

# PARISINUS GRAECUS 1962 AND THE WRITINGS OF ALBINUS

JOHN WHITTAKER

## Part 1

*Parisinus Graecus* 1962<sup>1</sup> is a parchment *codex*, made up of fol. III + 175 + III measuring 25 × 16 cm. It dates, as we shall reaffirm, from the close of the ninth century, and is, as may be seen from the accompanying plates, an outstanding example of the impressive regularity and legibility which are characteristic of early minuscule. It contains (fol. 1–145 verso) the Orations of Maximus of Tyre preceded by a pinax (fol. 1 recto),<sup>2</sup> and (fol. 147 recto–175 recto) the *Διδασκαλικὸς τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων*—a work which is now generally ascribed to Albinus<sup>3</sup> but which the manuscript tradition assigns unanimously to Alcinoos. The recto of fol. 146 is blank, whilst the pinax which appears on the verso of this folio (see plate 2) will form the principal subject of this paper.

The manuscript derives from the collection of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550),<sup>4</sup> grandson of Lorenzo de' Medici and nephew of Pope Leo X. After Ridolfi's death his library, including more than 600 Greek manuscripts, was sold in 1553 to Piero Strozzi for the sum of 4,500 scudi.<sup>5</sup> When the latter perished at the siege of Thionville (1558) the collection passed into the possession of Strozzi's cousin Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henry II of France, and finally in 1599 entered the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements* 2 (Paris 1888) 171 f.

<sup>2</sup>See plate 1 and Hobein's edition of Maximus of Tyre (Leipzig 1910) lxxvi.

<sup>3</sup>On the basis of arguments first presented in detail by J. Freudenthal in his *Der Platoniker Albinos und der falsche Alkinoos* (Berlin 1879) this ascription has met with almost universal acceptance. However, M. Giusta has expressed legitimate and well-reasoned doubts concerning the validity of Freudenthal's arguments in his "'Αλβίνου Ἐπιτομή ο' Ἀλκινόου Διδασκαλικός?" *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 95 (1960–1961) 167 ff. Cf. further Part 2 of this paper in the next issue of *Phoenix*.

<sup>4</sup>On the Ridolfi family cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 29 (Rome 1949) 283. On Ridolfi himself cf. C. Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Florence 1933) 496 f.; M. Parenti, *Aggiunte al Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di Carlo Frati* 3 (Florence 1960) 129; and above all R. Ridolfi, "La Biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi (1501–1550)," *La Bibliofilia* 31 (1929) 173 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. G. Mercati, "Indici di Mss. greci del Card. N. Ridolfi," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 30 (1910) 51, n. 1.

*Bibliothèque royale*, where our volume received its present binding, decorated with the arms and monogram of Henry IV, in 1603.<sup>6</sup>

It was long ago pointed out by T. W. Allen<sup>7</sup> that our manuscript belongs to a distinguished group of late ninth-century *codices* containing largely philosophical texts of a Platonic character. Indeed Allen demonstrated that at least four of the group were the work of the same scribe: our *Parisinus gr.* 1962, *Parisinus gr.* 1807 (the "Paris Plato"), *Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr.* 398, and *Marcianus gr.* 246. Further, in spite of Allen's hesitation,<sup>8</sup> one should no doubt conclude, following W. Kroll<sup>9</sup> and R. Devreesse,<sup>10</sup> that also *Laurentianus* 80.9 and *Vaticanus gr.* 2197 (which originally made up a single volume) are the work of our scribe.<sup>11</sup> The same scribe is, moreover, readily recognizable in the fragments of Proclus *In Tim.* which make up the underlying text of the eleven palimpsest folios constituting *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 921.<sup>12</sup> The remaining manuscripts of our group are clearly the product of a variety of hands, all of which are nevertheless quite evidently striving towards the same calligraphic ideal.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The binding is identical with that of *Parisinus gr.* 1807, on which see H. Omont, *Platonis Codex Parisinus A 1* (Paris 1908) 3: "La reliure du volume, en maroquin rouge, aux armes accolées de France et de Navarre, entourées des colliers des Ordres de Saint-Michel et du Saint-Esprit, et timbrées de la couronne royale, avec le chiffre répété de Henri IV, porte la date de 1602." Our ms is of course dated 1603. Omont adds (*op. cit.* 3, n. 4): "Selon une tradition rapportée par le P. Louis Jacob, à la p. 462 de son *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques* (1644), les reliures en maroquin rouge des manuscrits provenant de Catherine de Médicis auraient été payées 'sur quelques rentes, qui appartenoient aux Jésuites, desquelles le Roy jouissoit pendant leur expulsion du royaume'." Omont's *op. cit.* contains photographic reproductions of the binding of *Parisinus gr.* 1807.

<sup>7</sup>In his "Palaeographica III: A group of ninth-century Greek manuscripts," *The Journal of Philology* 21 (1893) 48 ff. Allen lists nine mss as belonging to the group. To these one must add *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 921; cf. n. 12 below. A number of other manuscripts may be attached more or less loosely to the group; cf. A. Diller, "The scholia on Strabo," *Traditio* 10 (1954) 31 f. Allen, *op. cit.* 49, n. 1, specifically excludes *Marcianus gr.* 236 (Philoponus, *Contra Proclum*); cf., however, J. Irigoin, "Survie et renouveau de la littérature antique à Constantinople (IXe siècle)," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 5 (1962) 299, n. 75.

<sup>8</sup>(Above, note 7) 53.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. his edition of Proclus, *In Remp.* 1 (Leipzig 1899) v f., and 2 (Leipzig 1901) iii. Kroll's hesitancy with regard to *Parisinus gr.* 1962 (cf. 1.vi: "nihil affirmo de Parisino 1962"; and 2.iii: "quibus accedit fortasse Paris. 1962") is probably due to his not having had opportunity to study the manuscript adequately himself.

<sup>10</sup>*Introduction à l'Etude des Manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954) 34, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup>I have compared both these manuscripts with photographs of *Parisinus gr.* 1962.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Ch. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Le Supplément grec (Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, troisième partie)* 3 (Paris 1960) 19-21.

<sup>13</sup>Allen (above, note 7) 54 distinguished five scribes. However, if one accepts (as I think one should) that *Laurentianus* 80.9 and *Vaticanus gr.* 2197 are from the same hand as *Parisinus gr.* 1962, etc., the number would be reduced to four; i.e. (1) *Parisinus gr.* 1962, etc., (2) *Marcianus gr.* 196, (3) *Marcianus gr.* 226, (4) *Marcianus gr.* 258.

Particularly instructive is the case of *Marcianus gr.* 196<sup>14</sup> (containing the commentaries of Olympiodorus), in which the body of the text, though in a hand which is very similar indeed, is not the work of our copyist. The most obvious difference lies in the accents and breathings, which lack the bolt-like form<sup>15</sup> of those of *Parisinus gr.* 1962. However, in the scholia of the Marcian manuscript two hands, roughly contemporary, can be clearly discerned (cf., e.g., fol. 138 recto), one of which not only utilizes the bolt-like accents and breathings but seems in general indistinguishable from that of the scholia of *Parisinus gr.* 1962.<sup>16</sup> The second hand is less squat and compact, and may well be that of the scribe who copied the body of the text. The former hand should in all probability be identified with that of the scholia of *Parisinus gr.* 1962, which is in turn identical with that of the scholia of *Marcianus gr.* 246 and *Parisinus gr.* 1807. There is no reason to doubt that in all these three latter manuscripts both the scholia in question (whether uncial or minuscule) and the body of the text have been written by the one scribe, and the same seems to be generally true in the case of *Laurentianus* 80.9 and *Vaticanus gr.* 2197. It is worth emphasizing that the actual layout of the marginalia in *Marcianus gr.* 196 is very similar to that in *Parisinus gr.* 1962, and that in both these manuscripts, as well as in *Parisinus gr.* 1807 and *Marcianus gr.* 246, guide-lines for the scholia have sometimes been ruled in red crayon.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, a minuscule hand indistinguishable from that of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 appears in *Marcianus gr.* 196 in a number of corrections which also carry the bolt-like accents and breathings.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the conclusion suggests itself that, though the body of the text is not from his hand, the scribe of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 has corrected the text and completed the scholia of *Marcianus gr.* 196. J. Irigoin, it should be noted,

<sup>14</sup>On which see the literature referred to by L. G. Westerink in the *Praefatio* to his edition of Olympiodorus, *In Platonis Gorgiam comm.* (Leipzig 1970) v, and especially Westerink's own comments, xv ff.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Allen (above, note 7) 52: "Both breathings and accents lie flat or nearly so upon the words in the text, and present to the eye a curious effect of a flight of arrows or bolts."

<sup>16</sup>Cf., e.g., the facsimile of fol. 213 recto at the rear of W. Norvin's edition of Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.* (Leipzig 1913).

<sup>17</sup>For *Marcianus gr.* 196 cf., e.g., fol. 47 verso, 53 recto, 69 recto, 73 recto, 141 verso; for *Marcianus gr.* 246 cf., e.g., fol. 84 verso, 103 verso, 119 verso (where, however, the marginalia are lacking), 136 verso; for *Parisinus gr.* 1807 cf., e.g., fol. 14 recto, 15 verso, 94 recto, 229 recto; for *Parisinus gr.* 1962 cf. fol. 1 recto, 36 recto, 50 verso, 53 verso, 55 recto, 115 verso, 120 recto, 145 verso, 155 recto, 156 verso, 162 verso, 163 verso, 171 recto, 172 verso, 173 recto, 174 recto. J. Irigoin (above, note 7) 300, has expressed doubt as to whether the scholia were written by the same hand as the body of the text. I believe not only that the same scribe wrote both the scholia in question and the text, but also, as I hope to show in a later publication, that the scribe has copied these scholia from his exemplar.

<sup>18</sup>Cf., e.g., fol. 55 recto, 71 recto, 98 verso, 216 recto, 316 recto, 320 recto, 322 recto, 325 recto, 327 recto.

has recognized further indication of the widespread activity of our scribe in the marginalia of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 100 (containing several treatises of Aristotle).<sup>19</sup> If only as a copyist, our scribe has clearly played no insignificant role in the intellectual revival of the ninth century.

The exact circumstances under which our scribe operated remain a matter of conjecture. A study of the scholia to the Chrestomathy of Strabo in *Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr.* 398 has led A. Diller<sup>20</sup> to suppose that responsibility for the production of all the manuscripts belonging to "the Paris Plato group" should be ascribed to Photius. "Who else but Photius," Diller asks,<sup>21</sup> "in the third quarter of the ninth century would have produced these magnificent codices, so outstanding alike in material, craft and erudition?" The scholia, Diller believes, may derive from a variety of sources, including primarily Photius himself and Arethas. Diller's argument (though it has received the support of F. Lasserre,<sup>22</sup> who has attempted on this basis to reconstruct the ninth-century history of the text of Strabo) is suggestive but not entirely persuasive.<sup>23</sup> However, Diller is right in his general assessment:<sup>24</sup> "The Paris Plato group probably belongs to the third quarter of the ninth century, and its contents, in contrast with those of the Studite group, indicate it was not of monastic origin."

In spite of the fact that not only the Paris Plato but also the Vatican Plato (*Vaticanus gr.* 1), which is in part copied from the Paris manuscript,<sup>25</sup> belong by general admission to the latter part of the ninth century, there has been, and still is, a persistent tendency to assign *Parisinus gr.* 1962 to the eleventh century. In fact this erroneous dating shows such pertinacity<sup>26</sup> that it seems worth while, in order to eradicate

<sup>19</sup>Cf. J. Irigoin, "L'Aristote de Vienne," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 6 (1957) 5 ff.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Diller (above, note 7) 29 ff. In support of Diller's thesis cf. Irigoin (above, note 7) 299 f.

<sup>21</sup>(Above, note 7) 45.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Lasserre's "Etude sur les extraits médiévaux de Strabon," *AntCl* 28 (1959) 32 ff.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier Humanisme byzantin* (Paris 1971) 218.

<sup>24</sup>(Above, note 7) 32. But note that D. C. C. Young ("Professor Aubrey Diller's researches in the tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers," *Scriptorium* 9 [1955] 281 ff.) has questioned the need to date *Palatinus Heidelbergensis gr.* 398 prior to 900.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. L. A. Post, *The Vatican Plato and its Relations* (Middletown, Conn. 1934) 12 ff.

<sup>26</sup>The erroneous dating has been perpetuated by C. F. Hermann, *Platonis dialogi* 6 (Leipzig 1853) xviii (Hermann had in fact not himself seen the manuscript); by J. Freudenthal, *Der Platoniker Albinos und der falsche Alkinoos* (Berlin 1879) 244; by H. Hobein, *Maximi Tyrii Philosophumena* (Leipzig 1910) xxi; by H. Mutschmann, "Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Maximus Tyrius," *RhM* 68 (1913) 564; by F. Schulte, *De Maximi Tyrii Codicibus* (Göttingen 1915) 3; by B. A. van Groningen, *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography* (Leiden 1955) 40; and by H. Dörrie in the new article on "Albinus" in *RE Suppl.* 12 (Stuttgart 1970) 14 ff. Omont, in the *Inventaire sommaire* (above, note 1), dates our manuscript to the tenth century, but *Parisinus gr.* 1807 to the ninth. However, in his *Platonis Codex Parisinus A 1* (Paris 1908) 1, Omont acknowledges his accep-

it completely, to dwell for a further moment upon this question. The error is all the more surprising in that already about the beginning of the eighteenth century a more correct appraisal of our manuscript had been given by J. Boivin (1663–1726), the then *Garde des manuscrits* at the *Bibliothèque royale*,<sup>27</sup> whose description of our manuscript appears, in his own hand, on a sheet inserted between fol. I and II of the actual manuscript. Boivin's description contains the following assessment: "Codex Mediceus, . . . , saeculo opinor X<sup>o</sup> ineunte scriptus, eadem ut videtur manu qua Platonis opera, signata numero 2087" (N.B. *Mediceus-Reg.* 2087 = *Parisinus gr.* 1807). Thus, Boivin has not only dated our manuscript with fair precision but has also noted the identity of its hand with that of the Paris Plato. Nevertheless, in spite of Boivin's assessment and for unstated reasons, the 1740 *Catalogue* of the *Bibliothèque royale*<sup>28</sup> dates our manuscript to the eleventh century ("Is codex saeculo undecimo exaratus videtur") and makes no note of its relationship to the Paris Plato.

