eustathios Makrembolites, Treu 1893, 19–20 had already intuited the dependence of the Marcianus (*siglum* b) on the Vaticanus (*siglum* B). For the short extract *De cometis* by Iohannes Lydos and the *Commentarium* by Eustathios — excluded in the researchs by Diller 1975 — I carried out some sample collations, which corroborated this statement. The identification of Xanthopulos is found in Harlfinger 1974, no. 25 (thus correcting Krafft's attribution to Demetrios Triboles). A description of the Marcianus is in Mioni 1985a, 418–420.

Table 2.1: Kallistos and Xanthopulos: The antigraphs of Marc. gr. Z. 531.

Manuscripts owned by Kallistos	Contents	Marc. gr. Z. 531 owned by Bessarion
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 191r–209v)	Cornutus <i>De natura deorum</i>	fols 107r–123r
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 209v–213r)	<Iohannes Lydos> <i>De cometis</i>	fols 123r–125r
Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 29v–32r)	Eustathios Makrembolites <i>Aenigmata</i>	fols 125v–128r
Oxon. d'Orville 115	Eustathios of Thessaloniki <i>Comm. in Dion. Perieg.</i>	fols 132r–215r

Hence, it is evident that at some time Kallistos made his books available for Xanthopulos to produce copies on behalf of Bessarion. In view of the fact that there seems to have been no contact in the preceding years between Xanthopulos and Kallistos (we shall consider that at the time of Andronikos' arrival in Bologna in 1453, Demetrios had already moved to Rome), the hypothesis emerges that a connection was established at the time of the stay of both Byzantine fellows in Ferrara in approximately the summer of 1459. A first confirmation comes from a new inspection of the watermarks of the Marcianus, which had been previously examined by Mioni: these are a drawing *Lettre N* (similar to the type Briquet 8442, thus pointing to a dating in the first quarter of the century) and, above all, a drawing *Basilic* very close to the aforementioned type Briquet 2669 (c. 1459), located between Mantua and Ferrara.¹²⁴

This reconstruction is further supported by a number of historical events and chronological coincidences associated with the life and movements of Bessarion himself.¹²⁵ As seen in the previous chapter, in his autograph letter Andronikos announced to Palla Strozzi on 28 April 1459 that, before moving to Padua, he would have waited for Bessarion's arrival in Bologna; the Cardinal was in fact travelling together with pope Pius II along the road to Mantua, where the Diet would have been held shortly thereafter. The solemn entry of the Pope and Bessarion in Bologna took place about ten days later, on 9 May, and their stay would

¹²⁴ See Mioni 1985a, 419–420, where a close relationship of this *Basilic* to the type Briquet 2665 (c. 1427) had been reported — by mistake I guess.

¹²⁵ In this respect, the *Vita* edited by Marino Zorzi (in Accendere and Privitera 2014, 39–57) can be useful consulted.

last until 16 May.¹²⁶ The next stop of Bessarion's journey was Ferrara, an obligatory waypoint for anyone who wanted to proceed from Bologna to Mantua (turning west) or Padua (turning east). A letter from Bessarion is preserved, sent from Ferrara four days later (i.e., on 20 May) to friar Iacopo de Marchia about the crusade that was to be organized against the Turks.¹²⁷ On 1 June, after his arrival in Mantua, Pius II inaugurated the congress; however, the council sessions would not start before 26 September, after the arrival of Francesco Sforza and the Venetian delegates. During the nearly four months of waiting in Mantua, Bessarion was engaged in the attempt to enrich his collection of Greek manuscripts: we know of a letter from 24 June sent from Mantua by the Cardinal to Nardo Palmieri, nephew of Giovanni Aurispa. The main topic of the letter is the Cardinal's wish to acquire some of the Greek books inherited by Palmieri from the beloved Aurispa, who had died a few weeks earlier.¹²⁸

In such a context, it therefore does not seem far-fetched to imagine that Bessarion — while attending the conciliar sessions or even before their official beginning — arranged with Kallistos, acting at that time between Padua and Ferrara, the copying of the rare texts which are now preserved in Marc. gr. Z. 531. The material executor of the transcription was to be Xanthopulos, who had already worked in the past as a scribe for Bessarion and — as shown above — was also residing in Ferrara in that period.

2.2.2 Copying and supervising copying activity at Palla's house: The origin of Marc. gr. Z. 611 and Barb. gr. 163

The Marcianus gr. 611,¹²⁹ containing Homer's *Odyssey*, has been investigated by Filippomaria Pontani and Martha Chinellato, who studied the *hypotheses* compiled by the Kallistos.¹³⁰ The manuscript — which belonged in the modern age to the Venetian poet Giovanni Battista Recanati (1687–1735) — consists of two codicological units distinct but almost coeval¹³¹ and proves to be, for the first part, in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos (fols 1–45: Plut., *De vita et poesi Homeri*) and, for the second, in Kallistos' (fols 46–244: *Odyssey*). I believe it is quite unlikely that

¹²⁶ Perosa 1953, 4.

¹²⁷ Mohler 1942, 490–493 (epist. no. 39).

¹²⁸ Mohler 1942, 493–494 (epist. no. 40).

¹²⁹ See for a description Mioni 1985a, 537–538 and *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 59).

¹³⁰ See Pontani 2011, 371–386, in part. 380–381, and Chinellato 2018.

¹³¹ See Pontani 2011, 380.

this codex was part of Andronikos' library, since he already had a copy of the *Odyssey* in 'his' Mutin. α P.5.19, maybe made in Padua between 1459 and 1462, in collaboration with Demetrios Xanthopoulos and, again, the calligrapher Iohannes Rhosos.¹³² The palaeographic and codicological analysis point to a same dating also in the case of Marc. gr. Z. 611; a clear indication of this is the presence of the watermark *Flèches* similar to Briquet 6271 (Venice, c. 1462) and to the type no. 11 by Harlfinger (1464), this drawing being found in Kallistos' autographs located in Padua at the time of his stay with Palla Strozzi.¹³³ A partial collation of the text could further strengthen the bond between the two codices, which Allen — albeit without recognizing the identity of the copyists — had already gathered in the same family.¹³⁴

I owe to David Speranzi the reporting of so far undiscovered Andronikos' notes to the text of Ptolemy's *Geographia* preserved in <Vat. Barb. gr. 163> (see e.g. fols 5r, 8rv, 9v).¹³⁵ This codex is entirely in the hand of Iohannes Skutariotes,¹³⁶ who worked for Palla in the late 1450s and the early 1460s. Considering the outward appearance of the codex, the material used for its production (parchment), and the type of interventions applied by Kallistos, its belonging to his own collection can be excluded with absolute certainty. It looks very much like a work carried out on commission, but we do not unfortunately know for whom this book was made. We can assume that the operation took place in Palla's milieu, not only due to biographical data on the copyists, but also according to the indications coming from textual criticism studies. The Barberinianus had already been identified as a copy of one of Palla's famous books, that is, Urb. gr. 82.¹³⁷ There are a few slight corrections in the hand of Kallistos, which are the result of a revision of the text. On fol. 5r one finds, for instance, the addition of the term μοίρας before ἀπέχοντες (12,15 Müller) which had been omitted by Skutariotes. The same happens on fol. 9v where the words ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ (21,24 Müller), which are missing also in some other witnesses to the text, were reinstated by Kallistos. The different roles played by simple copyists, such as Iohannes, and those of copyist-

¹³² See for the location in Padua as discussed *infra*, in this chapter. Also for this codex, refer to Pontani 2011, 381–383.

¹³³ See what is said *supra* and *infra* with regard to Ambr. I 56 sup., Par. gr. 2069, Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit I), and Mutin α U.9.3 (unit I).

¹³⁴ Both the Mutin. α P.5.19 (*siglum* Mo) and the Marc. gr. Z. 611 (*siglum* U4) indeed belong to family *d*; see Allen 1910, 8, 13, 17, 26–27.

¹³⁵ The codex is available for consultation on line at <<http://digi.vatlib.it/>>.

¹³⁶ Identification in *RGK* III 302.

¹³⁷ See Cuntz 1923, 31.

philologists, such as Andronikos, can be clearly seen here, Skutariotes being in charge of the transcription, whereas Kallistos is responsible for revising the text.

2.2.3 The interaction with Hesaïas of Cyprus and his book collection (1457–1462)

The first codicological unit of Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fols 1–56 and 58–59, in the hand of Kallistos), which contains the text of the *Harmonica* by Manuel Bryennios, can be dated to the years 1458–1462. A tentative *terminus post quem* is 25 March 1457, when a large part of the codex Vind. Phil. gr. 64, commissioned and owned by the monk Hesaïas of Cyprus,¹³⁸ was completed; indeed, the Vindobonensis has recently been identified as the model of the Mutinensis copied by Andronikos.¹³⁹ A *terminus ante quem* for the latter is instead 27 May 1462, the date on which the bull was issued that decreed the subsidization on the island of Crete of twelve Uniate priests, the first on the list being Hesaïas himself.¹⁴⁰ This data should be interpreted with caution, since we are informed of his return to Italy (namely, to Venice) one year later,¹⁴¹ at a time when Kallistos had already moved from Padua to Bologna. The presence in Mutin. α V.7.1 of some corrections and marginal annotations by <Iohannes Rhosos>¹⁴² may provide further indications. These interventions reveal, first of all, a different picture of the activity of this copyist, who, unusually, is engaged on this occasion in the role of reviser.¹⁴³ Bearing in mind (1) that Rhosos' activity in Veneto is well documented from March 1458 onwards¹⁴⁴ and (2) that he also appears in the above-mentioned list of 12 priests who were ordained in Crete, we might propose a dating within the years 1458–1462.

¹³⁸ See Speranzi 2018, 197–200 (with previous references).

¹³⁹ See Weddigen 2020, 394–395 (I hereby warmly thank Anne for providing me with this data before the publication of her PhD thesis). A close relationship between the Vindobonensis and the Mutinensis had previously been noticed in Jonker 1970, 44–46. We shall observe that Vind. Phil. gr. 64 already proved to be the antigraph of another manuscript copied by Kallistos: Vat. gr. 257 (Arist. *Metaphysics*); see Sicherl 1997, 109.

¹⁴⁰ See Saffrey 1979.

¹⁴¹ See Speranzi 2018, 196–200 and Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, 123–125.

¹⁴² See fols 13r, 16v, 26v, 39v, 43r, 49r, 52r and the decoration on fol. 43r.

¹⁴³ The same work was carried out by <Rhosos> in the table of contents (fols 2r–3r) of Par. gr. 3011, a manuscript which likewise belonged to Andronikos' collection; see *infra*, § 3.2, 3.5.2 and 5.2.1.

¹⁴⁴ See the colophon of Vat. Ott. gr. 22, made for Palla Strozzi by 20 March 1458.

We now turn to a codex in which marginal notes of Andronikos have already been identified and which may have likewise belonged to Hesaias: it is the Aristophanes Vat. Borg. gr. 12. In the *repertoria* a single annotation by the hand of Kallistos is mentioned with regard to fol. 10v; one should add to this another intervention on <fol. 11r>. ¹⁴⁵ But it is in the hand of <Hesaias> that many annotations appear with regularity throughout the codex (see an example in Fig. 2.24), leading to the conclusion that he was also the owner of the book. ¹⁴⁶

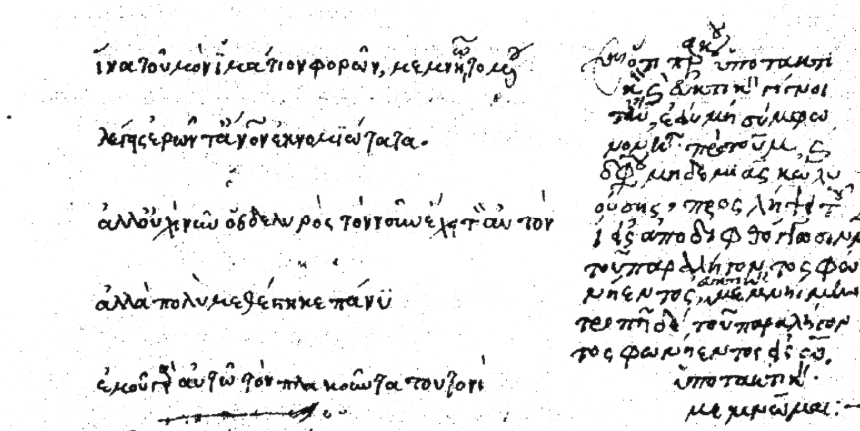


Fig. 2.24: Borg. gr. 12, fol. 42r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

¹⁴⁵ In the lower margin of fol. 10v, with regard to the form εἰσιθ' of *Plutus* 231, Hesaias initially wrote: ἰω.ἰέω.ἰημι.εἴω. Kallistos added on his own: ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴω ἀχρήστου ὁ παρακείμενος εἴα καὶ διαλύσει εἴα. καὶ τροπή τοῦ εἰς ἐῖα, μένοντος καὶ τοῦ ἰ προσγεγραμμένου. ὁ ὑπερσυντέλικος ἦειν ἄχρηστος, ἦεις, ἦει καὶ μετὰ τῶν προθέσεων παρήειν ἀντὶ τοῦ παρήλθον, εἰσῆειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσῆλθον, περίηειν ἀντὶ τοῦ περιῆλθον. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰημι ἀχρήστου ἰέναι ἀπαρέμφατον εὐχρηστον, ἵεμαι δὲ ἐπὶ παθητικοῦ ἐνεργητικὴν σημασίαν ἔχον. Similar indications are found in Pseudo-Zonaras (s.v. ἀπήμην 257, 4 T: ἀπήμην. ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴω, τὸ πορεύομαι, ὁ μέσος παρακείμενος εἴα, καὶ τροπή τοῦ εἰς ἐῖα, τὸ πληθυντικὸν ἦαμεν καὶ κατὰ συγκοπὴν ἦμεν. οἶον· προῆμεν τῇ βουλή); see also Chantry 1996, 66. At fol. 11r, with regard to the form τύχω (vv. 237 and 242), Kallistos commented: τυγχάνω. εἰ μὲν σημαίνει τὸ εἰμί, μέλλοντα εὐχρηστον οὐκ ἔχει, ὃ γε μὴν δεῦτερος ἀόριστος ἔτυχον εὐχρηστος καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου, καὶ παρακείμενος τετύχηκα εὐχρηστος καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου. εἰ δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἀπολαμβάνω, τότε καὶ μέλλοντα ἔχει εὐχρηστον τεύξομαι.

