

3 The Fate of Andronikos' Books

The circumstances of the sale of Andronikos' manuscript collection, which took place — as anticipated — in Milan in 1476, largely influenced the fate of these books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Before analysing this, and hence the routes of the dispersal, it is worth briefly outlining the framework of the development of the collection.

3.1 Collecting manuscripts

A first nucleus includes manuscripts dating from the early thirteenth to the fourteenth century: Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 (thirteenth century); Ambr. E 99 sup. (thirteenth century); Laur. 72.20 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Par. Mazarine 4453 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Mutin. α U.9.10 (fourteenth century); Vind. Theol. gr. 163 (fourteenth century). In these books, Kallistos' writing can be found either in marginal annotations or in leaves employed for the restoration of missing portions of text. Since the *ductus* of these samples is homogeneous and convincingly comparable to that of the manuscripts Andronikos copied with certainty while in the Byzantine East,¹ the conclusion must be that he purchased them there before he went to Italy. A confirmation of the palaeographic hints comes from the analysis of the watermarks found on the leaves inserted by Kallistos while restoring these old manuscripts; the drawings all refer to a period preceding Constantinople's fall. However, they were not the only 'old pieces' in Kallistos' collection. We must not forget the presence of other valuable books, such as the Mutin. α W.2.1 (twelfth century), *codex unicus* for Olympiodorus' commentary on Aristotle's logical treatises, the composite manuscript Athos 'Ιβήρων 161 (twelfth–fourteenth century),² the most important witness to the scholia on Aeschylus' tragedies, or Par. gr. 2998 (thirteenth century), copied by the patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus and once belonging to him.³ Unfortunately, we have no proof

1 See for this *supra*, § 2.1 and 2.4.1.1.

2 The presence of this codex in Crete in the mid-fifteenth century has been proved by Tselikas 2004, 369–376. See also Franchi 2019, 331–333.

3 There are actually some more books, dating from thirteenth to fourteenth century and belonging with certainty to Andronikos' collection. Below a list: Ambr. D 78 inf. (thirteenth century); Mutin. α P.5.20 (thirteenth–fourteenth century); Lips. gr. 34+33 (fourteenth century); Sinod. gr. 370 (fourteenth century); Par. gr. 3011 (fols 5–262) (fourteenth century); Ambr. H 52 sup. (fols 137–184) (fourteenth century); Laur. Ashb. 1599 (fols 153–175) (fourteenth century). For other books dating up until the fourteenth century, simply annotated or restored by Kallistos, there is no clear evidence regarding their inclusion within the collection, so that it is difficult to take a

that Andronikos purchased them while living in the East. Furthermore, in these manuscripts, the handwriting of Andronikos (in the margins as well as in the replaced leaves) more closely resembles the samples which are typical of his 'Italian' years. Lacking further data, both hypotheses are valid: 1. they may have been bought in the Byzantine East before 1453 and restored afterwards in Italy; 2. they may have been purchased and restored in Italy after 1453.

A second group includes all manuscripts referable to his proper 'Byzantine' activity. In the previous chapter we have seen that some of them were completed in Crete, others probably in Constantinople. One of the most interesting aspects is that these books are often the offspring of lost antigraphs. As it happens, the respective copy made by Kallistos of minor authors (e.g. Cornutus) to enrich his own library served, once it reached Italy, as the ancestor of a traditional branch that would otherwise have been lost. Upon arriving in Italy, Andronikos was welcomed by Bessarion in Bologna; his integration into the cardinal's environment was facilitated, as is well known, by Theodoros Gazes. In the first years of his stay in Italy, however, Kallistos was unable to greatly enrich his library precisely because of his temporary engagement as a copyist.

With the beginning of his teaching career and, above all, thanks to his contact with Palla Strozzi and the latter's library, the chances for Andronikos to further expand his personal library assets increased greatly. The long-term acquaintance with Strozzi's household and the contacts with other Italian and Byzantine intellectuals connected with the learned circles established in Padua, Bologna, and Ferrara during the second half of the 1450s and the first half of the 1460s ensured that Kallistos was able to consult a greater number of books, from which he made copies for himself. Moreover, many of the manuscripts that came out of his quill in these years are linked to his teaching activity and represent — as will be seen in more detail in other parts of the discussion — true 'editions' of classical authors (e.g. Theocritus). A rearrangement of materials that had remained unbound for some time might also be dated to this phase.⁴

stance: this is the case with Laur. 85.21, Par. gr. 1811, Berol. Hamilton 270, Cremon. 130 discussed in the course of the chapter. The following manuscripts were not part of Andronikos' library: Ricc. 46 and Par. gr. 2772 (owned by an anonymous pupil of Kallistos); Barb. gr. 161 (bearing annotations by Ciriaco d'Ancona); Par. Suppl. gr. 255; Urb. gr. 151 and Vat. gr. 1324 (having belonged to Palla Strozzi); Vat. gr. 1950; Marc. gr. Z. 226 and Vat. gr. 593 (owned by Bessarion).

⁴ An apparent sign of this readjustment — after which various codicological units ended up being tied together — is the characteristic 'double' quire numeration (Greek letters + Arabic numerals), which went on to supplement (and replace) the previous ones. This numeration is found in the following manuscripts: Comensis 1.3.19; Laur. Ashb. 1144 and 1599; Ambr. H 52 sup. and I 56

A fourth important timespan with reference to the enrichment of the collection is the (relatively quiet) period spent in Rome with Bessarion. The making of a number of manuscripts in Andronikos' collection, many of them concerning Aristotelian subjects, dates back to these years.

Finally, the last period in which Kallistos could augment his book collection was during his stay in Florence (1471–1474). We have seen in the previous pages the extent to which Andronikos was able to take advantage of the book collections of the city's monastic institutions, such as those at the Badia Fiorentina and the Convent of San Marco. The result of this favourable circumstances was the production of a number of manuscripts suited to his study and teaching needs.

3.2 Before the dispersal: The sale in Milan

As presented by Giuseppe Cammelli,⁵ details concerning the sale of the collection in Milan emerge from a letter sent in November 1476 by Giovanni Francesco Della Torre,⁶ *magister* of ordinary revenue of the Milan dukedom from 1466 on, to Lorenzo 'il Magnifico', Lord of Florence, who wished to gather further information about it. Here follows the text of the letter, written in vernacular Italian:⁷

(*verso*)

Magnifico ac generoso viro domino Laurentio de Medicis maiori meo hon(orand)o et cetera
Florentie
Redduntur fideliter

(*recto*)

Magnifice ac generose vir maior hon(orande). Andrea Petrini v(ost)ro mi ha facto una grandissima instantia ch'io volesse per mie littere significare a v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) come era passata questa cossa di libri de Andronico greccho. Dico adunque sì per satisfare ala reche-sta de dicto Andrea, come per la verità, che volendosse partire de qui Andronico et delibe-rando de andare cum uno signore dela Morea che stava qui, et non havendo il modo de possersi levare, prachò con m(agistr)o Bonacorso pisano, homo molto doctissimo, de ven-derli tuti li libri suoi. Et dicto m(agistr)o Bonacorso non havendo il modo da per sì ad exbor-

sup.; Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.6.13, α Q.5.20, α T.8.13, α T.9.2, α U.9.22, α V.7.1; Oxon. Bodl. d'Orville 115; Par. gr. 1878, 1879, 2038, 2046, 2066, Suppl. gr. 66; Vind. Hist. gr. 78; Lips. gr. 33 and 34.

⁵ See Cammelli 1942, 206–207.

⁶ A biographical account on Della Torre is found in Petrucci 1989.

⁷ Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 33, doc. 933. Other documents signed by Della Torre and kept in the same archive are a letter dated 1456, sent from Ferrara (filza 9 doc. 196), and another letter to Lorenzo dated 1474 (filza 30, doc. 980).

sare tanta summa, tractò questa cossa cum mi, come cum quello che haveva intima familiarità, et che sapeva me delectava de questi studii; et tandem venissemò a questa conclusione, che nui liberamente compravamo questi suoi libri tuti, che erano capsete sei, per ducati dusento d'oro largi, di quali io ne pagai du(cati) centocinquanta et m(agistr)o Bonaccorso cinquanta; et li libri pigliai io et sono presso mi, et li ho molto cari, non tanto per lo precio, che valeno puocho più, ma perché sono molto corretti et emendati come quelli che sono scripti da homo doctissimo per una bona parte. Et questa è la verità, la qual scrivo volentieri sì per satisfare ad Andrea Petrini, mio singulare amico, sì per<c>hé v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) intenda come è passata questa cossa per soa satisfactione, cum certificarla che in questi studii me ne sono delectato et delecto quanto zentilhomò de questo paese, et la mia bibliotheca è cussì ben fornita come puochissime siano in Lombardia. Et a v(ost)ra M(agnificentia) me ricomando que valeat feliciter. M(edio)l(an)i X No(vem)bris 1476.

Ioannes Franciscus de la Turre
ex magistris intratarum ducalium

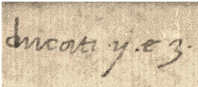
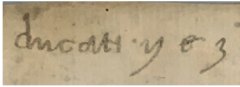
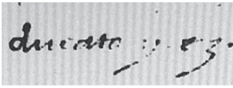
The letter informs us that the books belonging to 'Andronico grecco' at first caught the attention of Bonaccorso Pisano.⁸ A learned man ('homo molto doctissimo') and esteemed editor of classical texts in Milan in the 1480s, Bonaccorso did not possess a sufficient amount of money to acquire the whole collection, which had been appraised at two hundred ducats. Therefore, he asked Giovanni Francesco Della Torre to purchase them for him. The six boxes ('capsete') containing Andronikos' precious books ('libri [...] molto corretti et emendati') enriched Della Torre's collection, one of the most equipped in the Lombard territory ('cussì ben fornita come puochissime siano in Lombardia').

Non-systematic approaches to the extant manuscripts coming from Andronikos' collection have so far failed to furnish clear, tangible trace of the sale's circumstances. The scrutiny of Kallistos' autographs, instead, brought to light two interesting elements, which undoubtedly link some manuscripts to the purchase by Della Torre in Milan in 1476.

The first element consists of an indication of price: 'ducati 2 e 3 <soldi>' (see Table 3.1). Work of the same hand, this record appears in an identical formulation in three manuscripts: Laur. Ashb. 1144 (fol. VIII^r) (= a), Mutin. α U.9.10 (fol. 215v) (= b) and Vat. gr. 1314 (fol. 280v) (= c).

⁸ See for him the entry by Ballistreri 1969.

Table 3.1: Selling price.

a	b	c
		

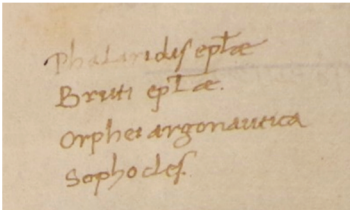
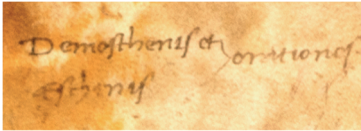
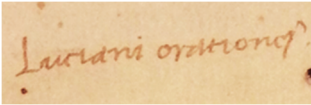
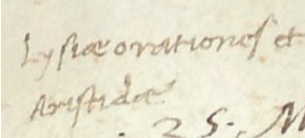
The reference to the currency, the *ducato*, is an indication that the sale was carried out in Milan. It is plausible that this detail originally appeared also in other manuscripts, most likely on the flyleaves, which in most cases have been lost. Moreover, since the Laurentianus, the Mutinensis, and the Vaticanus are three codicologically different volumes⁹ (none of them presenting a particularly refined manufacture), we can suppose that a quote of 2 ‘ducati’ and 3 ‘soldi’ had been given to every book of Andronikos’ collection as an average price. If this hypothesis is correct, then, since the final price of the whole collection amounted to 200 ducats, Andronikos’ library might have included, at the time of the sale in March 1476, around 85 volumes.¹⁰

The second element is an indication of the books’ contents (see Table 3.2), which occurs in more than one codex. We find it in four pieces: Mutin. α T.9.2 (fol. 1r); Sinod. gr. 267 (1r); Ambr. H 52 sup. (IIIr); Par. gr. 3011 (IIr).