The misleading testimony of the 1740 *Catalogue* was made at the start of the nineteenth century the object of a curious attack by J. J. Combes-Dounous in the preface to his translation of Maximus of Tyre.<sup>29</sup> Combes-Dounous describes our manuscript as follows:<sup>30</sup> "A la tête du volume, est, sur une feuille volante, une notice manuscrite en latin, de la main de *Boivin*, ancien garde des Manuscrits, à la marge de laquelle on apprend que ce manuscrit a été copié, dans le courant du dixième siècle. Sur la première page, employée à présenter les divers titres des Dissertations de notre Auteur,<sup>31</sup> se montre, en effet, une espèce de millésime, en chiffres romains, qui exprime 954, et qui est, probablement, la vraie date du manuscrit. Quoi qu'il en soit de cette conjecture, il paroît d'ailleurs qu'elle

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tance of Allen's conclusions and assigns the Paris Plato group to "la seconde moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle." Nevertheless, Omont's earlier ascription in the *Inventaire sommaire* of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 to the tenth century is followed by, e.g., M. Giusta (above, note 3) 172; and G. L. Koniaris, "Emendations in the text of Maximus of Tyre," *RhM* 108 (1965) 354.

<sup>27</sup>On J. Boivin see Omont's *Inventaire sommaire* 1 (Paris 1886) xi: "Boivin (Jean), garde des manuscrits, et professeur de grec au Collège royale, né à Montreuil-l'Argillé, le 28 mars 1663, mort à Paris, le 29 octobre 1726. Après avoir travaillé, dès 1692, au catalogue des manuscrits grecs d'une façon particulière, il avait eu dessein d'en rédiger une description raisonnée, et d'écrire une histoire de la Bibliothèque du roi. Ces deux travaux sont restés inachevés; M. L. Delisle a publié dans le *Cabinet des manuscrits* (I, 151–162) les recherches de Boivin sur la bibliothèque de Fontainebleau."

<sup>28</sup>*Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Tomus Secundus (Paris 1740) 426.

<sup>29</sup>*Dissertations de Maxime de Tyr philosophe Platonicien traduites sur le texte Grec*. Avec des notes critiques, historiques et philosophiques par J. J. Combes-Dounous membre du Corps-Législatif et de quelques Sociétés Littéraires, 2 Tomes, Paris chez Bossange Masson et Besson anno XI<sup>e</sup> (= 1802).

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.* xxviii f.

<sup>31</sup>Fol. 1 recto. See plate 1 and Hobein (above, note 26) lxxvi.

concorde avec l'opinion de *Boivin*, qui l'a peut-être fondée sur la nature du caractère graphique du manuscrit. Ce qui est très constant, et me fait agréablement saisir l'occasion de rendre hommage au Citoyen *Duteil*, garde actuel des Manuscrits, à qui je dois ce renseignement; c'est qu'il existe, dans la Bibliothèque, des manuscrits qui portent explicitement la date du dixième siècle, et dont le caractère graphique est exactement le même que celui du manuscrit en question."

Combes-Dounous' suggestion regarding the interpretation of the number DCCCCLIV at the upper right-hand corner of fol. 1 recto of our manuscript (see plate 1) is rightly rejected by H. Hobein. But whereas Combes-Dounous had simply put forward as his own proposal the possibility that the numeral in question might in fact be the date of the manuscript, Hobein boldly imputes to Boivin the responsibility for this preposterous suggestion:<sup>32</sup> "Priores numeri [i.e., of our manuscript] 1044 et DCCCCLIV; quorum posteriore annum 954 indicatum esse—ita ut saeculi X<sup>i</sup> codex putandus sit—Boivinus custos Regius primus male coniecit, quam coniecturam temere propagavit Combes. . . ." In fact the number DCCCCLIV is the signature inserted by Nicolas Rigault at the time of the first general catalogue of the *Bibliothèque du roi*, completed in 1622 by Rigault with the aid of Claude de Saumaise and Jean-Baptiste Hautin.<sup>33</sup> The numeral is not a date and there is no possibility that Boivin, a man experienced in these matters through long familiarity with the manuscripts of the *Bibliothèque royale*, could have supposed it to be a date.<sup>34</sup> The signature 1044 on the same folio, it may be noted, is that of Dupuy, whilst the signature 2588 is that of Clément.

Thus, the erroneous dating of our manuscript has been passed on from the 1740 Catalogue to Hermann, to Freudenthal, to Hobein, etc., whilst in the meantime Boivin's more correct appraisal was either ignored, or was vitiated by Combes-Dounous' mistaken interpretation of the signature inserted by Rigault. The persistence of the wrong dating indicates, if nothing else, that the only reliable method of dating our manuscript is through the recognition of the identity of its hand with that of the Paris Plato, and of its integral position in the Paris Plato group as a whole.

The pinax which appears on fol. 146 verso of our manuscript (see plate 2) is a document of considerable interest, which, though it has received not a little attention from scholars,<sup>35</sup> has not yet given up all its secrets.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.* xxi, n. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Omont's *Inventaire sommaire* 1 (above, note 27) xxvi and Omont's photographic reproduction no. 5, which shows an example of a signature in Rigault's hand.

<sup>34</sup>Quite apart from the fact that Boivin's phrase "saeculo opinor X<sup>o</sup> ineunte scriptus" is hardly applicable to the year 954!

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Danielis Heinsii, *Notae et Emendationes ad Maximum Philosophum* (Lugduni Batavorum 1614) 14; *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Tomus Secundus (Paris 1740) 426; J. Freudenthal (above, note 26) 244 ff.; *Anonymer Kommentar zu Platons Theaetetus* (Berliner Klassikertexte 2) edd. H. Diels and W. Schubart

First, a matter of minor palaeographical detail. Of the scholars referred to in footnote 35 only Hobein, Mutschmann, Schulte, and Dörrie offer a transcription of the last line of the pinax. And in fact both Mutschmann and Schulte simply present a reprint of Hobein's transcription:  $\epsilon' \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon, \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha \lambda\lambda\alpha'$ . On the combination  $\lambda\lambda\alpha'$  Hobein comments "i.e. 31 =  $\epsilon'$ - $\lambda\epsilon'$  pinacis numeris." The pinax in question is not that under discussion, but the pinax, listing the works of Maximus of Tyre, which appears on fol. 1 recto of our manuscript.<sup>36</sup> This list contains 35 ( $\lambda\epsilon'$ ) items. If from this number one subtracts item  $\Delta'$  of the pinax on fol. 146 verso ( $\Delta' \text{ΜΑΣΙΜΟΤ ΤΤΡΙΟΤ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΟΤ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΤ. ΤΩΝ 'ΕΝ ΤΗΙ 'ΡΩΜΗΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΞΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ 'ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑΣ. } \bar{A} \bar{B} \bar{\Gamma} \bar{\Delta}:$ ) there remain 31 ( $\lambda\alpha'$ ) *orationes* (i.e., as Hobein points out, items  $\epsilon'$ - $\lambda\epsilon'$  of the pinax on fol. 1 recto). Hobein's interpretation is correct, but not his misleading transcription. Mutschmann correctly notes<sup>37</sup> that "Es muss natürlich heissen  $\lambda\alpha'$  (= 31)." Schulte, though he apparently had not seen the manuscript and was relying entirely on Hobein's transcription, had divined the true interpretation:<sup>38</sup>  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota \lambda\alpha'$ . Dörrie,<sup>39</sup> however, no doubt surmising an uncial error, emends Hobein's  $\lambda\lambda\alpha'$  to  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ . As may be seen from the accompanying plate 2, Hobein's transcription is incorrect: one should read not  $\lambda\lambda\alpha'$  but  $\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}$  and interpret  $\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}$  as an abbreviation of  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$ . This is a relatively common type of abbreviation; one may compare  $\overset{\circ}{\text{N}}\overset{\circ}{\text{N}} = \text{νομίσματα},^{40}$   $\overset{\circ}{\mu}\overset{\circ}{\mu} = \text{μάρτυρες},^{41}$  and  $\overset{\circ}{\mu}\overset{\circ}{\mu} = \text{μαθηταί}.$ <sup>42</sup> The *orationes* are in fact described as  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota$  in the pinax on fol. 1 recto (see plate 1).

A matter of much greater importance is that of item B' of the pinax:  $\text{'ΑΛΒΙΝΟΤ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΙΟΤ ΣΧΟΛΩΝ. 'ΤΠΟΤΤΠΩΣΕΩΝ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΩΝ, Α κτλ.}$  This statement is in fact the only adequate testimony of Albinus ever having written such a work on the lectures of Gaius. Supplementary evidence is found in a statement in the Carolingian or, more probably, pre-Carolingian Latin version<sup>43</sup> which is all that remains

(Berlin 1905) xxvii f.; H. Hobein (above, note 3) xxi f.; H. Mutschmann (above, note 26) 565 f.; F. Schulte (above, note 26) 9 ff.; K. Praechter, "Zum Platoniker Gaios," *Hermes* 51 (1916) 516; R. E. Witt, *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism* (Cambridge 1937) 106 (cf. also Witt's revised version of this page in the reprint [Amsterdam 1971] of his monograph); M. Giusta (above, note 3) 171 f.; H. Dörrie (above, note 26) 14 f.

<sup>36</sup>See plate 1 and Hobein (above, note 26) lxxvi.

<sup>37</sup>(Above, note 26) 565, n. 2.

<sup>38</sup>(Above, note 26) 10, n. 1.

<sup>39</sup>(Above, note 26) 14.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*<sup>2</sup> 2 (Leipzig 1913) 349.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.* 348.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.* 349.

<sup>43</sup>J. Quicherat, who in 1853 brought to light the Latin version in *Parisinus lat.* 13386, believed for quite inadequate reasons the translation to be the work of John Scotus

of Priscian's *Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum rex* (Supplementum Aristotelicum 1.2, p. 42.8 ff. Bywater): "usi . . . sumus utilibus quae sunt . . . Lavini quoque ex Gaii scholis exemplaribus Platoniorum dogmatum." As Diels<sup>44</sup> correctly surmised, the *Lavini* of the manuscripts must go back to an uncial error: ΑΑΒΙΝΟΥ for ΑΑΒΙΝΟΥ. However, only the evidence of our pinax permits us to identify with certainty Priscian's *Lavini* with Albinus. Further, item B' of our pinax is the sole evidence not only of the existence of the *Hypotyposes* but also for the association of Albinus with the "school of Gaius." True enough, Proclus does on one occasion mention the name of Gaius along with that of Albinus (*In Tim.* 1.340.23 ff. Diehl): καὶ εἰκόασιν ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμὰς λαβόντες οἱ περὶ Ἀλβίνου καὶ Γαίου Πλατωνικοὶ διορίζουν, ποσαχῶς δογματίζει Πλάτων, καὶ ὅτι διχῶς, ἢ ἐπιστημονικῶς ἢ εἰκοτολογικῶς, κτλ. However, the mere fact that two names are mentioned together does not in itself constitute proof of a teacher-pupil relationship. Thus, obviously without implying any such relationship Proclus speaks of (*In Tim.* 1.381.26 f. D.) οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Πλούταρχον τὸν Χαιρωνεῖα καὶ Ἀττικόν.<sup>45</sup> In the case of Gaius and Albinus, Proclus' statement, considered in isolation, might imply no closer relationship than that subsisting between Plutarch and Atticus—i.e., that of two men holding similar views at least on the specific topic under discussion. However, if one considers Proclus' statement in the light of our pinax, then one will indeed be inclined to believe that Proclus may have been aware of some closer contact between the two Platonists. Diels supposed<sup>46</sup> that Proclus' remark is evidence that both Gaius and Albinus wrote commentaries on the *Timaeus* and that Proclus had these commentaries at his disposal. Karl Praechter has, however, shown<sup>47</sup> that Proclus' very mode of expression (εἰκόασιν ἐντεῦθεν

Eriugena. In spite of the doubt expressed already by Bywater, on p. xi of the *Praefatio* to his edition, regarding this ascription, and the strong case built up against it by M. Esposito ("Priscianus Lydus and Johannes Scottus," *CR* 32 [1918] 21 ff.), Quicherat's opinion has achieved considerable popularity. For a full account of the matter and for the reasons for dating the translation to the pre-Carolingian era cf. Esposito, *op. cit.* and M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain 1933; rp. Brussels 1964) 148 f.

<sup>44</sup>Cf. *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin 1879; rp. 1965) 77, and the *Anonymer Kommentar* (above, note 35) xxviii, n. 4: "ΑΑΒΙΝΟΥ statt ΑΑΒΙΝΟΥ las der Übersetzer . . . ; exemplaribus, da er bei ΤΙΟΤΤΠΩΣΕΙΣ an ΤΤΠΟΣ dachte." It is more reasonable to suppose, following Diels, that the uncial error was that of the translator (who was not well versed in Greek) working from an uncial manuscript rather than that it already existed in the Greek text (which must in any case have been uncial) utilized by the translator, as Bywater believed; cf. his *Praefatio* p. xi: "sed non omnia quae in interpretatione perperam dicta sunt ipsi interpreti attribueris, quippe qui in Graeco quo usus est exemplari multa iam corrupta invenisset, veluti Ἀλβίνου in Λαλίνου, . . ."

<sup>45</sup>Cf. *In Tim.* 1.384. 4 D. (οἱ περὶ Πλούταρχον καὶ Ἀττικόν).

<sup>46</sup>*Anonymer Kommentar* (above, note 35) xxxvi.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. his "Zum Platoniker Gaios" (above, note 35) 510 ff.



ἀφορμὰς λαβόντες) reveals that Proclus did not know for sure that Gaius and Albinus based the doctrine in question on the *Timaeus*, and that for this reason one can conclude with certainty that Proclus was not at this point drawing directly upon hypothetical commentaries on the *Timaeus* written by Gaius and Albinus. Rather, Praechter points out,<sup>48</sup> Proclus' manner of expression indicates that his immediate source was a work which presented material in the form of question and answer: διορίξειν ποσαχῶς δογματίζει Πλάτων, καὶ ὅτι διχῶς, κτλ. Indeed Praechter believed<sup>49</sup> that since Proclus, ignoring chronology, mentions the name of Albinus before that of his teacher Gaius, his source may have been a work of Albinus which recounted the views of Gaius—in all probability the very edition of the lectures of Gaius which was apparently still accessible to Priscian in the sixth century,<sup>50</sup> and to which our pinax makes reference.<sup>51</sup>

As can be seen from plate 2, our pinax is partially mutilated by a tear which has been repaired by stitching prior to the volume's receiving its present binding (i.e., not later than 1603). The plate also shows quite clearly that though the  $\bar{\theta}$  at the close of line 3 of item B' is followed by an empty space, there do seem to be traces of ink marks in the tear itself. In spite of this Boivin's transcription allows the enumeration of the Books of the *Hypotyposes* to end at  $\bar{\theta}$ , and in this Boivin is followed by the 1740 *Catalogue*. Freudenthal, however, suspecting that an iota lay concealed

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.* 512.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.* 513 ff.

