

Vito Lorusso

Locating Greek Manuscripts through Paratexts: Examples from the Library of Cardinal Bessarion and other Manuscript Collections

Aristotle discussed motion right at the beginning of Book 3 of *Physics*. [...]

Having completed his account of the elements and the other causes [...]

later on he investigates and teaches [...] space and time. [...]

For a body is in a space, and motion happens to a body, and time is present in motion.

Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Physics 4 – Prooemium (passim)*

1 Preliminary remarks: Theory and materials

In this paper I study the temporal and spatial features characterising a representative selection of Greek manuscripts belonging to the Byzantine tradition. In particular, I focus on codices produced either in Byzantine workshops (alias scriptoria) from the Middle Ages (610–1453 CE) or in Italy, particularly in Rome in the workshop centred around Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), one of the most influential Greek scholars and manuscript collectors in the Renaissance period.¹

Out of a total of thirteen codices examined here, twelve are kept in European collections today: one in the Laurentian Library in Florence, five in the Vatican Library, five in the National Library of St Mark's in Venice and one in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Another is kept in an Egyptian collection, *Sinaiticus gr.* 180, held at the Monastery of Saint Catherine (South Sinai).² The earliest of these

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1 For a very general overview of Cardinal Bessarion's life, see Hintzen 2012: 93–95.

2 These codices contain a variety of texts: the four Gospels, liturgical texts (consisting mostly of those pericopes from the four Gospels usually read during religious services), theological and philosophical treatises and scientific works. In particular, the manuscripts currently held in Ven-

manuscripts dates back to 964 (*Vaticanus gr.* 1591), whereas the latest was completed in 1552 (*Vaticanus gr.* 588). In this respect, this corpus attests to the uninterrupted production of manuscripts that characterised the scholarly environment of both the Greek–Byzantine world and the Italian peninsula from the Byzantine Middle Ages to the Renaissance, even after the printing revolution.³ With regard to time and space, the corpus of selected manuscripts, although rather limited in size, is representative of a plethora of common phenomena characterising the Byzantine manuscript culture.

Some of these manuscripts have already been studied by modern scholars.⁴ However, little effort has been made to elucidate the circumstances of their production. To carry out an investigation of this nature, the paratexts of these manuscripts will play a central role in this enquiry. In fact, as borderlands of the text, paratexts are possibly the main sources from which one can retrieve information about the temporal and spatial context in which manuscripts were produced and used. In particular, paratexts help reconstruct the history of an object that might have passed through several hands on what may have been a long journey before reaching the library in which it is preserved today.⁵

As for the corpus analysed here, the main paratexts providing explicit information about the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts are colophons and

ice and Vienna are the main focus of research project C06 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures. The manuscript held in Vienna was written by scribes affiliated to Cardinal Besarion's scriptorium, whereas the five Venice codices belong to the manuscript legacy donated to the Republic of Venice by the Cardinal himself in 1468 (see Labowsky 1979: 3–34).

3 On the enduring Byzantine practice of transmitting Ancient Greek literary, philosophical and scientific texts through manuscripts, see Brockmann 2014: 9–12.

4 For the Vatican manuscripts, see Follieri 1969; for *Sinaiticus gr.* 180, see Harlfinger/Reinisch/Sonderkamp 1983.

5 Genette 1987: 7: '[Le] texte se présente rarement à l'état nu, sans le renfort et l'accompagnement d'un certain nombre de productions, elles-mêmes verbales ou non, comme un nom d'auteur, un titre, une préface, des illustrations, dont on ne sait pas toujours si l'on doit ou non considérer qu'elles lui appartiennent, mais qui en tout cas l'entourent et le prolongent [...] pour le présenter [...] pour le rendre présent, pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa "réception" et sa consommation, sous la forme [...] d'un livre' ('this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface or illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, [...] in order to present it [...] to make it present, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and its consumption in the form [...] of a book'; translation by Lewin 1997).

subscriptions, where we can find dates and toponyms.⁶ These data can be further integrated with other paratexts, such as dedication poems, ownership marks, exegetical notes and page numbering which can help reconstruct the social context of scribal activity and thus contribute to locating manuscripts.

When the data found in paratexts are not accurate enough to allow full location of the manuscripts with which they are associated, this does not mean that they cannot provide other useful information about the manuscripts. There are in fact several tools – philological, palaeographical and codicological – that allow the retrieval of information about time and space, albeit in very general terms. In this respect, peculiarities of the language, writing conventions and the numbering of pages and quires, etc. represent very valuable sources of information.

In the following two sections, I will discuss the data concerning time and space as they are provided by the paratexts of the corpus under consideration. Further details about the manuscripts containing those paratexts are compiled and discussed in the Appendix.

2 Time

In Greek manuscripts, dates usually contain indications of the year (Byzantine year, lunar and solar cycles, and the 15-year cycle called indiction), month and day when manuscripts were completed. Furthermore, the name of the weekday and the hour of the day are also sometimes mentioned. The distribution of the date elements does not follow a fixed pattern, but varies freely, as we can see from the following three examples:

⁶ For an examination of the problems surrounding the term ‘colophon’, see Reynhout’s (2006: 20–25) study of colophons in Latin manuscripts. The term ‘colophon’ derives from the Greek noun κολοφών (*kolophón*), meaning ‘summit, top, finishing touch’. We are well informed about the etymology of the word ‘colophon’ by Strabo, the Greek geographer and historian (62 BCE–23/24 CE). In his work *Geography* (XIV 1.28), Strabo says that the inhabitants of Colophon on the Aegean coast of modern Turkey once possessed notable naval and cavalry forces. In particular, Colophonians were known for their superior cavalry. According to a widespread popular sentiment, as reported by Strabo, whenever a war reached a state of deadlock, the intervention of the Colophonians’ cavalry brought it to an end. Thus, as Strabo remarks, ‘arose the proverb, “he put Colophon to it”’, which is quoted when a sure end is put to any affair’. On the other hand, the term ‘subscription’ is by no means synonymous with ‘colophon’. In this regard, the Greek case rather suggests that in manuscript studies the term ‘colophon’ should definitely be preferred to the term ‘subscription’, which must only be used for the signature written at the end of a work; see e.g. Agati 2009: 288–289.

colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 354

ἐγράφη ἡ τιμία δέλτος [...] μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ α΄ ἡμέρᾳ ε΄ ὥρας ἕτους ,ςυζζ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ΄

This valuable book was written [...] on 1 March on Thursday at the sixth hour (noon) of the year 6457 (949 CE), the seventh year of the indiction.

colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 1591

[...] τέρμα πυκτίδος γραφέν [...] μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κδ΄ ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ ὥρᾳ ς΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος η΄ ἕτους ,ςυογ σελήνης κύκλου ιγ΄

The end of the book written [...] on Saturday, 24 December at the sixth hour (noon) in the eighth year of the indiction of the year 6473 (964 CE), the 13th year of the lunar cycle.

invocation in the subscription of *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 39

μνήσθητι, Κύριε, Λουκᾶ [...] τῷ γράψαντι ἐν ἔτει ,ςχιγ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄ μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιζ΄

Remember me, oh Lord, the scribe Lukas [...] 17 June 6613 (1105 CE), the third year in the indictional cycle.

