

## 2 The manuscripts and their *sigla*, and the printed editions before Bethe

### 2.1 Manuscripts from before the Palaeologan Age

C = this *siglum* comprises two manuscripts which originally formed a single volume: *Palatinus Heid. gr.* 375 and *Vaticanus Urbinas gr.* 92. Codex C, dating from the end of the 10th century,<sup>1</sup> is one of the earliest witnesses of Pollux's text, although it has a shorter redaction of the *Onomasticon*.<sup>2</sup>

- *Palatinus Heid. gr.* 375. Parchment, IV+285 ff. The manuscript contains an epitome of Harpocration's lexicon,<sup>3</sup> Pollux's *Onomasticon* (on ff. 53v–224v; f. 225 is blank), but the paper folios 226r–228v are a later *addendum* of sections omitted in Pollux's *Onomasticon* and copied from the 1536 Basel edition,<sup>4</sup> and of Oribasius' *Collectiones medicae* (Books 24–5). This volume was part of the library of Manuel Chrysoloras (1360–1415).<sup>5</sup> He himself wrote the title in Greek and Latin on f. 1r (Πολυδεύκους Ὀνομαστικόν / *Polydeuchys*).<sup>6</sup> It is not known how he acquired the codex or brought it to Italy. It is also impossible to determine exactly when the folios now in *Vat. Urb.* gr. 92 (see immediately below) fell or were intentionally torn from the original volume: this certainly happened before 1415, when Francesco Barbaro acquired the *Urbinas* manuscript. *Heid. Pal. gr.* 375 was later owned by Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584), whose library signature appears on f. 11r ('357 seor'). After his death the manuscript was bequeathed to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine. In 1623 it was taken to Rome as war booty (on f. 11r there is also the signature '50', written by Leo Allatius).<sup>7</sup> It finally returned to Heidelberg in 1815, after a stopover in Paris.

*Catalogue description:* Stevenson (1885, 242), but see also Bianconi (2013, 377–8). The manuscript is also described very accurately on the website of the Heidelberg University Library by A. E. Beron and J. Sieber.<sup>8</sup>

- *Vaticanus Urbinas gr.* 92. This manuscript consists of two codicological units. The one containing Pollux's text has six folios (1–3 and 270–272), which

<sup>1</sup> See Bianconi (2013, 378–80).

<sup>2</sup> On this topic, see Section 4.2.

<sup>3</sup> This witness is discussed in Keaney (1991, XXIII).

<sup>4</sup> See Bianconi (2013, 377).

<sup>5</sup> On his biography, see Acerbi, Bianconi, Gioffreda (2021), with further bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> Attribution in Bianconi (2013, 381–2).

<sup>7</sup> On this event, see D'Aiuto, Grafinger (2011).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.22441>.

belonged to *Pal. Heid. gr. 375*<sup>9</sup> and were used by a librarian in the late 13th or early 14th century as the cover or flyleaves of this volume. The note of ownership by Francesco Barbaro (1390–1453)<sup>10</sup> on f. 3v shows that at that time the *Urbinas* manuscript had already been assembled in its present form. The codex was later inherited by Ermolao Barbaro (1453/4–1493).<sup>11</sup>

Pierleoni found the position of the six folios of the *Urbinas* in *Heid. Pal. gr. 375* in this order:<sup>12</sup>

<i>Vat. Urb. gr. 92 =</i>	<i>Pal. Heid. gr. 375</i>	
f. 2	f. 60	1.76 οὐδὸς καὶ ὁδός – 1.85 ἔμβολον
f. 270	f. 138	5.141 ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου – 5.153 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
f. 271	f. 139	5.153 ἐναντίου ἀμφίβολον – 5.167 ἐνδεῶς
f. 272	f. 190	9.24 καὶ φορτικὴν – 9.37 καὶ παροικοῦντας
f. 1	f. 217	10.109 γοναῖς – 10.116 βιβλίων εἰρηταί
f. 3	f. 219	10.134 ἀπόβαθρα – 10.142 ρόπαλα σῆκυτάλαι

*Catalogue description:* Stornajolo (1895, 136–7).

**L** = *Laurentianus plut.* 56, 1. Oriental paper (no watermarks), III+253 ff. It was assembled from three codicological units, each of them dating from the 12th century.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript was brought to Florence in 1492 by Ianus Lascaris and was consulted by Marcus Musurus and Angelo Poliziano.<sup>14</sup> Bethe (1900, X) dates it to the 14th century, but this assumption must obviously be revised; this misdating may explain why the scholar did not systematically use and cite the manuscript in his apparatus. This *Laurentianus* contains various rhetorical works (e.g. Menander Rhetor, Polemon, Gregorius Corinthius, and Polyaenus). Unfortunately, L contains only the last five books of Pollux's *Onomasticon*, on ff. 84r–162v: 5 (ff. 84r–92r), 6 (ff. 92r–108r), 8 (ff. 108r–125r), 9 (ff. 125r–141v), and 10 (ff. 141v–162v).

<sup>9</sup> Pierleoni (1896); Bethe (1900, X).

<sup>10</sup> See his biography in *DBI* 6.101–3.

<sup>11</sup> On his life, see *DBI* 6.96–9; the *Urbinas* codex is mentioned in the catalogue of his library (Diller 1963, 259; Vendruscolo 2020, 110). After Ermolao's death, many of his books were dispersed (Diller 1963, 255): this one entered the Vatican Library in 1657.

<sup>12</sup> Pierleoni (1896, 195).

<sup>13</sup> See Russell, Wilson (1981, XLI); Cavallo (2000, 231); Speranzi (2013, 263); Pérez Martín (2013, 841); Stefec (2013, 126). Instead, Rance (2018, 273) dates the codex to the end of the 13th century.

<sup>14</sup> See Speranzi (2013, 263).

*Catalogue description:* Bandini (vol. 2, 289–94), but a recent and very accurate description of the manuscript is provided in Stefec (2013, 126–30).

**M** = *Ambrosianus* D 34 sup. Parchment, I+II+257 ff. Dated to the beginning of the 11th century (Pérez Martín 2013, 844 n. 98; Lucà 2022, 110 n. 28). It is, together with C, the earliest witness of the *Onomasticon*. M unfortunately preserves only part of Pollux's work (ff. 172r–219v), from 1.21 ἀθέμητος μισώθεις (*sic*) to 2.78 μυκτηρίζειν δὲ Λυσίας, with many omissions and obvious orthographic errors (see Bethe 1900, VII). In some cases, however, it is the only witness for a few short passages (see, for example, 1.24 on the adjectives for the gods, in Chapter 11).

*Catalogue description:* Martini, Bassi (1906, 254).

## 2.2 Manuscripts dated to the Palaeologan Age (13th–14th century)

**B** = *Parisinus graecus* 2647. Oriental paper (no watermarks), VII+123 ff. Omont (1888b, 18) and Bethe (1900, X) dated it to the end of the 13th century, but I would suggest that it was written in the first decades of the 14th century, perhaps around the years 1320–1330.<sup>15</sup> It contains all ten books of the *Onomasticon*.

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 18).

**D** = *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 209. Paper, I+287 ff. Mid-14th century, probably from Constantinople.<sup>16</sup> This manuscript contains many different works, along with a heavily mutilated text of Pollux's *Onomasticon* (ff. 224r–262v): it begins at 1.1 and ends at 2.196 with ἄπερ Αἰσχύλος πέλλυτρα καλεῖ λέγεται δέ τι. It seems to me that the entire section containing Pollux is to the work of a single scribe. The hand of Michael Apostolis<sup>17</sup> has been identified by Stefec on f. 62v.<sup>18</sup> This is an important detail, since the manuscript *Marc. gr.* Z 513 (Ma, see below), with which D shares some errors in Book 2, was partly copied by him.

*Catalogue description:* Stevenson (1885, 105–8), but see the more accurate description by V. Gottlieb on the website of the Heidelberg University Library.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> There are some similarities with the hand of Georgius Galesiotes (*RGK* 1.57 = 2.77 = 3.97), who was active until the middle of the 14th century; see also the hands of *Marc. gr.* Z 490 or *Marc. gr.* X 3.

<sup>16</sup> The watermarks are examined by V. Gottlieb, see in the catalogue description below.

<sup>17</sup> *RGK* 1.278 = 2.379 = 3.454.

<sup>18</sup> See Stefec (2014, 195).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.41305>.

E = *Matritensis* 4625. Paper, IV+123 ff. Mid-14th century or the third quarter of the same.<sup>20</sup> This manuscript was almost completely neglected by Bethe (1900, XII), who thought that it should be dated to the 15th century. Instead, as I will show below, it turns out to be a witness of far from negligible importance, especially for several books, where it combines two families and also inserts some textual passages not found elsewhere; the manuscript also preserves marginal notes (E<sup>im</sup>) by the same hand that wrote the text, where some variant readings are recorded. E covers all ten books, but Book 10 is left incomplete, ending at 10.130 (γαῦλοι καὶ σκαφίδες καί). E belonged to Constantinus Lascaris (1434–1501),<sup>21</sup> who purchased it in Rhodes around 1456, according to the notes in his hand on f. 123v Κωνσταντίνου Λασκάρως τοῦ Βυζαντίου κτήμα ἐν Ῥόδῳ κτηθέν ‘Possession of Constantinus Lascaris, acquired in Rhodes’.<sup>22</sup> The humanist bequeathed the manuscript to the city of Messina. Later (after 1674) his collection was transferred to Palermo and finally to Madrid (1712–1713). Constantinus Lascaris himself (E<sup>2</sup>) added the prefatory epigram χρυσοῦ μεταλλεῦ κτλ. on f. 1v (see Chapter 3).

*Catalogue description:* de Andrés (1986, 145–6).