<sup>50</sup>Bywater ([above, note 43] xii) believed that Priscian's claim to have utilized the writing of Albinus was perhaps more than mere bluff, and suggests that Cap. 8 might derive from Albinus. I can, however, find little that is characteristically Middle Platonic in Cap. 8, and would be more inclined to suspect that portions of Cap. 1 (which Bywater refers to Iamblichus and Proclus) might derive from the *Hypotyposes* of Albinus. In particular, apart from a passing reference to Plotinus, the presentation of the arguments for the immortality of the soul, at p. 47.1 ff. Bywater, follows fairly closely the presentation of the same three Platonic arguments in the *Didaskalikos* (p. 177. 15 ff. Hermann), and probably conforms to a Middle Platonic scholastic scheme which Albinus might well have followed in the *Hypotyposes*. The matter merits further investigation. Priscian himself (p. 42. 19 ff. Bywater) claims to have used an otherwise unknown work of Proclus *de Tribus sermonibus, per quos apud Platonem animae immortale ostenditur*, which Beutler has failed to list in his catalogue of the writings of Proclus in *RE* 23.1 (Stuttgart 1957) 186 ff.; cf. L. G. Westerink, "Proclus on Plato's three proofs of immortality" in *ZETESIS: Bijdragen op het Gebied van de klassieke Filologie, Filosofie, Byzantinistiek, Patrologie en Theologie door Collega's en Vrienden aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Emile de Strijcker naar Aanleiding van zijn vijftenzestigste Verjaardag* (Antwerp/Utrecht 1973) 296 ff. Gaius, Albinus, and Priscian are mentioned together in a Byzantine list of Platonic commentators; cf. Part 2 of this paper (next issue of *Phoenix*) note 29.

<sup>51</sup>Festugière (*Proclus: Commentaire sur le Timée* 2 [Paris 1967] 200, n. 2) regards *In Tim.* 1.340.23 ff. D. as a direct reference to the *Didaskalikos* (p. 154.22 ff. H.) and comments, "Proclus a eu le manuel d'Albinus [sc. the *Didaskalikos*] entre les mains." But the similarity between the two texts is not more than superficial and the subjects under discussion not closely related.

in the tear, transcribes the enumeration thus:<sup>52</sup>  $\bar{\alpha} \bar{\beta} \bar{\gamma} \bar{\delta} \bar{\epsilon} \bar{\zeta} \bar{\eta} \bar{\theta}$  (ι?). The same cautious insertion of the iota is made by Giusta<sup>53</sup> and Dörrie,<sup>54</sup> whilst Diels, following Boivin, allowed the list to close at  $\bar{\theta}$ .<sup>55</sup> Hobein, on the other hand, taking it for granted that the tear must conceal an iota, adopts Freudenthal's transcription but omits<sup>56</sup> (as do also Mut-schmann<sup>57</sup> and Schulte<sup>58</sup>) the brackets and question-mark which Freudenthal had hesitantly placed about the iota. Thus, the question at issue has seemed to be whether the *Hypotyposes* consisted of 9 or 10 books. The real situation, however, is rather different.

The repair of the tear has been carried out in such a way that the left-hand edge of the torn membrane overlaps the right-hand edge. But in addition a certain portion of membrane along the edge of the tear has been lost completely. Thus in line 5 of the pinax the final  $\text{Nof } \Pi\text{AATONIK}\bar{\Omega}\text{N}$  is not concealed under the overlapping left-hand edge of the membrane but has disappeared entirely in the tear. This can be readily ascertained by turning back to fol. 146 recto and bending the membrane along the tear so as to permit examination of the concealed underlying edge.<sup>59</sup> By this same means one can discover that in line 6 the enumeration of the books of the *Hypotyposes* concludes not with an uncial iota but with an alpha. A portion of the final stroke of this A (partly concealed by a stitch) and the whole of the colon which follows it can be discerned in plate 2, emerging from beneath the overlapping edge. The right-hand edge of the tear falls in such a way that one can no longer ascertain that the A was (as no doubt it must have been) surmounted by a horizontal stroke. As is evident from two tiny ink-marks (visible in plate 2) at the left-hand overlapping edge of the tear, the A was preceded by at least one other letter, presumably I surmounted by a horizontal stroke. Furthermore one can see at the underlying right-hand edge of the tear the trace of a vertical stroke belonging to a letter which preceded A (presumably I). Since, as we have already noted, a small portion of membrane has been lost in the actual tear, there would in fact have been more than adequate space between  $\bar{\theta}$  and  $\bar{\alpha}$  for two iotas (i.e.,  $\bar{\theta} \bar{\iota} \bar{\iota} \bar{\alpha}$ ;) indicating books X and XI. But in any case the space between  $\bar{\theta}$  and  $\bar{\iota}$  must clearly have been somewhat larger than that between the other letters in the enumeration. This larger space would have been demanded by the scribe's evident desire to achieve symmetry by *inter alia* making each line of the pinax end directly

<sup>52</sup>(Above, note 26) 244.

<sup>53</sup>(Above, note 3) 171.

<sup>54</sup>(Above, note 26) 14.

<sup>55</sup>(Above, note 35) xxviii.

<sup>56</sup>(Above, note 26) xxi.

<sup>57</sup>(Above, note 26) 565.

<sup>58</sup>(Above, note 26) 9.

<sup>59</sup>I am considerably indebted to M. Ch. Astruc for assisting me in this operation.

beneath the final letter of the preceding line. Thus, considered in relation to line 5, the first  $\bar{\Gamma}$  of the enumeration would have fallen immediately below the first stroke of  $\tilde{\Omega}$  at the close of  $\Pi\Lambda\text{AT}\tilde{\Omega}\text{NIK}\tilde{\Omega}\text{N}$ . The second  $\bar{\Gamma}$  would have fallen roughly under the last stroke of the  $\tilde{\Omega}$ , and the final  $\Lambda$  would have fallen immediately below the closing  $\text{N}$  of  $\Pi\Lambda\text{AT}\tilde{\Omega}\text{NIK}\tilde{\Omega}\text{N}$ . That the final  $\bar{\Lambda}$  of line 6 has survived whilst the closing  $\text{N}$  of line 5 has not is due to the fact that relatively more membrane has been lost in the upper portion of the tear. We may then conclude that the *Hypotypeses*, according to the evidence of our pinax, consisted not, as modern scholars have hitherto supposed, of nine or ten books, but in fact of *eleven* books.

We have already noted that items  $\text{B}'$  and  $\Gamma'$  of our pinax seem definitively lost. Are we to conclude that these missing works were once contained in our volume, or should we suspect that the scribe has simply copied the pinax from his source without regard to its immediate relevance? Schulte, though convinced that there was little reason to doubt that our manuscript once contained all the works listed in the pinax, argued<sup>60</sup> that the relationship of fol. 146 to its neighbours was the decisive factor. According to the pinax the original volume opened with the *Didaskalikos* and ended with the *Orationes* of Maximus. Thus, if the pinax is to be believed not only are items  $\text{B}'$  and  $\Gamma'$  lost, but in addition Maximus and the *Didaskalikos* have changed places. Schulte argued that if fol. 146 could be shown to be independent of its neighbours, then one could be certain that the original *codex* had been taken apart at some point in its history and its contents rearranged. On this matter Schulte sought the advice of H. Omont, from whom he received the following reply:<sup>61</sup> "Le fol. 146 est remonté sur un onglet, mais la reliure est tellement serrée au fond qu'il est impossible de voir s'il est indépendant ou non du fol. 145. Il y a bien de probabilité qu'il est indépendant. . . ." The binding of our manuscript must have deteriorated during the past half-century (in fact the front cover, which had detached itself completely, has recently been re sewn to the spine), for one can now ascertain without any doubt at all that fol. 146 is independent of its neighbours and attached to fol. 145 solely by means of the binding-strip ("onglet") to which Omont referred.

But the independence of fol. 146 is far from being the sole testimony to the taking apart and rearrangement of our volume. Also the numbering and constitution of the gatherings make it evident that such a rearrangement has taken place.<sup>62</sup> The volume consists of quaternions numbered in uncials by the scribe in the top right-hand corner of the recto of the first folio of each gathering. In accordance with the arrangement indicated in the pinax, the *Didaskalikos* begins at quat. A fol. 1 recto (cf. plate 3) and extends to quat.  $\Delta$  fol. 5 (= fol. 175 recto). Consequently, the folio

<sup>60</sup>(Above, note 26) 10 f.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Schulte, *loc. cit.*

<sup>62</sup>As Schulte (cf. *loc. cit.*) was well aware.

containing the pinax (now fol. 146, presently glued, as we have seen, to the final folio of Maximus [= fol. 145]) must have been a guard sheet in the original *codex*. Quaternion Δ was taken apart when the present volume was made up. Of the four folded sheets originally constituting this quaternion only the fourth (= fol. 174 and 175 in our volume) remains intact. The right-hand counterparts of fol. 171–173 (i.e., their conjugate leaves) have been cut away. In the volume as it presently stands fol. 171 has been attached to fol. 172 by means of a binding-strip, so as to constitute one sheet, as it were, of a quaternion. Also fol. 173 is attached to its predecessors by means of a binding-strip. The *Orationes* of Maximus begin at quat. KH fol. 1 recto (= fol. 1 recto of the present volume) and extend to quat. M<sub>s</sub> fol. 1 verso (= fol. 145 verso of the present volume). We have already noted that this latter folio is now attached to fol. 146 (our pinax) by means of a binding strip. Thus the original right-hand counterpart of fol. 145 must have been removed at the time of the rearrangement of the *codex*.

It should be noted that the evidence presented in the preceding paragraph not only proves that the works of Albinus listed in the pinax were once contained in our manuscript but also permits a precise calculation of the length of these lost works. The *Didaskalikos* ends, as we have seen, on quat. Δ fol. 5 recto (now fol. 175) and the verso of this folio has remained blank. Thus in the original *codex* the *Hypotyposes* of Albinus presumably began on the recto of fol. 6 of quat. Δ. Since Maximus begins at quat. KH fol. 1 recto according to the scribe's numbering of the quaternions, the lost works of Albinus must have extended to the recto or verso of quat. KZ fol. 8. In other words, in the original *codex* the lost works must have accounted for 187 folios, i.e. 23 full quaternions (E–KZ) plus fol. 6–8 of quat. Δ. Taking into consideration that quat. KZ fol. 8 may have been partly blank, and that there may have been a partly blank folio between the *Hypotyposes* and Book 3 of the *Platonis placita*, one may conclude that the lost works in their entirety filled a total extent of between 185 and 187 folios, i.e., a total of a little more than six and a half times the length of the *Didaskalikos*. This would be the equivalent of approximately 250 pages of Hermann's *Teubner* Plato. By way of comparison it may be remarked that the ten books of Plato's *Republic* fill 318 *Teubner* pages. In this way we are able to calculate in actual pages the extent of our loss. In other respects the extent of the loss is incalculable. For if our manuscript had survived intact its contents would undoubtedly have cast a wealth of light into many of the dark corners not only of the history of Platonism but of the history of ideas in general.

Because of the importance of the loss it may be of interest to attempt to trace in some further detail the history of our manuscript and the circumstances in which it was taken apart. Scholars have tended to place the responsibility for the present state of the volume upon the shoulders

of the binder. The 1740 *Catalogue*<sup>63</sup> speaks of "sartoris incuria." Freudenthal<sup>64</sup> says of the lost works that they "wahrscheinlich durch die Schuld des Buchbinders verloren gegangen oder entwendet worden sind." Hobein<sup>65</sup> lays the blame for the rearrangement of the volume upon "nescio qua bibliopegi negligentia (vel possessoris)." There are, however, numerous and conclusive indications that the loss did not take place at the time of the most recent binding (1603).

Folio-numbering appears in both the upper and lower right-hand corners of the recto of each folio of the manuscript. However, in the case of the *Didaskalikos* (i.e., from fol. 146 onwards) the numbering in the upper right-hand corner is of recent (eighteenth-century?) origin. In the lower right-hand corner the numbering is consecutive from 1 to 175. It is of considerable importance that in some cases these numbers have been cut away in part by the binder (cf., e.g., fol. 33, 43, 59, 65, 73, 171, 172). This proves that the numbering is older than the volume as presently constituted, and that the original *codex* was not first taken apart in France when the volume was bound for Henry IV. (In the upper corner the numbering has not been touched by the knife. However, here both fol. 2 and fol. 3 are numbered 3, whilst prior to correction fol. 8-58 were numbered 9-59.)

We must then turn our attention to the history of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 before it entered the *Bibliothèque royale*. As we have seen,<sup>66</sup> our manuscript was previously in the possession of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, of whose library several catalogues exist. In 1888 H. Omont published<sup>67</sup> from Ms. C. 46 of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana a catalogue (in the hand of Ridolfi's secretary Matthew Devaris) which Omont believed to be "un premier jet, incomplet il est vrai"<sup>68</sup> of the more detailed catalogue of Ridolfi's library contained in *Parisinus gr.* 3074,<sup>69</sup> itself probably a copy of a lost catalogue once in the possession of Fulvio Orsini.<sup>70</sup> G. Mercati has since drawn attention<sup>71</sup> to a sixteenth-century catalogue in *Vaticanus gr.* 1567, superior to that in the Paris Manuscript, and also to a sixteenth century copy of the Vallicelliana catalogue in *Vaticanus gr.* 2300. But

<sup>63</sup>(Above, note 28).

<sup>64</sup>(Above, note 26) 245.

<sup>65</sup>(Above, note 26) xxi.

<sup>66</sup>Cf. p. 320 above.

<sup>67</sup>In his "Un premier catalogue des manuscrits grecs du Cardinal Ridolfi," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 49 (1888) 309 ff.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.* 310.

<sup>69</sup>An incomplete version of this catalogue was published by B. de Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* . . . 2 (Paris 1739) 766 ff.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887) 161, 350; and G. Mercati (above, note 5) 51.

<sup>71</sup>*Ibid.* 51 ff.

at the same time Mercati called into question<sup>72</sup> Omont's identification of the Vallicelliana catalogue as a list of Ridolfi's books, suggesting instead that it might be a catalogue of books belonging to the prominent Greek scholar Janus Lascaris.<sup>73</sup> The fact that many of the numbers assigned to volumes in the Vallicelliana catalogue correspond to those in the catalogues of Ridolfi's library would, according to Mercati, be due to the fact that Ridolfi not only acquired a large portion of his Greek library from Lascaris, but also retained Lascaris' system of classification. Devaris, who wrote the Vallicelliana catalogue, functioned as librarian, it should be noticed, for Lascaris as well as Ridolfi.<sup>74</sup> However, an examination of (1) the above-mentioned manuscript catalogues, (2) the list compiled by Devaris of books owned by Lascaris at the time of his death (*Lista de' libri che furon del Sr Lascheri*) which survives in *Vaticanus gr.* 1414,<sup>75</sup> and (3) our *Parisinus gr.* 1962 itself, shows not only that Omont was right in identifying the Vallicelliana catalogue as a preliminary or partial catalogue of Ridolfi's library, but also that our Paris manuscript was in the possession of Lascaris before it passed into the hands of Ridolfi.