As is already evident from these examples, the year is the most complex among the dating elements as it can be expressed according to various reckonings. As a rule, Greek paratexts follow the Byzantine calendar, a system which came into being during the tenth century. This refers to the date of the creation of the world as the starting point for counting the remaining years. The Byzantines called this date either ἔτη γενέσεως κόσμου κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ('years from the creation of the world according to the Romans')⁷ or ἔτος κτίσεως κόσμου/ἔτος κόσμου ('year from the foundation of the world/year of the world', Latin: *Annus mundi*), fixing the creation of the world at 5508 years before Christ's birth. Thus, to set the date according to our calendar, it is necessary to subtract the figure 5508 or 5509 from the date found in the colophon. This relies on the fact that the Byzantine year started on 1 September. As a result, two years of our calendar are included in a single Byzantine year. Consequently, for the period between the months of September and December, we must subtract 5509 from the *Annus mundi* and 5508 for the months between January and August.

With regard to the Byzantine calendar, we should not omit to mention a note written by Bessarion on leaf Iv of *Marcianus gr.* 333. Here, Bessarion listed the

⁷ The Byzantines usually regarded themselves as the descendants of the ancient Romans.

years from 1441 to 1452, also indicating their equivalent according to the Byzantine system:

.α̅υ̅μα Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅ϛ̅ν
 .α̅υ̅μβ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅ϛ̅να^{ov} [...]

1441 September 6950

1442 September 6951 [...].

Furthermore, Greek paratexts always report the indiction. This is a fifteen-year cycle introduced in Late Antiquity for fiscal reasons.⁸ However, the indiction has no absolute value with regard to the date of manuscripts, since this only indicates the year number within the cycle. An expression such as ‘fifth indiction’, for instance, simply means this year was the fifth year within the indictional cycle. On the other hand, Greek scribes seldom also record the moon phases and the year number within the lunar cycle. This consists of a period of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon phases occur on the same days of the year as they did nineteen years previously.⁹ Sometimes, the year number according to the solar cycle¹⁰ and the apparent position of the sun on the celestial sphere are mentioned, too. For instance, the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 1650 reports January 1037 as the date on which the manuscript was completed, adding the equivalent value of that year in both lunar and solar cycles:

κύκλου σελήνης θ', κύκλου ήλίου κα'

The 9th year of the lunar cycle, the 21st year of the solar cycle.¹¹

It goes without saying that data belonging to cyclic reckonings, such as those indicated according to the moon calendar, the lunar cycle, the solar cycle and the names of weekdays, are ambiguous dating elements. In fact, we must combine these elements with linear calendar information to successfully locate manuscripts in time.

8 The number of years was fixed at fifteen under the Byzantine emperor, Constantine I (274–337). Previously, at the end of the third century, the indiction had been regularised on a five-year cycle by the Roman emperor, Diocletian; see Oikonomides 1991: 993; Meimaris 1992: 32–34.

9 See Grumel 1958: 129–136.

10 That is, a 28-year cycle where the days in the next solar year fall on the same days of the week they fell on 28 years before; see Grumel 1958: 129–136.

11 See Follieri 1969: 52.

Finally, further chronological data offered by Greek paratexts refer to the historical situation by indicating the names of emperors and/or patriarchs as well as by recording specific events. A pertinent example of this is found in *Sinaiticus gr.* 180. Before indicating the month, indiction and year, the scribe also records the name of the reigning Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, who was emperor from 12 September 1185 to 8 April 1195:

ἔτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν τετραβάγγελον [...] ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰσαακίου μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Ἀγγέλου μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ἰνδικτικῶνος δ' ἔτους ςχρδ'

This Gospel Book was completed [...] during the reign of the great king and Roman emperor Isaac Angelos in the month of February, the fourth year of the indiction, in the year 6694 (1186 CE).

This sort of information represents a non-explicit form of dating as it needs cross-checking with other sources, such as, in this case, chronological lists of historical figures and prosopographical works.

3 Geographical space and social space

In this section, I will focus on 'space', examining this category both in terms of the physically definable place in which Greek manuscripts were produced (the 'scriptorium') and in terms of the scholarly environment in which the manuscripts were kept and used. Next, I will extend the repertoire of paratexts considered so far, including not only colophons and subscriptions, but also dedication poems, owner marks and exegetical notes.

3.1 Production sites

Scriptoria producing Greek manuscripts during the Byzantine Middle Ages are spread right across Byzantine territory. Palaeographical literature indicates four general macro-areas: Constantinople, the Greek-Cypriot region, the Syro-Palestinian area (including Sinai) and southern Italy (including Sicily). During the Renaissance period, Rome also emerged as a centre of manuscript production thanks to the establishment of the Vatican Library (finally inaugurated by Pope Sixtus IV in 1475) and the strong patronage activity of the Pope and several cardinals.

The evidence emerging from our corpus exclusively examines Italian scriptoria. For instance, *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was produced in 991 in Capua, roughly 30 km North of Naples, as is explicitly stated in a note that its scribe, a monk called Kyriakos, wrote in red ink and capital letters on leaf 52r:

Κυριακὸς μοναχὸς πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἄστεω (sic) Καπούης ἔγραψεν

The monk and priest Kyriakos wrote [this manuscript] in the town of Capua.

Furthermore, Rome was the location of at least two scriptoria of particular relevance for the production of Greek manuscripts. One was located at the workshop in Cardinal Bessarion's house in Rome, where many Greek émigrés were employed as manuscript scribes in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹² *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 and *Marcianus gr.* 206 were produced there, for instance, as indicated respectively in the colophon on leaves 447v–448r:

ἔτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον [...] ἐν [...] Ῥώμῃ

This book was completed [...] in [...] Rome.

and in the subscription found on leaf 67r:

ἔτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκρόασεως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ λ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε' ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ,αυξζ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ

This book of Aristotle's Physics was completed on 30 January, in the year from [the birth of] Christ 1467, the 15th year in the indictional cycle, in Rome.

The second workshop was located in the Vatican Library (in today's Vatican City) where, for example, *Vaticanus gr.* 588 was issued, as stated in Latin in the colophon on leaf 272r:

Ego Ioannes Honorius Malliae Oppidi Hydruntini civis librorum Graecorum instaurator, hunc librum ad Vaticanae Bibliothecae usum sic exscribebam. Anno Domini MDLII. Iulio III. Pontifice Maximo sub Marcello Cervino Cardinali Sanctae Crucis Bibliothecae praefecto.

I, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, citizen of Otranto, restorer of Greek books, wrote this book in this way for the use of the Vatican Library in the year 1552 under the pontificate of Pope

¹² On the scholarly network around Cardinal Bessarion as well as on some of the Greek scribes working for him, see e.g. Diller 1967; Mioni 1976; Bianca 1994: 121.