¹⁴⁶ I recently found the hand of <Hesaias> in other manuscripts. Marginal annotations are in Laur. 69.15, Par. gr. 1859, and Neap. III.B.9. Fols 329r–331v of Par. gr. 1295 are entirely in his hand and transmit his autograph (!) pamphlet *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (= PG 158, cols 971–976), a work connected with Nikolaos Sklengias' longer treatise dealing with the same subject.

2.2.4 The genesis of Par. gr. 2038 (unit I) and that of its offsprings

For this period we shall mention the first unit of Par. gr. 2038. This codex containing Aristotle's works is entirely in the hand of Andronikos. It is a very well known manuscript, since it has long been acknowledged as the model of the Aldine edition. With regard to the text of the *Poetics* handed down in the final part of the volume (fols 109v–130r), a vehement debate has been going on for decades concerning the origin of some peculiar readings, which have often been particularly appreciated by the editors. They hold two positions: some believe that these readings stem from an ancient (and now lost) witness, whereas others contend that they are the result of Kallistos' own conjectural activity. This issue will be discussed more in detail at a later time.¹⁴⁷ Be that as it may, we approach here the examination of the first part of the volume.

The codicological status of Par. gr. 2038 should be emphasized once and for all as a non-homogeneous composite manuscript. It consists of two parts: the first one pertains to fols 1–112, in which the three books of the *Rhetorica* (1r–75r) and the pseudo-Aristotelian work *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (76r–109v) have been transcribed; the watermark appearing in these quires is a drawing *Monts* without a specific counterpoint in the repertoires. At a later time, Kallistos began transcribing on the remaining blank folios (109–112) of the original last *quaternio* the text of the *Poetics*; he then added two more quires (= fols 113–130, namely 18 folios organized into a *quaternio* and a *quinio*) that were necessary to complete the copy. The traces of this chronological discontinuity are evident: from a palaeographic point of view it is clear that the writing of the text copied from the middle of fol. 109v onwards significantly differs from that of all the preceding quires (see Plates 11–12); moreover, as far as the material analysis of the watermarks is concerned, the 'new' quires bear a drawing *Huchet* very similar to type 25 Harlfinger (Rome, 1471).

Within the first codicological unit, to which Iohannes Rhosos himself contributed with illuminations, titles, and initials in red ink,¹⁴⁸ the text of the *Rhetorica* (fols 1r–75r) was copied by Kallistos from Cantabr. Ff.V.8;¹⁴⁹ this is a book that was to end up in the collection of Antonio Seripando through the legacy of Aulo

¹⁴⁷ See *infra*, § 5.4.2.

¹⁴⁸ Identification in Gamillscheg 1978, 234 n. 32. Hereby a detailed description of Rhosos' contribution to the manuscript: fol. 1r (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 17r (initial); fol. 27v (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 55r (initial + title + book-number identifier); fol. 76r (initial + illumination); fol. 77v (initial).

¹⁴⁹ Kassel 1971, 32–36. A description in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 103–104 (this has now been put online, with additions and corrections, at <<https://cagb-digital.de/handschriften>>).

Giano Parrasio and that shows marginal annotations in the hand of Demetrios Chalkondyles.¹⁵⁰ Judging by the history and the series of owners of the Cantabrigensis, it is possible that this book originally belonged to Theodoros Gazes: this would explain its presence in Rome at a later time (between the end of the 1460s and the beginning of the 1470s), when it was at the disposal of Iohannes Rhosos for the copying of the Laur. 31.14.¹⁵¹ Likewise, the text of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (fols 76r–109v of Par. gr. 2038) descends from Neap. II.E.2,¹⁵² which was to belong to Seripando (through Parrasio) and in which annotations in the hand of Chalkondyles have been identified.¹⁵³ This book may have belonged, at least theoretically, to Gazes.¹⁵⁴

The dating and the whereabouts of the first unit of Par. gr. 2038 remain, on several levels, problematic. A dating by the end of the 1450s seems very likely for several reasons, primarily of textual nature. For the text of *Rhet. ad Alex.* the Paris manuscript is supposed to be the model of that copied by the monk Gregorios in fols 65r–110r of Marc. gr. Z. 215:¹⁵⁵ as these leaves are found within a codicological unit that features the collaboration between Gregorios and Demetrios Triboles, their genesis has recently been referred to the early 1460s.¹⁵⁶ A further (compelling and at the same time thorny) *terminus ante quem* might be given by Marc. gr. Z. 200, the famous volume collecting Aristotle's *opera omnia* which was completed in Rome by Iohannes Rhosos for Bessarion in July 1457: for the text of the *Rhetorica* the Marcianus is said to bear traces of contamination deriving indirectly from Par. gr. 2038.¹⁵⁷ However, at least two issues should be highlighted, which make this chronological indication unreliable for the time being: 1. the contribution of the readings of Parisinus to the *constitutio textus* of Marc. gr. Z. 200 has not been fully clarified;¹⁵⁸ 2. there are no indications that Andronikos was

150 Identification in *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 103.

151 The 'Roman' origin of this Laurentianus is also confirmed by the presence of the watermark *Arbalète Briquet* 746 = 21 Harlfinger (Rome 1471); on this drawing see more *infra*, § 2.3.1.

152 Chiron 2000, 30–31, 66.

153 Identification in Rollo 2020a, 205–206 n. 1.

154 I hereby present a new discovery of the Greek writing of Gazes in a manuscript which may have belonged to him. It is the *pinax* on <fol. 215r> of Par. gr. 1984 (Stobaeus); on the manuscript see Speranzi 2010c and Bianchi 2022.

155 Chiron 2000, 28, 66.

156 Speranzi 2017, 169–174, 195–197.

157 Kassel 1971, 45–51.

158 For the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, this has been discussed, but not confirmed by Chiron 2000, 28, 66.

in Rome in the years 1455–1457 (recent findings have shown instead that in that lapse of time Kallistos was elsewhere).¹⁵⁹

For the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, two manuscripts showing similarities to each other proved to be apographs of Andronikos' Par. gr. 2038. Both in Lond. Harley 6322 (fols 267r–304v, within the second codicological unit [= fols 75–304]) and in Urb. gr. 47 (fols 1r–34v, within the first unit [fols 1–36]), the copyist of the text of *Rhet. ad Alex.* is the Cretan Michael Lygizos.¹⁶⁰ In addition, in the London manuscript (a homogeneous composite), the first unit is in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos, who is also responsible for the illuminations in the first unit of Urb. gr. 47. As for Rhosos, thanks to the numerous subscriptions he made on the manuscripts copied by him, we can trace his movements and follow most of his career as a scribe; we know therefore that he resided continuously (with the exception of the years 1462–1464) in Italy and that he was active between the end of the sixth and the first half of the seventh decade of the century in Padua and Bologna, where Andronikos also resided. What we know about the biography of Lygizos, however, would seem to complicate the picture; in fact, we know that his activity mostly took place on the island of Crete,¹⁶¹ and a movement of Andronikos or his manuscript to Crete in the late 1450s or early 1460s is not conceivable.

To eliminate any remaining doubts, there are other findings of a codicological and textual nature. In the second codicological unit of the Harleianus a watermark *Couronne* has been found,¹⁶² which is similar to the type Briquet 4879 (Ferrara, 1458) and, above all, which matches that of the coeval aforementioned manuscripts in the hand of Andronikos made in Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara. In addition, the London manuscript has long been acknowledged for the writings of Demosthenes and Aeschines (transcribed along with Aristotle's works in the same codicological unit) as a direct copy of Par. gr. 2998,¹⁶³ which is another book owned by Andronikos.¹⁶⁴ This is confirmed also by the presence in Par. gr. 2998 of some marginal annotations (see e.g. fols 118v–119r, 133r, 136r) to be ascribed to the hand of <Michael Lygizos>. A picture emerges therefore whereby it is possible to hypothesize the presence of Lygizos in Italy between the last years of the 1450s and the first half of the 1460s and his activity (carried out together with Rhosos).¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

¹⁶⁰ Chiron 2000, 25, 33, 66

¹⁶¹ *RGK* I 282 = II 386 = III 465; *PLP* 15194.

¹⁶² *Aristoteles Graecus* 1976, 437–441.

¹⁶³ The derivation had already been shown by Drerup 1902, 297. See Mondrain 2014, 205–206.

¹⁶⁴ Identification in Orlandi 2014b, 165, 186–187, plate XV; see more *supra*, § 2.2.1.

¹⁶⁵ It is significant in this regard that on fol. 305r of the Harleianus a Greek-Latin glossary has been transcribed from a Western hand; and this glossary refers to the works contained in the

2.2.5 Tracing the sources: The fate of three books of Isaak Argyros in the fifteenth century

According to an insight by Ernst Gamillscheg,¹⁶⁶ later embodied in important studies by Andrea Tessier,¹⁶⁷ two manuscripts in particular should be referred to for the activity of Andronikos as a teacher: it is Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22. They are well known to scholars thanks to the studies of Alexander Turyn, Ole Langwitz Smith and those who have dealt with the transmission of ancient exegetical knowledge.¹⁶⁸ These books are common in that they represent *recueils* containing exclusively scholastic material on the text of the three tragedians as well as to Aristophanes', Theocritus', Homer's, Plato's, and Pindar's.

As Filippomaria Pontani has conveniently remarked,¹⁶⁹ different sets of scholia refer to different codicological units. In this regard, the codicological analysis undertaken here in combination with the results of textual criticism studies has already shown that some of these units are, for instance, older than others. For the first section of the scholia to the *Odyssey* as transcribed in Mutin. α U.9.22 (fols 113r–157r lin. 21), the possibility of its making at a time before Andronikos' arrival in Italy has been mentioned;¹⁷⁰ and the same may apply to the Platonic and Pindaric units of Mutin. α Q.5.20. However, the units containing scholia to the tragedians, as well as to Aristophanes and Theocritus, were definitely arranged in Italy; they all feature the watermark *Couronne* discussed in the previous pages.

Textual criticism studies have made it possible to trace the potential anti-graphs from which Kallistos derived these valuable scholia. As far as metrical scholia to Euripides are concerned, the only other manuscript transmitting materials resembling those found in Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit I) is the Parmensis 154. Be-

volume, namely Demosthenes' *De corona*. The Greek words are extracted in order of occurrence, without any alphabetical sorting. It is a common practice found also elsewhere; see Rollo 2011, 198–199. It is not surprising that Kallistos, who stood as an interpreter to Demosthenes' speeches and was at that time engaged as a teacher of Greek language, made one of his books available for further copying. Finally, I point out that the handwriting of this anonymous Western pupil, who was probably the owner of the book (see the annotation in his hand throughout the codex, e.g. at fol. 1v), bears similarities with that of Demetrios Kastrenos.

166 Gamillscheg 1978, 242.

167 See first Tessier 2000, 351–360 and more insights Tessier 2015b, 172–181; see also the critical edition by Tessier 2015a.

168 For bibliographical references to both Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22 see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entries nos 17 and 25).

169 Pontani 2011, 371–372.

170 See *supra*, § 2.1.1.1.

cause of some minor differences in the organisation of the materials, the Parmensis has been considered by some scholars as a twin of the Mutinensis;¹⁷¹ however, there are those, like Tessier,¹⁷² who believe that the Mutinensis is actually a copy of the Parmensis and that these differences can be explained as a personal adaptation by Kallistos. In the case of the *Prolegomena* to the Comedians and the metrical scholia to Aristophanes, the research of W. J. W. Koster¹⁷³ clarified the direct dependence of the Mutinensis (units II–III) on Par. g. 2821. Although it is not directly related to the debate on manuscripts only provided with scholia (‘manoscritti “a soli scoli”’, in the words of Tessier), we may here lastly remember that the text of Theocritus’ *Idyllia* handed down from Par. gr. 2758 represents the basis of the so-called *recensio Parisina*, from which in turn descends a group of manuscripts (the so-called *genus Vallianum*) somehow linked to Kallistos.¹⁷⁴

The reason for mentioning Par. gr. 2758 is explained by the fact that a special link exists between these three manuscripts, the Parm. 154, Par. gr. 2821, and Par. gr. 2758. In fact, they are *disiecta membra* of a codex that was once unitary. This is the well known collection of poetic texts that was once the property of the Byzantine scholar Isaak Argyros, who copied almost all of the texts contained in these three volumes.¹⁷⁵ From a cultural-historical point of view, the reciprocal relationship of these three manuscripts indirectly provides further evidence supporting the derivation of the texts we have been discussing from the antigraphs already identified in textual criticism studies. In other words, this enhances the plausibility that it is exactly these three pieces (and not any of their apographs or siblings) to which Andronikos had access. Given that it does not seem reasonable that Andronikos viewed the materials included in these three different manuscripts through different routes, we shall infer that Kallistos had access to these volumes when the three pieces were still together. One asks at this point how,

171 This is the opinion of Schartau 1981, 238–239 and Günther 1995, 133 ff.

172 See Tessier 2015a, XIII–XIV n. 5.

173 See Koster 1974, LXI–LXII and Koster 1975, XXXIV–XXXVI. With regard to the rearranged text of the *Prolegomena* already attributed to the so-called *Anonymus Crameri*, Koster went so far as to say: ‘Quaerenti, quisnam fuerit Anonymus Crameri, respondere possum eum illum esse, qui codicis praestantissimi utriusque partis huius opusculi [...], sc. Estensis α U.9.22 [...], scriba fuit’ (page XXXIV). In other words, Koster attributed to Andronikos — though without naming him explicitly — the responsibility for the reworking of Tzetzes’ materials. Something similar can be observed in the case of the so-called *Anecdoton Estense* for which see Orlandi 2014a, 170–171.

174 See Gallavotti 1993, 334–336. We will examine this topic in more detail in a specific section of the work; see *infra*, § 5.3.1.

175 For Argyros and his intellectual activity, I refer to the monograph by Gioffreda 2020, where all of the previous bibliography is found. A detailed description of the three manuscripts is found therein at pages 199–210.

where, and when Kallistos might have had access to the texts from Argyros' collection (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Argyros' and Kallistos' collections: models and copies.