Omont has identified our manuscript with item 19 of the first section of the Vallicelliana catalogue, described as follows:<sup>76</sup> Maximi Tyrii Platonici τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλέξεων τῆς πρώτης ἐπιδημίας λόγοι λε'. 19. There can be no doubt about the correctness of this identification since the signature "N° 19" appears on fol. I recto of *Parisinus gr.* 1962. Our manuscript is similarly described and numbered in *Vaticanus gr.* 2300 (fol. 13 verso), except that in this instance the entire entry is in Greek.

In *Vaticanus gr.* 1567 our manuscript appears once again as item 19 of the first section with the following description (fol. 3 recto):

N° 19

μαξίμου τυρίου πλατωνικοῦ φιλοσόφου,  
τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλέξεων τῆς πρώτης ἐπι-  
δημίας, λόγοι. λε'.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.* 53 ff. The suspicion that the Vallicelliana catalogue might be a list of Lascaris' books had already occurred, as Omont was well aware, to A. Elter; cf. Omont (above, note 67) 310, n. 1.

<sup>73</sup>On Janus Lascaris see in particular E. G. Vogel, "Erinnerungen an einige verdienstvolle Bibliophilen des vierzehnten und fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts: Janus Lascaris," *Serapeum* 10 (1849) 65 ff., 81 ff.; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou Description raisonnée des Ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XVe et XVI Siècles* 1 (Paris 1885) cxxx ff., 2 (Paris 1885) 322 ff.; B. Knös, *Un Ambassadeur de l'Hellénisme: Janus Lascaris et la Tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'Humanisme français* (Uppsala/Paris 1945). Further references below.

<sup>74</sup>On Devaris cf. C. Frati (above, note 4) 202 f., and M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy 1300-1800* 2 (Boston 1962) 1227.

<sup>75</sup>Published by P. de Nolhac in his "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs de Jean Lascaris," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 6 (1886) 251 ff.

<sup>76</sup>Cf. Omont (above, note 67) 314.

It is remarkable, however, that in this inventory a manuscript of Maximus also appears as item 24 of the first section (fol. 4 recto):

Nº 24

μαξιμου τυρίου, τῶν ἐν ῥώμῃ διαλέξεων  
τῆς πρώτης ἐπιδημίας. λόγοι μα:

Similarly in *Parisinus gr.* 3074 Maximus is listed under both 19 and 24.<sup>77</sup>

But in Devaris' inventory of books in Lascaris' possession at the time of his death on the 7th of December 1534,<sup>78</sup> Maximus appears only once as:<sup>79</sup>

μαξιμου διαλέξεις Nº 24 della p<sup>a</sup>

Subsequently, but presumably by Devaris himself, *τυρίου* has been added *supra lin.*

A close inspection of fol. I recto of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 shows that all these various entries in the above inventories concern this one manuscript; for under the signature "Nº 19" on that folio one can still without any difficulty read the only partially erased number, "24". Thus, our manuscript was listed as no. 24 in the philosophical section of Lascaris' library, and, as the *Lista de' libri che furon del Sr Lascheri* indicates, was still in the scholar's possession at the time of his death. Then, along with many of Lascaris' books,<sup>80</sup> the manuscript passed into the possession of Ridolfi and was at some later date reclassified as no. 19, under which number it appears in the inventory published by Omont. In the case of the inventories in *Vaticanus gr.* 1567 and *Parisinus gr.* 3074, however, this reclassification has resulted in the erroneous double listing of our manuscript both as item 19 and as item 24.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup>Cf. de Montfaucon (above, note 69) 767.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Mercati (above, note 5) 53, n. 3.

<sup>79</sup>Cf. de Nohac (above, note 75) 257.

<sup>80</sup>A major portion of Lascaris' library had apparently passed into Ridolfi's possession already in 1527; cf. L. Dorez, "Un document nouveau sur la bibliothèque de Jean Lascaris," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 2 (1892) 280 f. P. de Nohac ([above, note 75] 252) is no doubt right in supposing that the 128 volumes named in the *Lista* constituted Lascaris' entire Greek library at the time of his death. Omont ([above, note 67] 324) has identified 35 of the volumes in the *Lista* with items in the Vallicelliana catalogue. To these must be added *Parisinus gr.* 1962 and perhaps others. The total extent to which Ridolfi's library derived from that of Lascaris remains to be investigated.

<sup>81</sup>For a further example of this type of error arising from a reclassification cf. pp. 353 f. below. The discrepancy in *Vaticanus gr.* 1567 between the number of λόγοι (λε' = 35) listed under item 19 and the number (μα' = 41) listed under item 24 is explained as follows. The pinax of Maximus on fol. 1 recto of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 lists 35 (= λε') titles. However, the pinax subdivides item α' into 3 parts, item ιβ' into 2 parts, and item κα' into 4 parts. This gives a grand total of 41 (= μα') λόγοι. Cf. plate 1 and Hobein (above, note 26) lxxvi.

Also in Devaris' *Lista* a mistake in classification occurs, of which an account must be given. Devaris has listed two quite separate volumes as "N<sup>o</sup> 24 della p.<sup>a</sup>"—not only our *Parisinus* gr. 1962 but also a volume containing Plethon's *Περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*.<sup>82</sup> In fact, as Omont notes,<sup>83</sup> this latter manuscript is identical with no. 21 in the Vallicelliana catalogue (i.e., the actual *Parisinus* gr. 2041): thus Devaris has through inadvertence simply listed the manuscript as no. 24 instead of as no. 21. An error of this sort is not surprising, since Devaris has clearly written the *Lista* in considerable haste, with the result that it is in part barely legible. In some cases Devaris did not know the relevant signatures, or, more probably, the pertinent volumes had not been assigned numbers; cf. items 11, 12, 23, 36, 68 in de Nohac's edition,<sup>84</sup> where Devaris has not simply left a blank for the number but has drawn a horizontal stroke—i.e., in the case of de Nohac's item 11 thus: "—— della 21."<sup>85</sup>

It must be noted that in all the above-mentioned inventories *Parisinus* gr. 1962 is listed simply as a manuscript of Maximus of Tyre; from which we may conclude that the original *codex* had already been taken apart at the time of Lascaris' death. For clearly if the manuscript had at that time been in its original state with Maximus at the rear of the *codex* and making up only slightly more than a third thereof, Devaris in compiling his *Lista* of the deceased's library could not have described the volume as: *μαξιμου τυριου διαλέξεις*. The description is in fact the result of a cursory

<sup>82</sup>Cf. de Nohac (above, note 75) 257, items 45 and 51. These item numbers which de Nohac prints in the left-hand margin do not, of course, occur in the *Lista*. They appear in de Nohac's printed version solely for convenience.

<sup>83</sup>Cf. Omont (above, note 67) 314, 324.

<sup>84</sup>Cf. note 82 above.

<sup>85</sup>The following are some slight additions and corrections to de Nohac's invaluable transcription:

*Item 3*) The addition *supra lin.* (cf. de Nohac [above, note 75] 255, n. 1) might or more probably might not read "N 35". I suspect that it is more likely to be an abbreviated indication of content, material or format. "34" has not been deleted.

*Items 27 and 28*) For *το μεγαυ* read *τὸ μεγα*. The *ου* belongs to item 28, where for *ἄριστευδης* read *ἄριστείδου*.

*Item 40*) Cf. de Nohac (above, note 75) 257, n. 1. In fact Devaris has written *Διογεν(ης) Λαερτι(ος)* with the endings of both names in suspension.

*Item 47*) For 115 read in all probability 118.

*Item 50*) read *Νικώμαχον sic*.

*Item 52*) For *ἐν παπύρῳ* read *ἐν περ*.

*Item 61*) 30 is *ex corr*.

*Item 74*) I am not confident that "solut." is the correct interpretation of Devaris' scrawl.

*Item 76*) For 10 read 7.

*Item 110*) For 7 read 70.

Furthermore, in items 20, 27, 28, 30–33, 39, 43 the abbreviations which de Nohac has not succeeded in deciphering indicate *δερμάτινον*; cf. Mercati (above, note 5) 54, n. 1.



inspection of the volume in its present state, and Devaris has either ignored or in his haste failed to notice that Maximus was followed by the *Didaskalikos*.<sup>86</sup>

How Lascaris gained possession of the manuscript is a matter which cannot, I think, be decided with absolute certainty. However, indications exist, and to these we must now turn our attention. At Lascaris' instigation Cosimo de' Pazzi,<sup>87</sup> the nephew of Lorenzo de' Medici and archbishop of Florence (1508–1513), translated Maximus of Tyre into Latin. Cosimo died in the same year (1513) as Pope Julius II, to whom he had dedicated his translation. There was already a copy of the work in the pontiff's personal library at the time of his death,<sup>88</sup> but the version was not printed until 1517, when it appeared in Rome, prefaced by Cosimo's dedicatory address to Julius II, and by an epistle from the hand of Cosimo's brother Pietro, who had assumed responsibility for publication.<sup>89</sup> The translation was republished by Beatus Rhenanus in Basel (Frobenius) in 1519,<sup>90</sup> in Paris in 1554,<sup>91</sup> and again (with some corrections) in Paris in

<sup>86</sup>A short work like the *Didaskalikos* would not necessarily receive separate mention in the type of summary catalogue which we have been considering. For the sake of completeness it must be noted that a further signature appears on fol. I recto of *Parisinus gr.* 1962, namely "N° 76 tertiae." As M. Ch. Astruc has pointed out to me, this signature, too, probably derives from Ridolfi's library, since the signatures in Lascaris' books are usually in Italian. However, the circumstances surrounding this latter signature are not transparent. It must also be noted that the monogram Δ<sup>σ</sup>, which someone (Devaris, in all probability, according to de Nohac [above, note 75] 253) has inserted alongside Lascaris' signature in some of the volumes which came to Ridolfi from Lascaris, does not appear in *Parisinus gr.* 1962.

<sup>87</sup>On Cosimo de' Pazzi cf. Cosenza (above, note 74) vol. 3 (Boston 1962) 2529 f.

<sup>88</sup>Cf. L. Dorez, "La bibliothèque privée du pape Jules II," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 6 (1896) 112, item 58. It is probable that *Vaticanus lat.* 2196 is the actual dedication copy which Cosimo presented to Julius II; cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* 2 (Leiden 1967) 350.

<sup>89</sup>*Maximi Tyrii Philosophi Platonici Sermones e Graeca in Latinam linguam versi*, Cosmo Paccio interprete. ff. 115. The colophon reads as follows:

Impreſſum Romę apud Iacobum Mazochium  
Romanę Achademię Bibliopo. Anno:  
M.D.XVII. Die. XV. Mensis  
Octobris. Triumphante  
diuo Leone.X. Pon  
tifice maximo.  
Anno eius  
quinto.

I am grateful to the Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, for providing me with a microfilm of portions of this work.

<sup>90</sup>The first page of Cosimo's preface in Frobenius' edition, with decorated borders by Ambrosius Holbein, is reproduced as Plate 52 in A. F. Butsch, *Handbook of Renaissance Ornament*, with a New Introduction and Captions by A. Werner (New York 1969).

<sup>91</sup>In fact the translation was twice reprinted in Paris in 1554; cf. H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries* 1 (Cambridge 1967) 726.

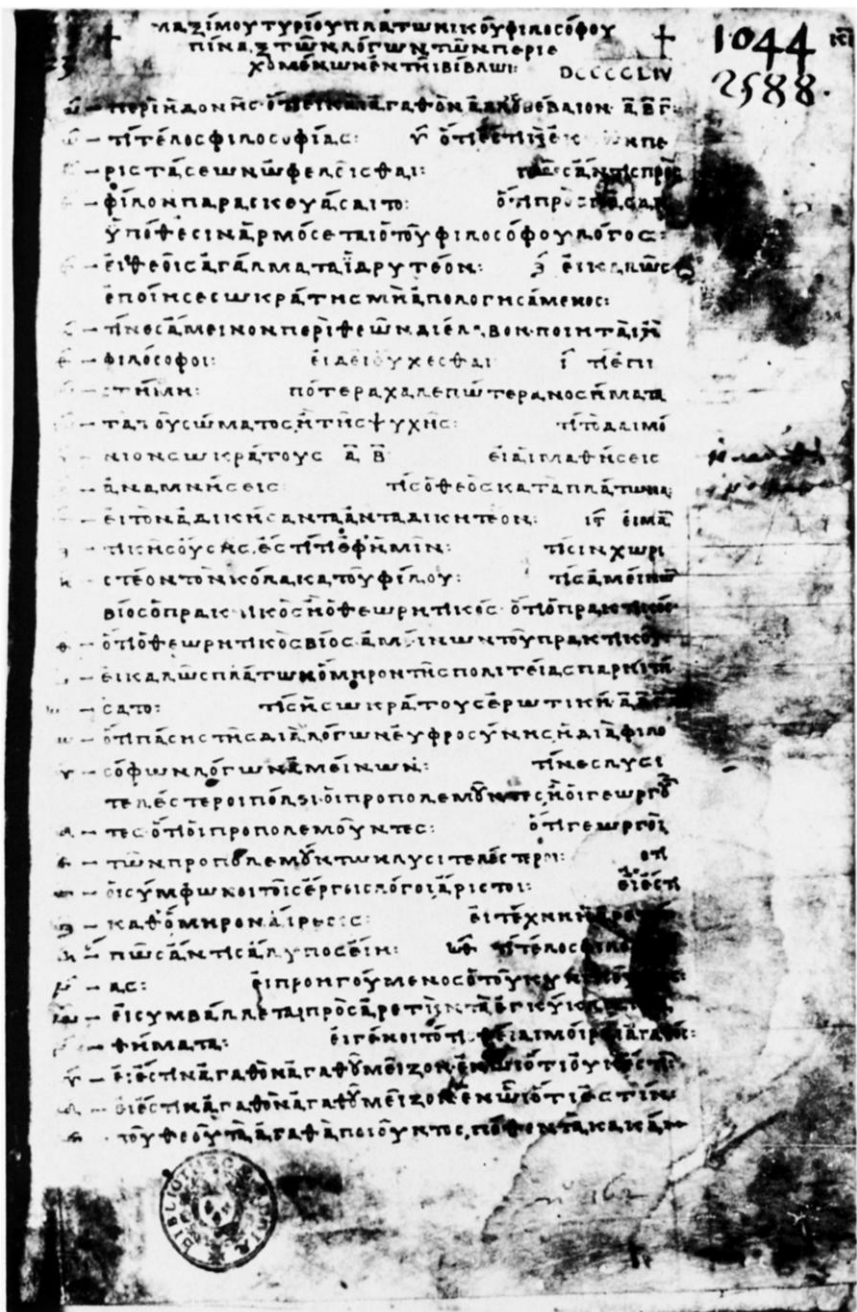


PLATE 1: PARISINUS GR. 1962, FOL. 1 RECTO

4  
ⲛⲃⲓⲃⲁⲟⲥⲛⲁⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲉⲭⲉⲓⲉⲣⲁⲙⲙⲉⲛⲁ

\* \* \*

ⲁ ⲁⲗⲓⲕⲓⲛⲟⲩⲩⲟⲩⲧⲓⲁⲁⲥⲓⲕⲁⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ  
ⲧⲱⲛⲛⲓⲗⲧⲱⲛⲟⲥⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲱⲛ:

