

4 Writing and Learning Greek at the School of Andronikos Kallistos

4.1 Graphic mimetism: Preliminary remarks

Research on the phenomenon of so-called ‘graphic mimetism’ during the fifteenth century represents one of the most prolific lines of investigation in the field of Greek palaeography. A pioneering role has been played by the contributions of Ernesto Berti¹ and Antonio Rollo,² who explained the characteristics of the ‘mimetic’ rendering of the writings of the Byzantine masters by their respective students, i.e. fifteenth-century Italian humanists. It is worth remembering that the imitation of the masters’ writing was the natural outcome of graphic learning within the school. By learning to write in Greek in adulthood, pupils could merely reproduce in their manuscripts the graphic model proposed by the master. Rarer are the cases of humanists (such as Filelfo and Guarino) capable of developing their own graphic system, characterised by elements of strong personalisation.³

A different aspect of graphic mimesis, unrelated to the school context, is that which Antonio Rollo proposed to define ‘antiquarian’ mimesis: it is a mimetic phenomenon aimed at enhancing the graphic product through the adoption of forms that are not current, but older by a few centuries; this process gives the writing an archaising aspect and to some extent amplifies the authority of the copied text.⁴

While researching the scholarly and scribal activity of Andronikos Kallistos, who was — as repeatedly mentioned — a successful teacher in several Italian cities, numerous testimonies of ‘mimetic’ writings emerged; precisely on the basis of the principle of ‘graphic mimetism’ it was possible to attribute these writings (the work of little-known or completely anonymous persons) to the school of Kallistos. I have given an account of some of these writings in contributions I published in recent years.⁵ I therefore aim here, on the one hand, to take up only the essential issues of already published research, referring to the individual contributions for details. Furthermore, I present here for the first time new writings that have so far not been associated with Andronikos’ teaching career.

1 See Berti 1987.

2 See Rollo 2006b.

3 With regard to the school of Kallistos, this is the case with his most talented student, i.e. Angelo Poliziano, whose Greek writing will therefore be analysed in a future paper.

4 See Rollo 2018, 94.

5 See Orlandi 2014a, Orlandi 2014b, Orlandi 2019a, and Orlandi 2020c.

4.1.1 Baldassar Migliavacca

The writing that has most frequently emerged in the study of the cultural milieu centred on the figure of Kallistos is that of Baldassar Migliavacca († c. 1524), a minor humanist from Pavia, until recently known only for the presence of his *ex-libris* in a small group of Greek manuscripts.⁶ Among the students of Andronikos who have come to light so far, Migliavacca was the one who best succeeded in perfectly reproducing the graphic system taught by his master. This is the reason why, in some manuscripts from Kallistos' library, traces of Migliavacca's handwriting (an example below, Fig. 4.1) have ended up being confused with those of his master.

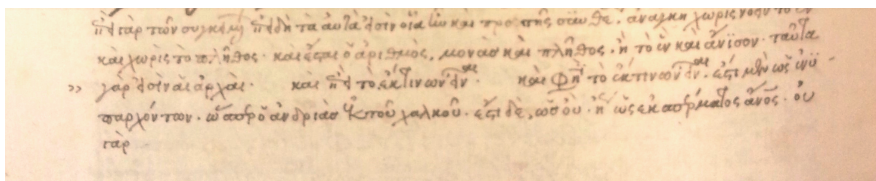


Fig. 4.1: Par. gr. 1879, fol. 191v; © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Leaving aside the details already provided elsewhere, we only mention here a number of forms and ligatures that we will find later when analysing other writings of Kallistos' pupils: 1. bilobular *beta*, provided with tiny bows; 2. the characteristic *Fahnen-Tau*; 3. diphthong *epsilon-iota* often in ligature with circumflex accent; 4. the right-hand section of the *lambda*, which forms a big hook below the line.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the discovery of Migliavacca's hand in numerous Andronikos-related manuscripts has shed light on some obscure aspects of the history of the dispersion of Kallistos' collection.

Among the manuscripts already related to Migliavacca's work, at least one case of imitation of ancient forms and ligatures had already emerged in the past: the Aristotle Cantabr. Ii.V.44 (thirteenth century).⁷ In this ancient manuscript, Migliavacca had carried out an impressive codicological and textual restoration, by inserting a few leaves in his own hand in order to supplement portions of the

⁶ I collected reproductions of all the extant Greek-Latin *ex-libris* in the hand of Migliavacca in Orlandi 2014b, plates VI and XVIIIe.

⁷ See Orlandi 2014b, 173–175 and plate XX.

text that had been lost. In the frame of a handwriting necessarily influenced by that of Kallistos, Migliavacca had on that occasion incorporated some of the characteristic traits of the style of the famous copyist Nikolaos,⁸ i.e. a handwriting dating back more than two centuries.

I recently came across a new case of antiquarian mimesis, in which Migliavacca is once again a protagonist. It concerns the manuscript Vat. Chis. R.VIII.58, an ancient witness to Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* dated to the twelfth century. Paola Megna has devoted a detailed study to this important manuscript.⁹ A new element can be added. The author of the restoration and insertion of fols 232–233, 235–236 is none other than <Baldassar Migliavacca> (Fig. 4.2).

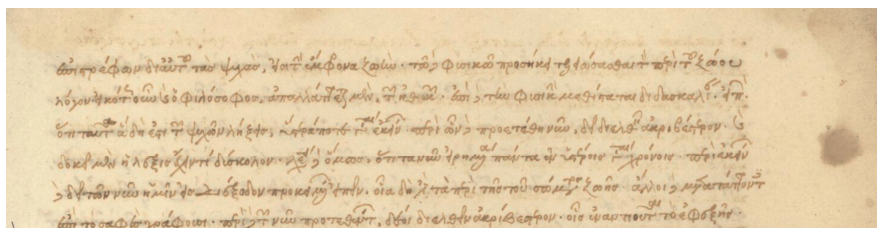


Fig. 4.2: Chis. R.VIII.58, fol. 235r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

On the one hand, we can immediately recognize the main features of Migliavacca's writing, i.e. that repertoire of forms (e.g. bilobular *beta*, the ligature *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent) derived from Kallistos' graphic system and thus envisaged in the phenomenon of school graphic mimetism. On the other hand, we can note that these standard forms are accompanied by others attempting to accurately reproduce the twelfth-century writing of the original manuscript. We can highlight here some of these innovations unrelated to Andronikos' graphic system: the abbreviation of *kai* in the form of a snail; *beta*, *delta*, and *zeta* in a majuscule shape. This discovery is meaningful for another aspect as well. For the Chisianus belonged to Marsilio Ficino, as already noted by Megna; this establishes an interesting connection between Migliavacca and the city of Florence, which will have to be explored further in the future.