Manuscripts of Isaak Argyros	Contents	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos
Parmensis 154	<i>scholia</i> to Euripides	Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit I)
Par. gr. 2821	<i>Prolegomena de comoedia</i> <i>scholia metrica</i> to Aristophanes	Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit II) Mutin. α U.9.22 (unit III)
Par. gr. 2758	Theocritus	< <i>Theocriti codex deperditus</i> >

Of the fifteenth-century history of Argyros' manuscript we know nothing, except that Parm. 154 + Par. gr. 2821 + Par. gr. 2758 ended up in the hands of Niccolò Michelozzi (1444–1526), Lorenzo de' Medici's secretary.¹⁷⁶ The presence of Michelozzi's *ex libris* instantly establishes a link between the manuscript and Florence, something that could also match what we know of Andronikos' biographical vicissitudes. The connection of the manuscripts with the city of Florence is strengthened if we further consider that on the leaves of two out of the three present parts traces of a hand similar to that of Demetrios Chalkondyles, hitherto unnoticed, can be found.¹⁷⁷ This identification helps us on the one hand in chronologically defining the presence of the manuscript in Renaissance Italy, but — more importantly — it offers us a further point of connection between the manuscript itself and Kallistos. Demetrios and Andronikos kept in touch during the years of their stay in Italy and the one would have succeeded the other in the 1470s to the chair of lecturer in Florence.

¹⁷⁶ For a biographical account, see Viti 2010.

¹⁷⁷ In the case of Par. gr. 2821 see the annotations at fols 13r, 35v, 39v, 74v, 79r, 86r. Within Par. gr. 2758, in this hand similar to Chalkondyles' are at least the *marginalia* at fols 46v, 68r, whereas I have not found any in the Parmensis. For the transfer of books which passed through the hands of Chalkondyles himself and the brothers Niccolò and Bernardo Michelozzi, see most recently Orlandi 2021b, 183–185 (with further bibliography). We shall hereby add a further element of connection between Chalkondyles and Michelozzi. In a book owned by Niccolò, i.e. Par. gr. 2683, I found some notes (see e.g. fol. 70r) applied in the margins by an anonymous hand which has already been linked to the *Umkreis* of Chalkondyles: it is the copyist identified by David Speranzi in the second codicological unit of Laur. 74.12 (= fols 45r–62v) and in Ambr. Trotti 182; see Speranzi 2011, 118. As far as annotations in different hands are concerned, see e.g. fols 119v, 129r, 167v, 220v.

Strictly speaking, one can now envisage two possibilities: 1. Kallistos himself may have been in possession of the manuscript for a long time and made use of it over the years, before leaving it in Florence on his departure; 2. Chalkondyles himself or one of his pupils may have been the owner of the manuscript and made it available to Andronikos (around the years 1457–1466, as indicated by the *Couronne* watermark found in Kallistos' copies) to enable him to draw useful teaching materials from it. Whatever the case may be, Argyros' manuscript was in Florence between 1471 and 1483, when Angelo Poliziano — who, one must remember, was first a pupil of Kallistos and then of Chalkondyles — used it to copy the scholia to the Euripides' Byzantine triad in his famous notebook Par. gr. 3069.¹⁷⁸

2.2.6 Laying out materials for teaching and studying

The *mise en page* of five manuscripts, which are all copied on paper watermarked *Couronne*, can be traced back for several reasons to Kallistos' scholarly activity in these years. They present recurring features, to which it is important to turn our attention here. In addition to the fact that the same paper has been used for their production, these manuscripts display a 29-lines Leroy-Sautel 20D1 ruling scheme; of these 29 lines, however, only 15 are alternatively employed for writing the main text. The aim is to create in this way a suitable space for the addition of interlinear annotations, glosses, and commentary notes. If one considers the teaching activity constantly undertaken by Andronikos during these years, it is likely that manuscripts of this kind originated from within a school environment. Some of these books were copied by Kallistos for himself and were part of his private collection until they were sold: they are the Mutin. α T.9.2 (unit V) (Soph., *Antigone*) (see Plate 13), the Laur. Ashb. 1144 (Pindar, Lycophron) (Fig. 2.25) and the Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II) (Musaeus) (Fig. 2.26).

¹⁷⁸ For bibliographical references about the scholia see Pontani 2011, 373 n. 867, 395–402. For the Par. gr. 3069 refer to Silvano 2010 and Daneloni 2011.

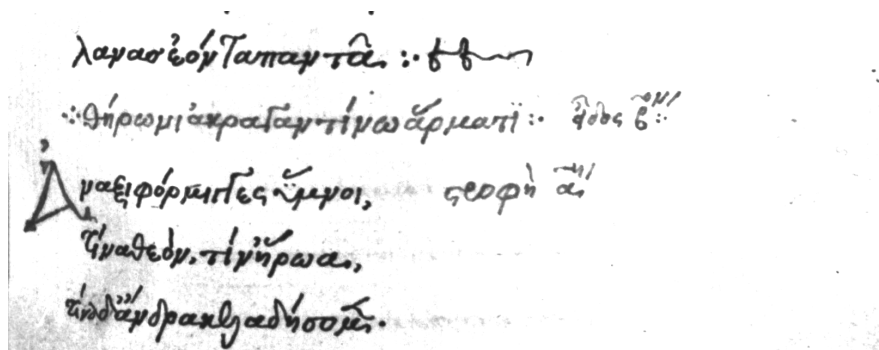


Fig. 2.25: Laur. Ashb. 1144, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

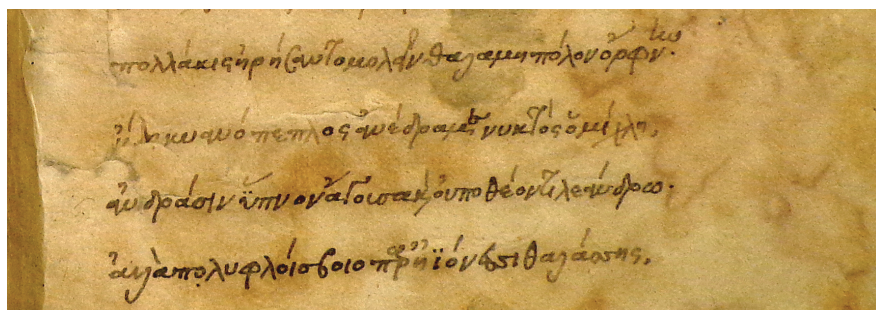


Fig. 2.26: Mutin. α Q.5.21, fol. 68r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

Other samples, which never belonged to the collection of Kallistos, may have been copies produced by the master for his students: these are Ott. gr. 355 (unit I) (Aristophanes, *Plutus*) and, above all, Ambr. P. 84 sup. (Theocritus, *Idyllia*) (see Figs 2.27–2.28), of which we will have the opportunity to speak in more detail elsewhere.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ See *infra*, § 5.3.1.

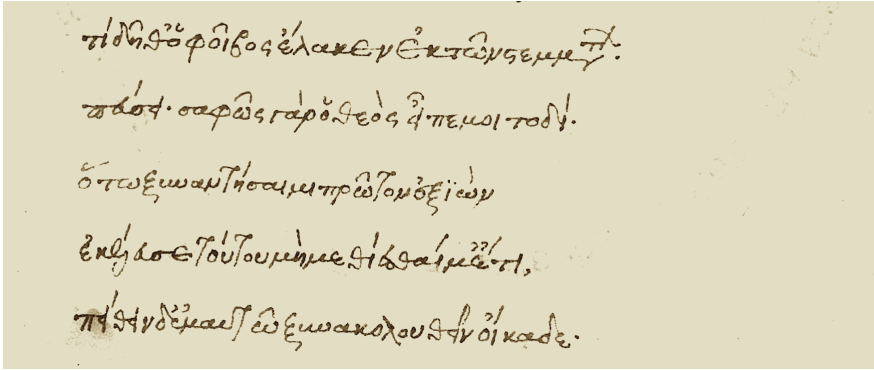


Fig. 2.27: Ott. gr. 355, fol. 2r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

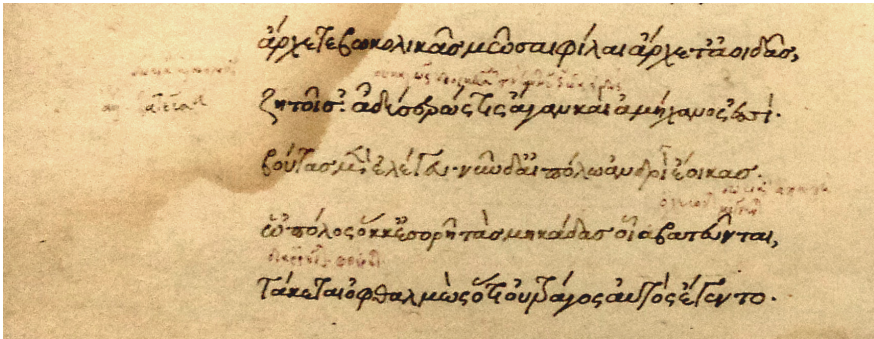


Fig. 2.28: Ambr. P. 84 sup., fol. 3v; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

While waiting for a further analysis, we can give a list of books copied between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua, which refer to this decade (1456–1466):

- Comensis 1.3.19
- Laur. Ashb. 1144
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 (units I + restoration of unit III)
- Ambr. H 52 sup. (unit I)
- Ambr. I 56 sup. (with the exception of fols 242–II')
- Ambr. P 84 sup.
- Mutin. α P.5.19
- Mutin. α P.6.13 (unit II)

Mutin. α Q.5.20 (units I –III, V–VI)
 Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II)
 Mutin. α T.9.1
 Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68–98, 132–177)
 Mutin. α T.9.14 (restoration)
 Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 1–201)
 Mutin. α V.7.1 (fols 1–56, 58–59)
 Par. gr. 2038 (unit I)
 Par. gr. 2046 (fols 126–131)
 Par. gr. 2069
 Par. gr. 3011 (restoration)
 Salm. 230 (red titles)
 Ott. gr. 355 (unit I)
 Marc. gr. Z. 611 (unit II).

2.3 Working as a scribe, acting as a scholar: Rome and Florence (1466–1474)

2.3.1 In Rome at Bessarion's house (1466–1471)

It is possible to identify a group of manuscripts which have been copied with certainty in Rome, as Andronikos transcribed for Bessarion classical and medieval Greek texts in the years 1466–1471; this activity, which he undertook together with other scribes of Bessarion's milieu (like Georgios Alexandros Chomatas, Georgios Tzangaropoulos and Iohannes Plusiadenos), was part of the Cardinal's effort to avoid their loss after Constantinople's fall.

Marc. gr. Z. 198 is likely not to have been realised before 1466, i.e. at the time of Kallistos' settlement in Rome at Bessarion's house. The name of the Cardinal within the *ex libris* is followed by the title of 'Latin patriarch of Constantinople' (= *post* 1463).¹⁸⁰ Kallistos was appointed with the task of writing down the final copy of Bessarion's own philosophical works: *In calumniatorem Platonis* (namely the third edition of the Greek text in four books),¹⁸¹ *Correctio interpretationis Georgii Trapezuntii in libros Platonis de legibus* and *De natura et arte*.¹⁸² Consider

¹⁸⁰ See Mioni 1981, 310.

¹⁸¹ The work is edited in Mohler 1927.

¹⁸² The work has recently been republished in Mariev, Marchetto and Luchner 2015.

that Andronikos had already corrected an earlier version of the text copied down by Bessarion himself in the manuscript Scor. Σ.III.1.¹⁸³

One traces back to the same period the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 238 (Michael of Ephesos' commentary on *Parva naturalia* and on Aristotle's treatises on animals)¹⁸⁴ (see Plate 14): fols 62r–124r are in Andronikos' hand,¹⁸⁵ in this case testifying a collaboration with Georgios Alexandros Chomatias (fols 2r–61v)¹⁸⁶ and the so-called *Anonymus Δ-T* Harlfinger (fols 124v–227v).¹⁸⁷ A chronological indication for the making of this manuscript is found in the codex itself. For in *ex libris* at fol. 1v Bessarion's name is accompanied by the title *episcopus Sabinorum*, which, as said, he obtained in October 1468.

While analysing the manuscripts of Bessarion's library now kept at the Marciana, I found another trace of Kallistos' study activity in Rome, gone unnoticed so far. In the Marc. gr. Z. 226, a very ancient parchment codex containing Simplicius' commentary on *Physics*,¹⁸⁸ a single marginal annotation at <fol. 290v> — as can be seen in the *specimen* (Plate 15) — is without doubt in his own hand. This

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

184 See Mioni 1981. Some partial collations which I carried out on Michael of Ephesos' text confirmed the proximity between the text of Marc. gr. Z. 238 and that of Marc. gr. Z. 237 (last quarter of thirteenth century), which was already hypothesized more than a century ago by Wendland 1903, IX. It is noticeable, however, that the text of Marc. gr. Z. 238 bears significant similarities with that of Par. gr. 2066, a manuscript copied in the same years by Kallistos himself, whose antigraph has been not identified. It seems thus to be a case of deliberate contamination, similar to what we have seen before (see *supra*, § 2.1.3) with regard to the text of Timaeus in Marc. gr. Z. 190. This issue should be further examined in the future through more collations, in order to definitely overcome the assessment of Hayduck 1904, XIII, according to which Marc. gr. Z. 238 is a mere apograph of Marc. gr. Z. 237. Furthermore, I gathered more pieces of evidence concerning the proximity between the text of Par. gr. 2066 (Par) and that of the first printed edition by Aldo Manuzio (Ald). I attach below some significant instances: 15,11 ἐν πίνακι] ἐν τῷ πίνακι Par Ald; 15,23 καὶ ὅτι] ὅτι Par Ald; 16,7 ἐγγραφὲν] ἐγγραφεῖσαν Par Ald; 16,13 post νόημα add. μόνον Par Ald; 17,18 ἐξ αἰσθήσεως] ἐξώθεν Par Ald; 18,1 ὁρῶν om. Par Ald; 20,28 ἀναλαμβάνει] λαμβάνει Par Ald; 21,9 τοῦ ἐχομένου] τῷ ἐχομένῳ Par Ald; 21,17 δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ] ἡμᾶς αὐτὸ δύνασθαι Par Ald; 21,25 τῆς ἀναμνήσεως διὰ τούτων] διὰ τούτων τῆς ἀναμνήσεως Par Ald; 22,17 ante συμβεβηκός add. καὶ Par Ald; 22,18 δὲ] γὰρ Par Ald; 22,26 εἴ τι] εἴ γε Par Ald; 23,9 φαμέν] ἔφαμεν Par Ald.

185 Identification in Mioni 1976, 298.

186 Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 57.

187 Identification in Harlfinger 1974, no. 59. Mioni 1981, 351 mistakenly refers in this case to Iohannes Plusiadenos. In the manuscript Berol. Phillipps 1585, I found one annotation in the hand of the <*Anonymus Δ-T*> at fol. 118r: this finding helps corroborate the hypothesis of the transit of the Berolinensis from Florence to Rome postulated by Speranzi 2018, 226.