F = *Parisinus graecus* 2646. Paper (no watermarks), VI+261 ff. Second half of the 14th century. It was copied by Georgius from Crete, as stated in *RGK* 2.103 = 3.137. He was active in Crete in the years 1354–1387, hence the dating of the manuscript.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The watermarks (Greek cross, Mošin-Traljić 3537) identified by de Andrés point to a date (1311) around the beginning of the 14th century. On the other hand, Bryennius’ *Harmonica* (ff. 2r, 68r l. 14–71v, 122v–123v) was later added by a hand which has been identified as a collaborator of the ‘escriba anónimo digráfico’, who was active in the third quarter of the 14th century, see Mondrain (2007, 194 n. 70); Caballero Sanchez, (2018, 109). Regarding the identification of the ‘anónimo digráfico’ with Nicetas Myrsiniotes, see Fanelli (2017, 13–8). The text of Pollux was written by two hands, the first writing ff. 2v–49v, 67r l.2–68r l.14, 72r–105v, the second one ff. 50r–67r l.2, 106r–122r. This second scribe may be identified as the same anonymous scribe who wrote ff. 1v–43r and 47r–75v in *Par. gr.* 2549 (Apollonius Dyscolus, *De constructione*; the same work from which an excerpt found contained on f. 2r in E) and ff. 113r–117v in *Par. suppl. gr.* 1238 (containing the περὶ τῶν ζητουμένων κατὰ πάσης κλίσεως ὀνομάτων); it is also worth noting that the same hand that wrote the *Harmonica* in E, wrote the same work in *Par. gr.* 2549 (ff. 43r–46v and 76r–78v) and in *Monac. gr.* 487 (ff. 272–289), see Martínez Manzano (1998, 105 n. 27). I thank Valeria Annunziata and Giuseppe Ucciardello for helping me identify the scribes of this manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> On Constantinus Lascaris’ life, see *DBI* 63.781–5; Martínez Manzano (1998, 3–28). See also *RGK* 1.223 = 2.313 = 3.362.

<sup>22</sup> See Martínez Manzano (1998, 37).

<sup>23</sup> Omont (1888b, 18) and Bethe (1900, VIII) erroneously assign it to the 15th century.

Pollux's text occupies ff. 22v–261v and covers all ten books, but ends, mutilated, at 10.184; the previous folios (1r–22v) contain grammatical treatises.<sup>24</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 18).

**G** = *Vaticanus graecus* 2226. Paper, I+309 ff. First half of the 14th century, on the watermarks see Lilla (1985, 296), where they are described in detail. They allow a dating between 1309 and 1361. G contains various works, mostly grammatical and lexicographical (Harpocration and Phrynichus' *Ecloga*, Ammonius); Pollux's work is at the end, on ff. 202r–295v, and the manuscript covers all ten books. Many scribes worked on this manuscript, among them Iohannes on ff. 4–5r l.6, a scholar active in the circle of Manuel Moschopulus and Nicephorus Gregoras, and the so-called 'scribe X' on ff. 5v l.6–6v.<sup>25</sup> Less well known are the hands that wrote the *Onomasticon*: hand 6, which also copied the entire section containing Phrynichus' *Ecloga*, is responsible for a part of Pollux (ff. 11r–v; 98–199; 202; 216–218; 226–250, 295v; 298; 304 l. 8–305v); the remaining folios of Pollux were written by hands 8 (ff. 202v–215r), 9 (ff. 218v–225v), and 10 (ff. 250v–295v). Bethe (1900, XI) mentions G only for its relationship to B. The owner of the manuscript seems to have been a certain Iohannes for a while, who sold it to an unidentified person, as one can infer from two notes on f. 306: ἡγόρασα ταύτην τὴν βίβλον ἀπὸ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Ἰω(άννη)?· ὀφείλω αὐτὸν δοκᾶτα ια 'I have bought this book from my brother Iohannes(?), I owe him 11 ducats' and later ἀκμὴν ὀφείλω καὶ εἰς τὸ λεξικὸν δοκᾶτα ἕξ καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν μου 'I still owe him six ducats for the lexicon, and my prayers'. Later owners were the Spartan Demetrius Trivolis (second half of the 15th century),<sup>26</sup> who wrote two ownership notes on f. 201v, and Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553),<sup>27</sup> according to another note on f. 4r.

*Catalogue description:* Lilla (1985, 296–305).

**H** = *Vaticanus graecus* 2244. Oriental paper (no watermarks), II+149 ff. Dated to the end of the 13th century or the first half of the 14th century. It preserves the text of all ten books of Pollux, but with several omissions: the beginning of Book 1 is mutilated by the loss of probably one folio, so that f. 1r begins with the last part of the index (...ἀρότρου μέρη, ἀμάξης μέρη, περὶ μελιττῶν) and then the first words of the first section (1.5 θεὸς καὶ θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες). The opening epigram, the letter

<sup>24</sup> On this subject, see Pontani (2020a); Sandri (2022a); Sandri (2022b).

<sup>25</sup> On Iohannes, see *RGK* 2.271 = 3.328; Pérez Martín (1997, 80–1). On 'scribe X', see Bianconi (2003, 548–51).

<sup>26</sup> *RGK* 1.103 = 2.135 = 3.169; *PLP* 29298.

<sup>27</sup> See *DBI* 90.38–40.

to Commodus, and most of the index are missing. Book 1 also ends at 1.135 τὰ δὲ ὑπ'αὐτῷ ὀφρῦες, with no evidence of gaps or material loss, and the text simply continues with Book 2. Besides, due to the loss of a folio between folios 6 and 7, as pointed out by Lilla (1986, 394), H also omits the text from φρικώδεις ὄρκους (1.39) to 1.45 (πρὸς ἓν εἶδος). Book 2 begins at 2.65 (σῦκα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν) and continues to the end; the other books have no significant omissions. On f. 6v a 15th-century hand<sup>28</sup> wrote δοῦλος θεοῦ Δημιτριος; the same person also wrote, on f. 6v, 'Dimitry de Constantin(o)p(ol)e': he may have been one of the owners of the manuscript before it entered Salviati's library.

*Catalogue description:* Lilla (1985, 393–5).

**I** = *Monacensis graecus* 564. Oriental paper, 355 ff. Dated to the mid-14th century. The manuscript covers all ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–102v) and includes the prefatory epigram χρυσοῦ μεταλλεῦ κτλ. at f. 1r; half a page (f. 8r) is left blank, resulting in the omission of the text between 1.75 μισθῶσαι οἶκον and 1.76 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πлагίαν. This manuscript serves as a significant source for Imerius, Aelianus' *Historia animalium*, Tzetzes' *Chiliades*, Manuel Philes,<sup>29</sup> as well as for a brief mythographical text detailing the events preceding the Trojan War.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript once belonged to Iohannes (or Gabriel) Critopulus (whose monogram can be found at f. 1r).<sup>31</sup> Later, it became part of Antonius Eparchus' (1492–1571) collection.<sup>32</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Hardt (1806–1812 vol. 5, 426–34).

**Mc** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 490. Paper, 147 ff. Dated to 1330–50.<sup>33</sup> The manuscript contains texts of grammatical and lexicographical interest (Thomas Magister, Glykys, Choeroboscus, Ammonius, and Harpocraton), interspersed with a section containing two treatises on Greek mythology (Cornutus and Palaephatus). A very rich collection of excerpts from Pollux occupies ff. 79v–101v: this work, unfortunately mutilated at the end, covers all the books with the exception of Book 2 and 10, and presents a text heavily interpolated and modified by the insertion of terms

<sup>28</sup> See Lilla (1985, 395).

<sup>29</sup> See Gioffreda (2024).

<sup>30</sup> Edited in Pontani (2009).

<sup>31</sup> See *PLP* 13815. On him see Mondrain (2008, 125–6).

<sup>32</sup> See *RGK* 1.23 = 2.32 = 3.36. See also Mondrain (1993).

<sup>33</sup> Throughout the manuscript there is the watermark Mošin–Traljić 212 (Paris 1338, Genua 1340), the same one catalogued in Briquet 703 (Bologna 1334–36, Palermo 1335, Pisa 1337, Murano 1339, Florence 1341, Venice 1342, Angoulême 1346, Treviso 1349) or in Piccard *Werkzeuge und Waffen* XI 2026 (Treviso 1340).

and quotations from authors later than Pollux, such as Philo, John Chrysostomus, Philostratus, Synesius, and even Nicetas Choniates and Theodorus Metochites.<sup>34</sup>  
*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1985, 287–9).

**Pm** = *Parisinus graecus* 1630. Paper, III+278 ff. It can be dated between 1319 and 1346, the period in which the main copyist, Chariton of the Hodegon (*RGK* 1.378 = 2.522; *PLP* 30644), was active.<sup>35</sup> The manuscript was therefore most probably written and assembled in Constantinople. The few excerpts from Pollux in this manuscript, on ff. 92r–93v, and 94r–95v, are in Chariton's hand. These excerpts preserve a very correct and interesting text and have been edited in Miller (1874).  
*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888a, 109–12), but see Pérez Martín (2011, 367–76).

**Va** = *Vaticanus graecus* 904. Oriental paper, 142 ff., late 13th century.<sup>36</sup> The manuscript is in very poor condition, with many parts missing and extensive repairs in the last section. The content is largely poetic: the *Allegories of the Iliad* and *Allegories of the Odyssey* by John Tzetzes, poems by Gregory of Nazianzus and Nicephorus Chrysoberges, Hesiod's *Works and Days* with *scholia*, and three tragedies by Sophocles (*Electra*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Ajax*). Folio 141r–v, the last, contains a very limited and damaged fragment (from Book 4) belonging to the same collection of excerpts from the *Onomasticon*, more extensively preserved in Mc.<sup>37</sup>  
*Catalogue description:* Schreiner (1988, 95–8).

**Vt** = *Vaticanus graecus* 12. Paper, III+252 ff., mid-14th century.<sup>38</sup> This is a very famous witness for Greek and especially Atticist lexicography, since it contains, among other works, the so-called *Lexicon Vindobonense* and the sylloge known as Μονόκυθρον or Ἀγαγκαῖα γραμματικὰ ζητήματα, even in a very shortened version.<sup>39</sup> Pollux's excerpts are found in ff. 231r–236v and are drawn from Books 1 (ff. 231r–v), 2 (ff. 231v–234r), 3 (ff. 234r–235r), 4 (ff. 235r–v), and 6 (ff. 235v–236v).  
*Catalogue description:* Mercati, Franchi de' Cavalieri (1923, 7–10), but see a more recent description in Guida (2018, XXX–XXXI); Sandri (2020b, 225).

<sup>34</sup> For a partial edition of this collection, see Cavarzeran (2022).

<sup>35</sup> The identification of the hand is by Pérez Martín (2008, 456–7).