⁸ RGK I 327 = II 445 = III 525.

⁹ See Megna 2003.

4.1.2 The scribe B of the manuscript Berolinensis gr. qu. 73

In a recent paper,¹⁰ I presented the manuscript Berol. gr. qu. 73 (Porphyry, *Intr.*; Arist., *De int.*, *Cat.*), today kept in Kraków (Biblioteka Jagiellońska). It is a parchment volume in which Kallistos was responsible for the copy of fols 1r–23r (up to Arist., *Cat.* 8b 35 Bekker). On the *verso* of folio 23, however, another hand appears (Fig. 4.3), which took up the transcription of the text of the *Categories* and completed the work.

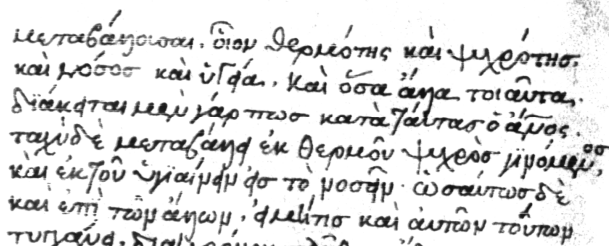


Fig. 4.3: Berol. gr. qu. 73, fol. 23v; © Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

Bearing in mind the principle of graphic mimetism, palaeographic analysis has made it possible to recognize in this anonymous copyist a (hitherto unknown) pupil of Andronikos. The derivation of the features of the pupil's handwriting from Kallistos' is evident; the main forms we have drawn attention to in these pages recur again, such as the bilobular *beta*, the *Fahnen-Tau* and the cursive majuscule *lambda*. However, the hatching characterising the writing of this anonymous pupil does not appear as fluid as in the case of Migliavacca's; the letters here take on a more square and angular appearance.

In the course of research, it was possible to argue that this anonymous pupil of Andronikos was also the addressee of the copy.¹¹ It is not yet known exactly when the Berolinesis was made, but it can be dated to the mid-1460s.

An interesting aspect of the matter, however, concerns the stemmatic derivation of this manuscript. For the text of the *Categoriae* the Berolinesis descends *recta via* from Vat. gr. 1314, i.e. from Kallistos' personal copy. Up to this point, it would appear to be simply a customary condition, according to which a book

¹⁰ See Orlandi 2020c, 458–463.

¹¹ Future owners of the manuscript were to be Petros Hypselas (RGK I 349 = II 478 = III 558) and a certain Lorenzo Bartolino (see Orlandi 2020c, 463 n. 27).

from the master's collection was made available to a student to have it copied. However, a closer philological examination¹² revealed that Berol. gr. qu. 73 is an apograph of Vat. gr. 1314 only up to 8b 35 Bekker, i.e. up to the point where Andronikos himself was responsible for the copying (= fol. 23r). From fol. 23v onwards a different model was therefore used. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the transcription could not be completed due to the sudden departure of Andronikos (and his book, Vat. gr. 1314). Hopefully future investigations will shed light on the matter and reveal the identity of the pupil.

4.1.3 *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger*

Research into Kallistos' cultural environment has also recently uncovered a large part of a book collection that belonged to one of his mysterious pupils: the so-called *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger*.¹³ Two manuscripts were originally¹⁴ associated with this unknown copyist: Vat. gr. 2170 B and Vat. gr. 2201 (fols 51–149). It is to Paul Canart's intuition that we owe the primordial connection between the activity of this scribe and that of Andronikos Kallistos:

Scriptura textus [...] adfinitatem magnam cum modo scribendi Andronici Callisti praebet [...] sed P. Canart sententia non de Andronico Callisto ipso sed de discipulo quodam eius scriptura imitante agitur.¹⁵

Canart's intuition was right: that of *Anonymus 51 Harlfinger* (Fig. 4.4) is undoubtedly a writing inspired both in its general layout and in most of its individual traits by that of Kallistos.

¹² See Orlandi 2020c, 460–463.

¹³ For the manuscripts belonging to his collection, refer to Orlandi 2020c, 463–481.

¹⁴ See Harlfinger 1971, 420.

¹⁵ Lilla 1985, 33–34.

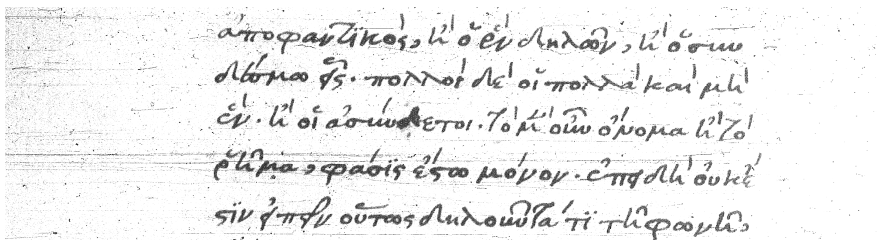


Fig. 4.4: Vat. gr. 2170 B, fol. 3v; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The interaction between the manuscripts of the *Anonymus* and the didactic-philological activity of Kallistos has become evident. As many as 7 manuscripts owned by the *Anonymus* were in fact corrected and/or annotated by Andronikos: Ricc. 46 (Aristotle), Lond. Burney 109 (Pindar, Theocritus), Monac. gr. 332 (Aristotle), Par. gr. 2772 (miscellany), Vat. gr. 2189 (Aristotle), Vat. gr. 2201 (Aristotle), Vat. gr. 2207 (Demosthenes). And the presence in these manuscripts of authors who are crucial within the cultural landscape and *cursus studiorum* offered by Kallistos is certainly not incidental.

