

A Greek Codex in Chicago

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There is in the Newberry Library in Chicago a small Greek codex that is one of the few in America that contain classical texts. For this reason it seemed worthwhile to investigate its history and relations and learn whether it is of any critical importance or historical interest. Since I have found that it belongs to a family, I shall begin with the head of the family and come to this codex in its turn.

The source of its contents was a collection of booklets written mostly by Michael Apostolius in 1450–1475 and possessed a century later by Pierre Pantin (d. 1611), from whom we have a list of them.¹ Pantin bequeathed them to his former teacher Andreas Schott (d. 1629), who left them to the Jesuits of Antwerp.² They were taken to Paris in 1794 and returned, save some dozen,³ to Brussels in 1815.⁴ Some of Pantin's codices were dismembered and reassembled at a later time. Thus his No. 27 is now mostly in Bruxell. Gr. 89, but the middle part is Brux. Gr. 100. His No. 32 is mostly in Brux. Gr. 64, but the middle part is in Brux. Gr. 89. His No. 15 is mostly in Brux. Gr. 49, but parts are in Paris. Suppl. Gr. 205. His No. 5 is divided between Linköping (Sweden) and Paris (Suppl. Gr. 205).⁵ The rearranged parts

¹ J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* 12 (Hamburg 1724) 311–16; Omont (below, note 4) 85–89. Pantin's No. 17 is now Vat. Reg. Gr. 137

² On Pantin and Schott see *Biographie nationale de Belgique* 15 (Brussels 1899) 567–71 and 22 (1920) 1–14.

³ Paris. Suppl. Gr. 201–5, 213–17, 244, 251, 310. See H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.* 3 (Paris 1888) 230–47.

⁴ H. Omont, "Catalogue des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Royale de Bruxelles," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 27 (1884) 311–19, 374–83; 28 (1885) 6–21, 82–89, 168–81.

⁵ R. Foerster, "Mittheilungen über Handschr. des Libanios," *Sitzungsb. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 1885, 2.905–13; idem ed., *Libanii Opera* 6 (Leipzig 1911) 342 f., 9 (1927) 113 f.

were originally separate booklets.⁶ The booklets that concern us here are the following:

A. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 205 fol. 3–30 (Pantin 5 pag. 213–68): *Epistolae Alciphronis, Melissae, Myiae, Theanus, Chionis, Anacharsidis, Apollonii*, subscr. τέλος (30^v).

B. *Ibid.* fol. 31–61 (Pantin 15 fol. 65–95): *Epistolae Euripidis, Hippocratis, Heracliti, Diogenis, Cratetis, Aeschinis*, subscr. Michael Apostolius (61^r), and an excerpt from *Libanii Epitaphius* added in another hand. Although these epistles are in two booklets written by different hands, they were copied from one source, Cod. Paris. Gr. 3050 fol. 73–161: Alc. Mel. My. The. Hipp. <Her.> Diog. Crates Chion Anach. Apoll. Eur.⁷ The epistles of Aeschines (a selection of four: 1, 6, 7, 3) were added from another source; they occur in Paris Gr. 2755 in the hand of Apostolius as here.⁸

C. *Ibid.* fol. 64–71 (Pantin 5 pag. 301–16): *Luciani Epistolae saturnales et alia*.

D. Bruxell. 1871–77 (Gr. 49) fol. 1–64 (Pantin 15 fol. 1–64): *Aeliani Varia historia* and (35^r) *Georgii Gemisti (Plethonis) Contra Scholarium pro Aristotele*, in the hand of Apostolius. The text of Aelian here is excerpts from *Historia animalium* as well as *Varia historia* (the title is misleading) taken from fuller excerpts found in Codd. Vat. Gr. 96 and Vat. Pal. Gr. 93.⁹ Both of these texts occur again in Apostolius' hand in Cod. Rehdiger Gr. 22.