188 For a description refer to Mioni 1981, 339–340.

notabile (σημείωσαι | περὶ αὐτοκινήτου) simply points to the subject of discussion of these lines.¹⁸⁹ The presence of Andronikos' hand in this codex does not indicate at all that he was ever the owner; unlike what happened with Diodorus Marc. gr. Z. 374, it is much easier to imagine in this case that Andronikos had temporary access to a volume owned by Bessarion for mere consultation. It is worth recalling that Kallistos had already explored text of Simplicius' commentary: while living in Padua, between 1457 and 1462 he had consulted Par. gr. 1908 owned by Palla Strozzi, and he had probably extracted from this very book some of his arguments for his reply to Michael Apostoles (the *Defensio Theodori Gazae*).¹⁹⁰ It is not surprising then that he intended to consult after some time (in Rome in the second half of the 1460s, judging also from the *ductus* of the note) even this ancient witness, property of Cardinal Bessarion.

It has already been noted above that the exchange of books between Kallistos and Bessarion was mutual and that some of the manuscripts in Andronikos' collection served as models for the making of books intended to enrich Bessarion's library. During the years of Kallistos' Roman sojourn, the Marc. gr. Z. 480 was set up.¹⁹¹ This sumptuous, large-format parchment codex represents a kind of poetic collection, gathering mainly authors of the Hellenistic period (e.g. Oppian, Theocritus, Dionysius Periegetes, Nicander, Apollonius Rhodius; the exception is Hesiod). Marc. gr. Z. 480 is a clean copy, which is only apparently of little importance; in fact it represents the outcome of a philological undertaking carried out in the late 1460s at Bessarion's house from different models. For many of the aforementioned authors, the text — which is of good quality and already known to the editors — in some cases goes back to more than one model. The scribe entrusted with the task of the final transcription of the collection was Georgios Tribizias. In at least three cases the readings given in the texts that have been copied here go back to Andronikos' manuscripts: Theocritus,¹⁹² the scholia to Aratus,¹⁹³ and the

¹⁸⁹ διὸ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἄτοπον ἀπηγάγετο τὸν λόγον τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν ὃν καὶ ἄτομον τῷ εἶδει δυνάμει ἅμα καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ ἔσεσθαι καὶ οὕτω ὃν καὶ ἤδη ὃν, ὡς εἴ γε τις διηρημένην λαμβάνει τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ δυνάμει καὶ τὸ ἐνεργείᾳ, οὐκέτι ἄτοπον ἔσται τὸ τὸ αὐτὸ δυνάμει εἶναι καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ (Simpl. in *Arist. Phys.*, ed. Diels 1895, 1250,10–15).

¹⁹⁰ See *infra*, Appendix 1.

¹⁹¹ A description in Mioni 1985a, 272–276.

¹⁹² See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

¹⁹³ See Martin 1974, IX–XII.

Argonautica Orphica.¹⁹⁴ I summarize below (see Table 2.3) the data concerning Andronikos' books in a table.¹⁹⁵

Table 2.3: Bessarion's manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 480 and its models.

Manuscripts owned by Kallistos	Contents	Marc. gr. Z. 480 owned by Bessarion
< <i>Theocriti codex deperditus</i> >	Theocritus, <i>Idyllia</i>	fols 105v–128r
Mutin. α T.9.14, fols 1r–53r	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> (<i>scholia</i>)	fols 172r–197v
Mutin. α T.9.2, fols 99r–130r	<i>Argonautica Orphica</i>	fols 401r–416v

Recent studies have shown that during his stay in Rome Kallistos worked at times as a copyist not only for Bessarion, but also for other prominent personalities: among these is Nicholas of Kotor (c. 1427–1480), bishop of Modruš.¹⁹⁶ Two parchment codices, included in the library of the prelate and containing Aristotle's works, are wholly in the hand of Andronikos: Vat. gr. 249 (*Physica*) and Vat. gr. 257 (*Metaphysica*).¹⁹⁷ A copy of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar*, Vat. gr. 13, in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos and Demetrios Tribbles, was given to the bishop of Modruš.¹⁹⁸ This book had been fully annotated and revised by Kallistos. For this reason, one may suspect that this was initially his private copy, but there

¹⁹⁴ As shown by Vian 1979, 29–31, Mutin. α T.9.2 served — along with the Vat. gr. 1691 (which belonged to Bessarion) — as a model to Marc. gr. Z. 480.

¹⁹⁵ As noted in Mioni's catalogue, another important model to the Marc. gr. Z. 480 was the manuscript Marc. gr. Z. 464, a book in the hand of Demetrios Triklinios which was already included in Bessarion's library.

¹⁹⁶ For the relationship between Kallistos and the bishop, see Rollo 2006a, 366–377. Part of Nicholas' library ended up in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome and hence in the Biblioteca Angelica. The most valuable codices, however, entered the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1481. On Nicholas see Floramo 2012 and Špoljarić 2018 (with further bibliography).

¹⁹⁷ In both cases the identification of the copyist is found in Harlfinger 1971, 413.

¹⁹⁸ A recent description of the codex is in Kalatzi 2009, 304–305. It is one of the numerous copies of Gazes' *Grammatica* — all graphically and codicologically similar to each other — manufactured by Georgios Hermonymos during his 'Italian' years, between Venice and Rome, in collaboration with other copyists and scholars from Bessarion's milieu. Also by his hand is the manuscript Lond. Add. 18492 (identification in *RGK* I 61), as well as Norimb. Cent. V App. 49a, copied for Regiomontanus (identification by Dieter Harlfinger), Neap. II.D.9 (Stefec 2014, 179–180), and Ott. gr. 331 (I anticipated this identification in Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 229).

is no certainty at the moment as to whether the book belonged to the collection.¹⁹⁹ In the case of Vat. lat. 1532, a book realised for Nicholas by the scribe Giovanni da Itri, Andronikos was commissioned to add some *graeca* in the Latin text of Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, as discovered some years ago by Antonio Rollo.²⁰⁰

An analogous work was carried out by Kallistos in a witness to Suetonius' *Vitae Caesarum*: it is Vat. Chis. H.V.159. Again Rollo²⁰¹ identified the addition of the Greek passages within this book as a work accomplished by Andronikos. In this case, however, we cannot establish who commissioned the work, where it was carried out (probably in Rome, because of the similarities between the *ductus* of Chis. H.V.159 and the aforementioned Vat. lat. 1532 as well as other samples discussed so far) and why it was not completed. For the transcription of the Greek additions stops at *Tib.* 21, with the quotation from *Il.* 10,246–247.

Another manuscript of Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* extensively annotated by Kallistos is Berol. lat. fol. 850.²⁰² I recently discovered a third exemplar of the same work at the National Library of Berlin with a single intervention by <Andronikos> at *Nero* 39,2 (Ἐκατηβελέτης): it is the codex lat. fol. 199 (fol. 143v; see Fig. 2.29).

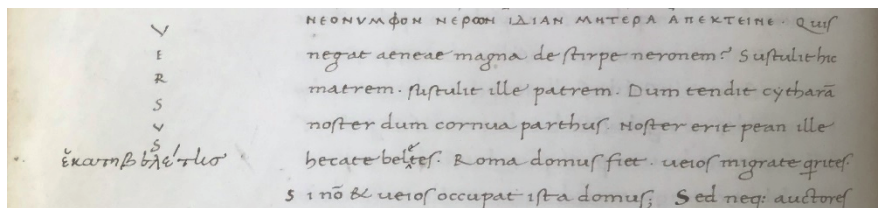


Fig. 2.29: Berol. lat. fol. 199, fol. 143v; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

¹⁹⁹ See on this issue Rollo 2006a. Another copy of Gazes' grammar, Ott. gr. 52, realised a few years earlier (in the first half of the 1460s) by Iohannes Rhosos, had also been likewise corrected in a few instances by Kallistos. The identification of the marginal annotation in Kallistos' hand on fol. 37v of the Ottobonianus is registered in *RGK* III 31 (some corrections to this record are in Rollo 2006a, 376); the interventions on <fol. 7v, 15v> are also Andronikos' work.

²⁰⁰ Rollo 2006a, 370. I correct hereby a reference by Botley 2019, 191 n. 83 which mistakenly ascribed to Kallistos another manuscript of Gellius (= Barb. lat. 123), thus misunderstanding the indication by Rollo. A description of Vat. lat. 1532 is found in Nogara 1912, 49–50; concerning the copyist of the Latin text, Giovanni da Itri, see Caldelli 2006, 26, 45, 115. For a comprehensive study of the *graeca* of the *Noctes Atticae* by Gellius refer to Martinelli Tempesta 2016b.

²⁰¹ Rollo 2006a, 377–380.

²⁰² See Rollo 2020a, 129–130, 144, 148, 159, 189.

While awaiting the finding of Latin books that belonged with certainty to Kallistos' personal library, it is without doubt remarkable that as many as three copies of the same Latin work annotated by him have come to light.

An important witness of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar* is Neap. II.D.9. It was part of the sixteenth-century book collection of Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521) and, thence, of Antonio Seripando's (1486–1531). The Neapolitanus appears not to have previously belonged to Kallistos'.²⁰³ However, it is a valuable record of the interaction between Kallistos and members of Bessarion's circle, in Rome and/or at a distance. It is almost entirely in the hand of Georgios Hermonymos,²⁰⁴ with the exception of fols 101v lin. 11–102v lin. 3 and fol. 104v lin. 1–19, which I ascribe here, for the first time, to <Georgios Tribizias> (see Fig. 2.30).

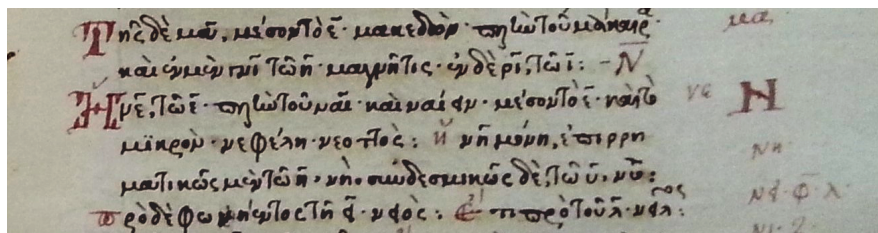


Fig. 2.30: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 102r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

In terms of palaeographic expertise the most important issue, however, does not concern the copyists responsible for the transcription, but rather all the hitherto neglected hands that abundantly annotated the manuscript. First, we can ascribe with certainty some marginal and interlinear notes to the hand of <Andronikos Kallistos> himself. They appear at fols 3v, 10r, 11v, 12v, 14r, 15rv, 18v (see Fig. 2.31).

203 A brief description is in Formentin 1995, 13. As reported in the catalogue, one finds, in addition to Seripando's, another *ex libris* in guard-leaves of the codex: at fol. IIr one reads Γουρελλη δεραπτα | Γουρελλου | κτήμα Γουρελλίου τοῦ Ῥάττου. This person could be identified with a certain Gregoro (= Gregorello → Gorello/Gurello) Della Ratta de Castello 'homo doctissimo in greco et latino' mentioned by Francesco Filelfo in a letter to Francesco Sforza dated 9 October 1459, preserved at the Archivio di Stato Milano, Autografi 127, s.v. 'Filelfo', c. 9. This letter has never been associated with the Naples manuscript so far.

204 Identification by Stefec 2014, 180; see also Martinelli Tempesta 2020a, 249.

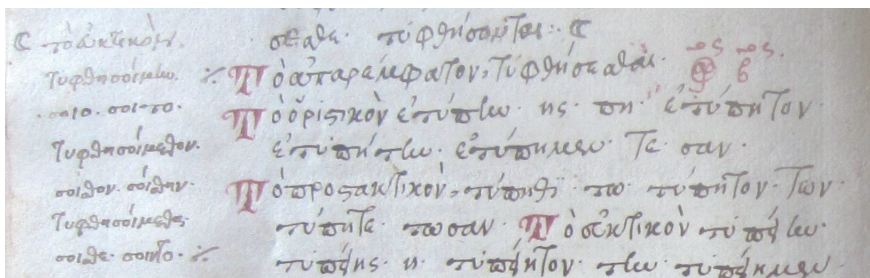


Fig. 2.31: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 11v; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

As can be seen in the picture, these are in almost all cases additions to passages accidentally omitted by Hermonymos rather than corrections intended to improve the text by conjecture.

Some other *marginalia* should instead be referred to the hand of another member of Bessarion's *Gelehrtenkreis*: <Alexios Keladenos>.²⁰⁵ These notes are found at fols <1rv, 2r, 5rv, 6v, 8rv> (see Fig. 2.32).

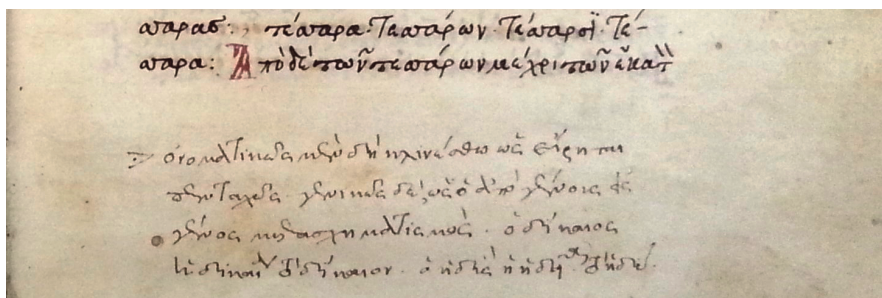


Fig. 2.32: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 5r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

²⁰⁵ For significant *specimina* of the hand of Keladenos (formerly known as *Anonymus δ-καὶ Harlfinger*), see Harlfinger 1974, nos 62–63 and Speranzi 2011. For the career of Keladenos refer now to Speranzi 2015a (with further bibliography).

In the marginal sections of the leaves, one comes across the writing of a third hand, whose identity is still unknown. It is the so-called <Anonymus 14 Harlfinger>.²⁰⁶ A few years ago, David Speranzi²⁰⁷ recognized his hand in some manuscript kept today in Florence at the Biblioteca Riccardiana; all these books are in some way connected to Demetrios Chalkondyles and Theodoros Gazes and date from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. As far as Neap. II.D.9 is concerned, one can ascribe to his hand the interventions at <fol. 4v, 7v, 8v, 11r and 13v> (see Fig. 2.33).