Cross examination of all the palaeographic, historical, philological, and codicological data available on the 16 manuscripts bearing the handwriting of the *Anonymus* (mostly responsible for additions in the margins) offered clear clues as to the date and place of his activity. Most of the manuscripts in which the *Anonymus* appears (either in the text or in the margins) were produced in Florence, around the 1470s. Others, such as the famous Aristotle Ricc. 46, were restored there. Still others come from collections kept in Florentine libraries (e.g. Cicero Laur. 90 sup. 77.1). Finally, most of the manuscripts that belonged to the *Anonymus* flowed into the conspicuous collection of the Salviati family, most of which is now preserved in the Vatican Library (but not exclusively there).¹⁶

Finally, I provide here a concise list of all manuscripts that have so far been traced back to *Anonymus* 51's library on the basis of historical, bibliological, and palaeographic data: Laur. 90 sup. 77.1; Ricc. 46; Lond. Burney 109; Monac. gr. 332; Par. Coislin 155; Par. gr. 2772; Vat. gr. 2170 B, 2181, 2186, 2189, 2191, 2201, 2205, 2207, 2222, 2250.

¹⁶ Thanks to the research by Cardinali 2020a, 468, 471, 473 n. 216, 476, 489 — the results of which I had not been able to read at the time of the publication of my study (Orlandi 2020c) — we now know that Par. Coislin 155 and Monac. gr. 332 (in which I had likewise found annotations of *Anonymus* 51) also belonged to the collection of Cardinal Giovanni Salviati.

4.1.4 Giovambattista Buoninsegni

Among the pupils of Andronikos' Florentine courses appears Giovambattista Buoninsegni (1453–*post* 1512),¹⁷ who was still a young boy at the time of Kallistos' teaching. Evidence for Buoninsegni's participation in Andronikos' courses are two verses from Poliziano's well-known elegy composed for Bartolomeo Fonzio, in which Buoninsegni is mentioned as a fellow student.¹⁸ A very recent contribution¹⁹ has brought to light three Greek epigrams Buoninsegni composed to honour the memory of Theodoros Gazes, who died in 1476. These poems, as Paola Megna has well illustrated, represent a further significant record of the interest in poetry fostered by Kallistos in Florence which had a noticeable influence on the literary production of all his students.

One of the many insights of Megna's work is bringing attention to hitherto neglected graphic evidence. She published a specimen of Buoninsegni's Greek writing.²⁰ It is a quotation from Demosthenes — *Olynth.* 2,12: καὶ γὰρ ὥς παρὰ Δημοσθένει, 'ἅπας λόγος, ἂν ἀπὴ τὰ πράγματα μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν' ('Indeed, as said by Demosthenes, "if unaccompanied by deeds, each word appears vain and empty"') — included in a letter sent by Buoninsegni to Niccolò Michelozzi.

Although limited to a few lines, this evidence is of considerable importance. In addition to confirming the circulation and reading of one of the authors (Demosthenes) chosen by Kallistos in Florence for the *cursus studiorum* of his students, it allows us a glimpse into the graphic layout of Buoninsegni's handwriting at the time of the letter (i.e. February 1474). Below (Fig. 4.5) I reproduce only the lines with the *graeca*:

¹⁷ A biographical account is found in Kristeller 1972.

¹⁸ Verses 205–206 (ed. Bausi 2003) read: *nec minor egregia surgit virtute Ioannes Baptista, Etrusci gloria certa soli*. About the friendship between Poliziano and Buoninsegni and the epigrams by Poliziano in honor of Buoninsegni refer to Pontani 2002, 17–37.

¹⁹ See Megna 2021.

²⁰ The letter is kept at the National Library of Florence; see Megna 2021, 303–304.

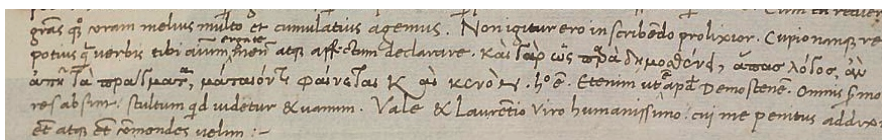


Fig. 4.5: Ginori Conti 29.64, fol. 73r, lin. 11–15; © Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

As far as can be observed, one recognizes in these lines an evident influence of Kallistos' graphic model, both in the arrangement of the individual letters (like the usual *Fahnen-Tau*, the uppercase high *gamma*, the final *sigma* closed and terminating in a curl at the top), and in the rendering of the ligatures (*alpha-rho*, hatched with the *alpha* placed in the line spacing, *sigma-theta* and *epsilon-iota*).

This specimen may form the basis for new identifications of Buoninsegni's hand in Latin and Greek manuscripts in the future. The new discoveries will in turn help us understand the degree of knowledge of Greek mastered by this minor humanist and his actual role in the cultural initiatives promoted by his contemporaries.

A first significant example can be attached here. As Megna recalls, we are informed of the great esteem Marsilio Ficino had for Buoninsegni, described as *familiaris noster, vir apprimè Latinis Graecisque litteris eruditus* in a letter Ficino sent to Alessandro Braccesi.²¹ Ficino himself praises Buoninsegni's collaboration in revising the text in the preface to the edition of the Latin translation of Plato's works (1484). Now, in Laur. 85.9 — i.e., the famous Greek manuscript owned by Ficino that served as the basis for the Latin text of his translation — we find marginal annotations in a hand that can finally be associated with the name of <Giovambattista Buoninsegni> (see e.g. fols 195r and 202r [Fig. 4.6]).

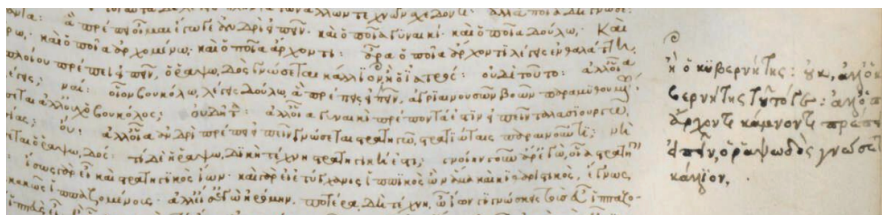


Fig. 4.6: Laur. 85.9, fol. 202r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

21 See Megna 2021.

The *marginalia* in Plato Laur. 85.9 allow us to extend the graphic sample and confirm the adherence to Kallistos' model (see, for example, the shape of the *beta*, the open *epsilon* in the word endings, or the ligature of the double *lambda*). Beyond the purely graphic data, however, the discovery of Buoninsegni's hand in Ficino's Greek manuscript enables one to observe from a privileged perspective the efforts to correct and revise the Greek text prior to the production of the monumental Latin version of Plato's *Dialogues*.