ⲃ ⲁⲗⲃⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛⲉⲁⲓⲟⲩⲭⲟⲗⲱⲛ  
ⲩⲡⲟⲧⲩⲡⲱⲥⲱⲛⲛⲓⲗⲧⲱⲛⲓⲕⲱ  
ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲧⲱⲛ, ⲁⲃⲉⲗⲉⲥⲫⲏⲧ:

Ⲅ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲡⲉⲣⲓⲧⲱⲛⲛⲓⲗⲧⲱ  
ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲉⲥⲕⲟⲙⲧⲱⲛ, ⲧⲣⲓⲧⲟⲙ:

ⲅ ⲙⲁⲫⲓⲙⲟⲩⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲓⲗⲧⲱⲛⲓ  
ⲓⲕⲟⲩⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛⲉⲓⲧⲛⲓ  
ⲣⲱⲙⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁⲗⲉⲫⲉⲥⲡⲣⲱ  
ⲧⲛⲉⲡⲓⲁⲛⲙⲓⲁⲥ, ⲉⲡⲃⲉⲡⲃ:

Ⲇ ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥⲟⲫⲱⲙⲉⲛⲁⲁⲗⲗⲁ

ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲥⲕⲟⲙⲧⲱⲛⲉⲓⲧⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁⲗⲉⲫⲉⲥⲡⲣⲱ



1557 together with H. Stephanus' *editio princeps* of the Greek text of Maximus.<sup>92</sup> Pietro's introduction is of such interest to our enquiry that I quote it in its entirety:

*Cum Maximus Tyrius philosophiæ Platoniciæ egregius assertor uitio temporum diutissime latuisset tam Graecis suis quam Latinis ignotus, occurrit ei diuinitus Ianus Lascharis, ut est antiquitatis sollertissimus indagator, qui eum non solum e tenebris eruit (ipsum enim iam pridem in Italiam ad Laurentium Medicen auunculum meum inter multos alios libros ipsius Laurentii munificentia ad lucem eductos e Græcia attulit), Verum et ut Latinos nostros iuuare posset Cosmo Paccio fratri meo ut Latinum faceret persuasit, asserens gratum fore ac iucundum munus id Latinis omnibus propter nouum ac magnificum scribendi genus. Quod cum ei feliciter successerit ita ut studium eius et ab ipso Laschari, Zenobio Acciaiuoli,<sup>93</sup> nonnullisque aliis uiris doctis probaretur, morte preuentus librum ut statuerat edere non potuit. Nos uero tam pietate fraterna ducti quam ut Vobis, literarum studiosi, gratificaremur, eum chalcographis dedimus excudendum. Cuius nostri consilii rationem et uobis constare uoluimus.*

Lascaris' expeditions to the Byzantine East on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici are well known, but difficult to reconstruct in detail.<sup>94</sup> Lascaris himself, in the harangue which he delivered to the Emperor Charles V on behalf of Pope Clement VII after the battle of Pavia (1525), reports that he was sent into Turkish territory by Lorenzo on two separate missions:<sup>95</sup>

<sup>92</sup>On the various editions of Maximus see Hobein (above, note 26) iii ff.

<sup>93</sup>On the Florentine Zenobio Acciaiuoli who fell under the influence of Savonarola, became a Dominican and librarian of San Marco in Florence, and ended his days as prefect of the Vatican library, cf. Quéatif and Echart, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* 2 (Paris 1721; rp. Turin 1961) 44 ff.; R. Devreesse in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda* 1 (*Studi e Testi* 219, Vatican City 1962) 326; R. Devreesse, *Le Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des Origines à Paul V* (*Studi e Testi* 244, Vatican City 1965) 185 ff.; B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua 1972) 34 f., 319.

<sup>94</sup>In addition to the literature listed in note 73 above cf. in particular E. G. Vogel, "Litterarische Ausbeute von Janus Lascaris' Reisen im Peloponnes um's Jahr 1490," *Serapeum* 15 (1854) 154 ff.; K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Medicische Bibliothek," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884) 333 ff. (with a rich bibliography of earlier literature); E. Piccolomini, "Due documenti relativi ad acquisti di codici greci, fatti da Giovanni Lascaris per conto di Lorenzo de' Medici," *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 2 (1874) 401 ff.; E. Piccolomini, "Aggiunte e rettificazioni," *RivFC* 3 (1875) 150 ff.; F. Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la Corte ottomana," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 121 (1963) 305 ff., in particular 356 f.; H. Hunger, "Ein griechischer Brief Sultan Bajezids II. an Lorenzo de' Medici," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 11/12 (1962/63) 115 ff.

<sup>95</sup>Legrand (above, note 73) l.cliii ff. reproduces a French version of Lascaris' harangue taken from François de Belleforest, *Harangues militaires et concions de princes, capitaines, ambassadeurs et autres, manians tant la guerre que les affaires d'Estat* (Paris 1588) fol. 547 ff. According to Legrand (l.clv, n. 1) the Italian text ("sans doute l'original") was published in Corfu by Scandella in 1845 "d'après un manuscrit du Collège urbain de Rome."

*Pour donc faire preuve de mon devoir, estant en premier à Florence, je trouvoy moyen, avec feu de bonne mémoire le magnifique seigneur Laurens de Medicis, pour estre envoyé vers le prince des Turcs en tiltre d'ambassadeur pour cause honneste et icelle non peu prouffitable: et y allé deux fois avec lettres de creance, et ayant demeuré deux ans en Turquie, estant allé et revenu pars divers chemins, telle fois par mer, autre par terre, j'ay eu le loisir de voir et considerer diligemment presque toutes les terres que les Turcs ont envahy et occupé en Europe, y remarquant tout ce qui pouvoit servir à une telle et si nécessaire expedition [i.e., the crusade against the Turks in which Clement VII vainly hoped to engage the Emperor in order to distract his attention from other matters].*

Here, naturally enough in speaking before the Emperor, Lascaris has emphasized his activities as a diplomat and military spy. But an equally important goal of these missions, from the viewpoint of Lorenzo as well as from that of Lascaris, had been the acquisition of manuscripts, particularly of Greek authors hitherto inaccessible in Italy.

Lascaris' second mission on behalf of Lorenzo seems to have begun in the spring of 1491, for later in that year he sent a letter from Constantinople to Demetrius Chalcondyles in Florence in which he writes *inter alia*:<sup>96</sup> Νῦν δέ σοι δηλώσομεν καὶ οἷς συνετύχομεν βιβλίοις ἐξ οὗ τοῦ δεύτερον ἐπέβημεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος διὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλίας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενοι. The statement τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέβημεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος presumably means that this was Lascaris' second visit to Greece since he had fled to Italy from the Turks in his youth. However, already in February 1492 Lascaris was back in Florence, where we find him on the 25th of that month addressing a letter to Bernardo Michelozzi.<sup>97</sup> In the Spring of the same year Lascaris made a further trip, this time to Crete, where at Candia on the 3rd of April he signed a contract for the purchase of manuscripts from a certain Niccolò di Giacomo da Siena.<sup>98</sup> However, this trip could hardly be described as a mission into Turkish territory since Crete remained in Venetian hands until 1669. From this his final mission on behalf of Lorenzo (who died at Florence on the 8th of April) Lascaris cannot for the following reasons have returned to Florence earlier than June or later than the 7th of July 1492. On the 3rd of August 1492 Marsilio Ficino addressed a letter to Martino Uranio in which he relates that:<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup>The text of the letter has been published by Piccolomini (from *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, Arch. Mediceo avanti il Principato, F. 93 a 586) in his "Due documenti . . ." (above, note 94) 417 ff. It is reproduced in Legrand (above, note 73) 2.322 ff.

<sup>97</sup>For the text of the letter cf. Legrand (above, note 73) 2.324 f. On Bernardo Michelozzi cf. Cosenza (above, note 74) 3 (Boston 1962) 2310 f. Cosenza has not noted Lascaris' letter.

<sup>98</sup>For the text of the contract, which lists the manuscripts involved (*Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, Arch. Mediceo avanti il Principato, F. 81 a 497), cf. Piccolomini (above, note 96) 420 ff.; reproduced in Legrand (above, note 73) 2.325 ff.

<sup>99</sup>*Opera* 2 (Basel 1641) 362.

*Post discussum ex Italia tuum advecti sunt e Graecia mox ad magnanimum Petrum Medicem, libri multi ex quamplurimis electi, nuper electore Lascari Graeco admodum elegante, pro regia illa bibliotheca iam pridem a magno Laurentio feliciter instituta. Ego autem inter multa (ut soleo) semper in primis legi Platonica, primumque inter haec commentaria Procli in sex Platonis de Republica libros principiumque septimi.*

Since Uranio is known to have been in Florence as late as June 1492,<sup>100</sup> Lascaris cannot have returned to Florence immediately after signing the above-mentioned contract at Candia. The manuscript of Proclus to which Ficino refers is the actual *Laurentianus* 80.9, which, as we have seen,<sup>101</sup> is from the hand of the scribe of *Parisinus* gr. 1962, and once formed a single volume with *Vaticanus* gr. 2197. It should be noted that Ficino's letter proves that the original manuscript had already been taken apart when *Laurentianus* 80.9 came into Lascaris' possession: the Laurentian volume contains precisely "commentaria Procli in sex Platonis de Republica libros principiumque septimi."<sup>102</sup> The surviving record of books borrowed from the Medicean Library between 1491 and 1494<sup>103</sup> indicates that the volume of Proclus came into Ficino's hands on 7 July 1492. The pertinent entry reads as follows:<sup>104</sup> "A messer Marsilio Ficini, Procolo platonico greco, sopra la rep. di Platone, scoperto, in membrana, non finito. A dì 7 di luglio 1492 propria manu." It is especially interesting to note that the manuscript was "scoperto," i.e., "unbound," when Lascaris brought it to Florence. This manuscript of Proclus is not listed amongst those which Lascaris purchased from Niccolò di Giacomo, but since, as Ficino's letter indicates, Lascaris did not bring the manuscript to Florence until the summer of 1492, he must have acquired it either in Crete or in the course of his unknown route to and from Candia. The Laurentian manuscript, as the *ex libris* at the foot of fol. 1 recto indicates,<sup>105</sup> was once in the possession of the fifteenth-century collector

<sup>100</sup>Cf. R. Marcel, *Marsile Ficini* (Paris 1958) 524.

<sup>101</sup>Cf. p. 321 above.

<sup>102</sup>Thus, A. Patin, in his review of W. Kroll's edition of Proclus, *In Remp.* (BZ 15 [1906] 622 ff.), is mistaken in supposing that the original *codex* was still intact on arrival in Florence. P. O. Kristeller (*Iter Italicum* 1 [Leiden 1965] 409 f.) has reported the discovery at Naples by F. X. Martin of a Latin version of part of Proclus, *In Remp.*, made in 1526 by Nicolaus (Scutellius) Tridentinus for Giles of Viterbo, in *Bibl. Naz.* II. F. 7, fol. 74-184. In fact the portion of the *In Remp.* translated in the *Neapolitanus* is precisely that contained in *Laurentianus* 80.9.

<sup>103</sup>*Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, Arch. Mediceo avanti il Principato, F. 64 a 132 ff., published by Piccolomini in his "Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508: Appendice III. Ricordi di libri imprestati dal 1480 al 1494," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 21 (1875) 282 ff.

<sup>104</sup>Cf. Piccolomini, *ibid.* 289.

<sup>105</sup>*αὕτη ἡ βίβλος ἔστιν ἀρμονίου τοῦ ἀθηναίου ἔχει φλουρία .ζ.* Harmonios has usually entered in his manuscripts his assessment of their value in florins, but in some instances this indication of value has either been erased, as in the case of *Ambrosianus* G. 61 Sup, fol. 1 recto, or deliberately cut out, as in the case of *Ambrosianus* M. 24 Sup,

Harmonios the Athenian, several of whose volumes survive.<sup>106</sup> Harmonios' library was not brought to Italy intact; *Ambrosianus* M. 24. Sup, for example, in which Harmonios has inscribed his name, belongs to a group of 36 manuscripts at the Ambrosiana, brought from Chios in 1606.<sup>107</sup> From our point of view it is of considerable interest, and incidentally serves to emphasize the importance of Lascaris' services to European culture, that at least three of the surviving members of the Paris Plato group have passed through his hands (*Parisini* gr. 1807 and 1962, and *Laurentianus* 80.9). It must, however be made clear that not all the surviving *codices* from the hand of the scribe of *Parisinus* gr. 1962 were brought to Italy at the same time nor in all likelihood from the same source; *Marcianus* gr. 246, for example, is listed already in Bessarion's Donation to the Republic of Venice (1468).<sup>108</sup> I hope to deal more fully in a later publication with the case of *Vaticanus* gr. 2197.<sup>109</sup>

There is no mention of Maximus of Tyre in Lascaris' contract with Niccolò di Giacomo,<sup>110</sup> nor in his letter from Constantinople to Demetrius Chalcondyles,<sup>111</sup> nor in the list (published by E. G. Vogel from a manuscript in Hannover)<sup>112</sup> entitled: "*Auctores graeci: quos impensis Laurentii*

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fol. 1 recto, where an area of paper 3 × 0.6 cm has been cut out immediately below *αὐτῇ ἡ βιβλος*! In this latter manuscript Harmonios seems to have taken the precaution of inserting the value also at the top of fol. 9 recto. Here too a strip of paper has been cut away across almost the whole width of the folio in order to obliterate whatever was written there. However, one can still see that the first word was probably *ἔχει* and that the second word certainly began with *φ*! The values specified by Harmonios vary between 2 florins for *Laurentianus* 31.25 (cf. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* 2 [Florence 1768] 97 f.) and 15 florins for *Laurentianus* 60.9 (cf. fol. 3 verso), a fifteenth-century manuscript of Aristides. Neither Bandini (2.596 ff.) nor in consequence Vogel-Gardthausen (see next footnote) have noted that this latter manuscript derives from Harmonios' library. Are there more unidentified manuscripts from Harmonios' library at the Laurenziana? Harmonios has assessed the value of *Laurentianus* 58.4 at ζ (= 7) florins and not as Piccolomini ([above, n. 96] 405) indicates, at ξ (= 60!). On the relative value of manuscripts in the fifteenth century cf. R. Blum, *La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli* (*Studi e Testi* 155, Vatican City 1951) 65 and 183 f.

<sup>106</sup>See the list in M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die Griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 45, n. 1. To this list must be added *Laurentianus* 60.9 (see previous footnote).

<sup>107</sup>Cf. A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* 1 (Milan 1906) xxii, 2.1281.

<sup>108</sup>The manuscript appears as no. 433 in Bessarion's *Index librorum graecorum*; cf. H. Omont, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion (1468)," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 4 (1894) 167.