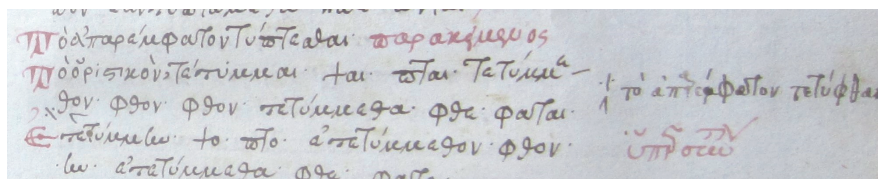


Fig. 2.33: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 11r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

Last but not least, in the margins of Neap. II.D.9 appear autograph notes by the author of the work himself, <Theodoros Gazes> (see Fig. 2.34).²⁰⁸

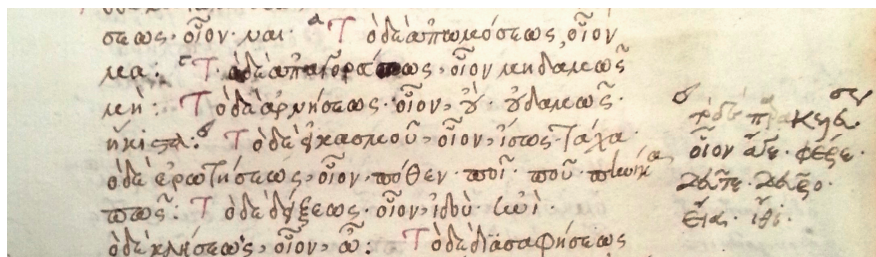


Fig. 2.34: Neap. II.D.9, fol. 18r ; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The corrections of Gazes are located at fol. 4v, 8r and 18r. The most interesting intervention is the last one found on fol. 18r, i.e. in the final part of book I of the

²⁰⁶ Harlfinger 1971, 418.

²⁰⁷ See Speranzi 2010a, 197–198 and Speranzi 2012, 348–349.

²⁰⁸ For a comparison refer to the *specimina* published in Speranzi 2010a, Speranzi 2012, Orlandi 2015, and Orlandi 2020b.

Grammar, within the section devoted to adverbs (ἐπιρρήματα). With regard to the adverbs indicating command/prescription (παρακέλευσις), the text of Gazes' annotation reads as follows: τὸ δὲ παρακελεύσεως, οἷον ἄγε· φέρε· δεῦτε· δεῦρο· εἶα· ἴθι. This clause is missing in most of the manuscripts of the *Grammar* as well as in the printed edition by Aldo (1495).²⁰⁹ One wonders whether Gazes inserted this correction at a later stage, i.e. when his work had already been widely read, studied, and reproduced in multiple copies in the Italian humanistic circles. In this sense, the discovery of Gazes' annotations in the Naples manuscript undoubtedly represents a turning point for a more in-depth study of the history of the composition and transmission of the text.

A last piece of information about the writings found in the Naples manuscript concerns one of its possible owners. In the front guard-leaves is an annotation in the hand of <Harmonios of Athens> (see Fig. 2.35).

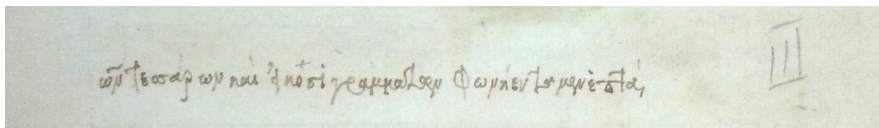


Fig. 2.35: Neap. II.D.9, fol. IIIr; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

Concerning him²¹⁰ we know that he took over some manuscripts previously belonging to Theodoros Gazes, who — as we have seen — appears here among the annotators of his own work.

As suggested by the analysis of the watermarks²¹¹ and the biographical information on the activity of the aforementioned scribes and annotators, the place of

²⁰⁹ *ISTC* ig00110000. While preparing a more detailed study on the issue, I checked so far about 60 manuscript copies of the *Grammar*. Traces of Gazes' editorial corrections related to those ones inserted in Neap. II.D.9 are only found in a few witnesses, e.g. Ott. gr. 331, Reg. gr. 148, Barb. gr. 89, Par. gr. 2583, and Barb. gr. 35 (the latter bearing other annotations/interventions in the hand of Gazes, as anticipated in Speranzi 2017, 147 n. 33 and Orlandi 2021b, 181 n. 5). Some general issues concerning dating and whereabouts of the work had previously been discussed in Botley 2010, 14–25

²¹⁰ *PLP* 91091. For new findings see Martínez Manzano 2019b, 199–208 (with previous bibliographical references) and Orlandi 2020a, 239–240.

²¹¹ Two drawings are found: 1. *Huchet* similar to the types Briquet 7834 (Rome, 1470) and 25 Harlfinger (Rome, Jan./Febr. 1471, copyist Iohannes Rhosos); 2. *Chapeau* similar to the types 3387 Briquet (c. 1465) and 12 Harlfinger (Venice, 1471, copyist Iohannes Rhosos). See also Formentin 1995, 13.

making of Neap. II.D.9 might have been Rome some time in the 1460s. However, precisely because of the presence — between the text (Hermonymos and Tribizias)²¹² and the marginal annotations (Kallistos, Keladenos, the so-called *Anonymus* 14, and Gazes)²¹³ — of so many personalities who had contact with Bessarion, caution is called for. Indeed, we cannot exclude the possibility that the correction of the manuscript did take place at different times and places.²¹⁴

A small, yet significant piece of evidence of the circulation of manuscripts amongst members of the Cardinal's circle is represented by the discovery of a diagram in the hand of <Andronikos> in the upper margin of fol. 109v of Ott. gr. 181 (Fig. 2.36).

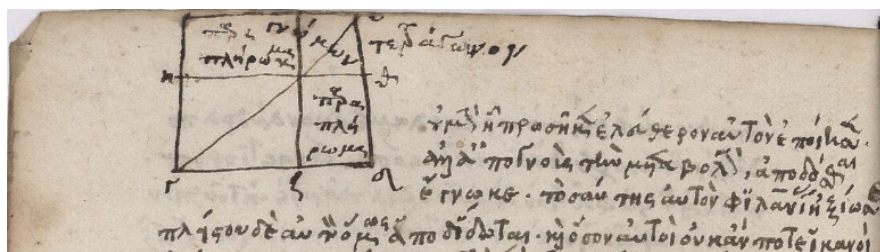


Fig. 2.36: Ott. gr. 181, fol. 109v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The Ottobonianus is a book entirely copied by the Moreote copyist and learned man Demetrios Raul Kabakes, whose activity in Rome in the third quarter of the fifteenth century is well documented.²¹⁵

David Speranzi recently demonstrated that the first codicological unit (fols II, 1–44) of Laur. 74.12 also originated in Rome, at Bessarion's 'court', in the

²¹² For the activity of Georgios Hermonymos refer to Martinelli Tempesta 2020a. For Tribizias see Speranzi 2016a.

²¹³ All corrections are concentrated in some twenty folios, i.e. those in which the first book of the *Grammar* was copied. In the remaining three books, there is no trace of corrections by any of these scholars: one therefore gets the impression of watching Bessarion's entourage at work to 'finish' the first book of the *Grammar* (as if the text of the other three did not require further revisions). This fact might not be accidental; possible reasons must be sought in the future amidst the very folds of the textual history of Gazes' work.

²¹⁴ I shall examine again this manuscript at a future date in order to provide a more precise dating and location.

²¹⁵ For the activity of Kabakes refer to Bacchelli 2007. When in Rome, Kabakes may have had access to the manuscript collection of Kallistos: Kabakes' copy of ps.-Hesiod's *Scutum*, Vat. gr. 2237, turned out to be an apograph of Andronikos' Mutin. α T.9.14; see Corrales Pérez 1994, 130.

second half of 1460s.²¹⁶ The section where Kallistos' hand has been found (fols 35–44; see a *specimen* in Plate 16) contains excerpts from works by Galen, Aristotle, Xenophon, Porphyry, along with a brief essay *De platonico communi usu mulierum*, which has been tentatively attributed to Kallistos by Anna Pontani.²¹⁷ As said, the first codicological unit (fols 3–44) of Laur. 74.12 is certainly of Roman origin. In these leaves there is the mark *Huchet 25 Harlfinger*, which that German scholar catalogued starting from two codices undersigned in Rome by Iohannes Rhosos between January and February 1971.²¹⁸ The discovery of the same watermark in other codices in Kallistos' collection, together with other data of a palaeographic, philological, and historical-cultural nature, allows us to date them to these years (1466–1471) with a high degree of probability.

A first example is given by Vind. Hist. gr. 78 (Fig. 2.37) (Plethon's excerpts from classical historical works; Themistius' paraphrase to Aristotle's *Parva naturalia*).

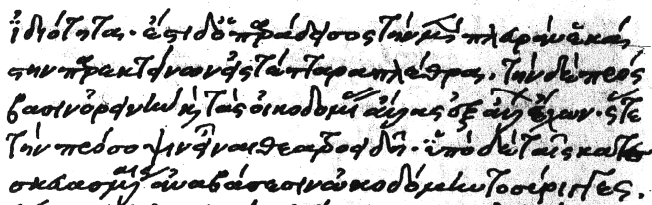


Fig. 2.37: Vind. Hist. gr. 78, fol. 7r; © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Plethon's excerpts copied by Kallistos in the Vindobonensis correspond in order and content to those in Marc. gr. Z. 406 owned by Bessarion, from which they seem to descend.²¹⁹ The Vindobonensis is a codex made up of three coeval codicological units (I = fols 1–67bis; II = fols 68–96bis; III = fols 97–106) containing, respectively, Plethonian excerpts to historians, Themistius' commentary on some

²¹⁶ See Speranzi 2011, 118–119, who also identified within this book the hands of Theodoros Gazes, Manuel Atrapes, Alexios Keladenos, and Bessarion. One of the watermarks which Speranzi found in these leaves (= *Huchet 25 Harlfinger*) turned out to be absolutely decisive in order to ascribe to this Roman period other codices copied by Kallistos (see *infra*, in this chapter).

²¹⁷ See Pontani 1989, 139–142.

²¹⁸ This drawing (registered in Harlfinger 1974–1980) is also comparable to the type 7834 Briquet (Rome, 1470).

²¹⁹ See Maltese 1989.

Parva naturalia, and excerpts from Aelian.²²⁰ The quires' numeration begins with *iota*, clearly suggesting that the first nine quires are now missing. A still readable index at fol. IIIr gives us some insights into their content: there originally were letters from Bessarion and Plethon about the four Aristotelic causes and other pamphlets by Plethon, namely those of *Contra Scholarii in defensionem Aristotelis*, *De differentiis*, and *De virtutibus*. The index also suggests that the codex did not end with the excerpts from Aelian, but also initially included some (unspecified) 'platonica ζητήματα ἀκέφαλα' and the pseudo-Aristotelic treatise *De lineis insecabilibus*.

For Michael of Ephesos' text, copied by Kallistos in Par. gr. 2066 (Plate 17), a proximity with Marc. gr. Z. 238, made around 1468, has already been suggested;²²¹ the discovery of the watermark *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger in the Paris manuscript contributes now to further confirm the hypothesis of its 'Roman' origin.

I came across the same drawing in two further manuscripts currently kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which are palaeographically consistent with the aforementioned. I shall recall first the second codicological unit of Par. gr. 2038 (= fols 113–130).²²² As anticipated, on fols 109v–130r Andronikos accomplished the copy of the text of Aristotle's *Poetics*. For the transcription he made use of some blank leaves left from the former last quire of the manuscript (i.e. fols 109v–112v, watermarked *Monts*), thus adding fols 113–130 (watermarked *Huchet* 25 Harlfinger) in order to complete the copying work.

In Par. gr. 2346 (Euclid),²²³ copied by Kallistos (Plate 18) in collaboration with Michael Lygizos and Georgios Tribizias, the watermark *Huchet* 25 is accompanied by a drawing *Arbalète*, which matches with the type 746 Briquet (Rome, 1469) and is very similar to the type 21 Harlfinger (Rome, 12 Febr. 1471, cop. Iohannes Rhosos).

An 'external' extra-codicological indication regarding the whereabouts of this drawing *Arbalète* comes from Mutin. α V.7.17.²²⁴ The first codicological unit (= fols 2–51) contains a selection of Plutarch's *Moralia* in the hand of Georgios Tzangaropoulos²²⁵ directly copied from a codex available in Rome, in Bessarion's

²²⁰ For information on the Plethonian *excerpta* to the historians, see Maltese 1984; the text is edited in Maltese 1989.

²²¹ See *supra*, in this chapter.

²²² About the textual features of this manuscript see *infra*, § 5.4.2.

²²³ Studied by Rollo 2014b.

²²⁴ For a description of the codex, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 27).

²²⁵ Identification by Dieter Harlfinger in Gamillscheg 1978, 238.

collection: Marc. gr. Z. 511.²²⁶ The second codicological unit (= fols 52–73), transmitting some *Problemata* attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias and Cassius Iatrosophista, bears equally decisive evidence. The text of the Pseudo-Alexander transcribed in these leaves by Kallistos is close to that found in other books circulating in Bessarion's Roman 'academy':²²⁷ the Oxon. New College 233 — recently attributed to Theodoros Gazes' collection²²⁸ — and Leid. Voss. Misc. 16.²²⁹

The sum of this codicological and philological data thus allows us with almost absolute certainty to locate in Rome manuscripts presenting the same shape of *Arbalète*.²³⁰ In this regard, we have to mention other two manuscripts: it is Sinod. gr. 267 and Par. gr. 1878 (see Plate 19). In the Paris codex the drawing *Arbalète* appears in combination with another watermark located in Rome in those same years (that is *Chapeau* 12 Harlfinger);²³¹ this book contains Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.²³² The other half of the commentary (books V–XIII) — today attributed to Michael of Ephesos and no longer to Alexander of Aphrodisias — was copied by Kallistos in a separate volume, now Par. gr. 1879, bearing identical palaeographic and codicological features, with regard to size, *mise en page* and watermarks:²³³ the *Arbalète* does not appear, but the drawing *Chapeau* is clearly visible.²³⁴

The text of Xenophon's *Hiero*, copied by Kallistos in the fourth (the last) codicological unit (= fols 104r–111r) of the Mutin. α V.7.17 (Plate 21) shows readings which imply the consultation of Laur. Conv. soppr. 112.²³⁵ This manuscript, once belonging to the library of Antonio Corbinelli (1376/77–1425), had been kept at the Badia Fiorentina since about the middle of the fifteenth century.²³⁶ One would therefore be inclined to think that Andronikos had access to the manuscript only from September 1471, that is, from the beginning of his stay in Florence. However,

²²⁶ See Gärtner 1974, XXIV.

²²⁷ See Kapetanaki 2006, 82–84.

²²⁸ See Speranzi 2012, 336, 349–350.

²²⁹ Both of them have been copied by the so-called *Anonymus* 24 Harlfinger; see Harlfinger 1971, 419.