<sup>36</sup> This dating is provided by Lloyd-Jones, Wilson (1990, XI), and Xenis (2010, 35), whereas Schreiner (1988, 55) dates it to the mid-14th century.

<sup>37</sup> See Cavarzeran (2022, 128–9).

<sup>38</sup> See Ucciardello (2011, 260).

<sup>39</sup> On this manuscript, see Guida (1982); Guida (2007); Ucciardello (2017); Mazzon (2018); Sandri (2020b) with further bibliography.

## 2.3 Manuscripts dated to the 15th century or later

**A** = *Parisinus graecus* 2670. Parchment, II+383 ff. Since its sole copyist is Isidore of Kyiv (1385–1463),<sup>40</sup> who served as Metropolitan of Kiev and Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, the manuscript can be dated to the first half of the 15th century. This very small volume (142 × 90 mm) preserves the entire work of Pollux, though in a slightly confused order, with Book 7 following Book 4.

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 23). See also Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 102).

**S** = *Salmanticensis* BU 40. Paper, I+551 ff. The manuscript belonged to Lianoro Lianori (1425–1477)<sup>41</sup> and its watermarks allow us to date it to the years 1425–1458, although it was most likely written after 1449, during the five years of Bessarion's papal legation in Bologna (1450–1455). The copyist of the entire codex has been identified by Orlandi as Harlfinger's so-called Anonymus Ly, or Ἐμμανουήλ of Constantinople,<sup>42</sup> a professional scribe who belonged to Bessarion's entourage, along with, among others, Georgius Trivizias, Manuel Atrapes, and Iohannes Rhosus.<sup>43</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Martínez Manzano (2015, 168–9).

**V** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 520. Paper, I+234 ff. It can be dated to the middle of the 15th century.<sup>44</sup> From Bessarion's library. This volume contains many different authors: Theodorus Prodromus, Platon's *Apologia Socratis*, Cleomedes' *De motu circulari*, some treatises from Plutarch's *Moralia*, pseudo-Phocylides, the *Versus aurei* attributed to Pythagoras, and Theognis. Pollux's *Onomasticon* occupies ff. 81r–183v and offers the entire text of Books 1–4 (ff. 81r–183v), but only the letters to Commodus from Books 5 and 8 (f. 183v); the other books were completely neglected. Mioni (1985, 389) identifies five hands in the manuscript: Pollux was written by hand *b* (ff. 25r–65r; 81r–183v), who also copied part of Cleomedes' treatise. This copyist has not yet been identified, but Mioni (1985, 389) suggested Leo Atrapes for *a*; he

<sup>40</sup> *RGK* 1.155 = 2.205 = 3.258; Manfredini (1998, 618). On his life, see *ODB* vol. 2, 1015–6.

<sup>41</sup> On his life, see *DBI* 65.4–12.

<sup>42</sup> *RGK* 1.115 = 2.147; on this copyist, see Martínez Manzano (2013, 234–5); Orlandi (2019, 294).

<sup>43</sup> See Orlandi (2019, 291–3), with further bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> On watermarks, see Mioni (1985, 389).

was active in the first half of the 15th century.<sup>45</sup> Conversely, Young's identification of scribe *e* with Iohannes Doceianus has recently been rejected.<sup>46</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1985, 389–90).

**Ab** = *Ambrosianus* A 78 sup. Paper, II+223 ff. End of the 15th century; watermarks (ff. 3–8, 22–9, 55–6, 85–6, 165–6, 205–6 etc.) of an eagle inscribed in a circle, only partially comparable to Briquet 205 (Florence 1514). The manuscript belonged to the library of Luca Bonfio (Padua, ca. 1470–1540),<sup>47</sup> as evidenced by two ownership notes in his hand on f. 223v τοῦ Λουκᾶ τοῦ Βωμφίου καὶ τῶν φίλων '[it belongs] to Luca Bonfio and friends', and again on the rear cover τοῦ Λουκᾶ τοῦ Βωμφίου καὶ τῶν φίλων τῶν σπουδαίων. The volume was later purchased (1603) in Padua and transferred to the Ambrosiana Library. Ab contains all ten books of Pollux (ff. 15r–223v), preceded by an index of the whole work (ff. 1r–15v), as in Fz and Ne (see below). It was copied in full by Demetrius Damilas (second half of the 15th–beginning of the 16th century).<sup>48</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Martini, Bassi (1906, 15).

**Am** = *Ambrosianus* M 94 sup. Parchment, III+257 ff. Third quarter of the 15th century. It was purchased in Ferrara by Giorgio Merlani (1430/1–1494)<sup>49</sup> on a winter's day, as he wrote on the inside of the back cover: *Iulius polydeuces. est georgij Merlani Alexandrini et amicorum. emptus fuit per me Georgiu(m) ferrariae a nardo aurispae die XX[.] februarij 1462* 'Iulius Pollux. It belongs to Giorgio Merlani of Alessandria and to [his] friends. I, Giorgio, bought it myself in Ferrara from Nardo Aurispa<sup>50</sup> on 2[.] February 1462'. The manuscript covers all ten books of Pollux, whose text is arranged by a single scribe in two narrow columns, sometimes with only one word per line, sometimes with two or three at most: this layout was probably intended to leave space for a Latin translation of some words. It is a very rich artefact in parchment: section titles and initials are rubricated, f. 1r is even illuminated. At the end of Book 10, another hand added μέλαν, μελανοδόχον, καλάμη (10.60, this passage is not omitted in Am, though). Folios 255r–257r were written by a different

<sup>45</sup> *RGK* 2.328 = 3.383; *PLP* 1653.

<sup>46</sup> Young (1953, 8), rejection in Pontani (2014, 31 n. 28); Ferreri (2021, 83–4). On his hand and life, see *RGK* 2.214.

<sup>47</sup> On his collection of manuscripts, see Giacomelli (2020, 216–7); on his life, see *DBI* 12.25–6.

<sup>48</sup> *RGK* 1.93 = 2.127 = 3.160.

<sup>49</sup> *DBI* 73.679–685.

<sup>50</sup> Nardo Aurispa, or Nardo Palmieri, was the husband of Giovanni Aurispa's daughter Mita, see Franceschini (1976, *passim*). This Pollux manuscript does not correspond to any of the items in the 1459 inventory of Aurispa's books, as noted in Franceschini (1975, 40).

but contemporary hand, who supplied the text omitted by the first scribe after ἀνδρῶν ἄριστος καὶ μάλιστ' ἐμοὶ ξένος (9.72) on f. 219r, where another hand annotated λείπει (this may be the same hand that intervened at the end of Book 10). These folios contain the text from ἀτὰρ παρ' ἐμοί (9.72) up to κατὰ συνωνυμίαν ἢ ὁμοιότητα (9.129). The layout of these folios is also different: instead of being arranged in two columns, the text is continuous.

*Catalogue description:* Martini, Bassi (1906, 654–5).

**Br** = *Bruxellensis* 11350. Paper, I+119 ff. Probably the second half of the 15th century. This manuscript contains all ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–119v). It was written by a single scribe, and a second hand, most likely Demetrius Chalcondylas (1423–1511), made corrections in the text or in the margins (**Br<sup>pc</sup>**).<sup>51</sup> The beginning is mutilated, though, since the text begins at 1.17 with θεσπίσαι· τὸ γὰρ θεσπιωδῆσαι διθυραμβῶδες. The owner of this codex was Demetrius Chalcondylas himself, as noted on the back of the rear flyleaf Δημητρίου Καλχονδύλου (*sic*) καὶ τῶν φίλων [Property] of Demetrius Chalcondylas and friends.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript later belonged to the Jesuit library in Antwerp until 1733. Prior to this, it had been owned by Pierre Pantin (1556–1611) and then by André Schott (1552–1629). It was also used in the Amsterdam edition of Pollux in 1706.<sup>53</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1884, 381–2).

**Cn** = *Casanatensis* 6. Paper, II+260 ff. It should be dated to the first quarter of the 15th century, since it was copied in its entirety by Demetrius Scaranus,<sup>54</sup> a relative of Manuel Chrysoloras who died in Florence in 1426 (he had been in Italy since 1404). Pollux's text is on ff. 1r–81v; on f. 66v Book 1 ends at 1.135 τὰ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὀφρῦες, after which it continues with 2.67 καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν καὶ κλεῖσαι (a similar *lacuna* is in H). The *Onomasticon* ends (unfinished, it seems, not mutilated) at 2.91 διχαστῆρες καὶ κτένες. It is possible that this manuscript belonged to the library of Giovanni Salviati (1490–1553).<sup>55</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Bancalari (1894, 163).

<sup>51</sup> *RGK* 1.105 = 2.138 = 3.171; *PLP* 30511. I thank Grigory Vorobyev for discussing the hands of this manuscript with me.

<sup>52</sup> The misspelling of the name itself is odd, so one cannot be sure that he wrote the note; it also seems that the χ in the name was corrected from an original κ.

<sup>53</sup> See Papanicolaou (2014, 321 n. 161).

<sup>54</sup> Identification in Rollo (2020, 256). On Scaranus, see the entry about him in *PLP* 26035.

<sup>55</sup> Cataldi Palau (1995, 71). Salviati's biography is in *DBI* 90.38–40.