⁹ The Laurentianus is a paper manuscript of about 180 fols, entirely copied by Andronikos; it presents a text (Pindar’s *Odes*) elegantly copied in clear handwriting, a neat *mise en page* ordered across only 15 written lines out of 29 ruled ones. On the contrary, the Vaticanus is a manuscript copied for Kallistos’ own study, also on paper (about 280 fols), miscellaneous, provided with 29 lines of text, abounding with interlinear and marginal annotations, corrections, and deletions. Lastly, the Mutinensis is a fourteenth-century codex (145 fols), restored by Kallistos in more than one section.

¹⁰ Cases of depreciation and/or hyper-valuation of some manuscripts must be taken into account. However, as explicitly stated by the buyer, Gian Francesco Della Torre, the books were sold at a fair price with regard to their real worth.

Table 3.2: Indication of contents.

	Sinod. gr. 267	
Mutin. α T.9.2		
	Par. gr. 3011	Ambr. H 52 sup.
		

A comparison of these *specimina* shows that both elements, the respective indication of price and contents, are the work of the same hand. The presence of these signs is of great importance for the investigation of the fate of the collection, as they have been found on manuscripts, which were to end up later on in different libraries having been dispersed independently of one another. This suggests, therefore, that these records refer to a time-frame when Andronikos' books had been sold all together. In this regard, the most obvious and plausible hypothesis is that they have to be traced back to the sale completed in Milan, whose main protagonists were, as mentioned, Giovanni Francesco Della Torre and Bonaccorso da Pisa.¹¹

Decisive proof comes again from a piece of palaeographic evidence. The Latin writing of these notes is actually that of <Bonaccorso>, which is known from some autograph records, such as a letter¹² sent to Lorenzo on 2 October 1478 (Fig. 3.1).

¹¹ We shall thus correct Petrucci's (1989) claim: 'Si può inoltre osservare che molti codici scritti da Andronico Callisto, che però possono non essere quelli che furono da lui venduti al Della Torre, sono finiti nella Biblioteca Estense, dopo aver appartenuto a Giorgio Valla e quindi ad Alberto Pio da Carpi'. [We can thus note that many codices written by Andronikos Kallistos, which were not among those sold by him to Della Torre, ended up in the Biblioteca Estense, after having belonged to Giorgio Valla and hence to Alberto Pio da Carpi].

¹² Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 36, doc. 1090.

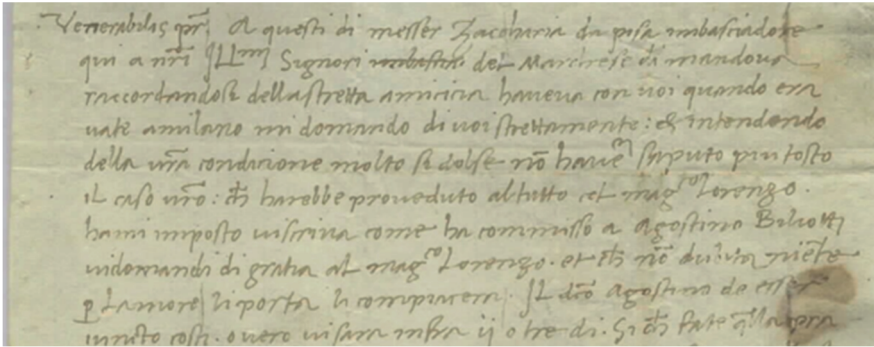


Fig. 3.1: Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 36, doc. 1090, recto; © Firenze, Archivio di Stato.

In addition, autoptical inspection of the manuscripts revealed the recurrence of Greek and Latin marginal annotations (mostly *notabilia*) attributable to the hand of a Western reader. This reader's handwriting is minute and bears few ligatures. It can be found in the manuscripts Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.6.13, α Q.5.20, α T.8.13, α T.9.1, α U.9.22, Lips. gr. 34 and gr. 33. As will be seen below, in (almost) all cases these books can be traced along the same route of dispersal and ended up in Giorgio Valla's collection. This cannot be incidental and seems to indicate that this reader had access to only part of Kallistos' collection.

Upon comparison with the repertoires, a similarity with the Greek writing of Giovanni Crastone might be proposed. The only subscribed manuscript so far attributed to his hand is Placent. 6 (last codicological unit, erroneously dated to the year 1437; Fig. 3.2). We can attach below for comparison the handwriting of the annotator found in the Kallistos' books (Fig. 3.3) and that of Crastone (Fig. 3.2):

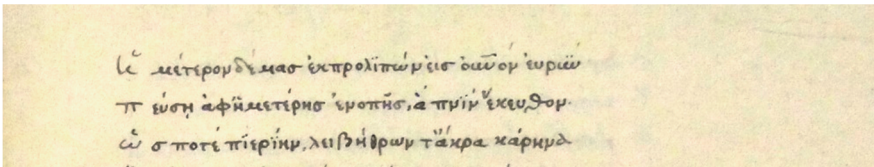


Fig. 3.2: Placent. 6, fol. 103r; © Biblioteca Comunale 'Passerini Landi'.

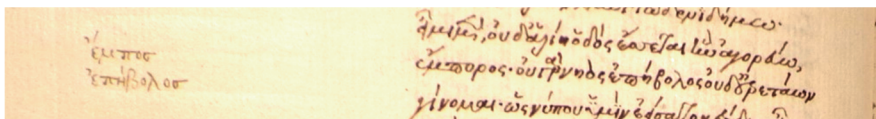


Fig. 3.3: Mutin. α P.5.19, fol. 14v; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

It must be borne in mind that the Piacenza manuscript, owing to its watermarks, is datable to the mid-fifteenth century, whereas in the case of the annotations found in Modena manuscripts one must envision a dating following the sale of the collection, i.e. *post* 1476. Moreover, the graphic sample made available by the Modena manuscripts is limited to a few isolated words in the margins; this prevents us from gaining an overview of the whole page. Pending further verification, let us leave the proposal only as a hypothesis for now. I point out that, from a cultural-historical point of view, this scenario would be plausible. For Giovanni Crastone collaborated with Bonaccorso da Pisa — i.e., the one who purchased Kallistos' books — on many cultural projects. Above all, we should mention the launch of typographic production of books in Greek that took place in those years in Milan. Under Crastone's and Bonaccorso's editorship was published, e.g., the famous *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Milan, *ante* 1478), released for printing and provided with Bonaccorso Pisano's introductory letter to Gian Francesco Della Torre, and the *editio princeps* of Theocritus' *Idylls*, which — as will be seen below¹³ — is based on a *recensio* prepared by Andronikos Kallistos.

3.3 The Valla-Pio-Modena branch

In strictly numerical terms, the main nucleus of Andronikos' library consists of a group of codices, which came to enrich the collection of a learned man from Piacenza, Giorgio Valla (1447–1500).¹⁴ Valla's *ex-libris* regularly appears, in fact, on 22 manuscripts copied (and/or simply annotated) by Kallistos:

Mutin. α P.5.19 [Homer]

Mutin. α P.5.20 [miscellany]

Mutin. α P.6.13 [scholia to Apollonius Rhodius]

¹³ See *infra*, § 5.3.1.

¹⁴ Due to a lack of recent studies on the development of Giorgio Valla's Greek and Latin collection, the contributions by Heiberg 1896 and Heiberg 1898 remain fundamental. More recent data are available in Avezzù 1989–1990, Rollo 2014a and Rollo 2014b. Di Pietro Lombardi 2004 and Raschieri 2013 do not provide much further information.

- Mutin. α Q.5.20 [scholia]
- Mutin. α Q.5.21 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α T.8.3 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α T.8.13 [Apollonius Rhodius]
- Mutin. α T.8.20 [Iohannes Aktuarios]
- Mutin. α T.9.1 [Aristotle]
- Mutin. α T.9.2 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α T.9.14 [Aratus, Pindar, Lycophron]
- Mutin. α U.5.1 [Homer]
- Mutin. α U.9.3 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α U.9.10 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α U.9.18 [Nemesius of Emesa]
- Mutin. α U.9.22 [scholia]
- Mutin. α V.7.1 [miscellany]
- Mutin. α V.7.17 [miscellany, Xenophon]
- Mutin. α W.2.1 [Olympiodorus, Porphyry]
- Mutin. α W.5.5 [miscellany]
- Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 [Nikephoros Blemmydes]
- Vat. gr. 1314 [miscellany]

It is yet unknown when and under which conditions Andronikos' books were bought by Giorgio Valla, whether he purchased them directly from Gian Francesco Della Torre or whether there had been other owners in-between the last decades of the fifteenth century. Thanks to pieces of information gathered from the manuscripts themselves and from textual criticism studies, we can sketch an outline of the 'sojourn' of Kallistos' books in Valla's library in Venice, until the latter's death and the consequent sale of his books (1500).

First of all, Mutin. α N.7.17, a volume containing Pindar's *Odes*, with the exception of the *Olympians*, offers a reliable *terminus ante quem* of Valla's acquisition. Iohannes Rhosos completed the copying of this manuscript on 5 December 1485 for Lorenzo Loredan,¹⁵ Giorgio Valla's pupil; and Jean Irigoin¹⁶ identified its antigraph as Mutin. α T.9.14, which was included in Kallistos' collection. This may thus suggest that in 1485 Andronikos' manuscripts were already in Venice at Valla's residence.

Further information about the presence of Kallistos' books in the Laguna between 1490–1492 come from the memoirs of Angelo Poliziano and Ianos Laskaris,

¹⁵ On Lorenzo Loredan and his collection of Greek manuscripts refer to Vendruscolo 1995.

¹⁶ Irigoin 1952, 386–387.

two of the most culturally relevant figures of the last quarter of the fifteenth century; at the time they were both involved in the search for rare texts for their protector, Lorenzo de' Medici. In codices Clm 766 and 807 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, there are notes from Poliziano's and Pico della Mirandola's well-known journey to Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, and Venice, to find new texts for Medici's private collection.¹⁷ These notes are related to a famous letter dated 20 June 1491, often mentioned and re-published by scholars working on this subject.¹⁸ In the epistle, Poliziano informs Lorenzo about the presence of some books in Venice, in Valla's collection, whose texts are missing in Medici's, hinting at the opportunity of having them quickly transcribed by the prolific Cretan priest-copyist Iohannes Rhosos (mentioned as 'papa Janni' in the letter).¹⁹ Thus in this way, on Poliziano's initiative, some texts available in Valla's collection were copied by Rhosos in Venice for Lorenzo de' Medici.²⁰ Taking into account here only Andronikos' books, we shall consider the cases of Laur. 6.22 and Laur. 58.13, whose rare texts descend from an important manuscript in Kallistos' library, Vat. gr. 1314. In Laur. 6.22 — a volume made up of many codicological units, coeval and yet independent of each other (all of them being copied between April and July 1491) —, Rhosos transcribed in fols 29r–83v an *Introduction to the composition of works in prose, verses and epistles*²¹ and a booklet with the title Συνοπτικὸν σύνταγμα φιλοσοφίας;²² in Laur. 58.13, Rhosos copied Cornutus' *De natura deorum* (together with Iohannes Lydos' chapter *De cometis*).²³

References to Andronikos' texts from Valla's Venetian collection appear in Ianos Laskaris' private notes about his trips and expeditions to the Byzantine East, undertaken between 1490 and 1492 in order to enrich the Medici's private library. There is a large bibliography on the topic.²⁴ In this regard, a contribution by Guido Avezzi proved to be decisive to the resolution of the question about the

17 See Daneloni 2013 (with further bibliography).

18 See now Rollo 2014a, 111.

19 The identification with Rhosos, which had been suggested by Heiberg, has been corroborated by new data presented in Rollo 2014a, 132.

20 Rollo 2014a, 118–128.

21 The author of this εἰσαγωγή περὶ λογογραφίας, ἐπιστολῶν καὶ στίχων brief is still unknown. Scholars have suggested Gregorios of Corinth, but this suggestion cannot be confirmed. For a recent summary on the subject, see Corcella 2010.