<sup>109</sup>I am most grateful to Dr S. Lilla for allowing me to see the description he has made of this manuscript for his forthcoming catalogue of *Vaticani* gr. 2162-2402.

<sup>110</sup>Cf. note 98 above.

<sup>111</sup>Cf. note 96 above.

<sup>112</sup>Above, note 94.



*Medicis Lascaris ex peloponneso in Italiam nuper advexit.*" Here "ex peloponneso" must be construed συνεκδοχικῶς as referring to Greek territory in general! The Hannover list not only includes *Laurentianus* 80.9 ("Proclus in politicis Platonis"),<sup>113</sup> which, as we have just seen, was perhaps purchased in Crete, but also "Clementis stromatis libri VIII".<sup>114</sup> This can only be a reference to the famous *Laurentianus* 5.3 (our sole witness of the text of Clement's *Stromata*), which Lascaris, as he himself tells us,<sup>115</sup> purchased during his visit to Constantinople in 1491 from Demetrius Castrenus.<sup>116</sup> It must be noted moreover that the Hannover list makes no pretence of being complete, since it contains entries such as "Multorum opera Juniorum et volumina in philosophia,"<sup>117</sup> and makes no mention of, e.g., the Harpokration which Lascaris had copied in the course of his journey across Greece in 1491.<sup>118</sup> Nor is there any mention of Maximus in Lascaris' jottings from his journey in 1491 (preserved in *Vaticanus gr.* 1412, and published by K. K. Müller),<sup>119</sup> listing not merely places which he has visited but also manuscripts which he has seen or acquired. Indeed the absence of Maximus from all these documents suggests that the manuscript of Maximus to which Pietro de' Pazzi made reference was not acquired by Lascaris in the course of his second mission into Turkish territory, which began, as we have seen, probably in the Spring of 1491.<sup>120</sup> There are on the other hand positive indications that Lascaris had obtained the manuscript in question in the course of his first mission.

*Vaticanus gr.* 1412, fol. 1-91 seems to be in its entirety from Lascaris' hand,<sup>121</sup> and is undoubtedly, in part at least, a notebook which accompanied him on his second mission in 1491.<sup>122</sup> The volume contains not only notations concerning manuscripts which Lascaris has seen or acquired in the course of this journey (fol. 34 verso, 48 verso-61 recto, 76 recto-81 verso, 83 recto-84 verso) but *inter alia* also a list of desirable authors who were lacking from Lorenzo's library (fol. 8 verso-10 verso),<sup>123</sup> and an inventory of those authors and works already represented in the

<sup>113</sup>Cf. Vogel (above, note 94) 157.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.* 160.

<sup>115</sup>Cf. Piccolomini, "Due documenti ..." (above, note 94) 409 f., 419.

<sup>116</sup>On whom cf. Legrand (above, note 73) 1 (Paris 1885) clxiii f., and Cosenza (above, note 74) 1.939 f.

<sup>117</sup>Cf. Vogel (above, note 94) 157 and, e.g., 160: "et alia theologorum volumina." Cf. K. K. Müller (above, note 94) 338.

<sup>118</sup>Cf. Piccolomini, "Due documenti ..." (above, note 94) 405 f., 418.

<sup>119</sup>(Above, note 94) 379 ff.

<sup>120</sup>Cf. p. 338 above.

<sup>121</sup>With the possible exception of fol. 66 recto-69 recto, containing a list of books in Lascaris' possession; cf. p. 346 below.

<sup>122</sup>The portions of the manuscript relevant to our enquiry have all been published by Müller (above, note 94). Cf. Müller's description of the manuscript at 340 ff.

<sup>123</sup>Cf. Müller 367 ff.

library (fol. 35 verso–43 recto).<sup>124</sup> As Müller has shown,<sup>125</sup> these latter two lists must have been compiled by Lascaris *before* he embarked on his second mission. Thus, to take an obvious example, the *Stromata* of Clement (which, as we have seen,<sup>126</sup> Lascaris acquired in Constantinople during his second mission) are included amongst the *desiderata*<sup>127</sup> but do not appear in Lascaris' inventory of the library. It is for our enquiry of extreme importance that Maximus of Tyre does not appear in Lascaris' list of *desiderata* but is included in the inventory of Lorenzo's library as follows (*Vaticanus gr.* 1412, fol. 39 verso):

Μαξίμου τοῦ τυρίου λόγοι π(εργαμηνόν)

Unfortunately at this very point there occurs one of the few errors in Müller's published version: probably as the result of a purely mechanical slip in the transcription of the manuscript Müller has transferred π(εργαμηνόν) to the previous entry (μῦθοι Αἰσώπου).<sup>128</sup> But from its position on the page there can be no doubt whatsoever but that the π applies to the manuscript of Maximus! It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this parchment manuscript of Maximus was the one to which Pietro de' Pazzi made reference as having been brought to Florence by Lascaris, and that since it was already in the Medici library before he set out on his second mission Lascaris must have acquired it on his first journey. We are also led to conclude that perhaps the list of *desiderata* and certainly the inventory of Lorenzo's library were compiled during the interval between the two journeys. We must now turn our attention to the possibility that Lorenzo's parchment manuscript of Maximus of Tyre was none other than our *Parisinus gr.* 1962.

Lorenzo's manuscript of Maximus was apparently physically present in the library in 1491 when Lascaris compiled his inventory. At the top of fol. 39 recto in Lascaris' notebook appears the heading φιλόσοφα ἔξω, but since there is a considerable empty space at the foot of that page, it is likely that fol. 39 verso (where Maximus appears) lists the φιλόσοφα ἔσω.<sup>129</sup> However, at some date in the course of the following four years the volume disappeared permanently from the Medicean collection.<sup>130</sup> After

<sup>124</sup>Cf. Müller 371 ff.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.* 344 ff.

<sup>126</sup>Cf. p. 341 above.

<sup>127</sup>Cf. Müller 370.

<sup>128</sup>Cf. Müller 375. The responsibility for the error may well not be Müller's. The major portion of the generally faithful transcription was made, as Müller (340) points out, by A. Mau.

<sup>129</sup>Cf. Müller 375, n. 1 and 352 f.

<sup>130</sup>It cannot be identified with either of the manuscripts of Maximus of Tyre now at the Laurenziana. *Laurentianus* 85.15, though it was once in the possession of Leonardo Giustiniani and therefore in Italy already prior to 1446, did not actually enter the Laurenziana until 1569; cf. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* 3 (Florence 1770) 276. The only other manuscript of

the expulsion from Florence of the Medici family in 1494, the Medicean library was brought for security to the monastery of San Marco, but only after the Medici palace had been ransacked by the Florentines assisted by the French invaders.<sup>131</sup> The following year an inventory of what was left of the library was compiled, at the injunction of the Signoria, by Bartolommeo Ciai, cancelliere della Signoria, and Janus Lascaris. The resulting document, dated the 20th of October 1495, gives a complete and detailed account of the state of the library at that date.<sup>132</sup> Since Lorenzo's manuscript of Maximus is not listed in the inventory, one may conclude that it disappeared from the library during the years 1491–1495. Further, since the manuscript does not appear in the surviving record of books loaned from the library between 1491 and 1494,<sup>133</sup> it must either have been deliberately pilfered from the library<sup>134</sup> or have been removed by an unofficial borrower and never returned. There is evidence that both the Signoria and the Dominicans at San Marco made vigorous attempts to recover missing volumes from borrowers, both official and unofficial.<sup>135</sup> It is furthermore apparent that Lascaris himself was not the least amongst the offenders. Thus, in a firmly worded letter dated the 15th of February 1496 and addressed to Lascaris in Paris the Signoria pointed out that a certain number of valuable books in both Latin and in Greek, but in particular in the latter language, were missing from the Medicean collection. The letter goes on to request of Lascaris that he restitute whatever volumes might be unlawfully in his possession, and adds threateningly that to ensure speedy restitution the assistance of the Florentine ambassador in Paris has been sought.<sup>136</sup> There is proof

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Maximus at the Laurenziana is *Conventi Soppressi* 4, which once belonged to the library of Angelo Corbinelli (died 1425); cf. R. Blum (above, note 105) 102 ff. Neither of these manuscripts is of parchment.

<sup>131</sup>On the fate of the Medici library in the difficult period between the expulsion of Piero de' Medici (1494) and the acquisition in 1508 of what was left of the library by Giovanni de' Medici, the future Pope Leo X, see E. Piccolomini, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 19 (1874) 101 ff.; B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter (above, note 93) 32 ff.

<sup>132</sup>The document is reproduced in its entirety by E. Piccolomini, "Inventario della libreria Medicea privata compilato nel 1495," *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 20 (1874) 51 ff.

<sup>133</sup>Cf. note 103 above.

<sup>134</sup>It is attested that the library suffered during the sack of the palace; cf. Piccolomini, *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 19 (1874) 108.

<sup>135</sup>Cf. Piccolomini (above, note 134) 120 ff., and Müller (above, note 94) 349 f., 364.

<sup>136</sup>The text of the letter, published by Piccolomini (*Archivio Storico Italiano* [Ser. 3] 19 [1874] 264 f.) reads as follows:

Spectate vir, amice noster charissime.

Rivedendo noi il numero delli libri greci e latini per alcuna occorrentia, della heredità di Lorenzo de' Medici che sono in Santo Marco e altrove, troviamo mancarne alcuni volumi in greco specialmente, libri de importantia e di valuta. E perchè intendiamo che

that a certain number of volumes which Lascaris had removed from the library without permission were recovered in Florence from third parties to whom Lascaris had lent them or with whom he had deposited them,<sup>137</sup> but there is nothing to suggest that Lascaris himself acceded to the demands of the Signoria and surrendered any volumes he might have had in his possession. Indeed there can be little doubt but that Lascaris retained permanently a certain number of the volumes which he had after all been instrumental in bringing to Florence. Müller puts the matter thus:<sup>138</sup> "Die . . . Saumseligkeit von Laskaris in der Zurückgabe von Mediceischen Hss., um so eigenthümlicher, da er selbst als Kommissär zur Anfertigung des Inventars 1495 bestellt war, wird die Vermuthung nicht als zu gewagt erscheinen lassen, dass auf diese Weise manche Stücke für die Laurenziana ganz verloren gingen." One inclines to suspect that Lorenzo's parchment manuscript of Maximus of Tyre became lost to the Laurenziana in precisely this way: that it was "borrowed" by Lascaris, who failed to list it in the Inventory of 1495<sup>139</sup> or to return it and

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voi ne havesti alcuni da Santo Marco e d'altronde, de'quali siamo certi che renderete buono conto et assegnamento, sendo voi huomo integerremo et sempre havendo voi da questa città et signoria ricevuto honore et beneficio per vostre virtuti et meriti; vorremo che all'havuta di questa operassi che qua, dovunque egli sieno, ci siano restituiti perchè gli vogliamo rassettare et haverli tutti insieme. Et così ne scriviamo al magnifico nostro imbasciadore Giovacchino Guasconi appresso la christianissima maestà, che sia con voi e questo effetto adoperi; facendo voi in ciò come speriamo, e dandone pieno avviso dove sono e chi gl'ha e dove gli abbiamo puntualmente a ritrovare; chè, oltrechè fia cosa ragionevole, ne sarà gratissima.

Ex palatio nostro, die XV februarii MCCCCXCVI.

A slightly different version of the same letter was published by Bandini (above, note 105) 1 (Florence 1764) xii f. and is reproduced by Legrand (above, note 73) 2 (Paris 1885) 328. For the text of the letter of the Signoria to the Florentine Ambassador in Paris cf. Piccolomini, *op. cit.* 264.

<sup>137</sup>Six volumes recovered in this manner are listed in an addition to the Inventory of 1495 headed "Recuperati [sc. libri] per Fratres"; cf. Piccolomini, *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 20 (1874) 80 f. A notice dated the 31st of March 1497 indicates that Lascaris had admitted by letter that four of the volumes recovered in this manner were indeed Medici property: ". . . quos [sc. libros] per chiographum suum confessus est Lascharis ad nos pertinere et fuisse Petri de Medicis." Of the six volumes recovered only one ("Apollonii grammatica in parvo volumine et antiquo, in papiro. Grec.") can with any degree of probability be identified with an item in the 1495 Inventory (cf. Piccolomini, *op. cit.* 58, item 15: "Apollonii grammatici constructiones, in papyro, grece. -Grec.")! Lascaris appears to have entered only one of the six volumes ("La Rhetorica de Hermogene, n. 100.") in the official list of volumes borrowed from the Medici library between 1480 and 1494; cf. Piccolomini, *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 21 (1875) 289. The volume is entered as having been borrowed on the 2nd of October 1492. Cf. also note 139 below.

<sup>138</sup>(Above, note 94) 364.

<sup>139</sup>In one instance, however, in the Inventory of 1495 Lascaris has admitted to having a Medici volume in his possession; cf. Piccolomini, *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Ser. 3) 20

instead retained it in his possession until his death, that it then passed into the possession of Ridolfi, and thence into the *Bibliothèque du roi*. Though the matter does not seem to admit of definite proof, the suspicion is justified that our *Parisinus gr.* 1962 is none other than Lorenzo's parchment manuscript of Maximus, brought to Florence in 1490 or 1491 by Lascaris from his first mission into Turkish territory on behalf of Lorenzo il Magnifico.

According to Pietro de' Pazzi, in his introduction to his brother's Latin version of Maximus, Lascaris had rescued Maximus from darkness into light ("e tenebris eruit . . . ad lucem . . . e Gręcia attulit").<sup>140</sup> The claim seems slightly exaggerated, since in addition to Lorenzo's at least four manuscripts of Maximus are known to have been in Italy prior to 1500.<sup>141</sup> However, the fact that the Greek text of Maximus was not printed until 1557<sup>142</sup> reflects the comparative scarcity of manuscripts of the orator. In his dedicatory epistle Cosimo de' Pazzi speaks of "exemplarium mira paucitas" and informs us that for his translation he has been able to make use of only two manuscripts ("uix enim inuenimus duo") which were far from being free from errors ("uitia quę passim ac frequentissima occurrerunt eaque non ita a nobis omnia sanata ut adhuc in interpretatione nostra non appareant uulnera"). It is possible that a close examination of Cosimo's version might reveal that Lascaris had not only given Cosimo his encouragement but had also made available to him the parchment manuscript of Maximus which he had removed from the Medici library and chosen to retain. If this were so, there would be a certain irony attached to the situation. For Pietro de' Pazzi had referred to the approval which his brother's translation met with not only from Lascaris but also from the Dominican Zenobio Acciaiuoli, who had been librarian at San Marco and in this capacity a passionate guardian of the Medici collection and pursuer of those in wrongful possession of its treasures.<sup>143</sup>

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(1874) 93, item 216: "(Hunc codicem habet D. Ioannes Lascari penes se): Aristotelis metaphysica parunper et Galenii de anachomya." There is no mention of Lascaris having borrowed this volume in the surviving record of books borrowed from the Medici library between 1480 and 1494; cf. note 103 above. Cf. also the following entry in the Inventory of 1495 (Piccolomini, *op. cit.* 80): "Gregorii orationes, in greco, in menbranis, in paruo volumine, ligatus, in carminibus, opertis corio paonazo. Qui codex est domini Ioannis Lascharis greci, et illum habuit dicta die. -Gre." Otherwise, apart from the volumes subsequently added to the list as "Recuperati per Fratres" (cf. note 137 above), there is no indication in the Inventory of 1495 that Lascaris had any Medici volumes in his possession!