4.1.5 On the trail of other pupils

4.1.5.1 John Free

In the first chapter of this book, I presented a letter sent by the English humanist John Free (c. 1430–1465) to Ludovico Carbone (1430–1485).²² This epistle mentions Andronikos, who is about to travel to Ferrara to spend a short period of study and teaching there. Free reveals that he knows Kallistos well and can vouch not only for his intellectual merits, but also for his spiritual qualities. Free's epistle is preserved in the manuscript Oxon. Bodl. 587 in the form of an autograph draft (Fig. 4.7).

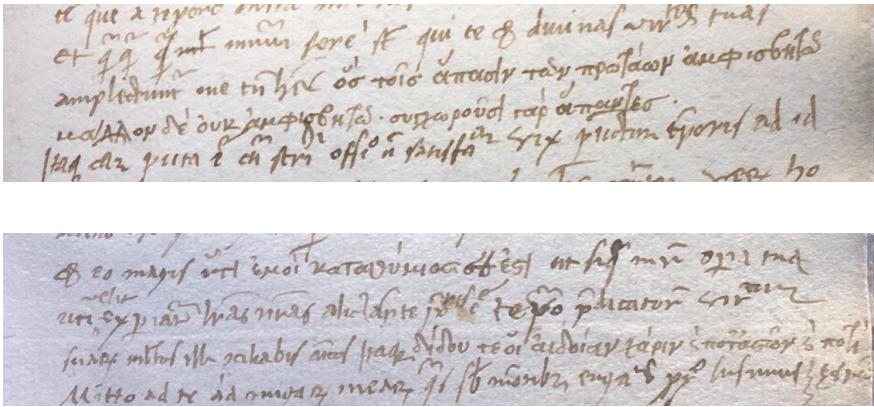


Fig. 4.7: Oxon. Bodl. 587, fol. 159^r; © Bodleian Library.

²² See *supra*, § 1.3.4.

Despite the smallness of the sample analysed, we can observe that some features of his handwriting clearly resemble that of Kallistos. From these elements we might deduce that Free probably spent a period of discipleship under Andronikos, which included learning Greek writing.

4.1.5.2 Copying Gazes' *Grammar*

In more than one instance Kallistos' employment of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar* during his Greek language courses in Bologna, Padua, Rome and Florence has been previously mentioned.²³ In this regard, the explicit mention of Theodoros' work in a letter addressed to Demetrios <Chalkondyles> is emblematic.²⁴ The text of the *Grammar* was read and commented during the class as with other classical authors, and represented a fundamental aid towards the memorisation of grammatical notions. Every student at Kallistos' school must have owned a copy of this handbook. In most cases the production of the copy was commissioned to professional scribes for a fee. It should not appear surprising, however, that some students manufactured their own copies. This is the case with the manuscript Ott. gr. 347, a copy of Gazes' *Grammatica* executed by a 'Kallistos-looking' hand (see Fig. 4.8).²⁵

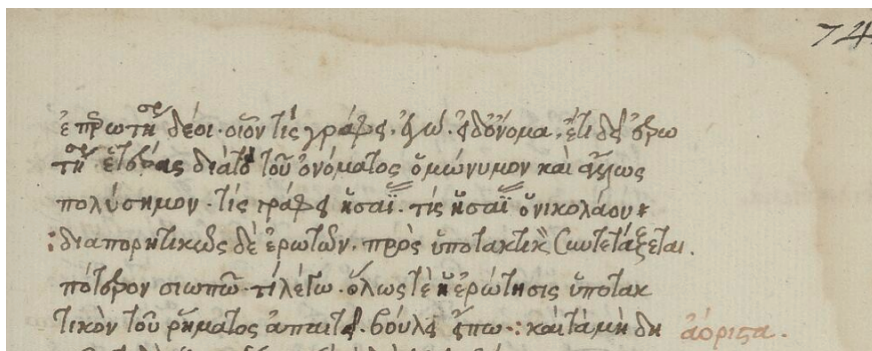


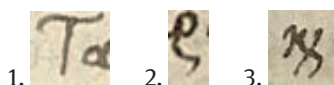
Fig. 4.8: Ott. gr. 347, fol. 74r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

²³ See *supra*, § 1.4 and 2.3.1. We shall remember that Andronikos himself corrected the text of the *Grammar* in the manuscripts Ott. gr. 52, Vat. gr. 13, and Neap. II.D.9.

²⁴ The text is re-edited and translated *infra*, Appendix 5.

²⁵ There are no recent publications about this codex. For a catalogue entry, refer to Feron and Battaglini 1893, 182.

All of the main features of Andronikos' handwriting appear here: the tall *Fahnen-Tau*; the ligature *epsilon-iota* + circumflex accent (which is visible, for instance, in the word δει in the first line); the cursive majuscule *lambda* (as in the adverb ἅλλως, line 2); the bilobular *beta* (as at line 6, in the word βούλει). The degree of imitation shown by this anonymous disciple is fairly good. There are, however, some insecurities in the shaping of letters and the harmony of the strokes; one notices at times the lack of a certain fluidity in the *ductus*. Moreover, the first folios of the manuscript (in particular fols 1r–13v lin. 14),²⁶ give a different impression when compared to the *specimen* reproduced above. In fact, in these first leaves one comes across some elements which do not belong to Kallistos' graphic system: letter *tau* traced in two movements by means of two strokes (1); *rho* finishing in a wavy tail (2); the abbreviation for καὶ realised by means of a stroke intersecting with the inferior right oblique trait (3). For the sake of clarity, these are reproduced below:



These odd elements become rarer from fol. 13v lin. 14 onwards, appearing only sporadically in the rest of the manuscript.²⁷ The feeling one gets when leafing through the codex is that of a progressive improvement in the quality and security of the hatching: in other words, fols 1r–13v seem to belong to a different (i.e. earlier) 'graphic moment', rather than to a different hand.