Julius III, as Marcello Cervini, cardinal-priest of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (in Rome), was prefect of the (Vatican) Library.

It is a particularly interesting fact that two of these colophons contain linguistic elements that help to successfully locate the manuscripts. A clear mark of an Italian production is evident in *Vaticanus gr.* 588. Its colophon is fully composed in Latin, thus constituting the only occurrence in the corpus investigated here of a manuscript that does not bear a colophon written in Greek. Subtler spatial information can be retrieved in *Vaticanus gr.* 2138, where we encounter the Greek translation of a rather common Latin expression, as in fact εἰς τὰς (*eis tās*, ‘on the day’) underlies an original *die*. Such phenomena are clear reflections of the multilingual character of the scholarly environment in which the two manuscripts originated.

3.2 Manuscripts in motion (storage and use)

Ownership marks (alias bookplates, or *ex libris*) and annotations provide information about further steps in the history of the manuscripts, in particular, concerning the places they ended up after their production, having passed through the hands of several users. Consequently, flicking through the pages of Greek manuscripts, we can easily discover traces of how the manuscripts’ readers, who were very often erudite men, used manuscripts as means of knowledge transmission and learning and the context surrounding this.

An interesting example is represented by the bookplates of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 mentioned above. This manuscript was produced in Rome in 1457 for Bessarion’s secretary, Isaiah of Cyprus. At a certain point in its lifetime, after having been in Isaiah’s library, it came into the possession of the Cretan scholar, Marco Mamuna (after 1430–before 1528). This is reported by two ownership marks on leaf 8r, where the statement

κτῆμα τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου

Possession of the priest-monk and spiritual father Isaiah of Cyprus.

is immediately followed by the further statement

βιβλος Μαμουνα ἦν, εὔτε τὰδ’ ἐγράφετο

This book belonged to Mamuna when this [bookplate] was written.

Moreover, *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* also contains clear traces of its use in a school. On the edges of several leaves we find notes on Aristotle's *Physics* – one of the texts found in this manuscript – based on classes taught by the Byzantine philosopher Theodorus Gazes (circa 1410–circa 1475) in Cardinal Bessarion's house around 1465. These commentaries were written by Isaiah himself, who participated in these classes. This example is particularly relevant for reconstructing the learning practices that were current in Cardinal Bessarion's circle, in particular concerning the actual use of manuscripts in an educational context. In fact, despite the economic effort behind their production, manuscripts were not 'untouchable' objects, but were expected to host further paratextual materials, such as erudite annotations.¹³

3.3 Scribes in motion: from Greece to Italy

It may be useful here to remember that the place of origin of the scribes is a further spatial element that emerges from the paratexts of the corpus. In fact, particularly careful scribes also include their birthplace when writing colophons and subscriptions. This phenomenon is remarkably relevant for Greek manuscripts, because it happens to provide a record of the migration of scholars from the Byzantine world to the Italian peninsula during the Renaissance period, and even more remarkably, in the years around the fall of Constantinople (1453). As we have already mentioned, a city like Rome was the location of munificent patrons, such as Cardinal Bessarion, who were willing to offer protection and rich emoluments to scholars. In return, the work of the protégés enhanced the scholarly – and thus the social and political – prestige of their patrons.¹⁴

One striking example is the subscription found at the end of Aristotle's *Meteorology* in *Marcianus gr. 206* on leaf 165v. There, the scribe Charitonimus Hermonymus explicitly mentions his home town, Peloponnesian Sparta (in Greece), and the miserable conditions of its economy:

¹³ The critical edition of Gazes' commentaries on *Physics* will be available in Brockmann/Lorusso/Martinelli Tempesta (forthcoming 2016). In future, I intend to devote a further article to the scholarly environment surrounding Theodorus Gazes and to the distribution of *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* by various libraries in the Renaissance period. For the time being, further information about Gazes' materials can be found in the Appendix.

¹⁴ In this respect, paratexts can be considered as both pre-texts, that is, texts that are placed before the main text(s) in manuscripts (or books), and pretexts, that is, the details which make both textual and editorial activities possible (see Maclean 1991: 277, who refers to observations made by Ross Chambers).

[...] ἐτελειώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιηλατουμένῳ μοι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀπριλίῳ ἰα' ἔτει ,ζ'ροε'
πατρὶς δέ μοι Λακευδαίμων ἢ πάλαι ποτέ μὲν εὐδαίμων, νῦν δὲ μάλιστα κακοδαίμων

[This text] was also completed for his sake, [that is, for Cardinal Bessarion,] in Rome by me [Charitonimus] so persistently afflicted on 11 April 6975 (1467 CE)./My country is Lacedaemon (Sparta). This town was once blessed with a good genius, whereas today it is most certainly possessed by an evil one.

4 Non-explicit information about time and space

In this section, I focus on some selected case studies with the intention of showing how paratexts that do not openly mention temporal and spatial data can also be used to date and locate manuscripts. In this respect, it is possible to extract this kind of information using the tools provided by philology, palaeography and codicology. In fact, the data obtained by the application of these disciplines, such as *termini post* and *ante quem*, are necessarily relative. Ideally, these data must be cross-checked with other information that is explicitly mentioned elsewhere, either in the same manuscript (in colophons, subscriptions, etc.) or in other documents.¹⁵ The following case studies examine the former possibility.

15 A convincing example of the applicability of philological and palaeographical arguments to locate manuscripts was recently provided for a Greek manuscript from Cardinal Bessarion's library, for instance, by Margherita Losacco during the *VIII^{eme} Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque* 'Griechische Handschriften: gestern, heute und morgen' (22 to 28 September 2013, Hamburg). On that occasion, basing her study on those arguments as well as on archival documents, Losacco successfully established the time and place when a corpus of scholia (annotations) on the *Bibliotheca* of Photius was written on the edges of *Marcianus gr. 451*, a well-known twelfth-century codex containing the work of this famous Byzantine humanist. According to Losacco, the scholia date back to the beginning of the fourteenth century and were added while *Marcianus gr. 451* was being kept in Thessaloniki in the Theotokos Peribleptos monastery. By copying the scholiastic corpus, the scribe – probably a member of the Cabasilas family – aimed to make the text transmitted by this voluminous manuscript of 441 parchment leaves more user-friendly as well as more understandable for future readers.

4.1 Palaeography and time: *Marcianus gr. 227*

Let us start by considering the famous evidence of Aristotle’s *Physics* taken from Bessarion’s library. *Marcianus gr. 227* is a 437-leaf manuscript on paper¹⁶ (260 mm × 170 mm) containing both *Physics* and the *Commentary* by the Neoplatonic philosopher Simplicius (sixth century CE). It was written during the second half of the thirteenth century somewhere in the capital of the Byzantine Empire, probably by Gregory of Cyprus, the well-known monk, scribe, writer and eventually patriarch of Constantinople. Gregory mentions his own name in the autographic invocations to Jesus placed at the top of several leaves (for example, folios 10r, 17r and 19r) as well as on leaf 378r in the subscription at the end of *Physics*. In this latter case, however, the name appears as a monogram signature consisting only of the letters Γ^e K^v. Dieter Harlfinger explained these letters as the initials of Gregory’s name.¹⁷

Besides Greek marginal notes, *Marcianus gr. 227* also contains Latin annotations, as on leaf 31r (Fig. 1).