22 This anonymous booklet has been elsewhere transmitted under the name of Gregorios Aneponymos; the text is published in Heiberg 1929.

23 See Krafft 1975, 252–253, 278–279, 309–316.

24 A comprehensive account on this subject in Rollo 2014a, 108–110 n. 3 (with further references). For Laskaris' travel diary see Gentile 1994, Speranzi 2010b, and Speranzi 2013a, 80–82, 89–91.

existence of the *Anonymus Mutinensis*.²⁵ Resuming earlier proposals by K. K. Müller and G. Mercati,²⁶ Avezzù was able to identify in Laskaris' travel journal, Vat. gr. 1412, indisputable references to Andronikos' books kept at Valla's house:²⁷ Vat. gr. 1314, Mutin. α U.9.10, Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, Mutin. α Q.5.21.²⁸ Hans-Christian Günther and Andrea Tessier identified at a later time in Laskaris' notebook another manuscript belonging to Kallistos: Mutin. α Q.5.20.²⁹

Before providing a full account of these identifications (see below, Table 3.3), to which we can add some new ones, mention must be made of an important issue. As correctly observed by Avezzù, it has mistakenly been assumed that the titles of the works written down by Ianos Laskaris faithfully repeat those he found in the library he was inspecting, and some manuscripts have been attributed to other libraries (like that of Gioacchino Della Torre), whereas they were included in Valla's.³⁰ We can hereby clarify further. The entries do not necessarily refer to entire volumes, since they rather reflect the interest shown by Ianos Laskaris into specific texts contained within them, in some of their codicological units or in some leaves. A close correlation will be therefore established between entries and texts rather than between entries and manuscripts.

Table 3.3: Andronikos' books at Valla's house. The notebook of Ianos Laskaris.

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
51r lin. 7–10 Σοφοκλέους Αἰκάντος, Ἡλέκτρας, Ἀντιγόνης, Οἰδίποδος σχόλια καὶ εἶδος μέτρων. Θεοκρίτου εἰδιλίων (sic) ἰθ' ἔξηγήσεις. ἔτι σχόλια εἰς τινὰς λόγους τοῦ Πλάτωνος, εἰς τὸν Εὐθύφρονα καὶ ἄλλους	= Mutin. α Q.5.20 (units I–IV) (Mercati / Günther / Tessier)

²⁵ Avezzù 1989–1990, 85–87.

²⁶ See Müller 1884, 340–344, 354–363, 366, Heiberg 1896 and Mercati 1938.

²⁷ Fols 51r–51v, 52r lin. 11–22 give an account about the books which are kept in Venice in the collection of Valla (ἐν Βενετίᾳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Βάλλα).

²⁸ Avezzù 1989–1990, 84–87. The reference to Mutin. α V.7.14, indicated by Avezzù as a 'codice androniciano', is wrong. The autoptical examination of this manuscript shows that there is no link to Kallistos' activity or any further evidence supporting the observations advanced by Gamillscheg 1978, 232 and taken for granted by Centanni 1984–1985, 214. Recent data about this manuscript is in Speranzi 2013a, 30, 112–113, 177, 180, 182.

²⁹ See Mercati 1938, Günther 1999, 321, Tessier 2000, 353, and Tessier 2015a, XXIX–XXX.

³⁰ See Avezzù 1989–1990, 77–78, correcting the entries regarding Trophonius (Mutin. α U.9.10, fols 2r–12v) and Musaeus (Mutin. α Q.5.21, unit II).

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
51r lin. 18 Νεμεσίου περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου	= <Mutin. U.9.18>
51r lin. 13 Συμπόσιον ἢ χρόνια τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἀτελές ³¹	= <Mutin. α V.7.1> (unit II, fols 119v–141r)
51r lin. 14–15 Ξενοφώντος πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογία Σωκράτους ³²	= Mutin. α V.7.17 (unit IV, fols 121v lin. 19– 129v) (Heiberg)
51v lin. 5 Κασσιανοῦ ἱατροσοφιστοῦ προβλήματα	= <Mutin. α P.5.20> (unit II, fols 70v lin. 10–82v)
51v lin. 6–7 De remediis, de praeparatione corporis et bono animo, nescio utrum Plotini an Cassiani ³³	= <Mutin. α P.5.20> (units I –II, fols 63v–78r lin. 11)
51v lin. 12 Μουσικὴ τοῦ Βρυεννίου	= <Mutin. α V.7.1> (unit I)
51v lin. 14 Πλουτάρχου αἰτίαι φυσικαί, περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τετελεσμένον οὐ μὴν σῶν ³⁴	= Mutin. α V.7.17 (unit III) (Heiberg)
52r lin. 12 Amphilochii versus	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 16r–17r) (Avezzi)
52r lin. 12–13 Macremboli enigmata & Oloboli solutiones	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 29v–32r) (Avezzi)
52r lin. 13 logica sine nomine libellus	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 86v–106v) (Avezzi)
52 lin. 13–14 Phurnii de diis antiquorum libellus antiqui auctoris & de cometis	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 191r–213r) (Avezzi)

³¹ The work by the Emperor Julian copied in this Mutinensis is indeed incomplete.

³² This Mutinensis is the only codex known to us which contains in this order Xenophon's *De vectigalibus* and *Apologia Socratis*.

³³ This case is particularly instructive about the fact that the entries mostly refer to single texts and not necessarily to the whole unit containing them. It is also interesting to observe that here Laskaris reproduced the erroneous indication he read in the *pinax* in the hand of Markos Musuros: (fol. 1v) *eiū<s>dem De remediis*, corrected by a later hand to *eiusdem* [sc. *Galen*] *De sectis ad introducendos*. One gets the impression therefore that, in this case, Laskaris did not check the actual contents of the manuscript.

³⁴ The indication 'complete, but not undefective' exactly corresponds to the state of these leaves (in Andronikos' hand) which display numerous *fenestrae*.

Entry in Laskaris' notebook Vat. gr. 1412 (fols 51r–52r)	Manuscripts of Andronikos Kallistos (kept by Valla)
52 lin. 14–15 Orphei de ter remotibus versiculi. Quod ea quae sunt sint, tria quattuor folia	= Vat. gr. 1314 (fols 215v–216r) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 16 Τροφονίου προλεγόμενα εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν	= Mutin. α U.9.10 (fols 2r–12v) (Avezzù)
52r lin. 16–17 Nicephori tractatus de dialectica & philosophia et naturalis	= Oxon. Holk. Hall gr. 71 (Avezzù)
52r lin. 17–18 παράφρασις εἰς σοφιστικὴν Ἀνδρονικίου γράμμασιν	= Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit I) (Avezzù)
52 lin. 18 Μουσαίου τὸ κατ' Ἡρώ (sic) καὶ Λέανδρον	= Mutin. α Q.5.21 (unit II) (Avezzù)

In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, therefore, Kallistos' books were with certainty stored in Valla's library in Venice, drawing the attention of Giorgio's friends and fellow scholars because of their highly interesting contents. Before examining the events which led this nucleus of Andronikos' collection to be included (through Valla) in the library of the rulers of Modena, we may add here a brief remark.

To Ianos Laskaris' team of scribes acting in Florence (which included Aristobulos Apostoles, Markos Musuros and Kaisar Strategos, who arrived in the city around 1492), there belonged also a certain Michael Suliardos from Argos.³⁵ Although David Speranzi recently offered a detailed account of this copyist's movements between Greece and Italy, there is still no systematic study on his autographs, which could allow a more precise identification of times and whereabouts. However, there is a significant piece of information about Suliardos' activity in the last decade of the fifteenth century which is relevant to many books of Andronikos' collection. Some of the manuscripts copied in this timespan by Suliardos turned out to be direct copies of Kallistos' books being part of Valla's collection in Venice. In his fundamental study on the textual tradition of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Edgar Lobel already highlighted the dependency of Matr. 4612 on Mutin. α T.8.3.³⁶ Likewise, according to Jean Irigoin, the Pindaric section written

³⁵ On the activity of this scribe see Lobel 1933, 54–56; Harlfinger 1971, 416; *RGK* I 286 = II 392 = III 468; Speranzi 2013a, in part. 60–64, 68–72. A new trace of his activity as a copyist is <Pal. gr. 338> (Greek version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*).

³⁶ Lobel 1933, 38.

down by Suliardos in Ambr. C 22 sup. derives from Mutin. α T.9.14.³⁷ Alexander Turyn's studies on Triclinius' scholia to the tragedians — summarised and further explored by Andrea Tessier — have shown that the Cambridge manuscript Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70 is a direct apograph to both Mutin. α Q.5.20 and Mutin. α U.9.22.³⁸ Similarly, as Paolo Eleuteri demonstrated, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, copied by Suliardos in Par. gr. 2600 is an offspring of a manuscript once owned by Kallistos, i.e. Mutin. α Q.5.21.³⁹ Heterogeneous contents of Mutin. α T.9.2 (Aratus, Nicander *etc.*) are gathered together in Ambr. C 32 sup.⁴⁰ To all these data, already acknowledged by the modern scholarship, one shall add at least another piece concerning Par. gr. 2166, whose two first codicological units belonged to Ianos Laskaris.⁴¹ Partial collations on the text of the *Ad Glauconem* (fols 1r–29r) highlighted that the Parisinus directly descends from Mutin. α P.5.20, a volume from Kallistos' (and thence Valla's) library, which preserves this text at fols 38v–63v.⁴² In short, there are numerous indications of Suliardos' activity as a copyist in Venice (perhaps also on behalf of Ianos Laskaris); he seems thus to have been charged with the task of producing copies of Kallistos' books available through Valla (see Table 3.4). This activity is to a certain extent parallel to the aforementioned campaign

³⁷ Irigoin 1952, 386–387. The identification of the copyist with Michael Suliardos is already found in the catalogue Martini and Bassi 1906, I, 184.

³⁸ See Turyn 1957, 205 and Tessier 2015a, XXXI–XXXII. The analysis of the watermarks by Günther 1995, 162 should also be taken into account, as it points out that Venice must have been the place of production of the Cambridge codex. Finally, also the section containing the *Prolegomena Tzetzae*, rearranged in a quite singular form by the so-called *Anonymus Crameri* descends from Mutin. α U.9.22: see on this subject Koster 1975, XXXVI.

³⁹ Eleuteri 1981, 13, 105–107, 111–117. The watermarks point to a production in Venice. A further proof to the fact that the copy by Suliardos was carried out directly from the Modena codex is that some lines of text which are missing in Mutin. α Q.5.21 of Kallistos (fols 68v lin. 12–70v) were integrated in the Mutinensis by Suliardos himself, as observed by De Gregorio 1993, 142.

⁴⁰ See Martin 1974 XI–XII (Aratus); Vian 1979, 29–31 (*Argon. Orph.*); Aujac 1992, 23 (Dion. Halic.); Jacques 2002, CLIII–CLIV (Nicander). With regard to the section containing Lycophron's *Alexandra*, the Ambr. C 32 sup. has been included in a group of codices which Pal gr. 142, a direct apograph of Mutin. α T.9.14, also belongs to (see Scheer 1879, 451); since Suliardos used Mutin. α T.9.14 for copying Pindar, it is likely at this point that for Lycophron the Ambrosianus likewise descends from this Mutinensis.

⁴¹ See Jackson 1999a, 130 and Jackson 2010. This book was purchased later on by Niccolò Leonicensino, whose collection was passed on in the middle of the sixteenth century to Niccolò Ridolfi. See Muratore 2009. This information is missing in the monograph study about the collection of Niccolò Leonicensino by Mugnai Carrara 1991.

⁴² The third codicological unit of Par. gr. 2166, containing Galen's *De plenitudine*, which is not of the hand of Suliardos, also descends from a book included in Valla's library, that is, Mutin. α G.3.12; see Otte 2001, 14–18.

of transcription of texts for the enrichment of Medici's private collection, performed between Florence and Venice in those same years.

Table 3.4: Copies of Kallistos' books made by Suliardos.