**Fl** = *Laurentianus plut.* 28, 32. Paper, I+238 ff. First half of the 15th century, on ff. 236–7 there is an anvil as a watermark, similar to Briquet 5955 (1418–1453); it may have been produced in Crete, judging from the trimming decorations.<sup>56</sup> Fl belonged to the library of Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), whose ownership note can be found on f. 19v: ἡ βιβλος αὐτῆς Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Φιλέλφου ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ‘This book [belongs] to Francesco Filelfo and his friends’.<sup>57</sup> Zenobio Acciaiuoli (ca. 1461–1519) wrote two notes (ff. 61r, 216v);<sup>58</sup> on f. 229r, ll. 1–6 he also restored a *lacuna* (10.152 μαρίπιον–10.154 ἐν Βάκχαις αὐτοῖς).<sup>59</sup> Pollux’s text in Fl (ff. 19r–263v) covers all ten books; ff. 1v–12r contain an astronomical treatise by Isaac Argyrus, ff. 12r–17v a treatise *De signis*.<sup>60</sup> The codex was written by three scribes, none of whom has yet been identified: *a* (ff. 1r–17v), *b* (19r–216v), and *c* (217r–236v). *Catalogue description*: Bandini (vol. 2, 56–8). The codex is also described in detail by D. Speranzi on the website of the Philephiana project.<sup>61</sup>

**Fr** = *Laurentianus plut.* 58, 1. Paper, 114 ff. Dated to the 15th century. Fr contains all the books, but in a confused order: 1 (ff. 1r–27v, but 17r–27v are a later replacement by Camillo Zanetti, who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century);<sup>62</sup> ff. 1r–16v contain 1.1–1.133 τὰ μέρη τῆς ἀσπίδος (replacement folios 1.133 ὁμοφᾶλδος καὶ μεσομφάλιον–1.254 ἐδῶδιμοι), 6 (ff. 28r–37r), 7 (37r–43v); 8 (43r–51v); 9 (51v–58v); 10 (58v–67v, ends at 10.139 φλεβῶν ἡ), 1 (68r–75r; beginning at 1.151 τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἡμεροί, ending at 1.254 ἐδῶδιμοι), 2 (75r–90v), 3 (90v–97r), 4 (97r–106r), 5 (106r–111r at 5.75 ὁ Καρπάθιος τὸν λαγῶν), 1 (ff. 112r–113v, beginning at 1.133 ὁμοφᾶλδος καὶ μεσομφάλιον and ending at 1.157 τὰ δὲ πράγματα πόνος). The code was copied by various unknown scribes, except for ff. 1r–12v, which can be attributed to Gian Pietro da Lucca, a pupil of Vittorino da Feltre;<sup>63</sup> moreover, on ff. 98r, 99v, and 100v Orlandi identified notes by Andronicus Callistus.<sup>64</sup> *Catalogue description*: Bandini (vol. 2, 438–9).

<sup>56</sup> Martinelli Tempesta, Speranzi (2018, 192).

<sup>57</sup> On Filelfo’s life and library, see Martinelli Tempesta, Speranzi (2018, 192), with bibliography.

<sup>58</sup> On his life, see *DBI* 1.93–4.

<sup>59</sup> Martinelli Tempesta, Speranzi (2018, 192).

<sup>60</sup> This treatise is analysed in Martin (1998, CXII–CXIII).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. <http://philephiana.unimc.it> (last access 25.03.2025).

<sup>62</sup> See Eleuteri (1991, 171) and Martinelli Tempesta, Speranzi (2018, 206).

<sup>63</sup> See Martinelli Tempesta, Speranzi (2018, 206); previously this hand was considered to belong to Filelfo himself, see Eleuteri (1991, 171).

<sup>64</sup> *RGK* 1.18 = 2.25 = 3.31. See Orlandi (2023, 27–28, 338).

**Fz** = *Laurentianus plut.* 58, 26. Paper, III+195 ff. Last quarter of the 15th century: the watermark of a crossbow inscribed in a circle, close to Piccard Waffren XI 2229 (Casola Valsenio 1491) or Briquet 739 (1470–1500), is present throughout the manuscript.<sup>65</sup> The codex covers all ten books, preceded, as in Ab (see above) and Ne, by an exhaustive index of the entire *Onomasticon*. The volume is the work of a single scribe, Alexius Celadenus (1451–1517),<sup>66</sup> formerly known as Harlfinger's Anonymus δ-καί.<sup>67</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Bandini (vol. 2, 469–70)

**Lu** = *Laurentianus plut.* 58, 3. Paper, III+139 ff. A dating to the third quarter of the 15th century is suggested by the watermarks: two crossed arrows throughout the manuscript (see e.g. ff. 14, 31, 47, 53, 62, 80, 87, 112, 126, 139, 144), Briquet 6271 (Venice 1467) and close to Piccard Werkzeug & Waffren XII 2334 (Venice 1471); at the beginning (ff. 9, 11) there is another watermark (scissors), similar to Piccard Werkzeug & Waffren III 709 (Aschaffenburg, Frankfurt am Main, Kronberg 1456–1457). Pollux's text occupies ff. 4r–143v and covers all ten books. At the end, after λύχρον (10.192), the copyist added μέλαν μελανοδόχον καλάμη (10.60; cf. Am, where a second hand wrote the same words at the end of the work). The entire manuscript was copied by Georgius Trivizias (before 1423–1485), a scribe of Bessarion's circle.<sup>68</sup> Among the owners of the manuscript there was Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494),<sup>69</sup> who wrote many marginal notes.<sup>70</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Bandini (vol. 2, 440–1).

**Ma** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 513. Paper, III+267 ff. Mid-15th century; the watermarks, analysed by Mioni (1985, 375), allow a dating between 1425 and 1463 (Briquet 5956, 6698 and 15870); it was copied in Crete.<sup>71</sup> Hosted in Bessarions' library, Ma is a miscellaneous volume, containing Albinus' epitome of Plato, Cornutus,<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> For example on ff. 64–5, 110–5, 136–7, 175–8.

<sup>66</sup> On his life, see Monfasani (1984); Speranzi (2009, 115). Alexius Celadenus was born in Mistras in 1451, then escaped with his family to Italy, where he was taken in and educated by Bessarion. He lived between Rome and southern Italy; he was bishop of Molfetta and Gallipoli until his death in 1517.

<sup>67</sup> Identification in Speranzi (2009); Speranzi (2011).

<sup>68</sup> *RGK* 1.73 = 2.94 = 3.123.

<sup>69</sup> *RGK* 1.4 = 2.4 = 3.4. Poliziano's interest in the text of the *Onomasticon* and the use of this very manuscript for part of the *Miscellanea* have been investigated in Daneloni (2005).

<sup>70</sup> See Daneloni (2005, 178–80); Speranzi (2015, 288 n. 2).

<sup>71</sup> See Bandini (2023, 64).

<sup>72</sup> See Krafft (1975, 158–62, 279–81).

Palaephatus, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and *Symposium*,<sup>73</sup> six orations by Themistius, Theophrastus' *Characters*, and Ocellus Lucanus. Pollux occupies ff. 28r–144r. The main scribe of the codex is Michael Apostolis (ca. 1420–1474/1486),<sup>74</sup> assisted by seven other hands.<sup>75</sup>

*Catalogue description*: Mioni (1985, 375–6).

**Mn** = *Monacensis graecus* 202. Paper, I+250 ff. Dated around the year 1465,<sup>76</sup> copied in Crete. The first section contains several homilies by John Chrysostomus, the second (ff. 147r–250v) the *Onomasticon* of Pollux. The copyist of these last folios is Georgius Eugenicus, active in the third quarter of the 15th century.<sup>77</sup> He left an elegant subscription on f. 250v: Γεώργιος Βυζάντιος ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς πενία συζῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν θεῖον τόνδε Πολυδεύκην συνέγραψα 'Ι, Georgius of Byzantium, Greek, living together with poverty wrote this divine Pollux in Crete'.<sup>78</sup>

*Catalogue description*: Hajdú (2012, 139–42).

**Mo** = *Monacensis graecus* 181. Paper, II+215 ff. Dated to the second half of the 16th century, before 1583, when it was sold by the scribe and owner, Andreas Darmarios,<sup>79</sup> to the Hofbibliothek in Munich. On ff. 144r–172r it contains a section of the *Onomasticon*, from 1.21 to 2.78, which is the text of manuscript M.

*Catalogue description*: Hajdú (2012, 31–2).

**Mr** = *Marcianus graecus* X, 26. Paper, I+204 ff. Dated to the end of the 15th century or, at most, to the first years of the 16th. There are several watermarks: one is quite similar to Piccard Waage V 220–25 (1464–1494), another is Briquet 2592 (Brescia 1519, Ferrara 1492–1497), also very close to Piccard Waage VI 238 (Brescia 1495). It seems to me quite important that the first three quires (ff. 1–22) do not have the same watermarks as the rest of the manuscript. The copyist is also different, which means that the new copyist took up an older copy. Five hands worked on the volume: *a* (ff. 1r–22v, l.5), *b* (22v, l.6–151r), *c* (156r–198r, l.7), and *d* (194r only a marginal note, 198r, l.8–203v). The manuscript is a miscellany of grammatical and

<sup>73</sup> Xenophon's text was copied by Ambr. E 119 sup., see Bandini (2008, 87).

<sup>74</sup> *RGK* 1.278 = 2.379 = 3.454.

<sup>75</sup> The exact distribution is described in Mioni (1985, 375).

<sup>76</sup> The watermarks are carefully analysed in Hajdú (2012, 141).

<sup>77</sup> *RGK* 1.62.

<sup>78</sup> Subscription in Hajdú (2012, 141) with complete bibliography.

<sup>79</sup> *RGK* 1.13 = 2.21 = 3.22.

lexicographical works,<sup>80</sup> among which the *Onomasticon* occupies ff. 1r–151r, but it ends unfinished at 10.130 καὶ σφακίδες καί, as in manuscript E, of which Mr is an apographon; the prefatory epigram to the work of Pollux in Mr is copied from E<sup>2</sup>. Before entering the Marciana Library, Mr belonged to the Nani collection in Venice, and was acquired by Giacomo Nani – or, less likely, by Bernardo – in the Ionian Islands in the second half of the 18th century.<sup>81</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1972, 60–2).

**Mv** = *Marcianus graecus* XI, 7. Paper, I+294 ff. Dated to the second half of the 15th century (before 1501).<sup>82</sup> Mv was part of the Library of SS. John and Paul in Venice and has been in the Marciana Library since 1789.<sup>83</sup> Pollux's text occupies ff. 1r–142r, while the rest of the manuscript contains poetic works with related scholiastic material (Aeschylus, Dionysius Periegetes, Hesiod, and Theocritus). The whole volume was copied by Georgius Gregoropulus (before 1450–1501);<sup>84</sup> on f. 247v there is a long note, probably written by Demetrius Chalcondylas.<sup>85</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1972, 87–9).