Some of these annotations are written between the lines of the main text. They only offer a translation in Latin of a few Greek words from *Physics*, regardless of the entire context:

185b9 ὁ τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι, ὡσπερ μέθυ καὶ οἶνος, εἰ μὲν τοίνυν

translated as

*que aliquid erat esse quemadmodum vappa <et> vinum. Si quidem igitur.*¹⁸

185b11 ἔχει δ’ ἀπορίαν περὶ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τοῦ ὅλου, ἴσως δὲ

just translated as

*dubitationem (ἀπορίαν) and fortassis (ἴσως).*¹⁹

¹⁶ In fact, this was oriental paper, that is, paper produced by a factory somewhere in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire, as noted by Prato 1973–1974: 107. A peculiar feature of such paper is the absence of any watermarks.

¹⁷ See Harlfinger 1987: 277–278. There is such a huge bibliography about this manuscript that it is not possible to include it in this article. I will report on it in a forthcoming article for the proceedings of the Greek Palaeography Conference 2013; see note 15 above.

¹⁸ The translation of this whole passage from *Physics* I 2 (185b8–9) is: ‘the essence of things that are said to be “one”, is one and the same as flat wine and wine. Therefore, if, etc.’

¹⁹ Translation of this whole passage from *Physics* I 2 (185b11–12): ‘there is, indeed, a difficulty concerning “part” and “whole”, perhaps not closely connected to the present topic.’



Fig. 1: *Marcianus gr. 227*, folio 31r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

However, the scribe who annotated this translation above the lines in the Greek text was not the translator himself; he simply copied the translation written by Iacobus Veneticus (James of Venice, twelfth century), which was revised twice in the thirteenth century by Gulielmus de Moerbeka (William of Moerbeke).²⁰ From

²⁰ See Bossier/Brams 1990: 11 ll. 18–19. The corpus containing ten Latin translations of Aristotle's *Physics* dating from the Middle Ages through to the translation by C. Bussemaker (Paris 1854) is also available on the website of the 'Aristotelis Physica latine versa' project hosted by the University of Zurich <www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/xanfng.php?corpus=1&lang=0>. The translations by James of Venice and William of Moerbeke can also be found there. The former is also known for translating Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* from Greek into Latin.

a palaeographical point of view, the handwriting of the interlinear annotations seems to date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the latter years of the same century, another Latin reader of *Marcianus gr. 227* noted on the right edge of the same leaf (31r): *Arystotilis (sic), Parmenydis (sic)* – ‘of Aristotle, of Parmenides’.²¹ The part of Simplicius’ commentary that is written on this page around the text of *Physics* in fact mentions Aristotle and Parmenides. The two Latin annotations which are placed at the margins of Simplicius’ text mark the occurrence of the names of the two Greek philosophers in the commentary:

διὸ μέμνηται μὲν τῆς ὅλης ἀπορίας Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων κτλ.

Consequently, Aristotle mentions the entire difficulty saying, etc.

(cf. Simpl., in *Phys.* CAG IX, p. 86, 13 Diels)

and

ἃ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης τῷ ἐνὶ ὄντι προσεῖναι φησι

[The things] that Parmenides also presents as attributes of ‘being one’.

(cf. Simpl., in *Phys.* CAG IX, p. 86, 20 Diels).²²

The palaeographical analysis of the Latin annotations that are disseminated on leaf 31r of *Marcianus gr. 227* allows us to formulate the following conclusion: at two different times over the course of the fifteenth century, this manuscript came into the hands of two Latin scholars who clearly left their traces while reading and consulting the text.

²¹ I am indebted to Antonio Rollo for the palaeographical analysis of the scripts of both annotators. The letter *r* in the script of the two marginal annotations shows an apex which imitates earlier Latin scripts from the mid-ninth century to the eleventh century. This is a frequently occurring phenomenon in Latin manuscripts produced in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century, as noted by Di Benedetto 1991: 165–167.

²² The main topic in this passage of *Physics* is how Parmenides and his followers can consider all things as being one; see Arist., *Phys.* I 2, 185a²² ‘πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ λέγοντες εἶναι ἓν τὰ πάντα’. Specifically, in *Phys.* I 2, 185b^{11–16} the following questions arise: is the part and the whole one or many? How can they be one or many? And if they are many, in what sense? On the other hand, if each part is one with the whole since it is undivided and indivisible, they will be also one with each other. This last point is explained by Ross 1936: 468 in a short and convincing way as follows: ‘your hand is you; your foot is you; therefore your foot is your hand’.

4.2 Codicology, philology, time and space: *Marcianus gr. 212*

The second manuscript I would like to focus on is *Marcianus gr. 212*. This is also a manuscript originating from Bessarion's collection and is probably the working copy the Cardinal himself used to study several of Aristotle's treatises. This is certainly also one of the early books in his library. As Friederike Berger has already noted, the earlier parts of this manuscript have watermarks dating back to the years before 1425. Therefore, one might assume that these parts were produced when Bessarion was still studying in Constantinople.²³

Marcianus gr. 212, an Aristotelian volume containing *Nicomachean Ethics* as well as a selection from the corpus of scientific treatises,²⁴ has already been considered in detail by Dieter Harlfinger, both from the codicological and the philological point of view.²⁵ In this respect, Harlfinger was able to identify the three scribes who had taken part in copying *Marcianus gr. 212*.²⁶

This Venetian manuscript also offers fascinating examples of paratexts that help us locate it. Firstly, it presents a two-fold system for numbering quires. On the one hand, this consists of Greek letters written in red ink at the bottom of the first recto side of each single quire²⁷ while on the other, there are Arabic numerals written on both the right and left of the Greek letters. Moreover, within the quires, each single leaf is marked with Arabic numerals at the bottom of the recto side. On the bottom of leaf 9r, the first leaf of the actual second quire, for instance, we read: '2. γ' 2.1.', whereas we read '2.2.' on the bottom of the subsequent leaf (10r). Here, 2.1 and 2.2 indicate the first leaf of the second quire and the second leaf of the second quire (Fig. 2). However, on leaf 9r there is a discrepancy between the numbering of the quires marked by the Greek numbers and that marked by the Arabic numbers. In fact, the Greek letter γ corresponds to the number 3, and thus it is in marked contrast to the Arabic number 2. Most probably, the Greek letters used to number the quires were written earlier than the Arabic numerals, as the

²³ See Berger 2005: 83.

²⁴ For instance, *Marcianus gr. 212* does not contain the *Physics*.

²⁵ Harlfinger 1971: 174–183.