Manuscripts of the collection Kallistos / Valla	Contents	Apographs in the hand of Michael Suliardos
Mutin. α T.8.3	Aristotle, <i>Poetica</i>	→ Matr. 4612
	[Dem. Phal.]	→ Matr. 4612
Mutin. α Q.5.21	Musaeus	→ Par. gr. 2600
Mutin. α T.9.2	Aratus, <i>Phaenom.</i> Dion. Halic., <i>De imit.</i> Nicander <i>Argon. Orph.</i>	→ Ambr. C 32 sup.
Mutin. α T.9.14	Lycophron	→ Ambr. C 32 sup.
	Pindar	→ Ambr. C 22 sup.
Mutin. α Q.5.20	<i>scholia</i>	→ Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70
Mutin. α U.9.22	<i>scholia</i>	→ Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Dd.XI.70
	<i>scholia</i>	→ Voss. gr. Q 33
Mutin. α P.5.20	Galen, <i>Ad Glau.</i>	→ Par. gr. 2166

As is known, Valla's Greek collection was bought by the Lord of Carpi Alberto III Pio for 800 golden 'scudi',⁴³ after Giorgio's death in 1500. Andronikos' collection, included in that of Valla, thus merged with other minor collections coming from Ferrara and Venice, that is, cities where Alberto was completing numerous purchases at that time. The Lord of Carpi entrusted the Cretan Markos Musuros with the task of organizing this growing collection; Musuros endowed a large number of volumes with a Latin index and with a new *ex libris* on their flyleaves.⁴⁴ In several cases, Musuros crossed out Valla's note of ownership, substituting it with Alberto's (see Fig. 3.4); in other cases, he simply added Alberto's name to Valla's.

⁴³ See Svalduz 2001, 114–115, n. 1.

⁴⁴ Among the books preserved in Modena which are linked to Andronikos' library, the ones still bearing both the *ex libris* and the index in the hand of Markos Musuros are: Mutin. α P.5.19, α P.5.20, α Q.5.20, α T.8.3, α T.8.13, α T.8.20, α T.9.1, α T.9.2, α T.9.14, α U.9.3, α U.9.10, α U.9.22, α

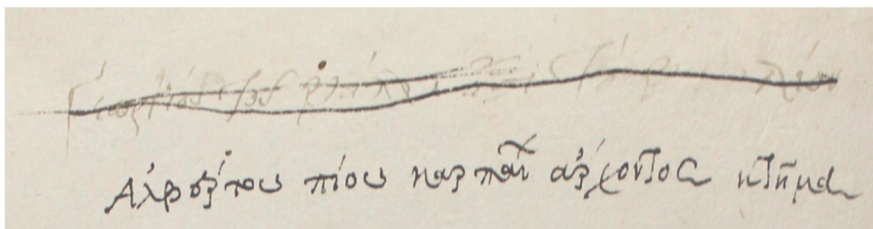


Fig. 3.4: Mutin. α P.5.20, fol. 1v; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

Following Valla's, Andronikos' 22 books ended up in Alberto Pio's hands and provided support for his Greek studies under the teachings of Musuros. Alberto's collection mainly included recent volumes dating back to the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. As is known, an inventory was done in Carpi in the first decades of the sixteenth century, certainly before 1531 (that is, the year of Lord Alberto Pio's death).⁴⁵ Traces of this cataloguing activity are found in two manuscripts, Vat. lat. 6937 (fols 40r–49r) and 7205 (fols 94r–105r).⁴⁶ After Alberto's death, his nephew cardinal Rodolfo Pio inherited the manuscripts. The complete inventory of his books is kept in Barb. lat. 3108 (fols 55v–62r).⁴⁷ Unlike Alberto's, this was compiled directly by the executors of Rodolfo's will in May 1564 (about two weeks after his death), in preparation for the sale of the cardinal's antiquarian goods. Among the bibliophiles interested in the purchase were Philip II of Spain, Cosimo de' Medici and Alfonso II d'Este. The Lord of Ferrara managed to obtain the Pios' collection; though the transfer of the antiquities (including the boxes containing the manuscripts) from Rome to Ferrara succeeded only in 1573. In 1598 the books finally moved from Ferrara to Modena, where they are nowadays kept at the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (see Table 3.5).⁴⁸

V.7.1, α V.7.17; for a broader perspective, not limited to Andronikos' collection, see Speranzi 2013a, 112–113 n. 67.

⁴⁵ Speranzi 2013a, 112 n. 67 reasonably proposes a date around 1527.

⁴⁶ See Mercati 1938, 38–74 and 203–245.

⁴⁷ For the inventory of the 'libri scritti à penna Greci' see Heiberg 1896, 470–478.

⁴⁸ In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Girolamo Tiraboschi carried out a reorganization of the Duke's library, which obliterated most of the original codicological features. Tiraboschi substituted the original bindings with those which are still visible today (known, thus, as 'legature tiraboschiane'): they are made of Russian leather and are provided with coat of arms on the spine (the eagle of the House of Este).

Table 3.5: From Andronikos to Rodolfo Pio. Concordance.

Current shelfmark	Reference to Puntoni's catalogue	Old shelfmark	Inventory of Alberto Pio (<i>ante</i> 1531) = Vat. lat. 6937	Inventory of Rodolfo Pio (1564) = Barb. lat. 3108
α P.5.19	gr. 110	II.D.11	no. 92	no. 94
α P.5.20	gr. 109	II.D.10	no. 1	no. 63
α P.6.13	gr. 77	II.C.10	no. 140	no. 74
α Q.5.20	gr. 87	III.C.8	no. 134	no. 136
α Q.5.21	gr. 91	III.C.12	no. 24	no. 16
α T.8.3	gr. 100	II.D.1	no. 36	no. 83
α T.8.13	gr. 140	II.E.7	no. 67	no. 69
α T.8.20	gr. 141	II.E.8	no. 71	no. 62
α T.9.1	gr. 38	II.B.1	no. 16	no. 32
α T.9.2	gr. 39	II.B.2	no. 135	no. 37
α T.9.14	gr. 51	II.B.14	no. 145	no. 72
α U.5.1	gr. 123	III.D.4	no. 72	no. 95
α U.9.3	gr. 54	III.B.2	no. 74	no. 35
α U.9.10	gr. 59	III.B.7	no. 99	no. 38
α U.9.18	gr. 18	III.A.4	no. 74	no. 35
α U.9.22	gr. 93	III.C.14	no. 146	no. 75
α V.7.1	gr. 173	II.F.8	no. 13	no. 89
α V.7.17	gr. 145	II.E.12	no. 41	no. 50
α W.2.1	gr. 69	II.C.2	no. 94	no. 27
α W.5.5	gr. 165	III.E.12	no. 54	no. 122

A distinction is in order: two manuscripts owned by Andronikos, and later by Giorgio Valla and Alberto Pio, left the collection before the latter's death, and thus never belonged to Rodolfo. This split probably took place as Alberto, defeated in the battle of Pavia in 1525, fled to Rome, where he died some years later

in 1531. This may explain why the manuscripts Vat. gr. 1314 and Oxon. Bodl. Holkham Hall gr. 71 are today away from Modena.⁴⁹

The Vatican manuscript, as anticipated,⁵⁰ is a witness well-known to scholars working on Kallistos because of the *subscriptio* in the hand of Andronikos (fol. 15v). In the inventory of Alberto's books, compiled before 1531, Vat. gr. 1314 appears at no. 49,⁵¹ whereas it is missing from the list compiled after Rodolfo's death in 1564. The Vaticanus ended up finally in Fulvio Orsini's Roman collection.⁵² Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71, which bears traces of Andronikos' textual and codicological restoration, was never part of the Este's collection. The Oxoniensis shows still both Giorgio Valla's and Alberto Pio's *ex libris*, along with that of Claudio Betti from Bologna (†1589).⁵³ Known as 'Betto giovane', he was born in Modena and lectured on moral philosophy at the *Studium* in Bologna.⁵⁴ More than two centuries later, Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71 was purchased in Italy by Thomas Coke, Duke of Leicester; thence the transfer to Oxford's Bodleian Library.⁵⁵

To conclude the survey on Valla-Pio's branch, we should briefly refer to the Euclid Par. gr. 2346. Three scribes worked together on its making: Georgios Tribizias, Michael Lygizos, and Andronikos Kallistos, who acted as the *maître d'œuvre* of the manuscript.⁵⁶ As observed by Ernst Gamillscheg and Antonio Rollo,⁵⁷ Valla is the author of most of additions in the margins. One can infer therefore that this manuscript also belonged to Andronikos before entering Valla's library. However, Par. gr. 2346 did not share the fate of the other books which belonged to

49 While examining the manuscripts from Kallistos' library I checked some others belonging to Valla-Pio's. I did not come across traces of Andronikos' hand in the following pieces: Neap. III.C.2, Par. Suppl. gr. 387, Ambr. A 119 sup., Ambr. L 41 sup., Vat. Barb. gr. 186, Ott. gr. 371, Vat. gr. 1316, and Vat. gr. 2241. I also verified some manuscripts only bearing Valla's *ex libris*, with negative outcomes concerning Kallistos' hand; it is Par. gr. 2195, Vat. gr. 2202, Par. Suppl. gr. 556, Ambr. C 235 inf., and Ambr. M 51 sup.

50 See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

51 Mercati 1938, 210.

52 This corresponds to no. 30 in the inventory of Orsini's library published in de Nolhac 1887.

53 To my knowledge, the *ex-libris* of Betti is found in at least two other Greek books, that is, Barb. gr. 124 (fol. 240v: Κλαυδίου Βέττου καὶ τῶν φίλων; see Capocci 1958, 180) and the manuscript Chicago, Newberry Library, Ry. 9 (see Sicherl 1997, 228 [shelfmark '103']).

54 For a biographical account see Stabile 1967; more data about his works in Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* (I 151, 278b, 398b; II 453).

55 See Barbour 1956, 61–63 and Barbour 1961, 591, 605.

56 The identification of the hands is in RGK II 25, 94, 386.

57 See Rollo 2014b.

Valla, and was never part of Alberto's and Rodolfo Pio's collections.⁵⁸ Along with many other books owned by Valla, the Parisinus was bought by Gian Francesco Torresani d'Asola († c. 1557), Aldo Manuzio's brother-in-law.⁵⁹ It finally ended up at Fontainebleau in the royal library of France by means of the purchase carried out by Guillaume Pellicier (acting as ambassador in Venice in 1542) for King Francis I.

3.4 The Migliavacca batch

In a recent paper,⁶⁰ I undertook the study of the Greek manuscripts once belonging to Baldassar Migliavacca († c. 1524), a lesser-known humanist from Pavia acting in Lombardy between the second half of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century. The interest in Migliavacca's books arose out of a pressing need to collect more information about a learned man whose name comes out in the catalogues as the owner of some Greek books, which are often linked to the activity of Andronikos Kallistos. In this regard, it must be said that Migliavacca's Greek-Latin *ex libris* — generally expressed by means of the formula ἐμοῦ Βαλτάσαρος Μελιαβακκοῦ / *Baltasaris Meliavaccae* (with slight variations) — appears in the following volumes: Ambr. I 56 sup., Laur. Ashb. 1144 and 1599, Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18, Sinod. gr. 370, Par. Suppl. gr. 66.⁶¹ The palaeographic study of Migliavacca's Greek handwriting⁶² — which started with the analysis of these inscriptions on the guard-leaves along with the tables of contents, written sometimes in his hand⁶³ — demonstrated that he was without doubt a pupil of Kallistos. Moreover, Migliavacca was not only the owner of many books belonging to Andronikos, since he also 'inherited' from the master most of his graphic system: Kallistos' typical forms and ligatures regularly appear in the sam-

58 As noticed in Mercati 1938, and 211–212, the two entries concerning Euclid's *Elementa* in the inventory of Alberto Pio (no. 57 and no. 73) correspond to manuscripts nowadays kept in Modena.

59 The case of Par. gr. 2195 is similar, as this was undoubtedly owned by Valla and bears his *ex libris* on the *recto* of the flyleaf placed on the front and marked with the letter 'A'; see Cataldi Palau 1998, 471–472.