<sup>140</sup>Cf. p. 337 above.

<sup>141</sup>Cf. R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1954) 481.

<sup>142</sup>Cf. pp. 336 f. above.

<sup>143</sup>Cf. B. L. Ullman and P. A. Stadter (above, note 93) 34 f.

In addition to the notations to which we have already referred *Vaticanus gr.* 1412 contains (fol. 66 recto–69 recto) an inventory of manuscripts<sup>144</sup> headed:

πίναξ τῶν βυβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρεως, ἃπερ ἔχει παρ' ἐαυτῶ.<sup>145</sup>

The precise purpose of this inventory is not evident. Müller believed<sup>146</sup> that it was written by Lascaris himself. The writing, however, is not only larger but also much less careful than anything else in the volume, and I suspect that the inventory may have been made on behalf of Lascaris by someone else. It was further Müller's opinion that the inventory was simply a list of Medici volumes in Lascaris' possession.<sup>147</sup> De Nolz has rightfully criticized this view:<sup>148</sup> since the inventory claims to be a list of Lascaris' books, it cannot be a list of books which did not belong to him. In fact the formulation of the heading corresponds closely to that which appears on fol. 36 recto in the list of Lorenzo's books:<sup>149</sup>

πίναξ βυβλίων ἐλληνικῶν, ἃ(περ) ἔχει ἐξ(ω) τῆς βιβλιοθήκης αὐτοῦ  
Λαυρέντιος ὁ Μηδικός.

In the case of the list of Lascaris' books, however, we are faced with a list not of books which he has ἐξω τῆς βιβλιοθήκης αὐτοῦ but of books which he has παρ' ἐαυτῶ (= *penes se*).<sup>150</sup> I suspect therefore that this pinax constitutes a list not of Lascaris' entire library but of those of his books which he had with him at some particular time—possibly of those which he took with him to France in 1495/1496 as opposed to those which he left behind with various friends in Italy.<sup>151</sup> Certainly the list includes volumes which accompanied Lascaris to France, since the names of some of his close associates in France appear, presumably as borrowers, in the margin

<sup>144</sup>Reproduced by Müller (above, note 94) 407 ff.

<sup>146</sup>Müller (407) wrongly reads παρ' ἐαυτοῦ. The ω is indeed worn and imprecise but the iota subscript can be seen quite clearly. The phrase παρ' ἐαυτοῦ would in this context be somewhat strange Greek.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.* 344.

<sup>147</sup>*Ibid.* 363 f.

<sup>148</sup>(Above, note 75) 251, n. 1. Though he has been misled by Müller's mistaken transcription of παρ' ἐαυτῶ (cf. note 145 above), de Nolz has based his conclusion primarily on the correspondences between the πίναξ and the *Lista de' libri che furon del signor Lascheri* which he published (255 ff.); cf. pp. 333 ff. above.

<sup>149</sup>Cf. Müller (above, note 94) 371.

<sup>150</sup>For *penes se* cf. note 139 above.

<sup>151</sup>We have already noted (above, note 137) that Lascaris left behind a certain number of books in Florence. In fact in the course of his many travels Lascaris had developed the habit of depositing portions of his library here and there with his friends. Thus, Guillaume Budé indicates in a letter that before embarking on a journey Lascaris had on occasion left with him "scrinia librorum"; cf. Knös (above, note 73) 93.

of the list. Thus, Guillaume Budé's name appears three times,<sup>152</sup> and that of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples once.<sup>153</sup> The παῦλος whose name occurs three times on fol. 68 recto is almost certainly, as Knös suggests,<sup>154</sup> the humanist Paolo Emilio da Verona who had been attached to the French court since 1489,<sup>155</sup> whilst the λατρός who is mentioned on fol. 68 recto is, according to Knös, probably Guillaume Cop, Greek scholar and *médecin du roi*.<sup>156</sup> Further the γέωργιος whose name appears on fol. 67 recto<sup>157</sup> and 68 verso can be identified with a high degree of probability as the Spartan George Hermonymus, employed as copyist at the French court.<sup>158</sup> However, not all the names entered in the margin stem from Lascaris' stay in France. In particular the name of Demetrius Chalcondyles appears on fol. 66 recto.<sup>159</sup> The book in question must have been lent to Chalcondyles either before Lascaris' departure from Florence about the end of 1495, or during a later stay in Italy. In fact Chalcondyles had moved from Florence to Milan by the 4th of May 1492 and resided in that city until his death in 1511,<sup>160</sup> but there were no doubt numerous occasions on which the two men might have met.<sup>161</sup> Other borrowers whose names appear in the margin of the list are ταρσεὺς νικόλαος (= Niccolò Tarsi)<sup>162</sup> on fol. 66 verso; and a certain ἀντώνιος whom I have not succeeded in identifying on fol. 66 recto and verso.<sup>163</sup> For the purpose of our enquiry it is important to note that since Maximus of Tyre is not listed in the pinax, Lascaris did not have *Parsinus gr.* 1962 παρ' ἐαυτῶ at the time when this

<sup>152</sup>On fol. 66 recto (μπουνδὲ), 66 verso (budej), and 68 verso (bud).

<sup>153</sup>In the form *fabrij* (fol. 66 verso).

<sup>154</sup>(Above, note 73) 93, n. 3.

<sup>155</sup>On Paolo Emilio cf. L. Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé, Les Origines, les Débuts, les Idées maîtresses* (Paris 1907; rp. Geneva 1970) 24, n. 2; further references in Cosenza (above, note 74) 1 (Boston 1962) 68.

<sup>156</sup>Cf. Knös (above, note 73) 93 and n. 3.

<sup>157</sup>This entry has been missed by Müller.

<sup>158</sup>On George Hermonymus cf. H. Omont, "Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris, et copiste de manuscrits," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 12 (1885) 65 ff.; Vogel-Gardthausen (above, note 106) 74 ff.; more references in Cosenza (above, note 74) 2 (Boston 1962) 1758 f.

<sup>159</sup>In the form δημήτριος χαλ., which was the way in which Chalcondyles normally abbreviated his name; e.g., in the record published by Piccolomini (cf. note 103 above), of books loaned from the Medici library Chalcondyles has referred to himself on the 13th of January 1489 as "Ego Demetrius Chal. G[raecus]" (cf. Piccolomini [above, note 103] 287) and on the 3rd of October 1491 as "Io Demetrio Chal. G." (*ibid.* 288). Müller (above, note 94) 407 has not understood the abbreviation.

<sup>160</sup>Cf. Legrand (above, note 73) 1.c.

<sup>161</sup>In particular Lascaris was in Milan in 1500; cf. Knös (above, note 73) 90 ff.

<sup>162</sup>On whom see Cosenza (above, note 74) 4 (Boston 1962) 3369.

<sup>163</sup>On fol. 66 recto the name is abbreviated to ἀντων(ιος), and on 66 verso to ἀντ(ώ)ν(ιος). Müller (above, note 94) 408, has mistakenly transcribed this latter instance as ἀντιθ.

inventory was compiled; either because the list was put together at some time between 1491 and 1495 when Lascaris had not yet removed the volume from the Medici collection, or perhaps because the list was compiled in France and Lascaris had deposited the manuscript with a friend in Italy.

If the above reconstruction is correct and *Parsinus gr.* 1962 none other than the manuscript of Maximus which Lascaris listed in his pinax of Lorenzo's books,<sup>164</sup> then it would seem most likely that the original *codex*, since it contained not only Maximus and the *Didaskalikos* but also the lost writings of Albinus, had been taken apart before its arrival in Italy. As a matter of fact we have confirmation that the portion of the manuscript containing Maximus was unbound at least a century before it came into the hands of Lascaris. F. Schulte pointed out<sup>165</sup> that *Bodleianus misc. gr.* 239 (= Auct. T. 4.1), containing the orations of Maximus of Tyre,<sup>166</sup> was not only a direct copy of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 but that the individual quaternions of the former had, in the interests of rapid transcription, been copied from the Paris manuscript by a large number of scribes all working simultaneously; i.e., that at the time when the Bodleian manuscript was produced *Parisinus gr.* 1962 had been dismembered, with the result that its separated quaternions could be copied simultaneously by the various members of a *scriptorium*.<sup>167</sup> Apart from this important fact there seems to be little of value that one can glean from the Bodleian manuscript. It is composed of coarse paper in which I have found no watermarks. The binding in black leather is modern, i.e. subsequent to the arrival of the manuscript at the Bodleian. The provenance of the manuscript is indicated by the following note in the bottom right-hand corner of fol. 1 recto: "È bibliothecâ Saibantiana (apud Maffeu. no 58.)"<sup>168</sup> The manuscript was probably unbound on arrival at the Bodleian (1820), and protected by a covering consisting of two parchment sheets which have been bound into the present volume (fol. III front and I rear). Each sheet consists of two worn folios (conjugate leaves) from a Greek grammatical work (which I have not succeeded in

<sup>164</sup>Cf. p. 342 above.

<sup>165</sup>(Above, note 26) 7 ff.

<sup>166</sup>Cf. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensio codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford 1853) 788.

<sup>167</sup>Though not frequently met with in Greek manuscripts, this technique of reproducing texts was in the mediaeval era common enough in the university centres of Western Europe; cf. J. Destrez, "*Exemplaria universitaires des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*," *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 68 ff. Cf. also the case of *Bodleianus Canon. class. lat.* 163, described by P. O. Kristeller, "Marsilio Ficino as a beginning student of Plato," *Scriptorium* 20 (1966) 44, n. 15.

<sup>168</sup>A study of the Saibante library is being prepared by E. M. Jeffreys of the Warburg Institute.



identifying) with rubricized headings and capitals, and a little decoration in black, red, and white. The script is a fairly early minuscule, and both the decoration and the script are suggestive of a South Italian provenance. However, since we do not know when these parchment leaves became attached to the Bodleian manuscript, they can tell us nothing concerning its origin. The precise number of copyists involved in the production of the *Bodleianus* is difficult to ascertain owing to the hurried and consequently erratic character of the writing. Fol. 1 recto–29 verso are in the same hand. After that there seems to be a new hand for every gathering. The character of the various scripts, all fairly careless, suggests that the manuscript was copied prior to the year 1400.<sup>169</sup> The copying was clearly rushed and presents generally an untidy impression, suggesting that the pertinent quaternions of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 were on short-term loan to a *scriptorium* that could muster a large number of not very good scribes. The copyist responsible for the first four quaternions of the *Parisinus* (numbered KH–ΔA)<sup>170</sup> has compressed them into 29 folios, and the last three folios of his fourth quaternion, which must have been left blank, have in consequence been cut out. Beginning with ΔB in the top right-hand corner of fol. 30 recto the gathering numbers of the *Parisinus* appear on the first folio of each quaternion of the Bodleian manuscript.

Since, as the evidence of the *Bodleianus* indicates, the *codex* to which the *Parisinus* originally belonged had already been dismembered a century prior to Lascaris' missions into Turkish territory, and since Lascaris apparently brought to Florence only the portion containing Maximus and the *Didaskalikos*, the question of the fate of the missing part of the manuscript does not seem, unless new evidence should appear, one that is likely to meet with any conclusive answer. Freudenthal drew attention<sup>171</sup> to an at first sight encouraging report contained in a catalogue of Platonists published by John Fell<sup>172</sup> as a supplement to his edition of the *Didaskalikos* which appeared at Oxford (*Typis Lichfieldianis*) in 1667 under the title *Alcinoi in Platoniam philosophiam introductio*.<sup>173</sup> The

<sup>169</sup>Hobein (above, note 26) xlix, and Schulte (above, note 26) 3, follow H. O. Coxe, *loc. cit.* (above, note 166) in dating the *Bodleianus* to the fourteenth century.

<sup>170</sup>Cf. pp. 330 f. above.

<sup>171</sup>(Above, note 26) 245.

<sup>172</sup>On Dr John Fell (1625–1686), staunch royalist and High Churchman, dean of Christ Church and bishop of Oxford, as well as the original of the epigram (based on Martial 1.32) "I do not like you, Dr. Fell," cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 6.1157 ff.

<sup>173</sup>Apart from the catalogue of Platonists, Fell's edition is simply a reprint of Heinsius' second edition of the *Didaskalikos* (*Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes philosophicae, cum interpretatione et notis Danielis Heinsii hac secunda editione emendationibus. Accessit Alcinoi in Platonem introductio*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1614). Heinsius' first edition had appeared at Leiden in 1607. The copy of Fell's book which I examined at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University (1742 Library Sign. 1.5.31) is

catalogue in question ("PLATONICORUM aliquot, qui etiamnum supersunt Authorum, *Graecorum* imprimis, mox et *Latinorum*, Syllabus Alphabeticus")<sup>174</sup> is not the work of Fell himself, but derives, as Fell points out in his introduction, from the papers of the indefatigable scholar Gerard Langbaine the elder (1609–1658)<sup>175</sup>: "Langbanius ὁ χαλκέντερος et vere Adamantius,<sup>176</sup> pro singulari illa qua in evolvendis veterum monumentis utebatur industria, pridem adornabat [sc. catalogum Platoniorum]; utinam et Elaborasset: quicquid autem post fati temporisque injurias ex Schedis ejus ad nos pervenit, paucis omnino, idque cum res vehementer posceret immutatis, tanquam Tabulam ex naufragio raptam, coram exhibemus."<sup>177</sup> In Fell's edition of Langbaine's catalogue Albinus appears in third place and the entry reads as follows:<sup>178</sup>

3. *Albinus*. Hujus cūm Hypotheses *Platonicae*, tum Isagogus περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων adservari perhibentur *Romae* in *Vaticanā*. Nec-non de ordine librorum *Platonis*, *Venetiis* ad *S. Antonium*.

According to Freudenthal<sup>179</sup> this report of the missing works of Albinus is completely independent of the pinax in *Parisinus* gr. 1962: "Offenbar

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one of the nine-hundred volumes which, following the example of Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Berkeley the philosopher presented to Yale in 1733. It is inscribed.

*E libris Prideaux Hodges  
ex dono Reverendi Decani  
Johannis Fel  
1667.*

The Prideaux Hodges in question must be the grandson of John Prideaux (1578–1650), bishop of Worcester, distinguished scholar, rector of Exeter College, and vice-chancellor of Oxford (cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 16.354 ff.). John Prideaux' daughter Sarah married William Hodges, fellow of Exeter (*ibid.* 355). Prideaux Hodges must be the product of this union.