²⁶ Harlfinger (1971: 175 and note 2) conventionally named the three scribes as follows: A (ff. 1r–262r and 346r–406v), B (ff. 265r–338r, except for ff. 296r bottom–297r top of the page, 407r–412r top of the page and 425–497v) and C (ff. 338v–342v, 412v, 413v–424r and 498r–499v).

²⁷ In codices, the recto side of a leaf is usually defined as the front side corresponding to the right-hand page. The recto side is opposed to the verso, that is, the back or reverse side of the leaf; see Beal 2008: 338.

quire beginning with leaf 9r is actually the second quire in the present arrangement of the manuscript.²⁸ However, it remains uncertain when the Arabic numbers were added to *Marcianus gr.* 212. As a matter of fact, Bessarion refers to himself as the Cardinal of Tusculum in both the Latin and the Greek autographic bookplates on the guard leaf, VIIIv:

liber meus Bessarionis Cardinalis Tusculani

This is a book of mine, Bessarion, Cardinal of Tusculum.

κτῆμα ἐμὸν Βεσσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν Τούσκλων

This book belongs to me, Bessarion, the Cardinal of Tusculum.

When he mentioned the Latin name of Tusculum, the ruined ancient city in the region of Latium in modern-day Italy, Bessarion was referring to the Roman Catholic diocese of Frascati, which is still officially called *diocesis Tusculana* today. We may therefore assume that Bessarion was created *Cardinalis Tusculanus* sometime before 1450.²⁹ Thus, by way of hypothesis, Bessarion or someone acting for him might have added the Arabic numbers to mark the quires of the manuscript while using *Marcianus gr.* 212 in Italy.

Furthermore, throughout the manuscript, Bessarion wrote short glosses, more elaborate commentaries and further marginalia. On leaves 1r–44v, for instance, he copied the paraphrasis of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, a work by the Byzantine philosopher George Pachymeres (1242–circa 1310).³⁰ However, Bessarion interrupted the copying in the course of Book 6 on leaf 44v with the words: ἀρξάμενοι δ' αὐθις περὶ τούτων λέγωμεν ('so let us in turn talk about these topics, beginning with...').³¹ Other explanatory comments or scholia written around the

28 The quire γ is preceded only by a quire numbered β (2) consisting of the first eight leaves of the manuscript. Thus, the Greek system used to count the quires in this manuscript seems to presuppose a quire α (1) that was lost in the actual arrangement of *Marcianus gr.* 212. One may thus conclude that *Marcianus gr.* 212 is a composite manuscript (see Gumbert 2004: 26–29, 40), meaning that various physically and textually independent units were fitted together in it.

29 In this respect, two dates are equally possible: either shortly before 1446, as argued by Mohler 1923: 254, or during 1449 according to Eleuteri 1994: 190.

30 See Harlfinger 1971: 182.

31 The title of Pachymeres' paraphrasis according to *Marcianus gr.* 212 is τοῦ δικαιοφύλακος καὶ πρωτεκδίκου παράφρασις ἠκριβωμένη τοῦ Παχυμέρη ('Accurate paraphrasis of Pachymeres, the judge and head of the ecclesiastical tribunal'). On the *cursus honorum* of Pachymeres, who reached the rank of δικαιοφύλαξ and πρωτέκδικος at the end of his career, see Golitsis 2008: 53–54. Generally, on the Byzantine titles of δικαιοφύλαξ and πρωτέκδικος see *LBG* s. v.

edges of *Marcianus gr. 212* deal with significant passages from Aristotle's treatises contained in the manuscript. They provide evidence of Bessarion's philosophical and philological interest in Aristotle and Aristotelianism.³²

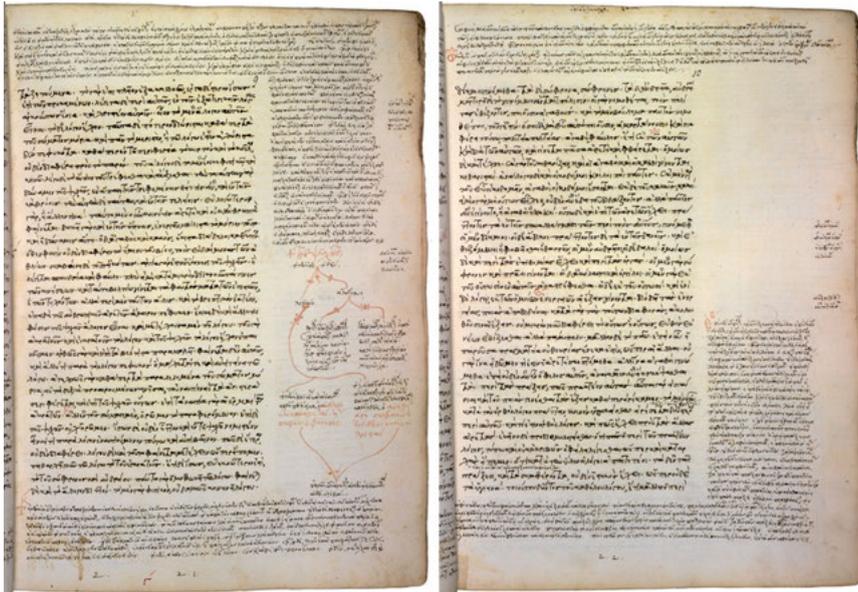


Fig. 2: *Marcianus gr. 212*, folios 9r and 10r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

In a note written on the bottom of leaf 338r at the end of Book 7 (numbered 9 in the initial title on leaf 334v) of Aristotle's treatise *History of Animals*, Bessarion remarks that the Greek version of the tenth book of the same work was not found in manuscripts, although its Latin translation was.³³ Bessarion's note reads:

³² Five of these notes by Bessarion on Aristotle's treatise *On the Heavens* have been studied recently and are described in Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 106–111.

³³ For a long time, scholars have regarded Book 10 of *History of Animals*, which is devoted entirely to explaining the causes of infertility, as a spurious work by Aristotle; see Louis 1969: 147–154. This view has been contested by distinguished Aristotelian scholars such as J. Tricot and D. Balme, who considered Book 10 to be authentic. Furthermore, Ph.J. van der Eijk has recently argued that this Book is not a biological work at all, but corresponds to the two Aristotelian medical treatises listed by the Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius in the catalogue of Aristotle's works (5.25); see van der Eijk 2005: 267–268 with a critical discussion of the previous literature.

σημείωσαι ὅτι ἐν τῷ Λατινικῷ εὗρομεν καὶ δέκατον βιβλίον τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῶα ἱστοριῶν οὗ ἢ ἀρχὴ προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἢ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικί συνερχομένοις μετ' ἀλλήλων αἰτία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ποτὲ δ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον ἐστίν· οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον εὗρίσκεται καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ· μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐνέτυχον αὐτῷ

Note that we also found Book 10 of the *History of Animals* in Latin, which starts: ‘to an advanced age, the cause of the fact that a man and a woman cannot procreate although they have sexual intercourse is sometimes in both of them, sometimes only in one of them.’ I do not know whether it would be possible to find this Book in Greek as well, for I have not come across it at all up to now.