**Mz** = *Marcianus graecus* XI, 26. Paper, IV+354 ff. Dated to the first half of the 16th century.<sup>86</sup> The manuscript is a miscellany of mostly grammatical and poetical works. It contains only Book 7 of Pollux on ff. 128r–135v, but omits the letter to Commodus. The scribe of the whole volume, except for ff. 351r–352v l.7, is Pachomius Rhusanus (1508–1533).<sup>87</sup> He was a learned scholar and wrote several dogmatic and scholarly works,<sup>88</sup> such as the grammatical treatise on ff. 1r–30r in

<sup>80</sup> This miscellaneous manuscript consists of a syntactic lexicon, *De constructione verborum* by Constantinus Lascaris, *Voces animalium*, *De verborum syntaxis* by Maximus Planudes (see Guida 1999, 1–10), *De verbis synonymis* by Constantinus Harmenopulus (Guida 1999, 1–10), an alphabetic list of Greek irregular verbs, *De soloecismo* by Polybius of Sardi (see Sandri 2020a, 237–45), an excerpt from the same author (see Villa 2020), *Collectio vocum* by Iohannes Philoponus, and finally some short texts on dialectal glosses (see Latte 1925) and names of the months.

<sup>81</sup> On Giacomo Nani, his adventurous life, and his library, see *DBI* 24.256–8, M. Zorzi (1987, 309–15); N. Zorzi (2018, 99–101).

<sup>82</sup> I was able to identify one watermark close to Briquet 3684 (Genua 1449), one similar to Briquet 2488 (Treviso 1467–8), Briquet 14863 (Abach 1464), Briquet 11722 (Savoia 1413–23), and Briquet 14089 (Pisa 1454).

<sup>83</sup> See M. Zorzi (1987); Jackson (2011, 10); Speranzi (2013, 133–5).

<sup>84</sup> *RGK* 1.58 = 2.78 = 3.98.

<sup>85</sup> Hand identified, albeit in a hypothetical way, in Jackson (2011, 10).

<sup>86</sup> The watermarks are analysed by Mioni (1972, 141); they span the period between 1532 and 1550.

<sup>87</sup> See Vogel, Gardthausen (1909, 380).

<sup>88</sup> See Maloney (1976, 106–10); Gones (2005).

this manuscript.<sup>89</sup> After Pachomius' death, Mz probably remained in the monastery of St. George in Zakynthos,<sup>90</sup> until it was sold to Giacomo Nani in the second half of the 18th century. It then became part of his collection, before finally entering the Marciana Library in 1797.<sup>91</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1972, 141–6)

**Ne** = *Neapolitanus* II D 30. Paper, I+165 ff. End of the 15th century, exactly in the years 1490–1491, according to the subscription on f. 165v: δόξα σοὶ τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ ζῳθ 'glory to you, the one and only God [in the year] 6999 (= 1490–1491)'. The note in Latin on f. 165r, 'Antonij Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasij testamenti' ('Antonio Seripandi's property by Giano Parrasio's testament'), shows that Ne belonged to Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521),<sup>92</sup> a Calabrian humanist, who after his death bequeathed his library to his friend and protector Antonio Seripando. The manuscript was later transferred to the library of S. Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples.<sup>93</sup> Ne contains the ten books of Pollux's *Onomasticon* (ff. 9r–165v) preceded by an index of the entire work (ff. 1r–9r), as in Ab and Fz. Four hands, all of them from the Hydruntion area, shared the work of copying the volume.<sup>94</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Formentin (1995, 34–5).

**Np** = *Neapolitanus* III E 38. Paper, III+58 ff. Copied in the Hydruntion area in 1491, according to the subscription on f. 57r: ἐν τῷ ζ' κδ' ἰνδικτίωνος ἐν μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ εἰς τ' ἐς η' ἡμέρα [[σα ζ']] ζ' ὥρα ιδ'. The same scribe, who was the only one to

<sup>89</sup> Edited in Basilikos (1908, 118–34).

<sup>90</sup> Thus states the note on f. 221v: τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ εἰς τὰ Κρημνὰ τῶν Βουνῶν Ζακύνθου· καὶ ἦτον τοῦ Παχωμίου τοῦ Ρουσάνου κόπος καὶ ἐξ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅλον (lege ὅλον). καὶ αἰωνία αὐτοῦ ἡ μνήμη 'the present book belongs to [the monastery] of Saint George in Kremna on the Mountains of Zakynthos. It was the labour of Pachomius Rhusanus and it is entirely written by him. Eternal be his memory'. It is also important to note that part of this manuscript was copied by him on Mt. Athos, as he wrote on f. 336v: ταύτην τὴν μετάφρασιν ἔγραψα ὦν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου· ἐπειδὴ ἦν ἐν πολλοῖς σφαλέρᾳ, ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ λαύρᾳ ἰδεῖν ἕτερον ἀντίγραφον καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δεῖξάί μοι. διὸ καὶ τὰς ὥδας κατέλιπον οὕσας ἱαμβικὰς Ἰωάννου Γεωμέτρου διὰ τὸ μυριόσφαλτον 'I wrote this *metaphrasis* while I was at the monastery of Vatopedi. As it was full of errors in many [passages], I went to the Lavra [monastery] to see another copy, but they did not want to show it to me. So, I omitted the odes in iambic metres by John Geometres because of the innumerable errors'. This note testifies to his awareness as a copyist and his difficulties with some librarians.

<sup>91</sup> See N. Zorzi (2018, 104).

<sup>92</sup> On this humanist, see Tristano (1989) and Abbamonte (2023).

<sup>93</sup> See Tristano (1989, 102–3).

<sup>94</sup> Accurately described in Formentin (1995, 34).

work on this volume, also wrote on f. 1r in the upper margin [ $\pm 13$ ]  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ .<sup>95</sup> Indeed, he writes elegantly: he also decorated the initial letter of many paragraphs (mostly at the beginning, then tiredness may have got the best of him) with floral, zoomorphic, or abstract motifs. The text of Pollux, arranged in two columns, occupies ff. 1r–57r; on ff. 57v–58r there is an index of Book 1, written by another hand of the same age, which did not complete it. The manuscript probably belonged to Giano Parrasio's library, like Ne, with which it shares the same origin.<sup>96</sup> However, unlike for Ne, Seripando never came into possession of this volume. It is impossible to say what happened to Np until it found a new owner in Domenico Cotugno (1736–1822), whose name appears on the flyleaf at the end.<sup>97</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Formentin (2015, 208).

**Or** = Oxford, *D'Orville* 60. Paper, II+153 ff (f. IIr is a parchment fragment from a Latin manuscript). Probably copied in Venice between 1480 and 1485.<sup>98</sup> The two scribes who wrote the text of Pollux were Georgius Trivizias (ff. 1–112) and Iohannes Rhosus (ff. 113–150).<sup>99</sup>

*Catalogue description:* no. 16938 in Madan (1895 vol. 4, 53).

**Ox** = Oxford, *Corpus Christi* 75. Paper, II+161 ff. Dated to the first half of the 15th century.<sup>100</sup> Pollux's text occupies the most part of the volume (ff. 1r–159r) and covers all ten books. Two scribes wrote this manuscript: *a* (ff. 1–20, 23–67) and *b*, possibly Iohannes Chionopulus,<sup>101</sup> who wrote the rest and also filled a *lacuna* by inserting ff. 21–22.

*Catalogue description:* Wilson (2011, 11).

<sup>95</sup> The hand of this Hydruntine scribe can be recognised on ff. 1r–111v in the *Neap.* III B 20, as pointed out by Formentin (2009, 261).

<sup>96</sup> On Parrasio's library, see Tristano (1989, 102); the identification of the volume is in Formentin (2009, 263). See also Abbamonte (2023).

<sup>97</sup> On this scholar and scientist, who studied and was active in Naples, see Formentin (2009, 257–8) and *DBI* 30.480–3.

<sup>98</sup> See Vendruscolo (1995, 355). On the other hand, the watermarks could suggest a slightly earlier date: tongs, ff. 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. similar to Piccard Werkzeug & Waffen III 730 (Linz and Naples 1463); two arrows crossed, ff. 20, 22, 23, 24 etc., Briquet 6278 (Venice 1479); three mountains ff. 80, 81, 84 etc., similar to Piccard Dreiberg II 255 (Graz and Venice 1461); scales in a circle, ff. 113, 119, Piccard Waage V 485 (Brescia 1473).

<sup>99</sup> *RGK* 1.178 = 2.237 = 3.298.

<sup>100</sup> The watermarks are analysed by Wilson (2011, 11), and point to a dating between 1407 and 1431.

<sup>101</sup> He was active in Crete, see *RGK* 1.190 = 2.251 = 2.314. On the attribution of the hand, see Stefec (2012, 41).

**Pa** = *Parisinus graecus* 1868. Paper, II+458 ff. Folios 1–406 and 451–458 are dated to the second half of the 15th century, ff. 407–450 to the third quarter of the 14th.<sup>102</sup> This manuscript contains works of various genres, mainly philosophy and medicine. Pollux appears on ff. 315r–357v (f. 315v is left blank), but his work is mutilated (ff. 358–367 are blank): it ends abruptly at 2.104 λόγου τε πηγῇ. Many scribes copied this volume: in the *Onomasticon* section it is possible to identify Harlfinger's Anonymus 25, also known as Isaias (ff. 315r, 316r–325v, 327r–341v; *marginalia* on ff. 342r–357v), and Iohannes Rhosus (see above), who wrote the title and drew some decoration on f. 316r; a third hand, who wrote ff. 342r–357v, remains unknown.<sup>103</sup> Another element to support the dating of this manuscript is the hand of Georgius Alexandrou or Georgius Komatas, who was active in the second half of the 15th century.<sup>104</sup> Pa belonged to the library of Cardinal Ridolfi.<sup>105</sup>  
*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888a, 155–6); but cf. the detailed description in Sicherl (1957, 137–43).

**Pe** = *Perusinus* I 108. Paper, III+356. Second half of the 15th century,<sup>106</sup> probably made in Crete, since the binding indicates the workshop of Michael Apostolis.<sup>107</sup> It belonged to Francesco Maturanzio (ca. 1443–1518), who acquired it in Crete.<sup>108</sup> The volume begins with the *Onomasticon* (ff. 1r–120r), incomplete (1.1–6.186 ἐπινίκια); it then contains some short treatises on metrics, Xenophon's *Cyropedia* and *Anabasis*, Theognis,<sup>109</sup> an alphabetical lexicon on syntax, and Pseudo-Aristotle's *Letters*. The manuscript was copied by six hands, of which only the first three worked on Pollux: *a* (ff. 1r–24v), *b* (25r–80v, 121r–124r l.13), *c* (81r–120r, 124r l.14–130r), Anonymus MA Stefec (137r–334v),<sup>110</sup> Michael Apostolis (ff. 335r–350v),<sup>111</sup> and Theodorus Gazas (ca. 1400–1475/6)<sup>112</sup> (ff. 351r–354v).  
*Catalogue description:* Proietti (2016, 183–90).