E. *Ibid.* fol. 103–24 (Pantin 15 fol. 103–24): *Plethonis De generatione deorum* and *Philonis Quod omnis probus liber sit* in the hand of Apostolius, and excerpts from *Artemidori Onirocritica* (121^v) added in another hand. Three leaves (119–21) are in Paris.

⁶ M. Wittek in *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 287 finds that Brux. Gr. 49 is still in its original Cretan binding. Perhaps then abstraction rather than dismemberment is the word for what happened.

⁷ M. A. Schepers ed., *Alciphronis rhetoris epistularum libri 4* (Leipzig 1905) ix, xxi; I. Düring, *Chion of Heraclea* (*Acta Univ. Gotob.* 57 5 [1951]) 39 f. Omont does not mention Heraclitus in Paris. 3050, I think by oversight. I find Schepers' account of the relation of these MSS. more convincing than Düring's.

⁸ This selection of four derives from Cod. Harley 5610; see E. Drerup ed., *Aeschinis quae feruntur epistolae* (Leipzig 1904) 2, 4, 6.

⁹ E. L. De Stefani, "Gli excerpta della 'historia animalium' di Eliano," *Studi Italiani* 12 (1904) 154–58; A. Biedl, *Zur Textgesch. des Diog. Laert.: Das grosse Exzerpt Φ* (*Studi e Testi* 184 [1955]).

Suppl. Gr. 205 (fol. 90–92). Omont retains Pantin's numbers of the leaves without noticing that many are missing.¹⁰ This treatise of Pletho was known formerly from Paris. Gr. 2045,¹¹ where it lacks several lines at the beginning and several words at the end. The fuller text of Brux. 49 was discovered by Masai.¹² The treatise was part of Pletho's *Laws*, which was suppressed by the patriarch Gennadius. It is noteworthy that Apostolius, an admirer of Pletho, is the only one to preserve the full text. The work of Philo has in the Newberry MS. the same odd title as in the unique Cod. Ambros. D 27 supra (Gr. 222).¹³ Artemidorus' work occurs in full in Marc. Gr. 227 and Urbin. Gr. 107, both copied by Apostolius from Laur. 87.8, which Janus Lascaris bought in Crete in 1492 for Lorenzo de' Medici.¹⁴

Michael Apostolius lived a refugee in Crete after the fall of Constantinople and supported himself meagerly by teaching and copying. He seems to have visited Italy occasionally but not to have stayed long enough to do any work there. So all the many books and booklets in his handwriting were copied in Crete, and their exemplars must have been in Crete too, as in the case of Artemidorus. Crete is well known as a prolific center of Greek book-production in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Working with and after Apostolius was quite a number of scribes known by name and script, including Apostolius' son Aristobulus.¹⁵ Often several copies of the same text issued from this center. Thus there are several apographs of the booklets listed above, probably all written in this Cretan center.

Mutin. Gr. 191 is a complete apograph of MS. B above, including the excerpt from Libanius. It also contains the excerpts from Aelian in MS. D.¹⁶

¹⁰ Wittek (above, note 6) says Brux. Gr. 49 fol. 1–71 are in the hand of Apostolius, and Masai (see note 12) says *De gen.* begins on fol. 66r. I suppose these 71 leaves (renumbered) are all that remain of Pantin's 1–124. Most of the missing ones are in Paris. Suppl. Gr. 205.

¹¹ Apographs in Paris. Suppl. Gr. 866 and Vindob. Phil. Gr. 128.

¹² F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris 1956) 125, 398.

¹³ L. Cohn et al. edd., *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* 6 (Berlin 1915) pp. iv–viii, 1–45.

¹⁴ C. Blum, *Studies in the Dream Book of Artemidorus* (Diss. Uppsala 1936), and "Manuscript Studies in Artemidorus," *Eranos* 39 (1941) 56–63.

¹⁵ M. Wittek, "Pour une étude du scriptorium de Michel Apostolès et consorts," *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 290–97.