It is not possible to provide at this stage a dating for the manufacture of Ott. gr. 347, since the data stemming from the analysis of the watermarks did not offer clear indications, and we do not know enough about the history of the composition of Gazes' *Grammar*.²⁸ Some clues on the location of the activity of this anonymous disciple come, however, from other manuscripts displaying his Greek handwriting.

This is the case, for instance, of Salm. 71, transmitting works by Aristophanes and Demosthenes, the *Argonautica Orphica*, and a Latin translation of Theocritus' *Idyllia*. Teresa Martínez Manzano already linked this Salmanticensis to the

²⁶ The whole manuscript is digitised at <<http://digi.vatlib.it>>.

²⁷ I considered the possibility of attributing the copying of fols 1r–13v to a different hand, but I have not found decisive evidence to distinguish between who copied fols 1r–13v and who would have copied the rest of the manuscript.

²⁸ Some remarks are in Botley 2010, 14–25.

school of Andronikos Kallistos in Bologna, mainly relying on textual, palaeographic, codicological, and historical evidence:²⁹ 1. the contents perfectly match with the works read in Kallistos' classes;³⁰ 2. the historical data on this manuscript (i.e. the link with Lianoro Lianori and the later purchase by Pinciano) point to Bologna, a city in which Andronikos lived;³¹ 3. the writing of the copyists responsible for fols 128r–143r ('scribe A') (see Fig. 4.9) and fols 79r–127r, 181r–199v ('scribe B') (see Fig. 4.10)³² is clearly influenced by Kallistos'.

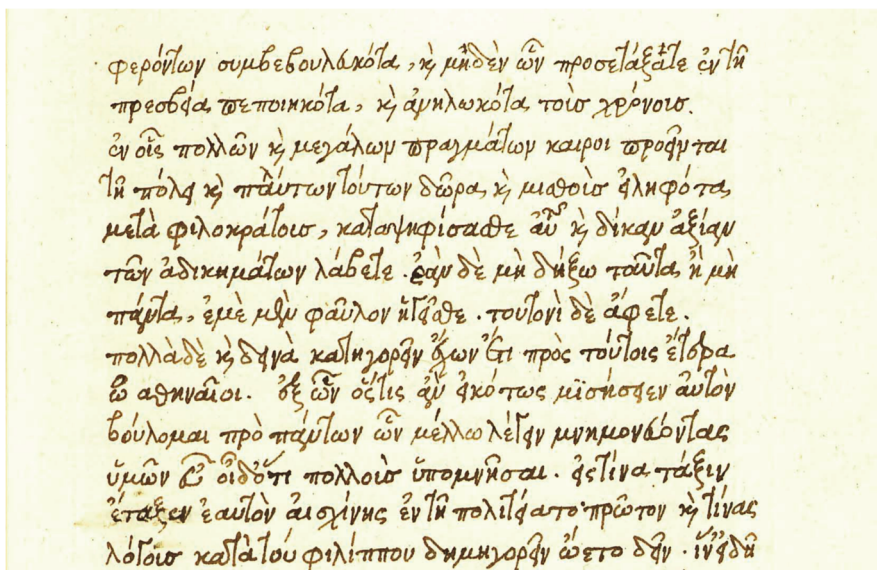


Fig. 4.9: Salm. 71, fol. 129r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

²⁹ See Martínez Manzano 2009 and Martínez Manzano 2015a, in part. 172–174. It is worth noting that Martínez Manzano 2009, 128 n. 3 had pointed out for the text of Demosthenes' orations a derivation of Salm. 71 from Par. gr. 2998. At the time it was not yet known that the Parisinus was part of Kallistos' library. The discovery of Kallistos' annotations by his own hand (reported in Orlandi 2014b) in Par. gr. 2998 further supports the reconstruction proposed by Teresa Martínez Manzano and leads to the assumption that Salm. 71 *directly* descends from Par. gr. 2998.

³⁰ Martínez Manzano 2015a, 172–173.

³¹ Martínez Manzano 2015a, 173–174.

³² See also the plates (nos 57 and 58) printed in Martínez Manzano 2015a, 338–339.

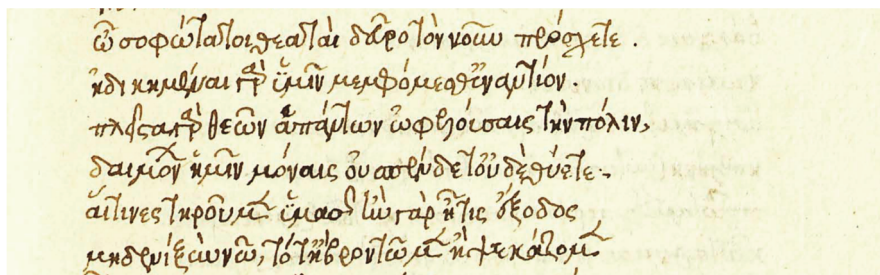


Fig. 4.10: Salm. 71, fol. 88r; © Biblioteca Universitaria.

The only element apparently distinguishing the handwritings of A and B seems to be the preference by A to write the letter *ny* in the shape of a ‘cup’, whereas scribe B mostly adopts the modern minuscule form. One should remember that both forms for letter *ny* are included in Andronikos’ graphic repertoire. As seen in the case of Ott. gr. 347, this difference can thus be easily explained by thinking of two different ‘graphic moments’, rather than supposing the existence of two different persons working on the same codex. At any rate, on the basis of the palaeographic analysis we can identify at least the ‘scribe A’ of the Salmanticensis (Fig. 4.9) with the copyist of Ott. gr. 347 (Fig. 4.8). Both a general impression and the observation of the individual strokes confirm this impression.

To further enrich this picture, we shall turn to another codex, the manuscript Bywater 35, currently kept at the Bodleian Library of Oxford. The aforementioned scribe of both Salm. 71 and Ott. gr. 347 is responsible in this case for some additions applied in the margins of the first book of Theodoros Gazes' *Grammar* (Fig. 4.11).