<sup>102</sup> The watermarks, as well as the entire codex, are accurately described in Sicherl (1957, 137–43).

<sup>103</sup> On the attributions, with further bibliography, see Speranzi (2018, 198 n. 17).

<sup>104</sup> *RGK* 1.54 = 2.72 = 3.89.

<sup>105</sup> See Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 12–3).

<sup>106</sup> The watermarks go in this direction; a detailed analysis in Proietti (2016, 184–5).

<sup>107</sup> See Hoffmann (1982, 730–5).

<sup>108</sup> See Hoffmann (1983, 129). On his life, see *DBI* 72.338–41; Proietti (2016, 4–17).

<sup>109</sup> On Theognis, see the recent Ferreri (2021, 526–7).

<sup>110</sup> On this hand, see Stefec (2014, 197).

<sup>111</sup> See Young (1953, 18 n. 9).

<sup>112</sup> *RGK* 1.128 = 2.165 = 3.211.

**Pg** = *Parisinus graecus* 2648. Paper, 229 ff. Second half of the 15th century.<sup>113</sup> It belonged to the library of Cardinal Ridolfi.<sup>114</sup> The first part of the manuscript, written by a single scribe, contains all ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–160v); the second part contains Euripides' *Hecuba* with Moschopolean *scholia*<sup>115</sup> and the Greek translation of *Disticha Catonis* by Maximus Planudes. An obvious lacuna occurs on ff. 17v and 18r–19r, which have been left blank. Pollux's text ends at 1.137 ξυήλην τήν and begins again at 1.157 ἀήττητοι. The later hand of Nicolaus Sophianus (early 16th century—after 1552)<sup>116</sup> integrated, on f. 17v, 1.137 Λακωνικὴν to 1.139 τοὺς πολέμους. However, Sophianus did not complete his work. Book 5 ends at 5.149 ἐνειργασμένα and immediately afterwards begins, without any sign of a lacuna or book title, 6.20 καὶ ὑποψακάζειν λέγουσι (see below *Par. gr.* 2649, Pr). On f. 1r there is a short letter by Matthaeus Devaris (in his hand) to Cardinal Ridolfi.<sup>117</sup>

Ματθαῖος τῷ δεσπότη. εὐπορεῖν τινὸς κτήματος λέγεται οὐχ ὁ ἓν καὶ μόνον ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὁ πολλαπλάσια κεκτημένος, διόπερ καὶ σοὶ παντοίων βιβλίων κατασκευαζομένῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ οὐχ ἀπλὰ τὰ βιβλία ἀλλὰ πολλαπλάσια προσήκει κεκτήσθαι. ἔρρωσο.

Matthaeus to the master. It is said that a man is not rich when he possesses something as a single item, but rather when he possesses it as multiple items. Therefore, it is fitting for you, who are setting up a library with every kind of book, that you should have not only single copies, but multiple ones. Be in good health.

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 18).

**Pn** = *Parisinus suppl. graecus* 209. Paper, I+184 ff. It can be dated on palaeographic grounds to the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>118</sup> Until the 18th century, the manuscript belonged to the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua, as is stated on f. Iv *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticon : est monachorum congregationis s. Iustinae ipsi s. Iustinae coenobio deputatus signatus anno 1742*.<sup>119</sup> A few years later, in 1797, it was brought to the BNF by order of Gaspard Monge, together with

<sup>113</sup> The watermarks in Pollux's section, already inspected by Günther (1986, 86), allow a dating range between 1435 and 1491.

<sup>114</sup> See Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 117–8), with a detailed description of the codex.

<sup>115</sup> See again Günther (1986, 86).

<sup>116</sup> *RGK* 1.318 = 2.437 = 3.517.

<sup>117</sup> *RGK* 2.364 = 3.440. He was a pupil of Ianus Lascaris, worked as a librarian for Cardinal Ridolfi, and was an acquaintance of Nicolaus Sophianus. On his life, see *DBI* 39.513–6.

<sup>118</sup> Unfortunately, the watermark (a standing bird) I could observe on ff. 3, 5, 7 etc. seemed to me quite dissimilar from those recorded in repertories.

<sup>119</sup> On the history of this library, see Giacomelli (2022, 37–8).

other manuscripts and incunabula.<sup>120</sup> A single hand wrote all ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–180r); at the end of the volume (f. 182r) the same hand inserted some omitted paragraphs: 6.76 μελιττοῦντα – 6.82 τῶν δ' ἄλλων δῆλα τὰ ὀνόματα, and 6.83 ἦσαν δέ τινες – 6.87 ὡς τὸ λίκνον ἀμετάνητα.

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 231).

**Pr** = *Parisinus graecus* 2649. Paper, III+212 ff. To be dated to the end of the 15th century.<sup>121</sup> Pr was probably copied in Florence (see below under Xd), belonged to Ianus Lascaris and then passed to Cardinal Ridolfi.<sup>122</sup> The manuscript consists of two codicological units: the first (ff. 1v–172r) contains all ten books of Pollux's *Onomasticon*, the second (ff. 174r–212r) contains Marcus Aurelius, extracts from Heron of Alexandria, *De tropis* by Cocondrius (or rather Concordius),<sup>123</sup> extracts from Moschopulus' *De passionibus dictionum*, and Lesbos. Folios 18r l.6–19r were left blank, Pollux's text ends at 1.137 ζυγήλην τήν and begins again at 1.157 ἀήττητοι; Book 5 ends at 5.149 ἐνεργασμένα καὶ τὰς μετοχάς on f. 78r l.5, then this folio remains blank, like ff. 78v–79v; after that, without a book title, begins 6.20 καὶ ὑποψακάζειν λέγουσι (see above *Par. gr.* 2648, Pg). Four scribes worked on the manuscript:<sup>124</sup> the Anonymus Vindobonensis (f. 1v, *marginalia* on ff. 2r–3v, 4v–5r, 11r–v; his additions to Pollux will be marked as **Pr**<sup>2</sup>), *b* (2r–18r, 19v–70r, l. 18), Arsenius, born Aristobulus, Apostolis (70r l.18–78r, 80r–172r),<sup>125</sup> and Marcus Musurus (174r–212v).<sup>126</sup> Besides, the hand of Ianus Lascaris also appears in the manuscript in both codicological units: concerning Pollux, on ff. 139v, 140v, 141v, and 156r he wrote some simple references to the text in the margins.<sup>127</sup> The *pinax* on f. 1r and a note on f. 174r are by Matthaeus Devaris.<sup>128</sup> It is interesting that the Anonymus Vindobonensis used Xd (*Laur. plut.* 56, 12) as the antigraphon for his integrations (see below). The latter may have belonged to the Medici library and also contains some notes in his hand.<sup>129</sup> As

120 See Astruc (1960, 344–6).

121 The only watermark I could see, on ff. 88–9, is a crowned eagle, very close to Briquet 91 (Florence 1494 and 1517). Speranzi (2015, 290) reasonably supposes that the manuscript was copied in Florence between 1492 and 1494/5, when both Arsenius Apostolis and Marcus Musurus lived there. That the copy was made in Crete, before 1492, is still a possibility, but quite unlikely.

122 See Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 102–3); Speranzi (2015, 282).

123 On the name of this author, see Sandri (2021).

124 The identification of the hands is due to Speranzi (2015, 281–92).

125 On Arsenius' writing, see *RGK* 1.27 = 2.38 = 3.46; on his life and activity, see Flamand (2016).

126 *RGK* 1.265 = 2.359 = 3.433. On Marcus Musurus, see Speranzi (2013); Ferreri (2014).

127 See Jackson (1999/2000, 88); Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 103); Speranzi (2015, 282–3)

128 Muratore (2009 vol. 2, 103).

129 Speranzi (2015, 286–7).

we will see later, the branch of the tradition from which Pr derives did not preserve any subscription (the so-called *scholion* by Bethe). On the other hand, the same marginal notes drawn from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (and other sources) found in manuscript G (*Vat. gr.* 2226) were copied into Pr, which is, as we will see, stems from G.

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 18).

**Ps** = *Parisinus graecus* 2671. Paper, VI+436 ff., end of the 15th century or beginning of the next.<sup>130</sup> It is a miscellaneous manuscript containing lexica, medical treatises (Leo Medicus<sup>131</sup> and Nicephorus Blemmydes), and epistolography (Libanius, Photius, Demetrius Cydones, and Dionysius, Patriarch of Constantinople). It contains all ten books of the *Onomasticon*, which cover ff. 1r–190v. Besides, three other lexica are present in the manuscript: ff. 193r–204v an alphabetic lexicon (title: ἰδοὺ καὶ ἕτερον λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον περιέχοντα πολυώνυμα τῶν ῥημάτων; incipit: ἀγαπῶ φιλῶ ἀσπάζομαι στέργω; explicit: ὠφελῶ ὀνίνημι λυσιτελῶ συντελῶ), ff. 267r–277r Graeco-Latin lexicon (incipit: ἄδετ· ἔχει; explicit: <φ>ινίουμ ῥεγουνδόρουμ· τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν τῶν ἀγρογειτόνων γυμναζόμενον ἐχόντων περὶ ὄρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίας), and ff. 277r–284v another Graeco-Latin lexicon (incipit: ἀγωγή· παρὰ τὸ ἄγειν τοὺς ἀγομένους εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον; explicit: ὡς κονούμαξ· ὡς σούπεκτον). *Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 23–4).

**Ro** = Lanvellec, Bibliothèque de M. le Marquis de Rosanbo 401. Paper, 397 ff. To be dated to the end of the 15th century. The manuscript contains all ten books of Pollux's *Onomasticon* (ff. 1r–134r; 134v–137v are left blank), followed by three geographical works: Stephanus of Byzantium, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustatius' commentary on Dionysius. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the original, but only the microfilm kindly provided by the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* in Paris.<sup>132</sup> I believe that the copyist who wrote the entire manuscript is the Anonymus Vindobonensis, whose interest in the text of Pollux is also attested in Pr (see above).