This note has partially been edited by Immanuel Bekker, too, in the critical apparatus of his edition of Aristotle’s *History of Animals* 633b11–14³⁴ as well as by Elpidio Mioni.³⁵ In both cases, however, the quotation from the beginning of Book 10 reads in an abbreviated form: προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ – θατέρῳ (*sic!* without μόνον) ἐστίν. Actually, while quoting the incipit of Book 10 of the *History of Animals* according to the Latin evidence at his disposal, Bessarion retranslates the Latin text into ancient Greek. Of course, Bessarion’s retranslation of *History of Animals* 633b11–14 is slightly different from the Greek text we read, as in the latest edition of this treatise of Aristotle’s.³⁶ The main difference is in the order of the words. Furthermore, there are also variant readings (underlined in the quote below). Unfortunately, at this point in my research, I am unable to indicate the Latin source Bessarion discovered. This was probably a book containing the translation by William of Moerbeke, a very impressive example of literal translation, as the table shows:

On the relationship between Aristotle’s biological treatises and medical thought of the fifth–fourth century BCE, see also Brockmann 2011, in particular pp. 41–42.

³⁴ Bekker’s edition shows the standard edition of the complete works of Aristotle. It was financed by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1831. In the text, the reference to the passage from the *History of Animals* (633b11–14) is based as usual on Bekker’s page numbers.

³⁵ See Mioni 1958: 54.

³⁶ See Balme 1991: 476.

Balme	[προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας] ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν ἀλλήλοις συνόντας τὸ αἴτιον ὅτε μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἐστίν, ὅτε δ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον
Gulielmus de Moerbeke	<i>procedente autem etate viro et mulieri non generandi invicem convenientes causa aliquando quidem in ambobus est aliquando autem in altero solum</i> ³⁷
Bessario	προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἢ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συνερχομένοις μετ' ἀλλήλων αἰτία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ποτὲ δ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον ἐστίν

However, as soon as a complete Greek manuscript was discovered, Bessarion added a sentence to the same paratext reporting the discovery and stating that the text of Book 10 was fully copied in *Marcianus gr.* 212:

ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐνετύχομεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ κἀνταῦθα ἐνεγράψαμεν³⁸

But now we have come across it (Book 10) in Greek, too, and we have copied it here (in this manuscript, *Marcianus gr.* 212).³⁹

Moreover, on leaf 338r after the subscription τέλος τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου ('end of the present book') placed at the end of Book 9,⁴⁰ Bessarion himself added the following phrase (Fig. 3):⁴¹

οὐ τοῦ καθόλου τῶν ἱστοριῶν βιβλίου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνάτου δηλονότι· εὕρηται γὰρ καὶ δέκατον

Not of the whole of *History*, but clearly Book 9 since Book 10 has been discovered, too.

³⁷ William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Book 10 of *History of Animals* is included in the comprehensive digital collection of all surviving medieval translations of the works of Aristotle *Aristoteles Latinus Database* published by Brepols and available online.

³⁸ This passage is also edited in the apparatus of Bekker 1831: 633, as well as by Mioni 1958: 54 and Harlfinger 1971: 176.

³⁹ A further scribe wrote the text of Book 10 of the *History of Animals* beginning on leaf 338v with the title: Ἀριστοτέλους τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῶα ἱστοριῶν βίβλον δέκατον ('Book 10 of Aristotle's *History of Animals*'). The reading δέκατον ('tenth') corrects a previous reading θ, which is conventionally used to represent the number nine (δέκατον ε θ!).

⁴⁰ This subscription actually refers to Book 7 of Aristotle's treatise, which is counted as 9 in *Marcianus gr.* 212.

⁴¹ This is edited in the critical apparatus of Bekker's edition, 1831: 633 as well as by Mioni 1958: 54.

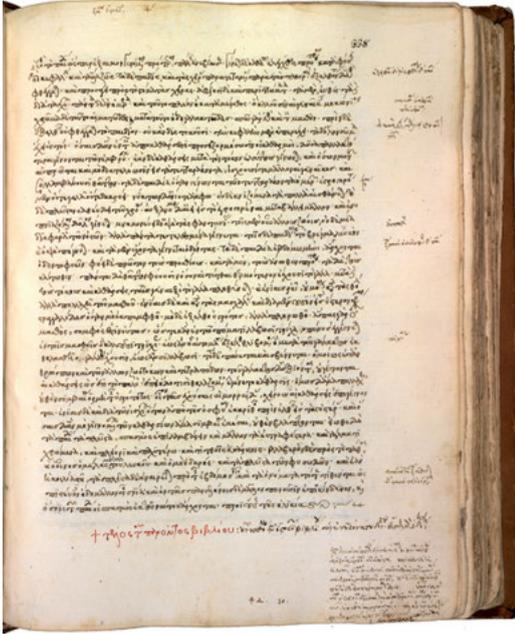


Fig. 3: *Marcianus gr. 212*, folio 338r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Bessarion’s paratexts on leaf 338r of *Marcianus gr. 212* provides valuable information enabling us to locate manuscripts that had been used in his workshop. Firstly, Bessarion alludes to two books as having come into his own hands. These are evidence of the Latin translation of Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, which still remains undiscovered, and a Greek manuscript that served as a model for completing Aristotle’s *History of Animals* in *Marcianus gr. 212*. This model was identified as *Vaticanus gr. 262* in 1958.⁴² Secondly, with regard to *Marcianus gr. 212*, Bessarion’s paratexts, in particular the one beginning with the word $\sigma\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$

⁴² See Mioni 1958: 54. Mioni’s results were also acknowledged by Harlfinger later (1971: 176). Nevertheless, we should be aware that *Marcianus gr. 212* does not have several small lacunas and additional texts in common with *Vaticanus gr. 262*, as noted by Dittmeyer 1902: 12: ‘die nahe-liegende Frage, woher Q (*Marcianus gr. 200*) F^a (*Marcianus gr. 207*) G^a (*Marcianus gr. 212*) das 10. Buch abgeschrieben haben, kann ich nicht beantworten. Jedenfalls stammt es nicht aus D^a (*Vaticanus gr. 262*), weil sich in Q F^a G^a verschiedene kleine Lücken und Zusätze von D^a nicht finden’. This can, of course, also be due to the skills of the scribes of the Venice manuscripts in filling the gaps and amending the text of the Vatican manuscript, as suggested by Mioni 1954: 55. While

(*sēmeiōsai*, ‘note’), help us define the time frame in which Book 10 was copied onto leaves 338v–341v. In this respect, we cannot determine in absolute terms when the copying was carried out. However, it is certain that the text on leaf 338v onwards was written later than the paratext beginning with *σημείωσαι*, or at least than the part of that paratext reporting about the Latin translation. Furthermore, the *History of Animals* in *Marcianus gr. 212* was possibly completed between 1438 and 1457.⁴³ On the one hand, Bessarion went to Italy for the first time in 1438 to take part in the Council of Ferrara–Florence: it was after this date, then, that Bessarion came across *Vaticanus gr. 262* containing the Greek text of Book 10. On the other hand, the copying of *Marcianus gr. 200* was completed by Ioannes Rhosos in Rome in 1457. As far as the Aristotelian *History of Animals* is concerned, this manuscript is a direct copy of *Marcianus gr. 212*.⁴⁴ *Marcianus gr. 200* contains Book 10 of Aristotle’s *History of Animals* on leaves 199v–202r. We can therefore conclude that this treatise in *Marcianus gr. 212* was completed before 1457.