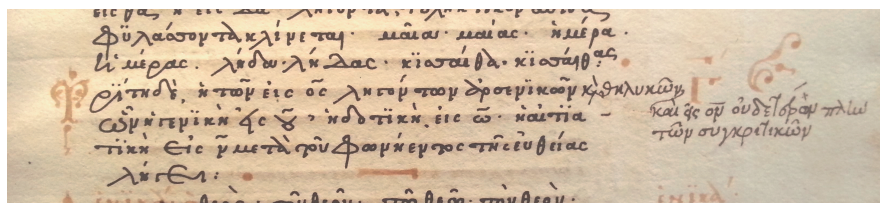


Fig. 4.11: Oxon. Bywater 35, fol. 7r; © Bodleian Library.

The Oxoniensis³³ is fully in the hand of Iohannes Rhosos³⁴ and belonged to a certain ‘Lelius Fidelis’, whose *ex-libris* is found on fol. 5r.³⁵ As shown in the specimen below, the copyist of Salm 71/Ott. gr. 347 supplemented here a passage which had accidentally been omitted by Rhosos.

In addition to these corrections, two annotations found at fol. 11rv deserve attention: they are work of the monk <Gregorios> (formerly known as *Anonymus* KB Harlfinger) (Fig. 4.12).

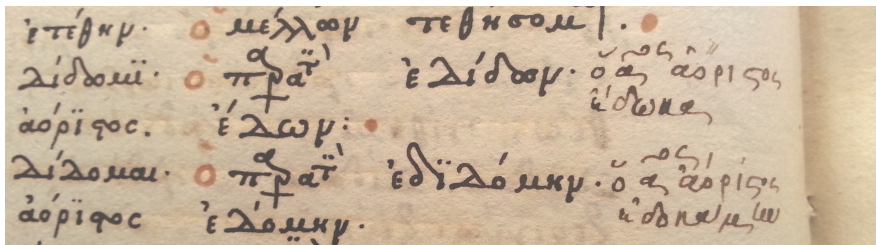


Fig. 4.12: Oxon. Bywater 35, fol. 11v; © Bodleian Library.

We are fairly well informed about Gregorios’ activity between the 1450s and the 1460s thanks to some recent contributions.³⁶ However, the exact connection between Gregorios and this manuscript eludes us at the moment, and it is not easy to determine a dating for these corrections.

Finally, with regard to manuscripts of Gazes’ *Grammar* copied or annotated at Andronikos’ school, I cursorily give here account of the discovery of another interesting piece: Vat. Barb. gr. 89. In the margin of the Barberinianus³⁷ one

³³ For a description, see Crostini Lappin 2003, 8–12.

³⁴ Identification in *RGK* I 178.

³⁵ The mysterious ‘Lelius Fidelis’ might be identified with Lelio/Lilio Tifernate, but I have not found decisive evidence so far.

³⁶ A detailed study on the manuscripts copied and/or annotated by Gregorios is now Giacomelli and Speranzi 2019, where I brought forward this identification. To the batch of 43 manuscripts therein reported, one shall first add two more manuscripts presented in earlier published contributions: it is Olomouc M 531 (see Eleuteri 1986, 548) and Par. gr. 2940 (see Harlfinger 2011, 289 n. 13). Finally, I report here some new findings about Gregorios’ scholarly activity. Some *marginalia* in his hand are found in <Par. gr. 1921> (see e.g. fols 216v, 240v) and <Mutin. α T.8.21> (see e.g. fols 1r, 3r).

³⁷ For a description, refer to Capocci 1958, 120–121. A digitization is at <<https://digi.vatlib.it/>>. I hereby report that the writing of the anonymous scribe of the Barberinianus is also found in the manuscript <Vall. F 60> (fols 249r–256v) (*Grammar* by Moschopoulos).

comes across another handwriting influenced by Kallistos', as the specimen attached below (Fig. 4.13) shows.

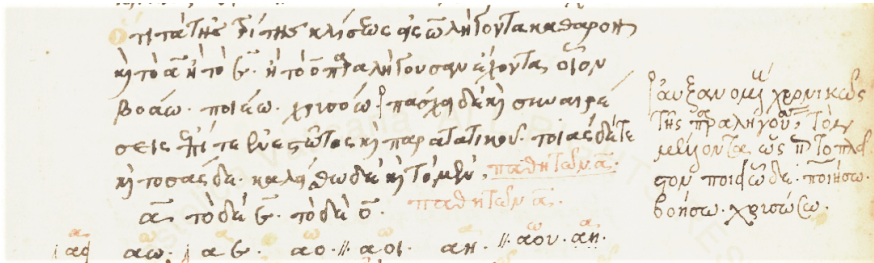


Fig. 4.13: Barb. gr. 89, fol. 12r; © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

We note also in this case the shape of the tall *Fahnen-Tau*, the bilobular *beta*, the form of the majuscule *lambda* and the *epsilon-iota* ligature connected with the circumflex accent (as at lines 3–4, in the word *ἐπιτοπλεῖστον*).

4.1.5.3 Copying Apollonius' *Argonautics*

Following the trail indicated by the authors interpreted in Kallistos' classes is, as seen in the examples presented so far, one of the ways to arrive at the discovery of new mimetic writings. I report on a recent finding. It is Laur. 91 sup. 8 (Fig. 4.14), a copy of Apollonius' *Argonautics* today kept in Florence. Without dwelling more than necessary on single details, one glance is enough to immediately recognize the derivation of this copyist's handwriting from Kallistos'.

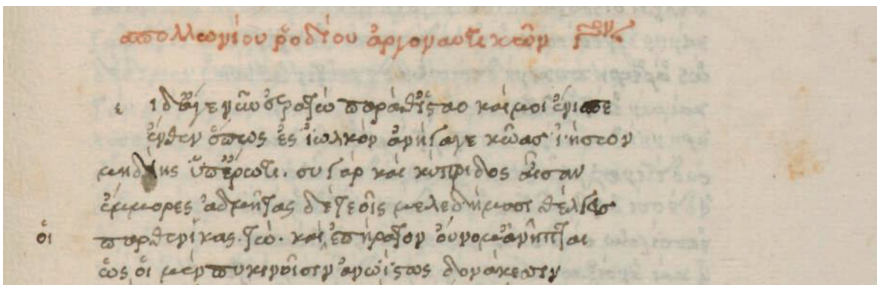


Fig. 4.14: Laur. 91 sup. 8, fol. 57r; © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

It is no coincidence that a close relationship has already been identified between the text of the Laurentianus and that transmitted in Andronikos' personal copy of Apollonius' work, i.e. Mutin. α T.8.13.³⁸ Systematic collations will not only provide confirmation of this stemmatic proximity, but perhaps also acknowledge the Mutinensis as the direct model for the Laurentianus.