²³⁰ See also the case of Vat. lat. 1542 presented in Orlandi 2020a.

²³¹ See Harlfinger 1974–1980, s.v.

²³² The text was first edited in Hayduck 1891. More details on Par. gr. 1878 are found in Golitsis 2016, 61–62 and in the new critical edition by Golitsis 2022 (see in part. LV–XCI, CIX–CX).

²³³ See Orlandi 2014b, 167.

²³⁴ See for instance fols 5/6, 45/46, 64/65. For a description of both Paris manuscripts, see *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entries nos 34 and 35).

²³⁵ See Bandini and Dorion 2021, CCV. On Laur. Conv. soppr. 112 refer also to Rollo 2004a and Orlandi 2013, 195, 199, 202, 206.

²³⁶ For Corbinelli and his library refer to Rollo 2004a.

material evidence coming from the analysis of the manuscript forces reconsideration of the possibility that the copying of the fourth unit of the Mutinensis also took place at the time of Andronikos' Roman sojourn. For we found in these leaves the same paper watermarked *Arbalète* and *Chapeau* presented in the previous cases. Moreover, one of the main sources used by Kallistos for the text of Xenophon's minor works is the aforementioned Marc. gr. Z. 511, belonging to Bessarion's collection.²³⁷ In a very recent paper, Ciro Giacomelli has shown that manuscripts kept in Florence (also, but not exclusively, at the Badia) were at any rate accessible to Bessarion and/or members of his entourage for the purpose of making copies (all produced between the 1450s and the 1460s).²³⁸ This circumstance allows us to hypothesize that it was indeed during the years of his Roman sojourn, which he spent in the house of Bessarion at Church of the Holy Apostles, that Andronikos was able to temporarily consult the manuscripts preserved at monastic institutions in the city of Florence. As will be seen later, the access to these collections was to become easier for Kallistos once he settled permanently in the city and formed an established habit.

In conclusion, the manuscripts copied by Kallistos which can be traced back to his stay in Rome (between 1466 and 1471) are the following:

Mutin. α V.7.17 (units II–IV)

Sinod. gr. 267

Par. gr. 1878

Par. gr. 1879

Par. gr. 2038 (unit II)

Par. gr. 2066

Par. gr. 2346

Vat. gr. 249

Vat. gr. 257

Marc. gr. Z. 198

Marc. gr. Z. 238

Vind. Hist. gr. 78.

2.3.2 Enriching the collection in Florence (1471–1474)

Cross-referencing of historical, codicological, and philological data allows us to group together a set of manuscripts, which turned out to be copies of books kept

²³⁷ For more details, see *infra*, § 5.3.2.

²³⁸ See Manfredini 1994, 41–42 and Giacomelli 2021a, 108–111.

at different libraries in Renaissance Florence. In most cases it has been possible to link to the years 1471–1474 manuscripts sharing the same palaeographic and codicological features. To mention one particular instance, as with cases from earlier periods, one watermark stands out as the leitmotif of an homogeneous group of manuscripts made at the same time and place. In some other cases, the use of the results of textual criticism studies has likewise been decisive. Interestingly, Andronikos made use of his stay in Florence by carefully exploring the collections of monastic institutions to enrich his own collection. Therefore, we begin the survey from the manuscripts that happened to be apographs of books preserved at Florentine cultural institutions.

2.3.2.1 Aristotle's commentators at the library of the Badia Fiorentina

At least one book included in Andronikos' collection turned out to be an apograph of a manuscript kept at the Badia. By means of some partial collations, the text of the anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* transcribed by Kallistos in the first codicological unit of Mutin. α Q.5.21 (= fols 1–60) (see Plate 22) happens to be a copy of Laur. 71.32 (fourteenth century).²³⁹ Furthermore, the material analysis of the Mutinesis has brought to light the watermark akin to the type *Chapaeu* Briquet 3387 (Venice/Florence, c. 1464–1476). This drawing is typical — for instance — of some autographs by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity in Florence is well documented.²⁴⁰

2.3.2.2 Copying manuscripts from Niccoli's book collection at the Convent of San Marco

As with the manuscripts kept at the Badia Fiorentina, it is evident that Kallistos had access at the Convent of San Marco to some books previously owned by Niccolò Niccoli. The first two manuscripts to be presented are Mutin. α T.8.13 (Apollonius Rhodius) and its *pendant* Mutin. α P.6.13 (scholia to Apoll. Rhod.)²⁴¹ (see Plates 23–24). Both of them were fully copied by Kallistos on paper watermarked *Chapeau* in a drawing almost identical to the type Briquet 3387 (c. 1464–1476). In addition, some folios of Mutin α P.6.13 are evidence to the drawing *Échelle* similar

²³⁹ The text of the *Paraphrasis in Sophisticos Elenchos* is edited in Hayduck 1884; Hayduck, though, did not collate the Mutinensis.

²⁴⁰ See for instance Mutin. α T.8.20 and Haun. GkS 1570,4°, copied by Skutariotes and annotated (most likely in Florence) by Kallistos. Particular attention to this drawing had already been given by Gamillscheg 1978, 243. For the scribal activity of Skutariotes refer now to Martinelli Tempesta 2012.

²⁴¹ The codex belongs to the so-called *recensio Parisina*; see Wendel 1932, 11.

to the type Briquet 5910 (Florence, 1473–1474) which we will discuss further below. With regard to these manuscripts, a cultural-historical link with the city of Florence is already suggested by their contents. For Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* had not been lectured on by Kallistos in the frame of his former teaching activity in other cities and seems, therefore, to have been interpreted for the first time in Florence during the early 1470s.²⁴² As far as the text and the scholia of *Argonautics* are concerned, a more detailed evaluation about the manuscript sources of Kallistos' copies (i.e. Mutin. α T.8.13 and P.6.13) is needed. According to Gianvito Resta, some variants found in the Latin translation of the *Argonautics* prepared in Florence at the school of Kallistos can be explained by looking at the text transmitted by Laur. 32.9, a *codex vetustissimus* dating from the tenth century and kept at the Convent of San Marco.²⁴³

I found traces of a watermark similar to the aforementioned drawing *Chapeau* 3387 Briquet also in Par. gr. 2715 (Plate 25). This manuscript is well known to scholars of Aristophanes' text, as it contains a number of good readings of unknown origin. The authorship of these readings is now unanimously assigned to Kallistos.²⁴⁴ The manuscript is in fact a *mise au net* of a proper edition of the comedies carried out during the time spent in Florence.²⁴⁵ The text largely descends from that of Laur. 31.15, another book preserved at San Marco.

Typologically akin are two manuscripts, which are evidence for the collaboration between Andronikos and another scribe: Alphonsos Dursos of Athens. Together with him, Kallistos 'completed' the text contained in the second unit of Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fols 57, 60–86, 105–144).²⁴⁶ This manuscript originally did not include the musical treatises by Aristides Quintilianus and Bacchius, the pseudo-Herodotean *Vita Homeri* and the writings by the Emperor Julian: these texts, in

²⁴² See *supra*, § 1.6.

²⁴³ See more *infra*, § 5.5.

²⁴⁴ See Wilson 2007, 12–13. On the codex see also Sicherl 1997, 125, 137–151.

²⁴⁵ The need to fix a text may have been induced by teaching activity. As appropriately mentioned by Wilson 2007, 12, the use of Aristophanes' *Plutus* as a university text is attested by the *recollectae* handed down in the manuscript Laur. 66.31, the contents of which represent the programme of instruction given by Kallistos at Florence (see more *infra*, § 4.2, 5.3.1, and 5.4). An apograph of Par. gr. 2715 is Laur. 31.16 (see Dunbar 1995, 23–24), copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity in Florence is well known. Perhaps it is not insignificant that the main annotator of Laur. 31.16 is a Western reader (still anonymous), whom I have found to be the copyist of Par. gr. 2834, i.e. of a manuscript that can be traced back to Kallistos' study and teaching of Theocritus (see more *infra*, § 5.3.1).

²⁴⁶ Andronikos' and Alphonsos' interventions complete the text of Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonica*, which Kallistos had started to copy years before from another antigraph (probably Neap. III.C.1; see on this Cortesi 2000, 408). For Alphonsos as a scribe refer to RGK I 9 = II 16 = III 20.

fact, were copied later from Salmanticensis 2748, a book once owned by Niccolò Niccoli, kept in Florence at San Marco's.²⁴⁷ It should not be surprising, then, to find in the leaves of Mutin. α V.7.1 traces of the watermark *Chapeau* 3387.²⁴⁸

The collaboration between Andronikos and Alphonsos is a feature shared with another manuscript, Demosthenes ex-Dresd. Da 11, which is currently kept in Moscow at the RGADA²⁴⁹ (see Plate 26). In this codex, Kallistos began and continued the copying work up to fol. 39v lin. 15, whereas Alphonsos is responsible for fols 39v lin. 16–58r. We are well informed about Alphonsos' activity in Florence in the mid-1470s. For he accomplished within the milieu of Kallistos the copying of Vat. gr. 2201, which bears a *subscriptio* at fol. 51r (Florence, March 1473).²⁵⁰ As already observed, the whole codicological unit in the hand of Alphonsos was corrected by Kallistos by means of numerous marginal annotations.²⁵¹

2.3.2.3 Of some other manuscripts copied in Florence

Due to the presence of the drawing similar to the aforementioned *Chapeau* 3387 and *Échelle* 5910 Briquet already found in Mutin. α P.6.13, a production in Florence in the early 1470s is likely also for two books completed/restored by Kallistos: parts of Mutin. α U.5.1 (*Iliad*, quire no. 7 [= fols 49–56] + unit II [= fols 202–398]); the supplemented section of the fourteenth-century manuscript Par. gr. 2046 (Alex. Aphr. *In Arist. Meteor.*, fols 97–173). In the case of Par. gr. 2046 (Fig. 2.38), the antigraph employed by Kallistos for the restoration has not yet been identified.²⁵²

²⁴⁷ See on this Martínez Manzano 2006 and Martínez Manzano 2015a, 148–156. The original text of the Salmanticensis had a large omission in Bacchius' text which corresponds to that of the Mutinensis before the latter's restoration by an anonymous scribe (responsible for fols 80v–86r, 87r–104v). Gamillscheg, 1978, 240–242 came across this scribe in some annotations to the last leaf (fol. 200rv) of Mutin. α P.5.19. I found other traces of his activity in <Mutin. α V.7.13> and <Mutin. α T.9.11> (fols 57r–66v), two manuscripts which belonged to Giorgio Valla (and thence to Alberto Pio). For the history of the text of *Vita Homeri*, finally, refer to Vasiloudi 2013, 42–45.

²⁴⁸ See e.g. fols 71/72 and 126/129.

²⁴⁹ See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 30). For the identification of the hand of Alphonsos as well as for further details, see also Orlandi 2014b, 147–150, 163–164, 187, 189 and plate XIc.

²⁵⁰ New insights into this manuscript (partly copied by an anonymous pupil of Kallistos) are in Orlandi 2020c, 464–471, 476, 432–433.

²⁵¹ Concerning the scribal activity of Alphonsos, we shall remark that there is no evidence suggesting that he was a pupil of Andronikos Kallistos, as observed in Harlfinger 1974, 33.

²⁵² I attach here a piece of evidence showing *indirectly* that Kallistos' restoration most probably took place in Florence and not in Rome. Had Andronikos completed the text in Rome between 1466 and 1471, he would have used one of the manuscripts owned by Bessarion containing the same work, i.e. Marc. gr. Z. 230. However, this is not the case, as I verified by means of some

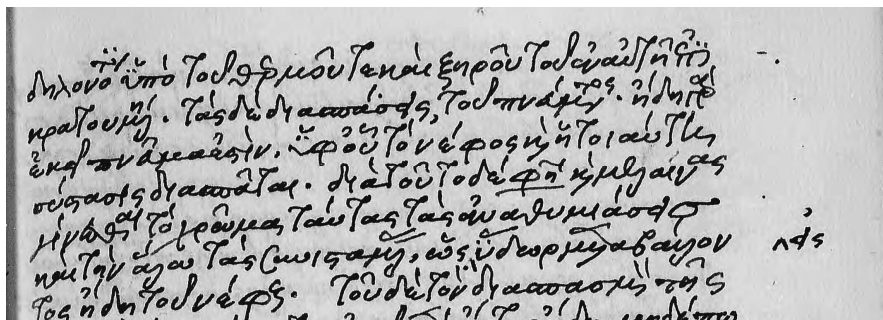


Fig. 2.38: Par. gr. 2046, fol. 112r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Eventually, a link to Florence will be suggested also in the case of the fourth codicological unit of Par. gr. 1644 (= fols 38–I'; see Plate 27), transmitting Galen's *Ars medica*.²⁵³ The hypothesis of a dating to the years 1471–1474 and a location in Florence comes again from the analysis of the watermarks. For one finds in these quires the same drawing *Monts* discovered in Par. gr. 2715 and in the Moscow manuscript RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (copied, as we have seen, in collaboration with Alphonsos Dursos). In addition, philological evidence supports the hypothesis: the text of Galen's *Ars medica* copied by Andronikos in Par. gr. 1644 descends from a lost antigraph, which proved to be a *gemellus* to Vat. Reg. gr. 154. The Reginesis was copied by Iohannes Skutariotes, whose activity as a copyist in Florence is widely documented.²⁵⁴ It must therefore be inferred that the common source was in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Below is a list of the manuscripts (or sections of manuscripts) copied in Florence. From the palaeographic analysis of all these pieces emerges a confirmation

partial collations: 123,26 διὰ τὸ κατόπιν ὠθοῦν πνεῦμα] διὰ τοῦ κατόπιν ὠθούντος πνεύματος Marc διὰ τὸ κατόπιν ὠθοῦν πνεῦμα Par; 123,28 καὶ τὸν περὶ Ἀχαίαν] καὶ τὸν περὶ Ἀχαίαν Marc κατὰ τὴν Ἀχαίαν Par; 123,28 ἅμα καὶ] ἅμα καὶ Marc ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι καὶ Par; 123,30 νότος] νότου Marc νότος Par; 123,31 τουτέστι om. Marc habet Par.

²⁵³ The identification of Andronikos' hand is in *RGK* II 25.