*Catalogue description:* Omont (1888b, 382).

<sup>130</sup> I was able to identify the watermark of an anchor in a circle with a six-pointed star above (ff. 29–32), close to Piccard Anker V 233 (Brescia 1532) or Briquet 485 (1547–1553), and a lamb with a flag in a circle (ff. 299, 330) Briquet 58 (Rome 1537).

<sup>131</sup> See Buzzi (2019).

<sup>132</sup> I would like to thank Matthieu Cassin for allowing me to access and use the microfilm, and for helping me to find my way around the labyrinthine, yet comfortable, building of the IRHT. All attempts to contact the owner of the manuscript for an autoptic examination were unsuccessful.

**Vb** = *Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus* 56. Paper, I+343 ff. Dated to the third quarter of the 16th century. Like Mo, it contains on ff. 228r–273v a section of the *Onomasticon*, from 1.21 to 2.78, nothing more than the text preserved in M. The copyist is the same as that of Mo, Andreas Darmarios.

*Catalogue description*: Capocci (1958, 57–8).

**Vp** = *Vaticanus Palatinus graecus* 149. Paper, I+318 ff. Last decade of the 15th century.<sup>133</sup> The manuscript mainly contains rhetorical texts: Libanius' and Basilios' letters, the *Handbook* of Epictetus, Theophrastus' *Characters*, Hermogenes, and Trophonius. Pollux's *Onomasticon* (ff. 164r–290v) ends at 6.186 ἐπινίκια (see above *Perus.* I 108, Pe). Two scribes participated in the copying: Emmanuel Zacharides (second half of the 15th–early 16th century),<sup>134</sup> who worked in Crete in the *atelier* of Michael Apostolis, wrote ff. 4r–163v and 293r–317v, while Arsenius Apostolis wrote ff. 164r–290v. The latter is the copyist of the entire section containing the *Onomasticon*. He also wrote a subscription on f. 290v: Ἀριστόβουλος ιεροδιάκονος καὶ ταύτην τὴν βίβλον ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐξέγραψα 'Ι, Aristobulus *hierodiaton*, copied also this book in Crete'. It can therefore be assumed that the book was copied on the island, as stated, and probably in the last years of the 15th century, after 1491, since Arsenius identifies himself as a deacon and his presence on the island is attested until 1500.

*Catalogue description*: Stevenson (1885, 80–1); see instead the description by A. E. Beron, J. Sieber on the website of the Heidelberg University Library.<sup>135</sup>

**Vu** = *Vaticanus Urbinas graecus* 159. Paper, III+113 ff. Second half of the 15th century, before 1485.<sup>136</sup> It is a very rich and elegant manuscript, written entirely by Georgius Trivizias (see above).<sup>137</sup> It covers all ten books of Pollux.

*Catalogue description*: Stornaiolo (1895, 305–7).

**Xa** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 529. Paper, I+517 ff. Xa is a composite manuscript which belonged to Bessarion's library.<sup>138</sup> Ff. 1–129, together with ff. 491–496 and 517, date

<sup>133</sup> I have identified the watermark of an arbalist inscribed in a circle, Briquet 758 (1487), and that of a five-petalled flower, Briquet 6464 (1499–1504).

<sup>134</sup> RGK 1.114 = 2.146 = 3.189.

<sup>135</sup> See <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39792>.

<sup>136</sup> On ff. 4, 8, 10, etc. there is the watermark of a R with a cross, similar to Briquet 8938 (1456–8).

<sup>137</sup> RGK 3.123.

<sup>138</sup> See also Giacomelli (2021, 246, 275).

from the middle of the 15th century;<sup>139</sup> the rest dates from the first half of the 14th. It is thus clear that the codicological unit which contains the *Onomasticon* was attached to an older manuscript. These first 129 folios consist of the ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–121v), the *Onomasticon tacticon* (ff. 122r–124v), the *De musica* by [Aristides Quintilianus] (ff. 125–128r), and a shorter version of the *Lexicon Hermanni* (ff. 128r–129v),<sup>140</sup> followed by the beginning of the *De dialectis* by [Theodosius]. Unlike Mioni, I believe that two scribes wrote the text of this unit: *a* (ff. 1r–128r l.16; 476r; 492r–496v) and *b* (128r l.17–129v).

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1985, 415–7).

**Xb** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 493. Parchment, I+448 ff. Dated to the 15th century. It belonged to Bessarion's library. Xb is an elegant manuscript: in high quality parchment, with graceful script and decorated initials at the beginning of each book.

*Catalogue description:* Mioni (1985, 302–3).

**Xc** = *Marcianus graecus* Z 520. See the description above, under *siglum* V. Xc will be adopted as the *siglum* for this witness when its text follows family *x* (Bethe's  $\Xi$ ) instead of *c* (Bethe's III), which happens from 1.152 to the end of Pollux's work.<sup>141</sup>

**Xd** = *Laurentianus plut.* 56, 12. Paper, V+186 ff. Third decade of the 15th century, most likely in Constantinople, since it was copied by the same scribe as *Marc. gr.* Z 622.<sup>142</sup> This manuscript contains the ten books of Pollux's *Onomasticon*. Xd was most probably used by the Anonymus Vindobonensis as a source to integrate the text of *Par. gr.* 2649 (Pr; see above). Given that Xd also served as the antigraphon of Xf, which was surely in Florence in 1480 (see below),<sup>143</sup> it is possible to assume that

<sup>139</sup> Two watermarks are found in this unit: three mountains in a circle with a long cross above (ff. 1, 14, etc.), very close to Briquet 11880 (Brescia 1448–53; Vicenza 1449); an anvil with a cross (ff. 6, 87, 482, 495 etc.), Briquet 5955 (Augusta 1418–Ratisbona 1459).

<sup>140</sup> Edited in Hermann (1801); Cramer (1841). This particular version looks like the one preserved by the Uppsala University Library, gr. 28B. On this lexicon see Lorenzoni (2013, 297–300); Ucciardello (2018).

<sup>141</sup> Bethe (1900, XIII).

<sup>142</sup> See Speranzi (2015, 287). The watermarks seem to confirm this conclusion: a horn (f. V) similar to Piccard Horn VII 258 (Udine 1428), a bow with an arrow (ff. 169, 171, 172, etc.) close to Piccard Waffen X 1082 (Waldau 1444), a Gothic letter R with a cross above (ff. 1, 7, 13, 17, etc.), Briquet 8396 (Venice 1443–1449), a bird, (ff. 53, 54), slightly similar to Briquet 12100 (Brussels 1402). On the activity of the scribe of Xd, see Speranzi (2014).

<sup>143</sup> It is also possible that this manuscript, or its apographon Xf, was consulted by Poliziano along with Lu: see Daneloni (2005, 193).

both Xd and Pr were in that city for some time, probably before Ianus Lascaris' departure, and that Pr was copied there.<sup>144</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Bandini (vol. 2, 307).

**Xe** = *Laurentianus plut.* 10, 21. Paper, I+174 ff. The manuscript can be dated to the first half of the 15th century, but ff. 105–109, 124–155 were written in the middle of the 15th.<sup>145</sup> Pollux's *Onomasticon* is contained on ff. 110r–155v, but it is confined to the first book (it ends at 1.154 σχαδόνες καὶ ἐδώδιμοι). Only ff. 110r–123v (where the text stops at 1.71 ὦρα δὲ καὶ ἡμῶριον) can be ascribed to the original copyist (and volume); the rest is a later integration by Camillo Zanetti (third quarter of the 16th century). This codex was acquired for the Medici family by Ianus Lascaris during his journey to Greece in 1491–1492.<sup>146</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Bandini (vol. 1, 488–9), but see instead the codicological descriptions by J. Wiesner in Moraux (1976, 192–4), and Muratore (2006, 28–30).

**Xf** = *Laurentianus Aediles* 224. Paper, II+181 ff. Dated to the second half of the 15th century. It was copied from *Laur. plut.* 56, 12 (Xd)<sup>147</sup> and contains all ten books of Pollux (ff. 1r–180v). Xf belonged to Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (ca. 1434–1514), as evidenced by two ownership notes: on the rear of the front cover 1482 *Georgii Antonii Vespucii liber κοινὰ τὰ φίλων* and again on the back cover *liber Georgii Antonii Vespucii κοινὰ τὰ φίλων* 1480.

*Catalogue description:* Rostagno (1898, 148).

**Xg** = *Vaticanus graecus* 8. Paper, 331 ff. Dated to the first half of the 15th century; the copyist is one Demetrius, who was active mainly in the early 15th century.<sup>148</sup> Xg contains all ten books of Pollux. This manuscript was already recorded as belonging to the Vatican Library in the catalogue of 1481.<sup>149</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Mercati, Franchi de' Cavalieri (1923, 5).

**Xh** = *Athens, Μουσείο Μπενάκη* TA 190. Paper, IV+169 ff. Dated to the third quarter of the 15th century. The text of Pollux covers all ten books, but it seems to be mutilated at the beginning, since it begins with 1.8 εἴη δ' ἂν ὁ μὲν εἶσω περιρραντηρίων

<sup>144</sup> See Speranzi (2015, 287–8).

<sup>145</sup> On the watermarks, see J. Wiesner in Moraux (1976, 192–4).

<sup>146</sup> See Muratore (2006, 29) with further bibliography.

<sup>147</sup> See Daneloni (2005, 179 n. 2); Speranzi (2015, 287 n. 2).

<sup>148</sup> RGK 1.106 = 2.140 = 3.175. The watermarks (cherries, ff. 145, 148, 160, 161 etc.) are similar to Piccard Frucht 2.382 (Brindlein 1433).

<sup>149</sup> See Devreesse (1965, 98).

τόπος. The copyist, according to the catalogue of the Benaki Museum, is Georgius Alexandrou.<sup>150</sup> There are two further gaps in the text of the *Onomasticon*, both due to mutilations: the first (f. 59v) begins at 3.101 ἀλλὰ μετοχαῖς ὁ δὲ and ends at 4.51 φενακιστικῶς ταπεινῶς; the second one (f. 156v) includes Book 9, which ends at 9.160 εὐχρηματία εὐποτμία, and also the prefatory material of Book 10, where the letter to Commodus and part of the index are missing; ff. 51–53 are cut off in the lower margins, so that part of the text of Book 3 is also lost.