4.2 Reading and interpreting Homer's *Iliad*: First insights

The connection between Laur. 66.31 (a manuscript containing class notes on Homer, Demosthenes, Theocritus) and the teaching activity of Andronikos Kallistos has already been highlighted by modern scholars such as Ida Maier, Gianvito Resta, Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, and Paola Megna.³⁹ My identification of Kallistos' handwriting within the manuscript itself allowed me in the meantime to ascribe definitely these *recollectae* to his classes held in Florence (1471–1474).⁴⁰ In addition, one should notice that the writing of the scribe is also in this case influenced by Kallistos'.⁴¹

Furthermore, with special regard to the *Iliad*, two hints point at the Mutin. α U.5.1 — i.e. the copy of the poem included in Andronikos' collection — as at the Greek manuscript which was likely the one used by Kallistos for his lectures. At fols 10v–11r, after verse 375 of the first book of *Iliad*, one finds in the Mutinensis five 'extra' verses (= 375a–e), representing a repetition of the previous vv. 17–21:

Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,	(17 =) 375a
ὕμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες	(18 =) 375b
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι	(19 =) 375c
παῖδα δέ μοι λύσατε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε,	(20 =) 375d
ἄζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα	(21 =) 375e

In the Latin translation written down in the Laurentianus, one likewise finds the five 'extra' verses:

Atridesque et alii bene ocreati Achivi,	375a
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³⁸ See Schade and Eleuteri 2008, 48.

³⁹ See Maier 1966, 44, 57–59; Resta 1978, 1093–1094; Cesarini Martinelli and Ricciardi 1985, LXXIII–LXXIV, Megna 2009, in part. LIXLXII, LXXIV–LXXVI, 6–7, 11, 16, 42–44, 47, 57, 83, 86, 103, 106, 111–112, 117, 130–131.

⁴⁰ See Orlandi 2014a. Written down by Kallistos at fol. 180v of his pupil's notebook, the well-known epigram on Midas' grave fulfills in that case a specific didactic aim.

⁴¹ See Orlandi 2014a, plate 1. The Laurentianus is fully digitised at <<http://teca.bmlonline.it/>> and <<http://mss.bmlonline.it/>> (accessed on 27 March 2023).

vobis quidem dii utinam praebeant olympias domos colentes	375b
expugnare Priami urbem, bene vero domum redire;	375c
filiam vero mihi solvite amabilem, munera vero acceptate,	375d
verentes Iovis filium sagittarium Apollinem	375e

Then, both in the Mutinensis' original Greek text (fols 7v–8r) and in the Laurentianus' Latin translation a couple of verses (namely 264–265) appear in an inverted order in comparison with most manuscripts of *Iliad*:

οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν	263
Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι	265
Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον	264
κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν	266

qualem Perithoumque Dryantemque opilionem populorum	263
Theseaque Aegidem similem immortalibus	265
Ceneumque Exadiumque et diis equalem Polyphemum	264
optimi certe illi terrestrium nutriti sunt virorum	266

Following the notes written down in the Laurentianus by the student during a lesson about the first book of *Iliad* (fols 7r–50v), one receives a general impression of its structure and how the learning process actually proceeded. In the classroom the pupils were obviously provided with manuscripts of the original Greek text, in order to follow the *interpretatio* of the teacher. Andronikos used to divide the text into small sub-units: one counts in the first book of *Iliad* 27 blocks, with an average value of 24 verses to be interpreted.

After reading the Greek text, the master offered the Latin translation of the verses together with grammatical and exegetical remarks on single words wanting explication.⁴² In most cases one finds only translations of singles words. If it is a verb, the forms of future and aorist are usually indicated immediately after that of the present.

In a recent contribution, Luigi Silvano pointed out that both the translation written down in the Laurentianus and the one by Bartolomeo della Fonte in the Riccardianus 904 equally depend on the version by Leontios Pilatos — which I

42 See for example the transcription of fol. 7r published by Maier 1966, 59.

hereby quote from Par. lat. 7880.1⁴³ —, thus being both *retractationes*. To some extent I do not agree with this assessment. In fact, despite some similarities, the work of Bartolomeo Fonzio depends apparently on Pilatos' translation, thus being *ipso facto* a *retractatio*, whereas the rendering of Kallistos may have originated independently, thus being on the contrary a regular translation from the Greek. In other words, we do not have evidence for Kallistos having read/used the translation of Pilatos. In this regard the following examples may furnish some interesting indications:

Iliad I 25

ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε

sed male expellit, *contumaci* autem sermone precipiebat
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

sed male dimittebat, *imperioso* sed sermone praecipiebat
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

sed inhoneste expellebat, *asperum* vero verbum dicebat
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

The rendering *sermone praecipiebat* found in Fonzio's text for the Greek ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε is a substantial clue of the latter's use of Leontios' translation. The adjective κρατερὸν was translated into Latin by means of three different words by Leontios, Fonzio, and Kallistos (*contumax* / *imperiosus* / *asper*) as well as the conjunction δέ (*autem* / *sed* / *vero*).

Iliad I 40

ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα

vel si quando autem tibi pinguia crura posui
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

vel si quando tibi iuxta pinguia crura posui
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

⁴³ See Silvano 2011, 234: 'Se poniamo di fronte i primi 50 versi delle due traduzioni [...] possiamo constatare che le somiglianze tra le due *retractationes* [...] derivano perlopiù dalla comune dipendenza da Leonzio, mentre solo di rado i due testi concordano in lezione o presentano spunti interpretativi affini nelle parti originali'.

aut si aliquando pingues coxas combussi
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

Even more strikingly than the previous, this case clearly shows that the rendering of Bartolomeo Fonzio (see in particular the syntagma 'pinguia crura posui' in comparison to 'pingues coxas combussi' transmitted by the Laurentianus) takes inspiration from the version by Leontios.