4.3 Philology and time: *Marcianus gr. 200* and *Marcianus gr. 212* again

In this subsection, I would like to examine the location of paratexts themselves. The results presented here were obtained by employing philological tools. In this regard, the textual note that Bessarion added to the bottom of leaf 472v in *Marcianus gr. 212* provides a significant example (Fig. 4):

ζήτησαι τὸ ἐπόμενον μετὰ φύλλον ἕν· τινὰ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην

Look for the continuation [of this passage] after one leaf: ‘a cause such as this’.

examining *Vaticanus gr. 262* and *Marciani gr. 200, 207* and *212*, Berger 2005, 83–93 and 107–109 does not focus on this textual problem. Berger’s main topic is the manuscript transmission of Books 1 to 9 of the *History of Animals*. It would therefore be worth studying this textual problem in more detail.

43 With regard to Aristotle’s treatise *On Indivisible Lines*, this has already been suggested by Dieter Harlfinger. Furthermore, by studying the watermarks of the manuscript, Harlfinger was also able to define the years between 1438 and 1443 as the period in which the additions to *Marcianus gr. 212* were made; see Harlfinger 1971: 176–177. Harlfinger’s hypothesis is also based on textual arguments, because the amendments to the text of *On Indivisible Lines* in *Marcianus gr. 212* were made from a further manuscript, *Marcianus gr. 214*, kept in Italy since at least 1432.

44 As demonstrated definitively by Berger 2005: 84–85. See also Mioni 1958: 54–55.

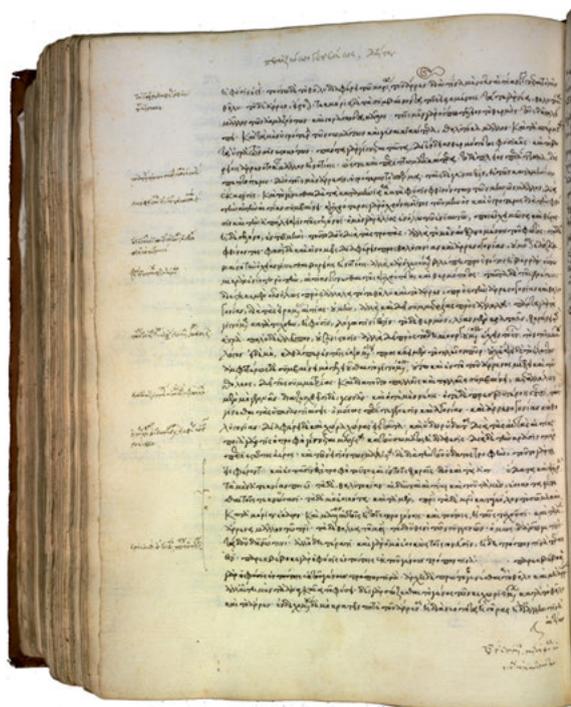


Fig. 4: *Marcianus gr. 212*, folio 472v. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

This annotation refers to passage 767b12 in Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals*: τινὰ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην (*tinà aitian toioutēn*, 'a cause such as this'). *Marcianus gr. 212* transmits this passage in the wrong sequence since the final words on leaf 472v, τινὰ αἰτίαν (*tinà aitian*, 'a cause'), are followed on the subsequent leaf by the words ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος (*apò tou árrenos*, 'from the male'; 769a20), which do not make any sense in this context. Thus, in the textual note I have just transcribed above, Bessarion points out the mistake while at the same time quoting the reading τοιαύτην (*toioutēn*, 'such as this'; 767b12), which should follow αἰτίαν in the correct sequence. We can find this reading just by skipping one leaf (473rv), as Bessarion's note in fact states. In other words, leaves 473 and 474 are dislocated within *Marcianus gr. 212*.⁴⁵ While examining this manuscript recently (October 2014) at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, I was able to assess

⁴⁵ This fact has already been noted by Elpidio Mioni; see Mioni 1958: 61.

that the quire including folios 473–485 combines a set of five conjugate leaves, that is, a *quinio* with a single leaf (473) as well as a single *bifolium* (or pair of conjugate leaves) added at the beginning and the end of the quire itself. On the bottom of leaf 473r the whole quire is numbered as νη' (58) according to the Greek numbering system or 49 according to the Latin system. This discrepancy between the two numbering systems represents further proof that *Marcianus gr.* 212 is a composite manuscript.⁴⁶

Philological arguments enable us to ascertain, albeit in relative terms, the time when Bessarion wrote the note on leaf 472v in *Marcianus gr.* 212. In fact, this note may only have been added after the text of Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals* had been copied from *Marcianus gr.* 212 into *Marcianus gr.* 200. On leaf 262v (line 25), this Aristotelian volume completed by Ioannes Rhosos on 15 July 1457⁴⁷ transmits the text of *Generation of Animals* 767b12 in the same incorrect sequence as *Marcianus gr.* 212: τινὰ αἰτίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος.⁴⁸ Rhosos is generally considered to have been an observant copyist. Thus, the fact that the text he copied is arranged in the wrong order and does not follow Bessarion's note may suggest that this was written after Rhosos had finished his copy.

Moreover, Bessarion wrote the following remark on the left margin of leaf 262v in *Marcianus gr.* 200:

ζήτησαι τὸ ἐπόμενον τοῦ τινὰ μετὰ τοῦτο φύλλον ὅπου σημείον Α

Look for the sequel of [the word] "a" ['a cause such as this'] after this leaf where the critical mark A [is written].

In fact, on the left edge of leaf 263v, Bessarion wrote the letter A to mark the sequel 767b12, accompanied by the explanation:

⁴⁶ By the way, on the bottom of leaf 474v ending with the word ἀπιέναι (*apiénai*, 'comes' 769a20), Bessarion wrote: ζήτησαι τὸ ἐπόμενον πρὸ φύλλων β·ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος 'look for the sequel (of this passage) two leaves before: "(semen) comes from the male".'

⁴⁷ As the colophon on leaf 594r states.