*Catalogue description:* Lappa-Zizica, Rizou-Couroupou (1991, 154).

**Wn** = *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 44. Paper, V+136 ff. To be dated to the last years of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. Wn contains (ff. 1r–136v) the ten books of Pollux’s *Onomasticon* by the hand of a single scribe. It is possible that Wn was copied in Venice, since it belonged to Sebastiano Erizzo (1525–1585)<sup>151</sup> and was not acquired by the Hofbibliothek until 1672.<sup>152</sup>

*Catalogue description:* Hunger (1961, 167–8).

## 2.4 Manuscripts’ *sigla* in alphabetical order

Siglum	Signature	Date	Bethe correspondence, when different	Dictyon
A	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2670	m. 15th		52306
B	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2647	13th–14th		52282
C	<i>Palatinus Heid. gr.</i> 375	end 10th		32477
	<i>Vaticanus Urbinas gr.</i> 92			66559
D	<i>Vaticanus Palatinus graecus</i> 209	m. 14th		65941
E	<i>Matritensis</i> 4625	b. 14th		40105
F	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2646	2nd h. 14th		52281
G	<i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 2226	1st h. 14th		68857
H	<i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 2244	13th–14th		68875
I	<i>Monacensis graecus</i> 564	m. 14th		45012
L	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 56, 1	12th		16344
M	<i>Ambrosianus D</i> 34 sup.	b. 11th		42535

<sup>150</sup> *RGK* 1.54 = 2.72 = 3.89. Identification by A. Tselika in Lappa-Zizica, Rizou-Couroupou (1991, 154).

<sup>151</sup> *DBI* 43.198–204.

<sup>152</sup> See Hunger (1961, 168).

Siglum	Signature	Date	Bethe correspondence, when different	Dictyon
S	<i>Salmanticensis</i> BU 40	1450–1455		56454
V	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 520	m. 15th		69991
Ab	<i>Ambrosianus</i> A 78 sup.	end 15th		42195
Am	<i>Ambrosianus</i> M 94 sup.	3rd q. 15th		43014
Br	<i>Bruxellensis</i> 11350	2nd h. 15th		9956
Cn	<i>Casanatensis</i> 6	1st q. 15th		56037
Fl	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 28, 32	1st h. 15th		16213
Fr	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 58, 1	15th		16422
Fz	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 58, 26	last q. 15th		16445
Lu	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 58, 3	3rd q. 15th	/	16424
Ma	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 513	m. 15th		69984
Mc	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 490	1330–50		69961
Mn	<i>Monacensis graecus</i> 202	m. 15th		44648
Mo	<i>Monacensis graecus</i> 181	16th		44627
Mr	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> X, 26	e. 15th		70620
Mv	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> XI, 7	2nd h. 15th		70643
Mz	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> XI, 26	1st h. 16th		70662
Ne	<i>Neapolitanus</i> II D 30	1490–1		46116
Np	<i>Neapolitanus</i> III E 38	1491		46382
Or	Oxford, <i>D'Orville</i> 60	1480–5		47826
Ox	Oxford, <i>Corpus Christi</i> 75	1st h. 15th		48622
Pa	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 1868	2nd h. 15th	<i>p</i>	51494
Pe	<i>Perusinus</i> I 108	2nd h. 15th		55422
Pg	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2648	2nd h. 15th		52283
Pm	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 1630	1st h. 14th		51252
Pn	<i>Parisinus suppl. graecus</i> 209	end 15th		52979
Pr	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2649	end 15th		52284
Ps	<i>Parisinus graecus</i> 2671	b. 16th		52307
Ro	Lanvellec, <i>Rosanbo</i> 401	2nd h. 15th		37459
Va	<i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 904	end 13th		67535
Vb	<i>Vaticanus Barberini graecus</i> 56	16th		64604
Vp	<i>Vaticanus Palatinus graecus</i> 149	last decade 15th		65881
Vt	<i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 12	m. 14th		66643
Vu	<i>Vaticanus Urbinas graecus</i> 159	2nd h. 15th		66626

Siglum	Signature	Date	Bethe correspondence, when different	Dictyon
Xa	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 529	m. 15th		70000
Xb	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 493	15th		69964
Xc	<i>Marcianus graecus</i> Z 520	m. 15th		69991
Xd	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 56, 12	3rd decade 15th		16354
Xe	<i>Laurentianus plut.</i> 10, 21	1st h. 15th		16143
Xf	<i>Laurentianus Aediles</i> 224	2nd h. 15th		15905
Xg	<i>Vaticanus graecus</i> 8	1st h. 15th		66639
Xh	<i>Athens, Μουσείο Μπενάκη</i> TA 190	15th		8300
Wn	<i>Vindobonensis phil. gr.</i> 44	e. 15th		71158
<b>a</b>	Familia cui pertinet M solus codex superstes		I	
<b>b</b>	Consensus codicum F et S		II	
<b>c</b>	Consensus codicum A V et x		III	
<b>d</b>	Consensus codicum C L et d <sup>2</sup>		IV	
<b>e</b>	Consensus codicum E Fl Fr (Mr) Lu Or Pa Pn			
<b>h</b>	Consensus codicum Ab Fz Ne Np			
<b>t</b>	Consensus codicum (Ma Mr) Mn Mv Ro Vu (Wn)			
<b>x</b>	Consensus codicum Xa Xb Xc Xd Xe Xg (Xh)		3	

## 2.5 Printed editions of the *Onomasticon*

**Venice 1502.** (*siglum*: **Ald.**) Title: *Ιουλίου Πολυδεύκους Ὀνομαστικόν / Iulii Pollucis vocabulary*. This volume was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in April 1502, as stated in the colophon: *Εν Ενετίαις παρ' Αλδφ θαργηλιώνι μηνί .α φ β / Venetiis apud Aldum mense Aprili M.DII*. It was dedicated to Elia Caprioli, an Italian humanist.<sup>153</sup> In the prefatory letter, Aldus described this *vocabulary* as ‘*varium, copiosum, elegans, doctum et perutile*’ ‘varied, rich, elegant, erudite and most useful’; and undoubtedly it was, and still is, a useful tool for those who wish to learn the Greek language. Unfortunately, none of the Greek humanists of Aldus’ circle at the time are recorded as curators or editors of this text of the *Onomasticon*.

153 On his life, see *DBI* 19.218–9.

**Florence 1520.** No title. Printed by Bernardo Giunta. Colophon: Ἐν τῇ Φλωρεντίᾳ παρὰ βερνάρδῳ τῷ ἱουντᾷ ἀνθεστηριῶνι Μηνὶ .α.φ.κ. / *Florentię apud Bernardum iuntam Mense Nouembri M.D.XX.*

**Basel 1536.** Title: Ἰουλίου Πολυδεύκου Ὀνομαστικόν ἐν βιβλίοις δέκα / *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticum, hoc est, instructis simum rerum ac synonymorum dictionarium decem libris constans, summo studio et cura emendato inque studiosorum gratiam tribus nunc demum locupletissimis indicibus auctum : cum praefatione Simonis Grynaei ad Ludi magistros.* The colophon preserves the name of the printers: *ex inclitya Germaniae Basilea per Balthasarem Lasium, et Thomam Platterum, Mense Martio, anno M.D.XXXVI.*

**Frankfurt 1608.** Title: Ἰουλίου Πολυδεύκου Ὀνομαστικόν ἐν βιβλίοις δέκα / *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticum decem libris constans : e Mss. codd. Bibliothecarum Palatinae atque Augustanae variis item doctorum virorum lucubrationibus quanta fieri potuit diligentia emendatum suppletum quoque nonnullibi et illustratum : adiecta interpretatio Latina Rodolphi Gualthieri, locis quamplurimis melior facta : indices item novi prioribus locupletiores et notae : studio atque opera Wolfgangi Seberi Sulani. Francofurti : apud Claudium Marnium, et heredes Iohan. Aubrii.* Edited by Wolfgang Seber (1573–1634) and including the Latin translation by Rudolph Walther (1519–1586), published without the Greek text in Basel in 1541.

**Amsterdam 1706.** Title: Ἰουλίου Πολυδεύκου Ὀνομαστικόν ἐν βιβλίοις δέκα / *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticum Graece et Latine : post egregiam illam Wolfgangi Seberi editionem : denuo immane quantum : emendatum, suppletum, illustratum : ut docebunt praefationes : Praeter W. Seberi notas olim editas accedit : Commentarius doctissimus Gothofredi Jungermanni : nunc tandem a tenebris vindicatus : Itemque alius Joachimi Kühnii : Subsidio Codici MS. Antwerpiensis variantium lectionum Isaaci Vossii : Annotatorum Cl. Salmasii et H. Valesii etc. concinnatus : Omnia contulerunt ac in ordinem redegerunt : Varias praeterea Lectiones easque insignes Codicis Falckenburgiani, tum et suas : Notas adjecerunt, editionemque curaverunt : Septem quidem prioribus libris : Joh. Henricus Lederlinus : Linguar. Orient. in Acad. Argentoratensi Prof. P. : Et post eum reliquis : Tiberius Hemsterhuis : Philos. et. Mathes. in Ill. Amstelaed. Athenaeo Prof. P. : Cum indicibus novis, iisque locupletissimis. Amstelaedami : Ex officina Wetsteniana.* Edited by Johann Heinrich Lederlin (1672–1737) and Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685–1766). The work by Pollux was provided with a very extensive commentary and the translation by Walther already present in Seber; the manuscripts mentioned in the title are *Bruxellensis* 11350 (Br), then kept in Antwerp, and *Parisinus graecus* 2646 (F). The standard numbering of Pollux's text, adopted by later editors, dates back to this edition.

Of the modern editions, Dindorf (1824) brings no innovations to the *recensio* and simply reproduces a substantial part of the prefatory material from earlier editions before the text. Bekker (1846) offers, if not significant improvements to the text, greater clarity about the manuscripts he used (see Bekker 1846, III–IV); he integrated the vulgate text with three manuscripts C, *Heidelbergensis graecus* 375 (but he was not aware of the folios in *Vaticanus Urbinas graecus* 92), B (*Parisinus graecus* 2647) and A (*Parisinus graecus* 2647), on which he, like Lederlin, seems to rely very heavily.