60 Orlandi 2014b.

61 With reference to Par. Suppl. gr. 66, Migliavacca's *ex libris*, today almost completely erased, is still visible with the aid of the Wood lamp; see Orlandi 2014b, and plate XVIIIe.

62 See Orlandi 2014b, 149–155.

63 See the case of Par. Suppl. gr. 541, Laur. Ashb. 1144, Laur. Ashb. 1599, and Sinod. gr. 267.

ples of Migliavacca's handwriting. This evidence led to a more detailed examination of all books from Kallistos' collection in which one comes across puzzling anomalies of *ductus* and hatching. In more than one instance, especially with reference to the annotations in the margins, it has been possible to attribute to Migliavacca (rather than to Kallistos) numerous samples.⁶⁴

The outcome of these identifications is of great importance to the reconstruction of the history of Kallistos' collection. I attach here an up-to-date list of the books owned by the master which came into his pupil's possession:

- Athos, 'Ιερὰ Μονὴ Ἱβήρων, 161 [miscellany]
- Cantabr. Univ. Libr., Nn.III.18 [Thucydides]
- Laur. Ashb. 1144 [Pindar, Lycophron]
- Laur. Ashb. 1599 [miscellany]
- Ambr. A 185 sup. (units IV–V) [miscellany]
- Ambr. I 56 sup. [Aristotle]
- Ambr. D 78 inf. [Ammonius]
- Sinod. gr. 267 [Demosthenes]
- Sinod. gr. 370 [Sophocles]
- RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11) [Demosthenes]
- Oxon. d'Orville 115 [Eustathios]
- Par. gr. 1879 [Michael of Ephesos]
- Par. gr. 2066 [comm. to Aristotle]
- Par. gr. 2998 [miscellany]
- Par. Suppl. gr. 66 [miscellany]
- Par. Suppl. gr. 541 [miscellany]

In addition, it has been possible to identify some routes of dispersal of Andronikos' books which entered Migliavacca's collection. Before examining these sub-groups, it is important to stress the fact that in none of the manuscripts of the 'Migliavacca-batch' is there any trace of Giorgio Valla's hand (just as in Valla's books there is no trace of Migliavacca's hand). This is a clear clue — as anticipated — of the independence of these two groups and that Andronikos' collection split at a very early stage into two different main branches.

⁶⁴ Orlandi 2014b. With the addition of other books nowadays kept at Mount Athos, in Milan, Moscow, and Oxford (for which see Orlandi 2019a and Orlandi 2020c), and of another Vatican manuscript, which will be presented *infra* (§ 4.1.1), the size of the Migliavacca's collection has grown significantly.

Two out of the three books belonging to Andronikos (and thence to Migliavacca) which are today included in the *Fond Ancien* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France come from Gian Francesco d'Asola's collection, through the purchase by Guillaume Pellicier, ambassador in Venice at the behest of the King of France between the years 1539–1541.⁶⁵ The first one is Par. gr. 1879, a volume containing the second half of Michael of Ephesos' commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.⁶⁶ Likewise, Par. gr. 2066 contains exegetical writings by Philoponos and Michael of Ephesos on Aristotle; one finds in this case the commentary on *De generatione animalium* (fols 1r–178r), *De incessu animalium* and *De motu animalium* (fols 178r–219v), and the so-called *Parva naturalia* (fols 219v–312r).⁶⁷ Both Par. gr. 1879 and Par. gr. 2066 bear evidence to Migliavacca's deep interest in Aristotle.

Par. gr. 2998 is an important miscellaneous volume (Demosthenes, Plato, Libanius, Saint Basil, etc.) copied in part (and perhaps also owned) by the patriarch Gregorios II of Cyprus (1241–1289).⁶⁸ It ended up at the *BnF* via Iohannes Abramios, Jean Veillart, Frédéric Morel (1552–1630), Pierre de Nancel (1570–c. 1641) and Étienne Baluze (1630–1718).⁶⁹

Another route, in which the sequence of owners after Kallistos is almost entirely clear, is that including the books kept today at Mount Athos and Moscow.⁷⁰ These are the manuscripts that were once in the possession of doctor Giambattista Rasario (1517–1578) and then passed on into the hands of the bishop of Kythera Maximos Margunios (1549–1602). After Margunios' death, they were moved to Athos in the Μονὴ Ἱβήρων and finally purchased in 1653 by Arsénij Sukhanov on behalf of the tsar of Russia Alexis I. It is still not clear which and how many passages are to be assumed between Migliavacca (who died around 1524) and Rasario; while waiting for new data and documents, this question remains open. Three books ended up, via Athos, at the library of the Orthodox Patriarchate in

⁶⁵ For the library of Gian Francesco d'Asola refer to Cataldi Palau 1998; for an account of the manuscripts of Pellicier's own library, see Piccione 2020.

⁶⁶ See Orlandi 2014b, 167–169, 189–190. The text of books V–XIII (transmitted since the late antiquity under the name of Alexander of Aphrodisias) was accurately revised by Migliavacca by means of a systematic collation of other witnesses.

⁶⁷ See Orlandi 2014b, 165–166, 189–190. One finds also in this manuscript annotations in the hand of Baldassar Migliavacca (see fols 262r–265v) which imply the collation of other witnesses to the text (here Michael's commentary on *De memoria et reminiscencia*).

⁶⁸ See Orlandi 2014b, 164–165 and the further bibliography. *Marginalia* in Migliavacca's hand are at fols 29r–30r, 31v–32r, 33r, 34r, 40v–41v, 43v, 45v, 52r, 73v, 102v, 173r–174r, 181r, 183v–184r, 185rv.

⁶⁹ For a detailed study about the owners of Par. gr. 2998 refer now to Settecasse 2021. For Abramios and his books refer to Mondrain 2017 and Cardinali 2020b.

⁷⁰ See on the subject Orlandi 2014b, 146–149, 191–192 and Orlandi 2019a.

Moscow. These are: Sinod. gr. 267, a witness to Demosthenes' orations, entirely in the hand of Andronikos; Sinod. gr. 370 (Sophocles); the manuscript RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 15 (ex-Dresd. Da 11) (another witness to Demosthenes' speeches, textually akin and complementary to Sinod. gr. 267). This latter book, the *ex-Dresdensis*, was separated from the other two in modern times, after an illicit acquisition by Ch. Friedrich Matthaei (1744–1811) — hence the shelf-mark indicating its 'sojourn' in Dresden — and returned to Russia only after the Second World War at the time of the Soviet occupation of East Germany.⁷¹ Within this group, there is a manuscript which is, as we have seen,⁷² of particular interest. Soukhanov failed to acquire it, and thus it is still kept to the present day on Mount Athos at the Μονὴ Ἰβήρων: it is the manuscript no. 161.⁷³ A key-witness to many classical texts, this book, which is made of codicological units dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, contains *inter alia* works by Pindar and Theocritus, which were lectured upon by Kallistos in his Greek language courses.⁷⁴

Some manuscripts belonging to Migliavacca circulated within intellectual *milieux* in Northern Italy between the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Proof of this is the correspondence between Migliavacca and some of the most famous humanists of the time, such as Ermolao Barbaro and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.⁷⁵ According to Martin Sicherl, Migliavacca may have lent the manuscript Ambr. I 56 sup. to Niccolò Leonicensio (1428–1524): this was to be used by Aldo Manuzio for the corrections to the text of the *Historia animalium*.⁷⁶ However, Ambr. I 56 sup. never strayed too far from

⁷¹ See a summary of this in Orlandi 2014b, 147–148 (with further bibliography). Therein (pages 159–163) I excluded from Andronikos' library two other codices owned by Migliavacca, the manuscripts Sinod. gr. 282 and RGADA, Φ 1607 Matthaei 9 (ex-Lips. gr. 53), which followed the same route. They had been attributed to Kallistos in Fonkič 1981, 124, whereas they are the work of his pupil Migliavacca; see Orlandi 2020c, 456–458.

⁷² See on this manuscript *supra*, § 3.1 and *infra*, § 5.2.1.

⁷³ Some observations are found in Orlandi 2019a. Relying on an indication by Turyn, Agamemnon Tselikas identified the author of the restoration with Andronikos Kallistos; see Tselikas 2004, 374. Given the presence of Kallistos' hand, the manuscript Ἰβήρων 161 is the one for which a provenance from Kallistos' library is most likely amongst the books which had belonged to Migliavacca and are kept today at Mount Athos. By contrast, the autoptical analysis of some other manuscripts of Migliavacca — Ἰβήρων 164 (Galen, *Methodus medendi*) and 189 (containing Moschopoulos' commentary on Hesiod and again works by Galen) — did not reveal traces of Andronikos' hand; it is therefore not demonstrable that these manuscripts also came from Kallistos' collection.

⁷⁴ See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

⁷⁵ See Orlandi 2014b, 142–144.

⁷⁶ See Sicherl 1997, 45–46. Some remarks on the issue are also in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

Milan throughout the sixteenth century; for his later owners were to be learned men from Lombard cultural circles, such as Ottaviano Ferrari (1518–1586) and Cesare Rovida (c. 1556–1591). It is well known how the books of Ferrari, a master of philosophy and medicine in Padua, passed after his death to his pupil Rovida, a professor in Pavia, who succeeded in obtaining them only after lengthy negotiations for their purchase with his colleague Bartolomeo Capra. After Cesare's death in 1591, the volumes passed to his brother Alessandro, who died a couple of years later in 1605, at which point Rovida's Greek-Latin library was purchased by the curators of the Ambrosiana. There is not much to say, unfortunately, about Ambr. D 78 inf.: the indication 'olim Pinelli', which appears in the catalogue edited by Emidio Martini and Domenico Bassi,⁷⁷ only clarifies that the manuscript entered the Ambrosiana in the first years of the seventeenth century together with other books owned by Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601).

The sequence of events which led the two manuscripts now known as Laurentiani Ashburnham 1144 and 1599 to Florence is quite clear, at least from the seventeenth century onwards.⁷⁸ Before the Italian State's definitive re-acquisition in the second half of the nineteenth century, these two books were part of the Saibante family's famous collection (in Verona); from there, they were passed on to the French bibliophile Charles Millon (1754–1839); later, they were part of the collection owned by Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869) and finally entered the possession of the English Lord Ashburnham. A tangible trace of all these passages is their presence in their respective inventories. Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the owners between Migliavacca – who died around 1524 – and the Saibante family, whose book inventory was edited by Scipione Maffei (first half of the eighteenth century):⁷⁹ there is thus a lack of information for the span of roughly two centuries.

Likewise, it is not possible at the moment to define who owned Par. Suppl. gr. 66 after Kallistos and Migliavacca, and before the manuscript ended up in the collection of the bibliophile Jean Bourdelot (who died in 1638),⁸⁰ and from there in that of his nephew Pierre-Michon. The fate of the miscellaneous codex Par.

⁷⁷ See Martini and Bassi 1906, II, 1029–1030.

⁷⁸ See Orlandi 2014b.

⁷⁹ The noble Veronese family gradually abandoned its library in the period between 1650 and 1750 circa. For information about its buyers and further bibliography, see Orlandi 2014b.

⁸⁰ As noted elsewhere, it could be significant that there is at least one Latin manuscript in the Bourdelot library, that is, Voss. lat. F 100 (Latin version of Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Ti-maeus*), presenting Giambattista Rasario's ownership note; see Orlandi 2014b, 192.

Suppl. gr. 541⁸¹ and of the Thucydides of Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Nn.III.18⁸² is similarly still obscure.

3.5 Other dispersal routes: Exploring Barbaro's, Pico's, and Grimani's collection

Alongside the two main dispersal routes so far examined (Valla-Pio and Migliavacca), there is a series of elements we can take into account to shed further light on Kallistos' library's fate. A first clue comes from an important source, Ermolao Barbaro's epistolary:

Libros Andronici non haberi amplius istic doleo, quamquam, si verum est pervenisse illos in manus Pici nostri, minus moleste fero.⁸³

I regret the fact that Andronikos' books are no longer kept there at your place; however, if it is true that they came into the hands of our dear Pico, I will endure this fact with less annoyance.