<sup>174</sup>Fell 95 ff.

<sup>175</sup>*Ibid.* 95 f.

<sup>176</sup>On Gerard Langbaine, zealous royalist as well as an outstanding scholar, elected fellow (1633) and later (1645–1646) provost of Queen's College, Oxford, cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 11.532 ff., and J. R. Magrath, *The Queen's College* 2 (Oxford 1921) 1 ff. Eventually, in spite of chalcenic powers of endurance, Langbaine fell victim to the perils that beset the scholar. According to a report in a British Museum manuscript (*Harl.* 5898, fol. 291) he died at Oxford "of an extreme cold taken sitting in the university library;" cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 11.533.

<sup>177</sup>Cf. A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* 2 (London 1721<sup>2</sup>) 220 f.: "It [i.e., the catalogue] was drawn up by our Author *Langbaine* at the desire of Archbishop *Usher*, but left imperfect: which being found among his Papers, was, with some few alterations (where there was found good reason of so doing) placed at the end of *Alcinoi in Platoniam Philosophiam introductio*, published by Dr. *Jo. Fell* Dean of *Ch. Ch.*" Wood's account seems to be based solely on Fell's introduction.

<sup>178</sup>Fell (above, note 173) 98.

<sup>179</sup>(Above, note 26) 245.

stammt diese Angabe aus anderer Quelle, als dem Index des Pariser Codex; denn die Titel weisen zwar auf dieselben Schriften des Albinus hin, lauten aber anders wie dort. Dort ὑποτυπώσεις, hier das verderbte hypotheses, dort π. τ. πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων, hier Isagogus (d.h. εἰσαγωγή) π. τ. Πλάτωνος ἀρεσκόντων." Freudenthal placed such faith in the rumour of the continued existence of the missing works that he instigated a search, which (needless to say) proved fruitless, both in Paris and at the Vatican.<sup>180</sup> In fact Freudenthal's arguments, though they may appear plausible at first sight, collapse upon close examination. In particular a comparison of Fell's published version of the catalogue with Langbaine's autograph, which fortunately survives at the Bodleian,<sup>181</sup> shows that Fell has taken greater liberties with the original than one might have supposed. As it flowed from Langbaine's pen the entry concerning Albinus reads thus:<sup>182</sup>

Albinus. Hujus cūm Hypotyposes Platonicae, tūm Isagogicus περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων adservari perhibentur Romae in Vaticanā: nec non de ordine librorum Platonis, Venetiis ad S. Antonium.

One notes immediately that Freudenthal's point concerning the corruption of the ὑποτυπώσεις of *Parisinus gr.* 1962 into the "Hypotheses" of the catalogue is irrelevant: the latter term is simply Fell's mistaken "correction" of Langbaine's correct "Hypotyposes," and in no way indicates that the latter's information was not ultimately derived from *Parisinus gr.* 1962. In fact through the co-operation of Isaac Casaubon the Paris manuscript had been loaned to Daniel Heinsius for his use in the prepara-

<sup>180</sup>*Ibid.* 246, n. Mutschmann (above, note 26) 570, n. 1, expressed the belief that Langbaine's report of the existence of the missing works of Albinus at the Vatican might be explained as follows: "Wenn man bedenkt, wie sklavisch W [= *Vaticanus gr.* 1950] aus dem Regius [= *Parisinus gr.* 1962] abgeschrieben ist, so ist höchst wahrscheinlich, dass auch jener Pinax [i.e. *Parisinus gr.* 1962, fol. 146 verso] ursprünglich in ihm enthalten war, den dann der Urheber jener Notiz eingesehen hat, ohne sich von dem wirklichen Inhalt der Hs. zu vergewissern." Mutschmann's theory is unacceptable if for no other reason than that *Vaticanus gr.* 1950, deriving as it does from the library of Stefano Gradi (died 1683), did not enter the Vatican until after the death of Langbaine. Moreover, in spite of the assertions of Mutschmann, *Vaticanus gr.* 1950 has not been copied directly from *Parisinus gr.* 1962. I shall deal in detail with the textual tradition of the *Didaskalikos* in a separate publication as well as in my forthcoming edition of the Greek text. On *Vaticanus gr.* 1950 cf. further note 194 below.

<sup>181</sup>*Ms. Wood Donation 5* (= *Gerardii Langbainii Adversaria 26*); cf. Coxe (above, note 166) 887. A note on one of the guard sheets (in Wood's hand?) indicates that the volume contains "Severall rude and imperfect collections of Dr. Gerard Langbaine . . . collected in order to the making of an universall catalogue in all kind of learning," and that the manuscript was found among the papers of Dr Thomas Barlow. On Barlow (1607–1691), who in 1658 succeeded Langbaine as provost of Queen's college, Oxford, cf. *Dictionary of National Biography* 1.1144 ff.

<sup>182</sup>*Ms. Wood Donation 5*, p. 116.

tion of the 1614 edition of Maximus and the *Didaskalikos*.<sup>183</sup> Nor did the pinax escape the attention of Heinsius, who offers a somewhat incomplete transcription of it on page 14 of the *Notae et Emendationes* which are included in the 1614 edition. It is remarkable that the inadequacies of Heinsius' transcription are reproduced by Langbaine. Thus, both Heinsius and Langbaine write not *περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων τρίτον* but simply *περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων*, and both scholars fail to indicate the number of the books of the *ὑποτυπώσεις*. Moreover, Langbaine's introduction of the term "isagogicus" (which Fell has "corrected" to "Isagogus"!)<sup>184</sup> cannot be regarded as of any especial significance. It compensates for the omission of *τρίτον* and derives perhaps from a confusion between the *περὶ τῶν Πλάτωνι ἀρεσκόντων*, *τρίτον* and Albinus' *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τοὺς Πλάτωνος διαλόγους* (i.e., Langbaine's "De ordine librorum Platonis").<sup>185</sup> One may conclude that Langbaine's report of the presence of the missing works of Albinus at the Vatican is probably nothing more than an unfounded rumour inspired ultimately by Heinsius' publication of an incomplete version of the pinax in *Parisinus* gr. 1962.

<sup>183</sup>Cf. Danielis Heinsii, *Notae et Emendationes ad Maximum Philosophum* (Lugduni Batavorum 1614) 6: "quem [sc. *Parisinus* gr. 1962] ad me misit vir maximus Isaacus Casaubonus."

<sup>184</sup>On the other hand Fell has failed to notice a genuine *lapsus calami* on the part of Langbaine. In the introduction to his catalogue Langbaine writes (*Ms. Wood Donation* 5, p. 115): "Vetustiores Platonis expositores ad minus sexaginta quinque adinvenisse se diserte asserit Franciscus Patritius (in Platone Exotico) eosque omnes (ut ibidem innuit) Ammonio Saco antiquiores. Si justa opera intelligat, mirandum aequae ac dolendum, tantillo temporis intervallo tot illustres Scriptores (nam pars quota superest!) intercidisse." The reference "Franciscus Patritius (in Platone Exotico)" is actually to Patrizi's treatise *Plato Exotericus* (not "Exoticus"!), published as one of several supplements to his *Nova de universis philosophia libris quinquaginta comprehensa* (Ferrara 1591 and Venice 1593). Patrizi had put the matter thus (fol. 42 recto): "... vetustiores Platonis expositores, quos ad minus 65. adinvenimus vix mentem eius per omnia comprehenderent. Donec Ammonius Saccus, in hosce, et in Hermetis libros, cum Alexandriae viveret circa christi annum CC. incidit. A quo ingens postea ingentium Platoniorum coetus fluxit." Patrizi makes no mention in this context of either Albinus or Alcinoüs. Fell's printed version ([above, note 173] 97) reproduces Langbaine's "in Platone Exotico" without correction.

<sup>185</sup>Edited by Hermann, *Platonis dialogi* 6 (Leipzig 1853) 147 ff.; Freudenthal (above, note 26) 322 ff.; and J. B. Sturm, "Biographisches über Plato aus dem Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1898 und die Isagoge des Albinus auf Grund derselben Handschrift herausgegeben," *Programm des k. humanist. Gymnasiums Kaiserslautern 1900-1901* (Kaiserslautern 1901) 33 ff. In some manuscripts the title 'Αλβίνου πρόλογος occurs. For the title 'Αλβίνου περὶ τῆς τάξεως βιβλίων (or τῶν βιβλίων) τῶν Πλάτωνος (or τῶν Πλατωνικῶν) cf. Freudenthal 243 and Praechter (above, note 35) 514, n. 4. In *Basiliensis* gr. F. 1.8b (= Omont's 50), fol. 212 recto, the title appears as Αλβίνου περὶ τῆς τῶν βιβλίων τῶν πλατωνικῶν τάξεως προλεγόμενα, but *περὶ τῆς* and *τάξεως* have been cancelled with dots (I am grateful to Dr Max Burkhardt for this information); cf. further on the *Basiliensis* L. G. Westerink's comments in his edition of Olympiodorus, *In Gorgiam* (Leipzig 1970) viii.

However, to do justice to Langbaine one must hasten to add that he has gone about his task of compiling the catalogue in a very thorough manner. Thus, his information regarding Albinus' *De ordine librorum Platonis* does not, as one might have expected, derive from the catalogue of the library of S. Antonio di Castello published in *BIBLIOTHECAE VENETAE MANUSCRIPTAE PUBLICAE & PRIVATAE quibus diversi Scriptores hactenus incogniti recensentur*. Opera Iacobi Philippi Tomasini Episcopi Aemoniensis. Utini, MDCL.<sup>186</sup> There is no mention of Albinus (or of Alcinoüs for that matter) in Tomasini's catalogue of the books of S. Antonio. However, the *Prologue* of Albinus does appear, with the very title assigned to it by Langbaine, in the manuscript inventories contained in *Vaticanus lat.* 3960 of the Greek manuscripts which Cardinal Domenico Grimani entrusted in 1523 to the monastery of S. Antonio di Castello.<sup>187</sup> The *Vaticanus*, which contains a mixed collection of sixteenth-century inventories of libraries and documents relating thereto, opens with an "Index voluminum graecorum Bibliothecae D. Card. Grimani." Item 11 in this index (fol. 1 verso and 2 recto) reads as follows:

Olympiodori philosophi commentaria in Phaedonem Platonis—Idem in Philebum.

Plutarchi dialogus in quo quaeritur cur oracula cessaverint.

Albinus de ordine librorum Platonis.

Iamblici liber, q[ui] inscribitur Abamonis magistri responsio ad dubitationes epistolae Porphyrii ad Anebo.

Eunapii vitae philosophorum, et sophistarum.

Theonis Smyrnaei isagoge ad ea, q[uae] leguntur ad Platonem de scientiis mathematicis.

Iuliani apostatae ep[is]t[ol]ae—Epigrammata quaedam.

A note in a roughly contemporary hand at the foot of fol. 1 verso indicates that the *codex* in question has been recatalogued as No. 388. And in fact on fol. 13 recto of the index the identical volume reappears as No. 388. Against this latter entry a more or less contemporary hand has written: "vide ne hic sit liber signatus sub N° 11." This inventory of Grimani's Greek codices is followed in the *Vaticanus* by a further index headed: "Index Græcorum Voluminum D<sup>mi</sup> D.D. Dominici Grimani Epi[sco]pi portuensis. Cardinalis .S. Marci et patriarchi Aquiligiensis Venetiis in ecclesia .S. Antonii de Castello:" The folios in this second index are numbered separately from those of the preceding index, and in this new numbering the second index stretches from fol. 1 recto to 19 recto. It

<sup>186</sup>The catalogue of the library of S. Antonio stretches from p. 1 to p. 19.

<sup>187</sup>On Domenico Grimani and the library of S. Antonio cf. Th. Freudenberger, "Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goeres-Gesellschaft* 56 (1936) 15 ff. On *Vaticanus lat.* 3960 see G. Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio* . . . (*Studi e Testi* 75 [Vatican City 1938]) 29, n. 2, and 31, n. 5.

should be noted that this second index is an inventory of works rather than of *codices*. The items are not numbered and apart from fol. 1 recto and verso it is not apparent where one *codex* ends and the next begins. Once again "Albinus de ordine librorum Platonis" occurs twice, and on both occasions in the company of the same texts as in the preceding inventory. Thus, the reclassification of the manuscript has led to erroneous double listings—just as happened, as we have noted,<sup>188</sup> to *Parisinus gr.* 1962 in the inventories of Ridolfi's library preserved in *Vaticanus gr.* 1567 and *Parisinus gr.* 3074. Until its destruction by fire in 1687 the library of S. Antonio di Castello was one of the most famous in Europe, and there were numerous manuscript catalogues of its contents in circulation long before Tomasini published his partial catalogue in 1650.<sup>189</sup> Langbaine undoubtedly had his information regarding the Grimani manuscript of Albinus from just such an inventory. Since the manuscript in question seems no longer to be in existence, it may be assumed to have perished in the cruel fire of 1687.

We have noted<sup>190</sup> that scholars have tended to ascribe to the carelessness of a binder the responsibility for the loss of the missing portion of the *codex* to which *Parisinus gr.* 1962 once belonged. In the case, however, of *Laurentianus* 80.9 and *Vaticanus gr.* 2197 (together containing Proclus *In Remp.*)<sup>191</sup> W. Kroll's first assumption was that the dissection of the original volume had been performed "ab homine avaro."<sup>192</sup> But Kroll later reached the undoubtedly correct conclusion that the original *codex* "ob ambitum potius antiquitus in duo volumina divisus est quam ob venditoris avaritiam."<sup>193</sup> It seems most likely that the *codex* of which *Parisinus gr.* 1962 once formed a part was dismembered for the same reason, i.e., to provide two volumes of manageable dimensions in place of the unwieldy original, in accordance with the dictum of Callimachus (fr. 465 Pfeiffer) that τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. Similarly, the relegation of the *Didaskalikos* to its present position in the Paris manuscript at the rear of Maximus was in all probability not the result of carelessness, but was rather intended to give pride of place to the Tyrian orator.<sup>194</sup>

(To be continued)

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<sup>188</sup>Cf. pp. 333 f. above.

<sup>189</sup>Cf. Freudenberger (above, note 187) 27 ff., 39 ff.

<sup>190</sup>Cf. pp. 331–332 above.

<sup>191</sup>Cf. p. 321 above.

<sup>192</sup>Cf. Kroll's *Procli In Remp.* 1 (Leipzig 1899) v.

<sup>193</sup>Cf. Kroll's *op. cit.* 2 (Leipzig 1901) iv.

<sup>194</sup>It may be noted that, except in *Parisinus gr.* 1962 and *Vaticanus gr.* 1950, the *Didaskalikos* precedes Maximus in all the surviving manuscripts which contain both texts (i.e., *Vaticanus gr.* 1390, *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 335, *Bodleianus Holkham gr.* 101 (281), and *Parisinus gr.* 1837). On *Vaticanus gr.* 1950 see note 180 above.