¹⁶ V. Puntoni, "Indice dei codd. gr. della Bibl. Estense di Modena," *Studi Italiani* 4 (1896) 501.

Vat. Pal. Gr. 134 contains the excerpts from Aelian (fol. 7–58, from D), *Luciani Epistolae saturnales et alia* (fol. 127–39, from C), and the epistles of Chion, Anacharsis, Apollonius, Euripides (fol. 149–72, from AB).

Heidelberg Pal. Gr. 132 fol. 184–251 contains the rest of the epistles in AB, though out of order, followed by the excerpt from Artemidorus in E.¹⁷

The Newberry codex has still more of these texts, in several separate booklets with quires numbered anew from alpha in each booklet. Fol. 1–36 contain Pletho and Philo (11v5) as in MS. E (om. Artem.). Fol. 113–68 contain Aelian and Gemistus (167r11) as in MS. D, but Gemistus is incomplete, ending abruptly 168v24. Fol. 169–80 are blank.

Fol. 37–112, containing the epistles, are problematical. There are two booklets: fol. 37–68 Alc. Mel. My. The., and fol. 69–112 Hipp. Her. Diog. Crat. Aesch. (om. Liban.). The order is the same as in MSS. AB, but between the booklets Chion. Anach. Apoll. Eur. are missing. Perhaps a booklet has been lost. However, Pal. 132 has the same and omits the same epistles, and Pal. 134 has just the missing ones. The circumstances indicate that the whole codex was copied from the Pantin MSS., although I have no specific proof of it, lacking collations of the texts themselves.

The Newberry codex has 180 paper leaves plus four guard-leaves in front, 22 × 14 cm., written throughout by the same hand, 24 lines a page, titles and initials in red. The watermarks are the same as the one shown by Wittek (S10743) from the Cretan MSS., and the scribe I have identified, with hints from Wittek, as Thomas Bitzimanus, one of Apostolius' fellow Cretans.¹⁸ The cover appears to be original: boards covered with red stamped leather, metal caps on the corners, and clasps.

In the first half of the sixteenth century the codex was in the monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna, where it was listed in the catalogue of 1533¹⁹ and was seen by Conrad Gesner, who cites it in his *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545).²⁰ Later it belonged to

¹⁷ H. Stevenson, *Codd. mss. Palatini Gr. Bibl. Vaticanae* (Rome 1885) 63–65.

¹⁸ I compared the specimen in J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griech. Handschr.* (Vienna 1920) Taf. I. Cf. M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griech. Schreiber* (Leipzig 1909) 150.

¹⁹ *Studi e Testi* 105 (1943) 273 No. 38.

²⁰ Gesner fol. 269v. The Latin titles quoted by Gesner agree verbatim with the table of contents on fol. 4v in the codex.

Claudio Betti of Bologna (d. 1589),²¹ whose ex-libris appears on fol. 1^r. Codd. Barber. Gr. 124²² and Holkham 103²³ also belonged to him. It was probably in Bologna that Cod. Ambros. A 164 infra (Gr. 811) was copied from parts of our codex.²⁴ I do not know where the codex was in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The Newberry Library obtained it in 1933 from E. P. Goldschmidt of London.²⁵

²¹ M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists* 1 (Boston 1962) 575.

²² V. Capocci, *Codd. Barberiniani graeci* 1 (Vatican 1958) 180.

²³ Now No. 71, in the Bodleian Library; see R. Barbour, "Summary Description of the Greek MSS. from the Library at Holkham Hall," *The Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1960) 605.

²⁴ E. Martini and D. Bassi, *Cat. codd. Gr. Bibl. Ambrosianae* (Milan 1906) 2.907 f. The codex contains the Pletho, Aelian, and Gemistus, the last ending abruptly as in the Newberry codex.

²⁵ S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS. in the U.S. and Canada* 1 (New York 1935) 543. The codex is now numbered 103 in the Newberry Library.