²⁵⁴ For the stemmatic proximity between the Parisinus and the Reginensis see Boudon-Millot 2002, 225–229, 270 (the reference to the 'Palatinus Suec. gr. 154' at page 225 is a *lapsus*). Concerning Iohannes Skutariotes' activity as a copyist, see *RGK* I 183 = II 242 = III 302 and the more recent contribution by Martinelli Tempesta 2012. The suggestion made in Boudon-Millot 2002, 226, according to which Kallistos copied fols 38–59 before 1461, does not seem plausible.

of the historical reconstruction here proposed, for Kallistos' *ductus* in these samples, as well as all the characteristics related to the writing (hatching, inclination, etc.), are absolutely homogeneous:²⁵⁵

Mutin. α P.6.13 (unit I = fols 1–143)

Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I = fols 1–60)

Mutin. α T.8.13

Mutin. α U.5.1 (unit II = fols 49–56, 202–398)

Mutin. α V.7.1 (part of unit II = fols 57, 60–86, 105–144)

Mosq. RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaëi 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11)

Par. gr. 1644 (unit IV = fols 38–I')

Par. gr. 2046 (unit II = fols 97–173 [with the exception of fols 126–131])

Par. gr. 2715.

2.4 Andronikos' writing

2.4.1 The Greek writing: Evidence for a diachronic change

The study of a handwriting and its movements in a synchronic and diachronic sense can hardly be separated from certain chronological references. Indeed, it is such references that ordinarily form the basis of any palaeographic discussion. In the case of Andronikos Kallistos, the field of inquiry is unfortunately characterized by the fact that only three extant pieces of evidence are provided with a date and/or a subscription:

1. fol. 15v of Vat. gr. 1314 (see above, Fig. 2.13), bearing a subscription by Kallistos applied in the year 1449;
2. the 'header' of the quires (now part of Laur. 60.16) sent by mail to Gaspare Zacchi in 1457;
3. the letter sent to Palla Strozzi, in April 1459 (see Plate 9), today preserved in Forlì.

The work of locating and dating Andronikos' autographs through the combination of extra-graphic factors (historical, codicological, and philological) has therefore been of crucial relevance. In this regard, we may recall here some other relevant manuscripts which, despite not being dated, will serve as reliable *termini post/ante quem*:

²⁵⁵ See *infra*, § 2.4.1.3.

4. the Greek passages added to the manuscript Par. lat. 17542, a book copied by May 1457 at Strozzi's residence;²⁵⁶
5. the text of the colophon at the foot of the manuscript Par. gr. 1908 (see *supra*, § 1.2.1, Fig. 1.1), copied from Palla Strozzi's last will by May 1462;
6. the section of the Mutin. α V.7.17 (see Plate 20), in which Andronikos copied Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum* (= fols 74–103). This must have been made after 29 April 1464, given that by that date — as we read in a letter by Francesco Filelfo — Kallistos declares not to yet possess a manuscript with such a text;²⁵⁷
7. the corrections made in the margins of the incunable of Bessarions' *In calumniatorem Platonis* that appeared at the printing house of Giovanni Andrea Bussi.²⁵⁸ In this case, it is the date of appearance of the printed work (i.e. 1469) that counts as *terminus post quem*;
8. fols 60r–61r of the Mutin. α V.7.1 (see Plate 28) in which Kallistos began to transcribe the text of Aristides Quintilianus' work (later entrusting Alphonsos Dursos with the continuation of the task) from an antigraph kept at that time in Florence at the Convent of San Marco (= Salm. 2748, once property of Niccolò Niccoli);²⁵⁹
9. the epigrams written by Kallistos for the death of Albiera degli Albizi and copied by him in the Turin manuscript (see Plate 29); in this case, the death of Albiera (i.e. 1473) obviously applies as a *terminus post quem*.

The examination of these manuscripts enables us to settle on three different timespans: 1. the first half of the 1450s, spent between the Byzantine East and Bologna; 2. the 1450s and 1460s, between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua; 3. 1466–1475, i.e. the last decade spent in Italy between Rome, Florence, and Milan. Each of these three chronological frameworks has its own characteristics, in fact reflecting different phases of Andronikos' graphic activity. For ease of reading, in the following pages they will be referred to as Period 'A' (from before 1453 until 1455), 'B' (1455–1466), and 'C' (1466–1475).

²⁵⁶ See *supra*, § 1.3.3.

²⁵⁷ See De Keyser 2015a, 1012.

²⁵⁸ *ISTC* ib00518000. A reproduction in Speranzi 2018, 195.

²⁵⁹ See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2.

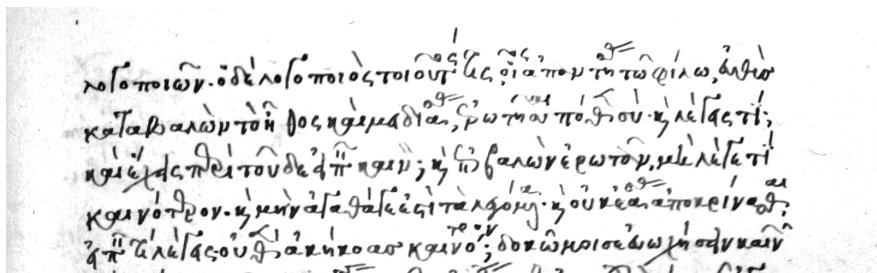
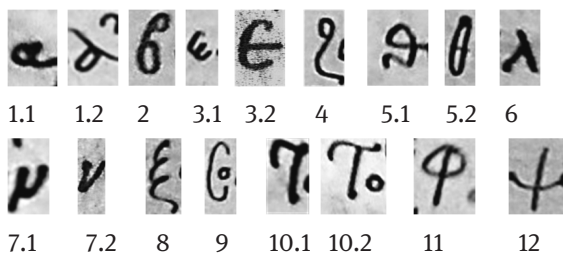


Fig. 2.40: Mutin. α U.9.10, fol. 210r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

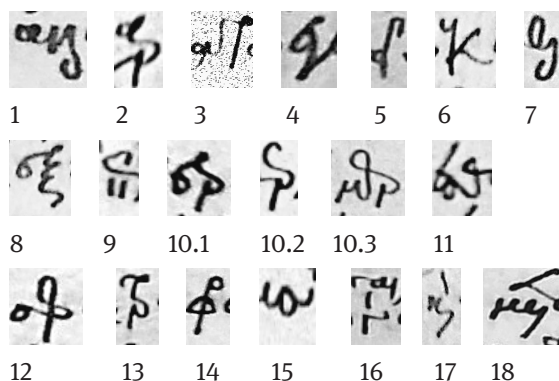
What is most important to point out is the fact that, from a structural point of view, all the peculiar traits of Kallistos' writing are already present at this early stage (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Andronikos' Greek writing: Basic forms.



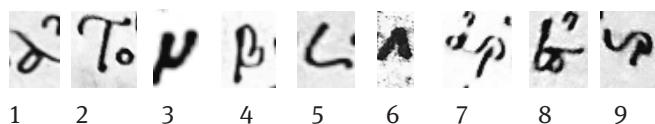
As for the layout of the individual letters, we will thus observe the following: two shapes for *alpha*, minuscule (1.1) and uncial (1.2); bilobular *beta* (2); two forms of *epsilon*, tilted-up on the left and hatched without raising the pen from the sheet (3.1), or traced in two times and provided with an arm (3.2); again, two shapes for *theta*, open and provided with a wavy tail in the lower section (5.1), or closed (5.2); two types of *ny*, the ancient variant, 'cup-shaped' (7.1), and the modern one (7.2); two types of *Fahnen-Tau*,²⁶² hatched without raising the pen from the sheet, thus producing a bow at the top (10.1), or hatched in two times (10.2), thus being made of two strokes perpendicular to each other; *psi* in form of a chalice (12).

²⁶² *Tau* 'a drappo' in the definition given by Speranzi 2016b, 62.

Table 2.5: Andronikos' Greek writing: Ligatures and abbreviations.

As for the ligatures and the abbreviations (see above, Table 2.5), I would draw attention to the following phenomena: the combination *alpha* + double *lambda*, very cursive, in which the lower part of the lambda is hatched completely beneath the line and bears a hook (1); *alpha-rho* with *alpha* in the line spacing (2); *epsilon-iota* connected with the circumflex accent, very characteristic (5); *epsilon-kappa*, where the letter *epsilon* is *en crochet*; a substantial polymorphism for the combination *epsilon-rho* (see 10.1–10.3); the sequence *epsilon-sigma-theta*, in which the letters share the horizontal stroke originating from the arm of the *epsilon*, thus shaping the upper part of the *sigma* and finally going down to form the first section of the *theta* (11); the combination *phi-rho*, in which the two letters share a single stem (14); finally, γίγνεται (16), καὶ (17), and μετὰ- (18).

The characteristic traits of Kallistos' autographs dated back to these years (Table 2.6) are, after all, those already put into relief a few decades ago by Ernst Gamillscheg,²⁶³ at the time of the controversy over the supposed existence of the *Anonymus Mutinensis*.

Table 2.6: Andronikos' Greek writing: Characteristics of the early samples.

²⁶³ See Gamillscheg 1983.

Some of these traits become increasingly rare over the years. This is the case with the uncial *alpha* (1) and the 'cup-shaped' *ny* (3). Some others tend to disappear completely, like the *tau* hatched with two movements of the hand (2), the non-bilobular *beta* (4), the open sigma (5), the *lambda* hatched without raising the pen from the sheet (6), as well as a few ligatures (see 7–9).

Comparing the appearance of this writing with that of later manuscripts transcribed in Italy, one immediately gets the impression of a low accuracy and a certain lack of interest towards a calligraphic rendering. A substantial coarseness in the hatching of the individual letters contributes much to corroborate this first impression. In this regard the absence of a stable reference for the inclination is strongly remarkable. The writing is only slightly oriented to the right, and it is not uncommon to find single letters (or groups of letters gathered in ligature) tilted-up in the opposite direction (see e.g. *delta* and *epsilon*). The *ductus* is definitely 'richtungslos'.²⁶⁴ By this early stage of his scribal activity between Byzantium and Italy (i.e. in Bologna, at Bessarion's residence), Andronikos already adopts with remarkable regularity a *mise en page* consisting of 29 lines of text for small-sized *in-quarto* folded manuscripts and 37 lines for large-sized *in quarto* and *in-folio* ones. These codicological 'habits' would also characterise the manuscripts produced in Italy at later stages of his career.

Eventually, I ascribe to this period the following manuscripts or sections of manuscripts: Bonon. 2638 (titles in red ink); Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn III 18; Cantabr. Emm. Coll. 30; Erlangensis A 4 (fols 1–99, 209–264); Laur. 58.1 (marg.); Laur. 72.20 (restoration); Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 105–112); Ambr. A 185 sup. (fols 228–243); Ambr. E 99 sup. (marg.); Ambr. L 35 sup. (fols 1–8); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fols 128–165); Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 68–98); Mutin. α T.9.14 (with the exception of fols 1–7); Mutin. α W.5.5 (see details *infra*, § 6.1); Oxon. Barocci 63 (see details *infra*, § 6.1); Barocci 76 (titles in red ink); Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (fols 107–114, 127–139; 147–149, 151–157); Par. Suppl. gr. 66 (fols 75–90); Par. Suppl. gr. 541 (with the exception of fols 136–154 and 201v); Par. Mazarine 4453 (marg.); Vat. Ross. 1025 (with the exception of fols 19–20 and 36v); Vat. gr. 1314; Marc. gr. Z. 10 (fols 382–409); Marc. gr. Z. 186 (fols 261–274); Marc. gr. Z. 190 (fols 1–266); Marc. gr. Z. 192 (fols 1–44); Marc. gr. Z. 223 (fols 118–123, 171–228); Marc. gr. Z. 337 (fols 130r lin. 21–31); Marc. gr. Z. 374 (with the exception of fols 128r and 166v); Marc. gr. Z. 518 (fols 96r lin. 40–46 and 96v lin. 1–2); Marc. gr. Z. 522 (161–210); Marc. gr. Z. 527 (fols 1–9, 11–14, 16); Vind. Suppl. gr. 23 (1–40); Vind. Theol. gr. 163 (marg.).

²⁶⁴ The definition is by Herbert Hunger; see Gamillscheg 1983, 335.

2.4.1.2 Period B (1455–1466)

It is not easy to say *what* exactly determined the progressive increase in the rate of elegance and calligraphy of Andronikos' writing. Indeed, the autographs from the middle years of his stay in Italy (1455–1466, between Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua) all show a much higher degree of formal accuracy. Some examples of this kind are found below at Figs 2.41–2.42; for other full-page reproductions refer to Plates 9–11 and 13.

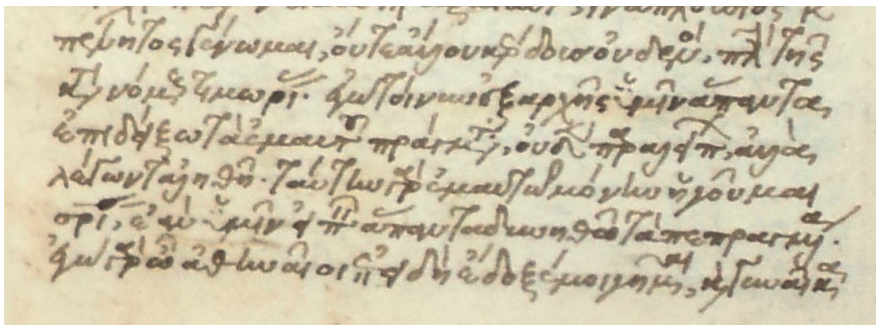


Fig. 2.41: Ambr. H 52 sup., fol. 46v; © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana.

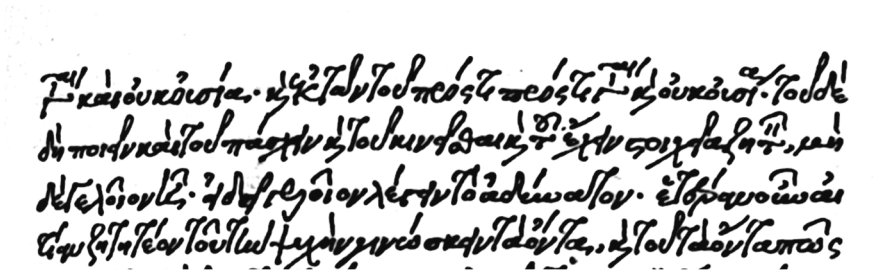


Fig. 2.42: Laur. Ashb. 1599, fol. 27r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

A first explanation could be that the more intense copying practised as his main activity in the years immediately following the fall of Constantinople inevitably led him to improve calligraphic skills: these were the years he spent from 1453 to 1455 in Bologna with Bessarion. The need to find a source of livelihood forced

Kallistos to take up — perhaps for the first time in his life²⁶⁵ — the occupation of full-time scribe. During his stay in Italy, Andronikos was to continue to copy manuscripts for third parties (again for Bessarion and, for example, for Nicholas of Kotor),²⁶⁶ but only occasionally, and certainly not with the frequency shown by the manuscripts realised for Bessarion in the years 1453–1455. As far as we are concerned, after Bessarion's departure from Bologna, Andronikos decided to devote himself to teaching. In this context, his scribal activity henceforth reflects both the scholarly needs of an erudite personality, as Kallistos undoubtedly was, as well as those of a teacher.