This letter, dated 1 September 1483, is addressed to Giorgio Merula, who was Kallistos' pupil in Bologna.⁸⁴ By writing to Merula (likely from Venice), Ermolao shows his interest in the fate of Andronikos' books. Barbaro is upset as these books are no longer kept there (*istic*) at Merula's, i.e. in Lombardy, between Milan and Pavia, where Giorgio was residing. Barbaro doubtfully suggests that Kallistos' books are now in the hands of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) (*in manus Pici nostri*), although he is not certain of this (*si verum est*).

One wonders whether it is possible to identify Merula's books which Ermolao is referring to in this letter. We can probably rule out that he is talking about the same pieces of Kallistos' collection which had already been or were to be purchased by Giorgio Valla. As far as we are concerned, in September 1483 Valla was

81 There is no information about the time preceding its arrival at the Sorbona's library, certified by the seal visible in fol. 11r. The only element available to us is the registration as no. 1524 in the catalogue edited by Guédier de Saint-Aubin around 1740. In contrast to Omont's claims, this manuscript did not end up in the Sorbona from the collection of the Cardinal Richelieu; the arrival at the Bibliothèque nationale is however attested in 1796. For the history of the codices in Richelieu's collection, see Astruc 1952.

82 Concerning this codex, it is possible to suggest that it was owned in modern times by the English bishop John Moore (1646–1714) (see Orlandi 2014b, 193), though there is no decisive evidence to confirm this hypothesis.

83 Branca 1943, I, 44. The text has been discussed in Petrucci 1989.

84 See *supra*, § 1.1.

still residing in Lombardy, teaching in Pavia (hence not too far from Merula) and he may have already purchased that big batch of Andronikos' books,⁸⁵ a deal which Ermolao was probably informed about through his own contacts with Valla.

Likewise, it seems that the letter is not concerned with the manuscripts which were to be included in the 'Migliavacca batch', for similar reasons. Migliavacca was also living at that time in Lombardy, acting between Milan and Pavia. In addition, five years later (i.e. in 1488) Ermolao himself was to ask Migliavacca for a loan of some books formerly belonging to Kallistos' collection which meanwhile had become part of Migliavacca's.⁸⁶ The books mentioned by Ermolao in the letter to Merula then seem to point to another small group from Andronikos' library, whose fate can be outlined by looking elsewhere, following the traces of Pico's collection.⁸⁷ We will be returning to this topic in a moment.

3.5.1 Barbaro, Valla, and the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger

Recent studies show that in at least two cases, books from Kallistos' collection served as models for copies destined to enrich Ermolao Barbaro's collection. Andronikos' own copy of Theophrastus' works on plants, i.e. Par. gr. 2069 (which ended up in the library of Niccolò Leonicensino), turned out to be the antigraph to the second codicological unit of Barbaro's Vat. gr. 1305.⁸⁸ Similarly, from the manuscript Par. gr. 1878, copied and owned by Andronikos (and later by Leonicensino),⁸⁹ descends the text of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics* copied for Ermolao in the manuscript Neap. III.D.35⁹⁰ by the so-called *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger.

The connection between this mysterious and anonymous copyist and Ermolao Barbaro is indisputable, as the writing of the *Anonymus* 38 had already been

85 For the year 1485 as a *terminus ante quem*, see *supra*, § 3.3. We did not rule out the hypothesis that Valla had purchased them directly from Gian Francesco Della Torre not long after their sale in Milan in 1476.

86 This is the case with Par. gr. 1879 containing Michael of Ephesos' commentary on *Metaphysics*; see Orlandi 2014b, 143–144 and Orlandi 2019a, 134–135.

87 A comprehensive study on Pico's library is in Kibre 1936.

88 See Cronier 2020, 198–199.

89 It is remarkable and probably not incidental that both Par. gr. 1878 and Par. gr. 2069 were part of the library of Niccolò Leonicensino.

90 See Golitsis 2022, CIII–CIV, CXL–CXLI.

found by Dieter Harlfinger in two manuscripts⁹¹ (now in Naples, and both containing Aristotelian materials) belonging to Ermolao: Neap. III.D.29 and Neap. III.D.35. To these I add the Mutin. α K.3.31 (also bearing commentaries to Aristotle), in which Stefano Martinelli Tempesta recognized the hand of Barbaro himself.⁹²

Once Andronikos' books arrived in Venice, however, it probably became easier for all scholars interested in reading new Greek texts to interact with Valla and to arrange with him for copies to be made. At least one of Kallistos' manuscripts from Valla's collection served as a model to a book found in Ermolao's library, Neap. III.E.12 (Fig. 3.5), written entirely in the hand of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger.⁹³

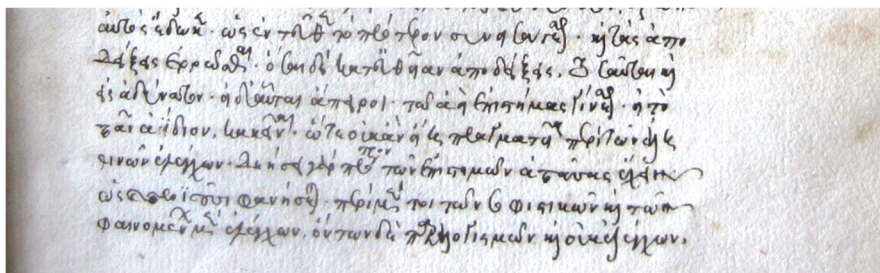


Fig. 3.5: Neap. III.E.12, fol. 1r; © Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele III'.

The first codicological unit of the Naples manuscript contains a unique combination of texts: an anonymous *paraphrasis* to Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* and Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. As one might suspect, such works are otherwise never handed down together in the manuscript tradition. This exception can be explained by assuming a copying from a manuscript belonging to Andronikos, i.e. Mutin. α Q.5.21, where the *paraphrasis* and Musaeus are found respectively

⁹¹ See Harlfinger 1971, 420.

⁹² Stefano Martinelli Tempesta brought forward my identification of the *Anonymus* 38's handwriting in Martinelli Tempesta 2019, 292–293.

⁹³ I published this identification in Martinelli Tempesta 2019, 292–293. A very detailed account on Ermolao's library is now Vendruscolo 2020. A new book from Barbaro's collection turned out to be Neap. III.D.37; see Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

in the first and second codicological units. I carried out some sample collations,⁹⁴ which confirmed the dependence of Barbaro's manuscript on this Mutinensis.

Another manuscript partially copied by the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger is Mutin. α P.5.18 (Galen)⁹⁵ belonging to the collection of Giorgio Valla, and probably copied from Marc. gr. Z. 286, in which Ciro Giacomelli recognised marginal annotations by the *Anonymus* himself.⁹⁶

Finally, I shall add one more piece in which I found his handwriting: the first codicological unit (fols 1–56) of the <Mutin. α T.9.11> (Nikephoros Blemmydes) (Fig. 3.6), this manuscript being likewise part of the collection of Giorgio Valla.⁹⁷

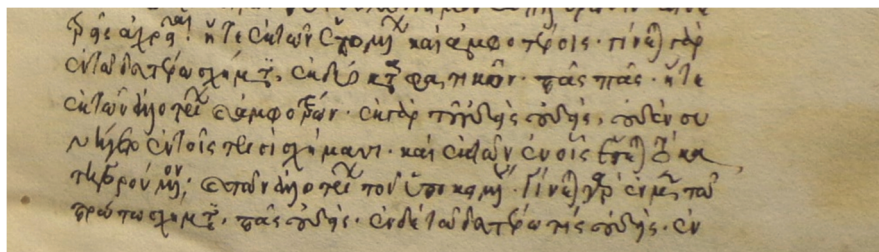


Fig. 3.6: Mutin. α T.9.11, fol. 2r; © Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.

While awaiting new studies to hopefully better define and locate the scribal activity of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger, as well as his contacts with learned men based in Venice in the last quarter of the century, and to verify the existence of other copies made from items once belonging to Andronikos' library, I hereby

⁹⁴ The reference study on the manuscript tradition of Musaeus (Eleuteri 1981) did not include Neap. III.E.12.

⁹⁵ The identification published by Martinelli Tempesta (in Giacomelli 2019a, 113) with regard to a manuscript of Galen's *De simpl. med.* written by the *Anonymus* should be partly corrected. It is in fact not Mutin. α W.2.9, but Mutin. α P.5.18.

⁹⁶ Giacomelli 2019a, 113.

⁹⁷ I shall remark here that the scribe of the second unit (fols 57–end) is found in other volumes belonging to the collection of Giorgio Valla and/or Andronikos. It is the same copyist with whom Gamillscheg 1978, 240–242 dealt. Gamillscheg found his handwriting in Andronikos' (and hence Valla's) Mutin. α P.5.19 (= fol. 200rv) and in the supplementary section of Andronikos' (and Valla's) Mutin. α V.7.1 (= fol. 80v–86r, 87r–104v). To this evidence we can now add Valla's <Mutin. α T.9.11> (= second unit), and <Mutin. α V.7.13>. The possibility that also this anonymous scribe may have been in contact with Valla should therefore be explored.

sum up the corpus of manuscript evidence so far attributed to the *Anonymus*' hand (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: The manuscripts of the *Anonymus* 38 Harlfinger. Overview.

Manuscript	Collection	References
Neap. III.D.29 (fols 1r–24v)	Ermolao Barbaro	Harlfinger 1971
Neap. III.D.35 (fols 1r–73r)	Ermolao Barbaro	Harlfinger 1971
Neap. III.E.12	Ermolao Barbaro	Orlandi <i>apud</i> Martinelli Tempesta 2019
Mutin. α K.3.31 (fols 7r–36v)	Ermolao Barbaro	Orlandi <i>apud</i> Martinelli Tempesta 2019
Mutin. α P.5.18 (fols 1r–40v)	Giorgio Valla	Martinelli Tempesta <i>apud</i> Giacomelli 2019
Marc. gr. Z. 286 (<i>marginalia</i>)	Bessarion	Giacomelli 2019
<Mutin. α T.9.11> (fols 1r–56r)	Giorgio Valla	Orlandi, here

3.5.2 On the trail of Pico's collection

It is known that a couple of years after Pico's premature death in 1498 his library merged with that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523).⁹⁸ According to the will, after Grimani's death, the Greek books (together with many Hebrew, Armenian and Arabic ones) were transferred to the monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello, where they were kept for the following decades. An unspecified amount of Grimani's manuscripts did not perish in the tremendous fire which destroyed the monastery's library in 1687.⁹⁹ However, by the date of the fire — which occurred

⁹⁸ For a current account on the subject, including previous bibliographical references, see Tura 2009. There exists a copy of Grimani's inventory, contained in the manuscript Vat. lat. 3960, whose contents have been edited in Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003; see also Tura 2009, 421. For Pico's Greek codices, one may refer to Jackson 1999b, Jackson 2004, and Jackson 2008.

⁹⁹ From among the books which were not lost, there are those kept today in the Biblioteca Arcivescovile in Udine; see Tura 2009, 414–415 (with further bibliography).

more than one and a half centuries after Domenico Grimani's death — a considerable part of the collection had already been dispersed elsewhere, due to private purchases. This is the main reason why many Greek books referred to as 'Pico-Grimani' are found today in several libraries across Europe, including Vienna and Paris. Among the main buyers there were János Zsámboki (1531–1584, also known under his latinized name 'Iohannes Sambucus')¹⁰⁰ and the brothers Jean Hurault de Boistaillé (†1572) and André Hurault de Maisse (1534–1607).¹⁰¹

A note indicating the provenance from Jean Hurault's collection can still be read on fol. 3v of Par. gr. 3011, a fourteenth-century witness to Lucian of Samosata restored by Andronikos Kallistos.¹⁰² This manuscript corresponds to the entry no. 250 in Grimani's inventory¹⁰³ and comes with certainty from Pico's collection (no. 933).¹⁰⁴ One can trace it back without doubt to Andronikos' personal collection by means of the indication 'Luciani orationes' (fol. Vr) in the hand of Bonaccorso Pisano, which is, as said, related to the time of the sale in Milan.¹⁰⁵

André Hurault's name is linked to Par. Mazarine 4453 (nos and 203 and 223 in Grimani's list),¹⁰⁶ a codex containing Synesius' works, mainly in the hand of Demetrios Triklinios;¹⁰⁷ likewise, it is also recorded in Pico's inventory (no. 203).¹⁰⁸ In this case, Andronikos' hand has been correctly identified with that of the scribe applying a marginal note at page 153;¹⁰⁹ one should ascribe to Kallistos, though, a larger number of marginal and interlinear annotations (see <pages 139, 143–158>) as well as the retracing of many lines which are close to the outer margin and whose ink had almost completely faded.