Iliad I 52
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί

percuciebat, semper pire mortuorum comburebantur *cumulate*
(Leontios Pilatos, Par. lat. 7880.1)

percutiebat, semper autem pyrae mortuorum comburebantur *crebrae*
(Bartolomeo Fonzio, Ricc. 904)

percutiebat, semper vero pyre cadaverum incendebantur *frequentes*
(Andronikos Kallistos, Laur. 66.31)

Also this last example indicates that the version of Leontios represents the basis of Fonzio's *retractatio*. In comparison to Fonzio's, the text copied in the Laurentianus offers many more innovations, both in the selection of terms and in the usage of conjunctive particles. In a broad sense, the level of authorship of the latter is definitely higher.⁴⁴

In my opinion, these three examples show that the question of the common dependence of Kallistos' and Fonzio's texts from the version by Leontios remains problematic and in need of further investigation. Moreover, the possibility of the influence of some other minor humanistic translations (see the earlier ones composed by Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Pier Candido Decembrio, and the so-called *Anonymus Bodleianus*) should not be ruled out.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ This feature reminds one of what Pertusi 1964 wrote after briefly presenting just a couple of lines of this Latin translation: 'Chi sia l'umanista che ha compiuto quest'altra *retractatio* non saprei dire', thus highlighting the great level of authorship of the text handed down in the Laurentianus.

⁴⁵ See Sowerby 1996, 165 n. 13. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to understand which kind of lexicographical instruments — bilingual dictionaries come to mind, for instance — the authors of these translations made use of. Such materials were not available at the time of the pioneering work of Leontios.

We shall now shed some initial light on the textual transmission of Andronikos' translation, since it is found in a number of manuscripts other than Laur. 66.31. As already suggested by Agostino Pertusi and Paul Oskar Kristeller,⁴⁶ fragments of the same translation were copied in at least three further volumes: the codex Bologna, Archiginnasio B 1414 (end of fifteenth century; *siglum* B in my working papers), the codex Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Va 19 (end of fifteenth century; *siglum* S), and the wonderful manuscript Vat. gr. 1626 (*siglum* V). The latter is a bilingual illuminated codex on parchment, written in 1477 by the calligraphers Iohannes Rhosos (responsible for the Greek text) and Bartolomeo Sanvito (Latin text) for the Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga.⁴⁷ In the case of the Laurentianus (*siglum* L) the text is apparently the transcription of what the student might have heard the teacher say whilst lecturing (ἀπὸ φωνῆς).⁴⁸

I have collated the text of the first book entirely, thus reconstructing a *stemma* (Fig. 4.15):

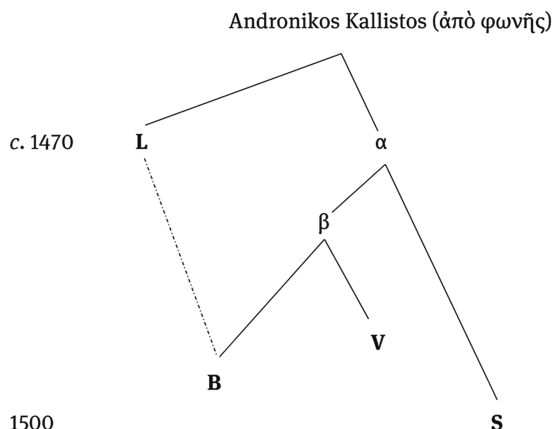


Fig. 4.15: The textual transmission of Andronikos' Latin version of the *Iliad*. *Stemma codicum*.

⁴⁶ See Sowerby 1996, n. 16.

⁴⁷ See the colophon at fol. 404v.

⁴⁸ An example for this might be the rendering of part of verse 348 (ἦ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἄμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς), where the translation of the pupil does not make any sense: 'illa vero invita cum his *nulli* ibat, verum Achilles'. The reading *nulli* for the Greek word γυνή (instead of *mulier*) is probably due to an acoustical mistake.

This *stemma* reflects the relationships among the witnesses. Letter α represents a codex (now lost) whose readings are common to SVB and stand in opposition to L. These readings may stem from a different stage of the transmission or represent, as in the case of L, the outcome of a selection of materials collected in class that nonetheless deviate from L.

- 42 τείσειαν] reddant poenas L : puniantur SVB
- 136 ὅπως] quemadmodum L : ut SVB
- 176 διοτρεφέων] eruditi L : nutriti SVB
- 309 ἐρέτας] remiges L : navigantes SVB
- 462 πεμπώβολα] torres L : titiones S, tictiones VB

Codex S presents some errors and readings in opposition to the rest of the tradition:

- 26 παρὰ] in LVB : coram S
- 60 φύγοιμεν] evitare poterimus LVB : auferimus S
- 188 ἄχος γένετ'] dolor fuit LVB : factus est dolor S
- 470 κοῦροι μὲν] iuvenes vero LVB : pueri quidem S
- 609 ἀστεροπητῆς] fulminum effector LVB : astrorum effector S
- 611 χρυσόθρονος] auream sedem LVB : aureum thronum S

Letter β represents a codex (now lost) with readings and errors which are common to VB in opposition to L and S:

- 29 μιν] hanc LS : an VB
- 32 ἴθι] vade LS : valde VB^{ac}
- 234 ναὶ] sic LS : si VB
- 329 τὸν] hunc LS : nunc VB^{ac}
- 459 ἔδειραν] decoriaverunt LS : decoraverunt VB

Codex B contains: 1. peculiar readings and errors in opposition to all the witnesses; 2. peculiar readings and errors in common with L:

- 236 ἀναθηλήσει] revirebit LSV : virebit B
- 337 ἔξαγε] educa LSV : et ducas B
- 414 τεκοῦσα] peperissem LSV : peperit B
- 238 θέμιστας] leges LB : iustitias SV
- 323 καλλιπάρηον] pulchram LB : pulchras genas habentem SV
- 468 δαιτὸς ἔτσης] cibo equali LB : equali cibo SV

The collation of more sections of the translation will probably confirm these preliminary data.