From the point of view of the palaeographic analysis, there are actually no 'structural' changes in these manuscripts referred to as the period 'B'. There is a general 'refining' of the forms and a dismissal of those which appeared patently less calligraphic. The elegant *Fahnen-Tau* replaces the one hatched by two strokes, thus marking the production of a bow in the upper section more evidently; the hook originating from the horizontal stroke descends and heads towards the stem. This form of *tau* is certainly one of those that makes Kallistos' writing instantly recognisable. The *alpha* is more often drawn in minuscule form. The ratio of the occurrence of the 'sharp-pointed' modern *ny* and the ancient 'cup-shaped' one is balanced. The frequency of the occurrence of the open *theta* (provided with a slight wavy tail in the first stroke) increases. The asymmetry of the two bows of the bilobular *beta* is reduced. The *lambda* hatched without lifting the pen from the sheet disappears. The most noticeable and eye-catching feature of these autographs compared to the previous ones is the substantial increase of the inclination to the right, which affects all letters (except *epsilon*, lying on the left, and *xi*, unless in ligature, as in the combination -εξ-).

I collect in this period 'B' (1456–1466) the following manuscripts or sections of manuscripts: Athos, Movῆ Ἰβήρων, 161 (restoration of fols 144–146); Berol. gr. qu. 73 (fols 1r–23r); Berol. lat. fol. 199 (*graeca*); Berol. lat. fol. 850 (*graeca*); Comensis 1.3.9 (fols 150–206); Cremon. 130 (restoration of fols 1–9, 56–57, 62–64); Scor. Σ.III.1 (marg.); Laur. 60.16 (fols 92–97); Laur. Ashb. 1144; Forlì, Autografo Coll. Pincastelli; Lips. gr. 33 (marg. and restoration of fol. 33); Lips. gr. 34 (restoration of fols 34 and 39); Ambr. H 52 sup. (fols 1–136); Ambr. I 56 sup. (fols 1–242); Ambr. P 84 sup.; Mutin. α P.5.19 (fols 2r–43r); Mutin. α Q.5.20 (with the exception of fols 128–165); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (fols 61–68r lin. 11); Mutin. α T.9.1; Mutin. α T.9.2 (fols 132–177); Mutin. α T.9.14 (fols 1–7); Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 1–201); Mutin. α U.9.22; Mutin. α V.7.1

²⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, we have no information or evidence of copies commissioned to Kallistos while living in the Byzantine East.

²⁶⁶ See *supra*, § 1.5. and 2.3.1.

(fols 1–56 and 59); Sinod. gr. 370 (fols 2–4); Neap. II.D.9 (marg.); Par. gr. 1811 (marg.); Par. gr. 1852 (marg.); Par. gr. 1890 (restoration); Par. gr. 1908 (colophon); Par. gr. 2038 (fols 1r–109v lin. 14); Par. gr. 2046 (fols 126–131); Par. gr. 2069; Par. gr. 2998 (marg.); Par. gr. 3011 (restoration and fols 1–4, 263–334); Par. Suppl. gr. 255 (marg.); Par. lat. 17542 (*graeca*); Perus. H 19 (titles); Salm. 230 (titles); Barb. gr. 161 (restoration of fol. 26); Barb. gr. 163 (marg.); Borg. gr. 12 (marg. fols 10v–11r); Chis. H.V.159 (*graeca*); Ott. gr. 52 (marg.); Ott. gr. 355 (fols 1–12); Pal. gr. 142 (titles); Urb. gr. 151 (marg.); Vat. gr. 13 (marg.); Vat. gr. 1324 (marg. and restoration); Vat. gr. 1950 (marg.); Marc. gr. Z. 611 (fols 46–243); Marc. gr. VII 5 (marg. fols 122v, 125r, 154v, 157rv).

2.4.1.3 Period C (1466–1475)

The manuscripts which can be dated with certainty to the period 1466–1475 on the basis of extra-paleaographic factors do not actually show any eye-catching palaeographic peculiarities, either with regard to the form of individual letters or to the ligatures.

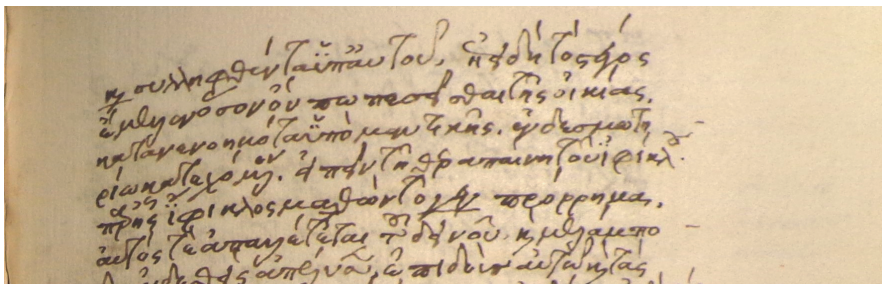


Fig. 2.43: Mutin. α P.6.13, fol. 7r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

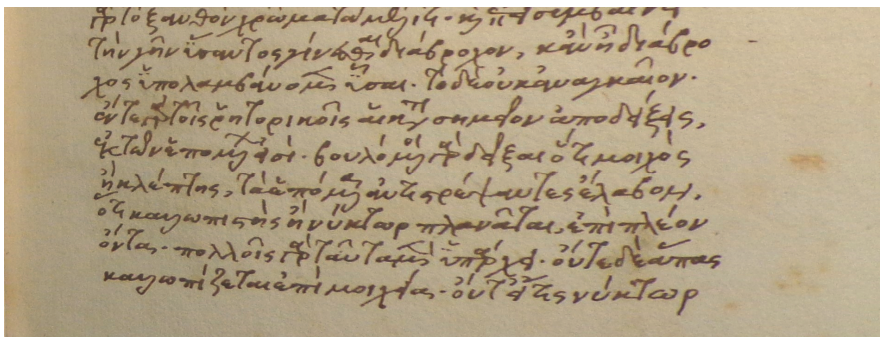
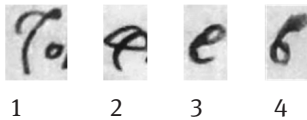


Fig. 2.44: Mutin. α Q.5.21, fol. 12r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

However, two features deserve a brief mention. One notes the general adoption of an enlarged body for the letters, possibly due to the use of a thicker quill (see above Figs 2.43–2.44; full-page reproductions are at Plates 12, 14–30). In addition, the slope to the right is even more pronounced than in the 'B'-period-manuscripts. This produces a slight distortion of the shape of the letters and the consequent curving of the vertical strokes. See below (Table 2.7) the case of letters such as *tau* (1), *phi* (2), *rho* (3), and *beta* (4).

Table 2.7: Andronikos' Greek writing: Characteristics of the late samples.



Finally, I collect in this period 'C' (1466–1475) the following samples: Haun. GkS 1570,4° (marg.); Laur. 32.46 (marg.); Laur. 66.31 (annotation at fol. 180v); Laur. 74.12 (fols 35r–39r, 43r–44v); Laur. 85.21 (restoration); Flor. Magliab. B.2.35 (marg.); Lond. Burney 109 (marg.); Mutin. α P.6.13; Mutin. α Q.5.20 (fols 179r–180r); Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I); Mutin. α T.8.13; Mutin. α U.5.1 (fols 202–398); Mutin. α V.7.1 (fols 57, 60–86 and 105–144); Mutin. α W.2.1 (restoration); Sinod. gr. 267; ex-Dresd. Da 11 (fols 1r–39v lin. 10); Monac. gr. 332 (marg.); Par. gr. 1878 (fols 25, 27–162); Par. gr. 1879; Par. gr. 2038 (fols 112–132); Par. gr. 2046 (fols 97–173, with the exception of fols 126–131); Par. gr. 2066; Par. gr. 2346; Par. gr. 2715; Par. gr. 2772 (marg.); Torino, Acc. delle Scienze, NN.V.7 (fol. 50rv); Ott. gr. 181 (marg.); Vat. gr. 249; Vat. gr. 257; Vat. gr. 593 (*ex libris* for Bessarion); Vat. gr. 2189 (marg.); Vat. gr. 2201 (marg.); Vat. gr. 2207 (marg.); Vat. lat. 1532 (*graeca*); Marc. gr. Z. 198; Marc. gr. Z. 226 (marg.); Marc. gr. Z. 238; Vind. Hist. gr. 78.

2.4.2 The Latin writing: *Specimina* and remarks

In this brief paragraph I propose only to give an account of all the evidence known to me of Andronikos Kallistos' Latin hand. They can be listed in a chronological order as follows: 1. some notes in the upper margin of the Mutin. α Q.5.20 (within a codicological unit dating from the period before Kallistos' arrival in Italy) displaying a low proficiency in Latin script (Fig. 2.45); 2. the heading of a letter sent around 1457 to Gaspare Zacchi which can be read between the leaves

of the Laur. 60.16 (not reproduced below);²⁶⁷ 3. the heading of the letter to Palla Strozzi, of which I have verified the authenticity in a recent contribution (Fig. 2.46);²⁶⁸ 4. the statement in the footnote to Palla Strozzi's testament (Fig. 2.47);²⁶⁹ 5. some Greek-Latin *marginalia* added to Gellius Vat. lat. 1532, first identified by Antonio Rollo (Fig. 2.48);²⁷⁰ 6. the lexical annotation $\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ *sepelio* placed at the bottom of the epigram for the tomb of Midas (= *Anth. Pal.* 7,153) copied by Andronikos on fol. 180v of Laur. 66.31, a notebook belonging to an anonymous student of Kallistos (Fig. 2.49).²⁷¹

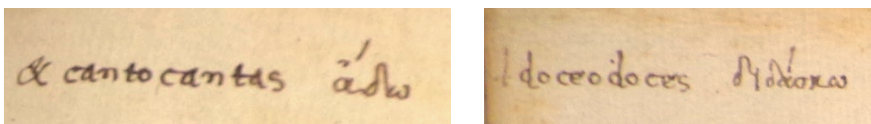


Fig. 2.45: Mutin. α Q.5.20, fols 137rv; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

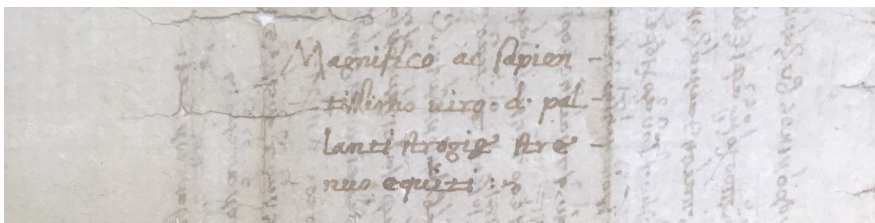


Fig. 2.46: Raccolte Piancastelli, Sez. Autografi Secc. XII–XVIII, *ad vocem* Andronico Bisanzio, verso; © Biblioteca comunale di Forlì.

²⁶⁷ See Speranzi 2016a, 62.

²⁶⁸ See Orlandi 2014a, 166; the hypothesis was formulated by Perosa 1953 and Rollo 2006a, 373.

²⁶⁹ For this document, see Gentile 1992, 299–300. See also *supra*, § 1.1 and *infra*, § 5.4.1.

²⁷⁰ Rollo 2006a, 372–373.

²⁷¹ The note aims at explaining the meaning of the perfect $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ that occurs in the text of the epigram (verse 4); see Orlandi 2014a.

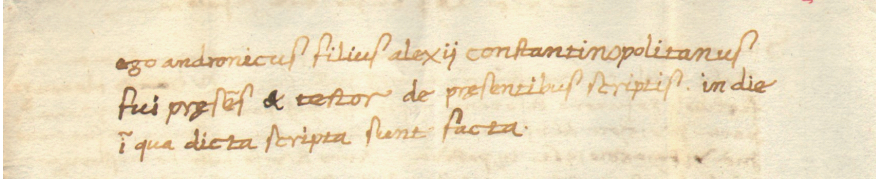


Fig. 2.47: Archivio Bentivoglio, Sezione Patrimoniale, busta 6, fasc. 35, carta 2; © Ferrara, Archivio di Stato.

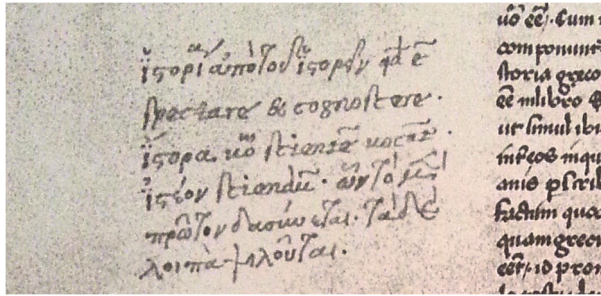


Fig. 2.48: Vat. lat. 1532, fol. 49v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

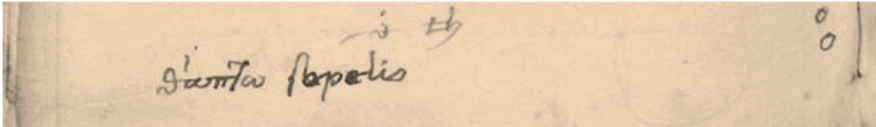


Fig. 2.49: Laur. 66.31, fol. 180v; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Despite the highly limited number of samples, it is possible to highlight some peculiar traits: letter *e* with protruding middle stroke and tilted up; letter *g* shaped like the number '8', with bows rather small in size; the ligature for *et*, overmodulated; wavy *tituli* for the abbreviations of nasals. In certain details one gets the impression of the 'interference' of the Greek writing.²⁷² Besides a general tendency to tilt up the vertical strokes to the right, in this regard I would draw the attention to two other details: 1. the upper section of letters *s* and *f*, which display a very

²⁷² With regard to Latin writing of Byzantine scholars, whose Greek writing is likewise well-known, see also the case of Alexios Keladenos, recently discussed in Speranzi 2015a, and Georgios Hermonymos, presented in Orlandi 2022a.

pronounced arch (see some examples in the words *Andronicus*, *filius* or in *sepelio*), similar to that found in the characteristic ligature by Kallistos *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent (εῖ); 2. the sequence of letters *-li-* in the word *constantinopolitanus*, which recalls the shape of the Greek letter *eta* (η).