Kallistos' hand is visible at fols 38r–59v (Galen, *Ars medica*)¹¹⁰ of today's Par. gr. 1644, a multiple-text-manuscript. In more detail, this is a non-homogeneous

100 See Jackson 1999b.

101 See Jackson 2004 and de Conihout 2007.

102 Jackson 2004, 232. The note, as observed by Jackson, stands above the erased one by Domenico Grimani. The presence of Andronikos' hand in this manuscript was reported for the first time in *RGK* II 25.

103 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 147, Jackson 2004, 232 and Jackson 2008, 165.

104 Kibre 1936, 244; Jackson 2004, 232.

105 See *supra*, § 3.2.

106 See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 141, 144 and Jackson 2008, 167.

107 See *RGK* II 136.

108 Kibre 1936, 148; see also Förstel 1998. After André Hurault de Maisse, the book was owned by André de Berziau (1620–1696) and, before its arrival at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, it was preserved at the Institution de l'Oratoire; see de Conihout 2007.

109 Identification in *RGK* II 25. The manuscript is provided with a pagination instead of a foliation.

110 Identification in *RGK* II 25.

composite manuscript consisting of four codicological units: I = fols 1–23 (Xen., *Resp. Lac.*, [*Ath. Resp.*]); II = fols 24–27 (Plot., *Enn.* I 2–4 [des. mut.]); III = fols 28–37 (Hermog., *Id.* [inc. mut.], *Meth.* [des. mut.]); IV = fols 38–I' (Gal., *Ars medica*). These units are different from one another, and have been put together in more recent times, probably after their arrival at the royal library in Fontainebleau (from Colbert's library). They recur in various separate and non-consecutive entries in the Grimani inventory,¹¹¹ and it is very likely that they all come from Pico's library.¹¹² The only unit which has to be linked back to Kallistos' activity and book collection corresponds to the entry no. 92 in the Grimani list ('*Ars parva Galeni*'). This unit is made of fols 38–I' (= two *quiniones* plus one *binio* currently missing the last leaf, yet without loss of text), which were probably transcribed in Florence¹¹³ between 1471–1474.

A codex which was once certainly included in cardinal Grimani's collection (perhaps coming from Pico's) is kept today in Vienna: Hist. gr. 78 (= no. 72 Grimani, part II).¹¹⁴ As Donald F. Jackson has shown, this book was part of a batch which Sambucus bought in Venice around 1550.

Although there is so far no evidence for it, the inclusion in the Pico-Grimani collection could be assumed also for two other manuscripts of Kallistos' likewise bought by Sambucus and now preserved in Vienna: Theol. gr. 163 and Suppl. gr. 23.¹¹⁵ The presence of the Theologicus in Venice during the sixteenth century is proved by the fact that it was at a certain point in the hands of Andreas Darmarios; it was to be purchased a little later by Sambucus, who was, as aforementioned, the main private purchaser of the Pico-Grimani books stored at Sant'Antonio di Castello.

3.5.3 The case of Berol. Hamilton 270

It is not easy to take a stance on whether the manuscript Berol. Hamilton 270 (early thirteenth century), i.e. the key witness of the textual tradition of Galen's

¹¹¹ See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 124, 137–138, 147, 149 and Jackson 2008, 166–168.

¹¹² As far as I know, it has not been noticed that the four codicological units (containing, in order, Xenophon, Plotinus, Hermogenes and Galen) may correspond to the following entries in the inventory of Pico's books edited by Kibre 1936: nos 751, 989, 1604, 454.

¹¹³ See *supra*, § 2.3.2.3.

¹¹⁴ See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 120–121, Jackson 1999b, 4 and Jackson 2008, 165. A detailed description is found in Hunger 1961, 85–86.

¹¹⁵ See Hunger, Kresten and Hannick 1984, 251–253 and Hunger and Hannick 1994, 46–49.

work *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, belonged to Kallistos' collection.¹¹⁶ In the Berolinensis, now badly damaged and devoid of the original guard leaves, one finds three marginal annotations applied by the hand of <Andronikos> (Fig. 3.7) at fols <31r, 52v and 73v>.¹¹⁷

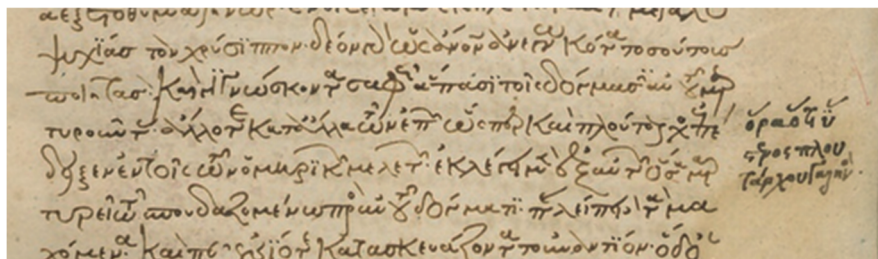


Fig. 3.7: Hamilton 270, fol. 31r; © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

The content of such notes is unfortunately not of great help in definitively establishing whether the Berolinensis belonged to Kallistos' library.¹¹⁸ However, two interesting clues of historical and cultural nature could point to the inclusion of the book in the collection. First of all, we shall mention that the Hamilton 270 circulated in Bessarion's milieu in the 1460s: Georgios Tzangaropoulos made a copy of it around the years 1468–1471 for Bessarion, i.e. Marc. gr. Z. 284; likewise, Theodoros Gazes benefited from the consultation of Hamilton 270 to collect some excerpts from Galen's works in his notebook, i.e. Par. gr. 2283.¹¹⁹ Secondly, it should be noted that the manuscript was kept in the Venetian monastery of San

¹¹⁶ For this work refer to De Lacy 1978, 5–6, 12–18.

¹¹⁷ Dieter Harlfinger, whom I warmly thank for the communication, is credited with this identification, which until now had remained unpublished.

¹¹⁸ In the margin of fol. 31r (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* III 2,18: CMG V 4,1,2, p. 182,21–27) Andronikos wrote ὅρα ὅτι ὕστερος Πλουτάρχου Γαληνός, thus remarking that Galen lived at a later time than Plutarch. At fol. 52v (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* V 5,32: CMG V 4,1,2, p. 324,2–9) Kallistos added the *notabile* κνουμένων, in order to highlight a passage about the shaping of unborn children in the womb and about their rearing and training after birth, according to Plato. This is the aim of the *notabile* κνουμένον at fol. 73v too (= *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* VI 6,33: CMG V 4,1,2, p. 400,31–36), where the same topic is presented, though, in the opinion of the philosopher Erasistratus.

¹¹⁹ See De Lacy 1978, 26–30. For the attribution of the Paris manuscript to Gazes and further considerations on this interesting notebook see Orlandi 2015. For the codex Marc. gr. Z. 284 (in which Bessarion is appointed with the title *cardinalis Sabinensis et Niceni*) see Mioni 1981, 407–408.

Michele di Murano,¹²⁰ where other volumes from Barbaro's and Pico della Mirandola's collection were also kept for some time (via Grimani).¹²¹ This element may not be irrelevant in view of what has been previously said on the passage of some of the books from Andronikos' library to Pico della Mirandola and on their consultation by Ermolao himself.¹²²

3.6 In and out of the collection

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the distinction between the books which most certainly belonged to Andronikos' collection and those which he merely annotated, restored, consulted or copied at the behest of others certainly falls among the *desiderata* of comprehensive research on Kallistos' graphic and scholarly activity. I discuss in this chapter the case of some of the manuscripts which left his private collection at an early stage, that is, before the Milan sale. As for other books, it still remains difficult to determine with any certainty their inclusion in Kallistos' library.

3.6.1 Manuscripts parting from the collection before the Milan sale

3.6.1.1 To Bessarion or members of his entourage (1453–1471)

Since they were copied for Cardinal Bessarion, most of the manuscripts now kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, in which Andronikos' hand is found, were not part of his collection: these are Marc. gr. Z. 10, 186, 190, 192, 198, 223, 226, 238, 337, 518, 522, 527. However, Marc. gr. Z. 374 deserves a separate discussion.

Marc. gr. Z. 374 is a witness to the historical work of Diodorus Siculus, which we traced back to the 'Byzantine' activity of Kallistos thanks to philological evidence and the results of the codicological and palaeographic analysis.¹²³

Since the book was made in the East (in Crete) an explanation must be found for its inclusion in the cardinal's private collection. I would rule out the hypothesis of a copy commissioned from afar, since this would imply the existence of a

¹²⁰ See De Lacy 1978, 12. However, the codex was absent from the list published in Mioni 1958.

¹²¹ For details of this issue, see Mioni 1958, 318.

¹²² See *supra*. For news on the library of the Barbaros see Diller 1963 and, in more recent times, Rollo 2004b and Vendruscolo 2020.

¹²³ See *supra*, § 2.1.1.

connection between the Cardinal and Andronikos in the early 1450s for the production of manuscripts to be sent to Italy from Crete. Moreover, one has to consider that it would be the only instance of a copy executed for Bessarion from afar by Kallistos before his arrival in Italy. This perspective seems thus unconvincing. By broadening the horizons and turning our gaze to the Cardinal's private collection, it may be possible to find a better answer to the question. In the end, Marc. gr. Z. 374 is the only copy of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* present in Bessarion's collection containing books I-V of the work.¹²⁴ It is not improbable therefore to assume that Andronikos gave this volume to his powerful protector upon his arrival in Italy in the 1450s.

This hypothesis becomes more convincing when compared with the similar case of a book, which left Andronikos' collection and ended up in the hands of another member of Bessarion's milieu: Erlang. A 4. Some ten years after they were made, the independent sections of the Erlangensis in the hand of Kallistos — dating back, as mentioned,¹²⁵ from his 'Byzantine' years — were bound together with other quires in the hand of the monk Kosmas to be donated to Johannes Müller (known as Iohannes *Regiomontanus*). A scholar from Königsberg, Müller was mostly interested in natural sciences and was bound in friendship to Cardinal Bessarion.

3.6.1.2 To Laskaris, Chalkondyles, and Poliziano (after 1471)

Doubts as to whether or not they belong to Andronikos' collection remain concerning some manuscripts that have one factor in common: the link with the city of Florence and with personalities who, in a certain sense, inherited Kallistos' cultural legacy after his departure.

We can start with some certain data. One manuscript that was certainly part of Andronikos' precious library was the famous Aristotle Par. gr. 2038, a book that has already been cited several times in the course of this study. What is of interest here is the presence of annotations — long since identified — in the hand of Ianos Laskaris, who became the owner of the manuscript at some point in its history.

¹²⁴ Marc. gr. Z. 375, dating back to the eleventh century, contains only books XI–XV; Marc. gr. Z. 376, copied in the first half of the fifteenth century, contains books XV–XX; excerpts by Plethon are found in Marc. gr. Z. 406 (fols 94r–114v); an *epitome* by the Bessarion himself is in Marc. gr. Z. 523 (fols 139r–165v); finally, one finds only the so-called *Epitaphius Alexandri* in the manuscripts Marc. gr. Z. 369 (fol. 190r) and Marc. gr. Z. 511 (fols 397v–398r). For all these manuscripts see respectively: Mioni 1985a, 133–134, 157–159, 396–398, 129–130, and 367–368.

¹²⁵ See *supra*, § 2.1.1.

This fact allows us to hypothesise that the manuscript remained in Florence at the end of Andronikos' stay. In fact, no annotations can be found in the hands of learned men dealing with the other recognised channels of dispersal of the collection after the sale (e.g. Bonaccorso da Pisa, Giorgio Valla, Baldassar Miglia-
vacca).

In all likelihood, Par. gr. 2715 (= Kallistos' 'edition' of Aristophanes' comedies) was part of the Andronikos' library.¹²⁶ This Parisinus may also have left the collection in Florence. In the margins there are some annotations — whose presence had so far gone unnoticed — in the hand of <Ianos Laskaris> (Fig. 3.8).

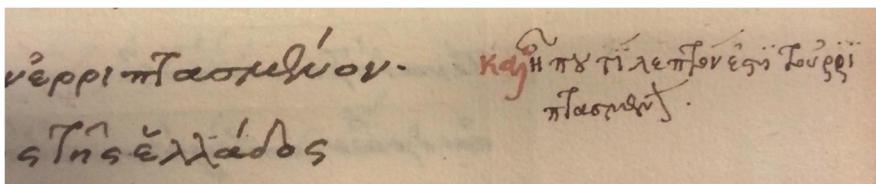


Fig. 3.8: Par. gr. 2715, fol. 138r; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

It is also possible that the manuscript Comensis 1.3.19 remained in Florence. It is a witness to Philostratus' works in the hand of Andronikos Kallistos and Michael Lygizos. In both codicological units of which the book is made, I found annotations in the hand of <Demetrios Chalkondyles> (fols 41r, 149v, 157r, 179r). Interestingly, Chalkondyles made a copy of Philostratus' text from this manuscript.¹²⁷

Another manuscript dated to the fourteenth century and restored in some of its parts by Andronikos, Cremon. 130, ended up in the first quarter of the sixteenth century in the collection of Daniele Gaetani (1465–1528), who — as is well known — had in turn acquired a batch of manuscripts previously owned by Chalkondyles.¹²⁸ Since for chronological reasons Gaetani cannot have received the book directly from Kallistos, it is therefore possible to assume that the sequence of owners between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century is the following: Kallistos → Chalkondyles → Gaetani.

¹²⁶ See *supra*, § 2.3.2.2.

¹²⁷ It is Comensis 1.4.41; see Stefec 2010a, 71, 75–76, 80–81, 86 and Stefec 2014, 154–156.

¹²⁸ See Martinelli Tempesta 2015a, 333–336.

Finally, mention should also be made of the manuscript Laur. 85.21, the most ancient witness (twelfth–thirteenth century) of Simplicius’ commentary on Aristotle’s *De anima*, restored at fols 210r–224v by Andronikos Kallistos.¹²⁹ David Speranzi is credited with the identification of Kallistos’ hand; he also found annotations in the hand of Angelo Poliziano. The presence of both the hand of the master and that of the pupil leads — as Speranzi noted — to the hypothesis that the manuscript may have belonged to one of the two. If the book belonged to Poliziano, Andronikos may have restored it at Poliziano’s request. If, on the other hand, it belonged to Kallistos, it would be reasonable to think that, instead of travelling with him to Milan, the manuscript remained in Florence as the result of a donation Kallistos might have made to his talented pupil in the 1470s. A not insignificant clue leads to this second hypothesis; for a copy of the Laurentianus had been realized in the 1460s at Bessarion’s residence: the second unit of Marc. gr. Z. 413, in the hand of Georgios Tribizias.¹³⁰ This would suggest that Laur. 85.21 already belonged to Andronikos. As already seen in other cases, Kallistos may have made a book of his collection available to his prominent benefactor in order to produce a copy.

3.6.2 Lost manuscripts and lost quires

As will become clearer from the examination of two case studies presented in Chapter 5, it is possible to reconstruct the presence in Andronikos’ library of a manuscript containing Theocritus’ *Idylls* corresponding to his study and working copy. This copy also served as the basis for the *editio princeps* (1480/1481) prepared in Milan by Bonaccorso da Pisa who — as seen — had taken over Kallistos’ collection together with Gian Francesco Della Torre. As in the case of numerous lost manuscripts used as *Druckvorlage* (e.g. in Venice in Aldo Manuzio’s printing house), it is possible that Kallistos’ manuscript of Theocritus was destroyed after the preparation of the first printed edition.

In the case of manuscripts that are still preserved, if the loss of the quires affects the middle sections of a volume, it is not difficult to recognise the amount of text which is no longer available.¹³¹ However, certain cases may be more problematic.

¹²⁹ See Speranzi 2016b, 59–64.

¹³⁰ See *supra*, § 2.1.3.

¹³¹ For instance, this is the case in the manuscript Mutin. α Q.5.20, where part of the text (scholia to Sophocles’ tragedies) was lost due to the loss of most of the second and the third quire; see

The quire numeration of the current manuscript Oxon. d'Orville 115 (Eust. *in Dion. Per.*) starts with number '21' and ends with '32' (κα'–λβ', in the hand of Kallistos). We cannot say what the previous twenty quires contained. On the one hand, one might think that the lost part hosted the beginning of the work, which is actually missing.¹³² However, an easy calculation shows that the missing portion would have occupied at most one quire. Moreover, given the existence of other witnesses to the work characterised by the same loss of text (such as Scor. R.I.6, a sibling to the Oxoniensis),¹³³ it is likely that — as far as the work of Eustathios is concerned — nothing got lost, and that the quires <α'–κ'> formerly contained other texts.

With regard to the manuscript Vind. Hist. gr. 78 (= Plethon's excerpts from Diodorus, Appian, and Aelian), where the numeration nowadays starts at '10' (ι') and ends at '21' (κα'), we can state exactly what the missing nine quires contained at the time of their inclusion in Kallistos' collection. As observed by Herbert Hunger ('heute fehlender Text!'),¹³⁴ one finds at fol. IIv the indication 'Bessarion et alia', thus informing us that some of Bessarion's works were also present in the volume. A closer inspection of fol. IIIr provides us with a more detailed account of the contents. In the first nine quires there were some of Bessarion's questions (ζητήματα) addressed to Plethon, along with the latter's reply; moreover, the missing quires contained works by Plethon himself (*Contra Scholarii in defensionem Aristotelis*, *De differentiis*, and *de virtutibus*) and a mysterious ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. This reconstruction is also confirmed by the entry in Grimani's inventory (no. 72), giving account of the current missing parts: 'Plethon de iis quibus Aristoteles differt à Platone | Idem contra responsiones Scholarii. Idem de virtute | Eiusdem sermo Epitaphii. Eiusdem fragmentum libri de republica'.¹³⁵ But that is not all. Thanks to the index and the catalogue entry, we also discover that the original manuscript contained other materials beyond the current quire no. 21. In these sections some 'platonica ζητήματα ἀκέφαλα' were found (referred to as 'Platonicae quaestiones sine principio' in the Grimani list), the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De lineis insecabilibus* (this entry is omitted in the inventory) and a work registered (only in the Grimani list) as 'Atticus de differentiis Aristotelis, et Platonis, et Mosis'.

Tessier 2015b, 196. The same applies to Lips. gr. 34+33. This is a volume today split into two parts lacking the original quire nine (<θ'>), which contained the follow-up to Theocr. *Idylls* 8,68.

¹³² See *infra*, § 6.1 (catalogue entry no. 32).

¹³³ See *supra*, § 2.1.2.

¹³⁴ See Hunger 1961, 85–86.

¹³⁵ See Diller, Saffrey and Westerink 2003, 120–121.

3.6.3 Manuscripts never joining the collection

A special (and in its own way already famous) case is that of two books that, according to the testamentary will of Theodoros Gazes, should have ended up with his cousin Andronikos. These are the two manuscripts containing Strabo's *Geography*.

In a fundamental contribution to the investigation of the manuscripts that belonged to Gazes' collection and the structural characteristics of his Greek writing, David Speranzi explored the history of the volumes of the *Geography*, achieving the identification of the two books mentioned in the will, i.e. Laur. 28.5 and 28.15.¹³⁶ Due to Andronikos' departure from Italy before March 1476, the manuscripts never reached his collection (which had already been sold in Milan in the meantime); they finally ended up in that of Chalkondyles.

3.7 The posthumous fortune of the collection: Translations and printed editions

In this final section, we report on some tangible signs of the posthumous fortune of the books which were part of Andronikos' collection. A first case is the use of Kallistos' manuscripts as the basis for some Latin versions.

Giorgio Valla translated the *Problemata* attributed to Aristoteles and/or Alexander of Aphrodisias from Mutin. α V.7.17, apparently integrating some passages from another source, i.e. Kallistos' Mutin. α P.5.20.¹³⁷ The Latin translation by Valla of Plutarch's *Quaestiones naturales* is likewise based on the text transmitted by Mutin. α V.7.17.¹³⁸ Accordingly, the Greek text of the aforementioned Mutin. α P.5.20 was used by Valla for the translation of Galen's *De sectis*.¹³⁹ This very manuscript served for Valla's (and, partly, Niccolò Leonicensio's) translation of Galen's *De inaequali intemperie*.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* by Valla stems from the Greek text found in Mutin. α T.8.3.¹⁴¹ In order to

¹³⁶ See Speranzi 2012, 346–348. Before the publication of the findings by Speranzi, one of the volumes mentioned in the will had been identified with the manuscript Etonensis 141 (see Diller 1975, 117, 147). New data about manuscripts from Gazes' will is in Orlandi 2021b.

¹³⁷ See Kapetanaki and Sharples 2006, 47.

¹³⁸ See Ieraci Bio 2021.

¹³⁹ See García Novo 2010, 92. In all likelihood, the Latin translation of the treatises *De optima nostri corporis constitutione* and *De bono habitu* also originates from this manuscript.

¹⁴⁰ See García Novo 2004, 188–189 and García Novo 2010.

¹⁴¹ See Tarán and Gutas 2012, 45.

enrich the monumental treatise *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, Valla was also to make use of certain portions of the text of Nikephoros Blemmydes handed down in Kallistos' Oxon. Holkham Hall gr. 71;¹⁴² the enormous encyclopaedic work went on to be printed by Aldo Manuzio shortly after Valla's death.¹⁴³

Another sign of the impact of manuscripts previously belonging to Andronikos' collection is their deployment as models for the first printed editions of selected classical authors. The *editio princeps* (1480/1481) of Theocritus' *Idylls* prepared in Milan by Bonaccorso Pisano, who — as mentioned above — had taken over Kallistos' collection jointly with Gian Francesco Della Torre, was drawn from a now lost manuscript.¹⁴⁴ However, it is especially in the context of the typography established by Aldo Manuzio that one finds more frequent cases of works whose model proved to be a manuscript belonging to Kallistos (or a copy of it). For the fourth volume of Aristotle's *Opera omnia* (published by Aldo in June 1497) we know that the *Druckvorlage* of Theophrastus' botanical works (printed together with Aristotle's treatises) is Harv. gr. 17. This is a direct copy of Andronikos' Par. gr. 2069, which was made available to Aldo by Niccolò Leonicensi.¹⁴⁵ The printed edition containing Aristotle's *Rhetorica*, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, and *Poetica* was modelled on Kallistos' Par. gr. 2038.¹⁴⁶ As a partial source and *Korrektivexemplar* for the text of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, Aldo used another book of Andronikos', later owned by Baldassar Migliavacca: Ambr. I 56 sup.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the printed text of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (along with the scholia) descends from Andronikos' Mutin. α T.9.14, a manuscript with plenty of annotations in the hand of Giorgio Valla.¹⁴⁸

142 See Valente 2021, 42.

143 For the structure and the sources of the work, see Magnani 2021.

144 See more *infra*, § 5.3.1.

145 See Sicherl 1997, 65–71 and, more recently, Cronier 2020, 200–201. A review of Leonicensi's books used by Aldo and a study revealing the identity of one of the main collaborators of Manuzio, the so-called *Anonymus Harvardianus*, can be found in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

146 See Sicherl 1997, 314–319.

147 See Sicherl 1997, 43–46, Berger 2005. Some remarks are in Orlandi 2022b (forthcoming).

148 See Martin 1974, XI–XIII and Pontani and Lugato 2017, 284–285.