⁴⁸ It goes without saying that this fact provides an extremely convincing proof of the direct textual dependency of *Marcianus gr.* 200 on *Marcianus gr.* 212; see also Mioni 1958. As far as the manuscript transmission of Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals* is concerned, Mioni's results represent real progress in comparison to the results obtained in 1913 by the German scholar Karl E. Bitterauf. In his study, Bitterauf was also the first person to consider the three Greek manuscripts from Bessarion's library containing *Generation of Animals*, that is, *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 207 and *Marcianus gr.* 212 (see Bitterauf 1913: 15–16). However, Bitterauf does not say anything with regard to the textual affiliation between the three Venice manuscripts apart from the fact that they share rather similar readings with *Vaticanus gr.* 261; see Bitterauf 1913: 25.

τοῦτο ζητητέον ὄπισθεν

This passage is sought above.

Thus Bessarion corrected both the manuscript used as the model for copying (*Marcianus gr.* 212) and the manuscript that was copied (*Marcianus gr.* 200).

5 Conclusion

Inevitably, manuscripts, their scribes and their users are entangled in time and space, and such entanglement can emerge – i.e., in the context of this article, can be *textualised*– in the form of paratexts. Paratexts can be thus understood as textual items attached to both manuscripts (as artefacts, or physical objects) and the text(s) contained in them.

Paratexts are not at all rare.⁴⁹ Thus, on the leaves of virtually every manuscript, we can find valuable sources of spatial and temporal information. According to the focus of the research we intend to undertake, this information is suitable for reconstructing two different historiographies. On the one hand, we can combine the individual data obtained through the study of several paratexts to outline the broad history (macro-history) of the production and circulation of manuscripts in the Byzantine world. On the other hand, each piece of paratextual data is of fundamental importance for sketching the biography (micro-history) of a specific manuscript (see section 4), scriptorium or scribe.

As we have seen in the examples discussed above, spatial and temporal information is not always stated explicitly in paratexts. For instance, while colophons tend to provide unequivocal data such as the day, month or year of production of a manuscript (see section 2), other paratexts may contain less obvious temporal and spatial indications of its provenance or history. The latter can only be retrieved by extensively applying the tools provided by philology, palaeography and codicology. By considering the Greek and Arabic system of quire numbering in *Marcianus gr.* 212, for instance, it was possible to reconstruct the state of the object before it moved from Constantinople to Rome (see section 4.2).

However, there are limits to the kind and amount of data that can be retrieved from paratexts, even those containing explicit information. Contrary to what can

⁴⁹ As Genette wrote concerning printed books, ‘a text is rarely presented in an unadorned state’ (see note 5).

happen in other manuscript cultures,⁵⁰ Greek scribes seem to have been interested in recording only the date and place of a manuscript's completion, without providing any information about the time and place in which their work was begun.⁵¹ Some frequently occurring expressions in Greek colophons and subscriptions to indicate that the manuscript was completed are, for example, ἐγράφη (*egráphē*, 'it was written'), ἐπληρώθη (*eplēróthē* 'it was completed'), ἐτελειώθη (*eteleióthē* 'it was brought to a close'), τετελείωται (*teteleiótai* 'it has been brought to a close'), ἐτελέσθη (*etelésthē* 'it was accomplished'), εἴληφε τέρμα (*éilēphe téрма* 'has reached the end') and τέλος εἴληφε (*télos éilēphe* 'has come to the end').⁵² In all these cases, the subject of the verb is obviously the manuscript itself.⁵³

Nevertheless, paratexts and what they can tell us about the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts leave ample room for further research. In fact, both macro- and micro-historiographies would definitely benefit from the study of temporal and spatial information contained in a more extended corpus of Greek-Byzantine manuscripts – ideally, in all of them.

50 See, for instance, the articles of Ciotti/Franceschini and Techasiriwan in this volume.

51 It may not be a coincidence that what matters from a temporal perspective is the publication date of a book rather than the date of its commencement (Genette 1987: 162): 'c'est un lieu commun que d'observer que les préfaces, aussi bien que les postfaces, sont généralement écrites après le texte qu'elles concernent (il existe peut-être des exceptions à cette norme de bon sens, mais je n'en connais aucune qui soit formellement attestée); là n'est pas notre objet, puisque la fonction préfacielle s'exerce sur le lecteur, et qu'à ce titre le moment pertinent est celui de la publication' ('It is a commonplace to note that prefaces, as well as postfaces, are generally written after the texts they deal with (perhaps exceptions to this sensible norm exist, but I know of none that has been formally attested to); that's not what we're talking about, however, for the prefatorial function is directed at the reader, and accordingly the relevant time is the time of publication'; translation by Lewin 1997).

52 In the corpus considered in this article, we find ἐγράφη (see *Vaticanus gr.* 354), ἐτελειώθη (see *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 206, *Sinaiticus gr.* 180 and *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64) as well as τετελείωται (see *Vaticanus gr.* 2138).

53 With regard to the evidence included in this article, colophons/subscriptions refer to manuscripts either as physical objects or just in terms of their contents. In the former case, the scribes call manuscripts, for instance, βιβλίον/βιβλος (*biblion/biblos* 'book'; see *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 206 and *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64), δέλτος (*déltos* 'small book'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 354) and πυκτίς (*pyktís* 'codex'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 1591), whereas in the latter they are referred to as τετραβάγγελον (*tetrabággelon* 'Gospel Book'; see *Sinaiticus gr.* 180) and τὸ ἐκλογάδιον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (*tò eklogádin toú euaggeliou* 'Evangelary'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 2138). Specifically, in the colophon to *Vaticanus gr.* 2138, the word ἐκλογάδιον is a *terminus technicus*, meaning a 'collection of pericopes'. However, there are other occurrences of this word as well as the more commonly used form ἐκλογάδιον and/or its variant ἐκλογάριον, suggesting that ἐκλογάδιον also means 'collective volume', as demonstrated by Gippert (forthcoming).

6 Appendix

This Appendix contains more detailed descriptions of the main paratexts mentioned in this article, together with essential information concerning the manuscripts in which they are found. The material is arranged according to the alphabetical order of the manuscripts' library labels.

Florence Laurentian Library

Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 39 – The Florentine parchment codex *Conv. Soppr. 39* from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana originally contained two Byzantine commentaries on the Bible as well as two further theological treatises. It is a dismembered manuscript today. The last six leaves are stored at the University and State Library of Hamburg under the shelf mark 'Cod. in scrin. 221'. On leaf 245v of *Conv. Soppr. 39*, the scribe, Lukas, noted the date on which he was working and also left an invocation to Jesus (Fig. 5).

This invocation is part of the subscription added by Lukas at the end of the first biblical commentary contained in the Florentine part of the manuscript. Lukas wrote the whole subscription in red ink using a very elegant script in which minuscule and capital letters were used equally. The subscription is decorated with two flower motifs. Lukas' invocation is preceded by the title of the work he copied last, that is, Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδορίτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρρου εἰς τοὺς ρν΄ Ψαλμοὺς ἐρμηνεῖα ('Commentary on the 150 Psalms of the Blessed Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus') and followed by the conclusive formula, probably referring to the scribe himself:

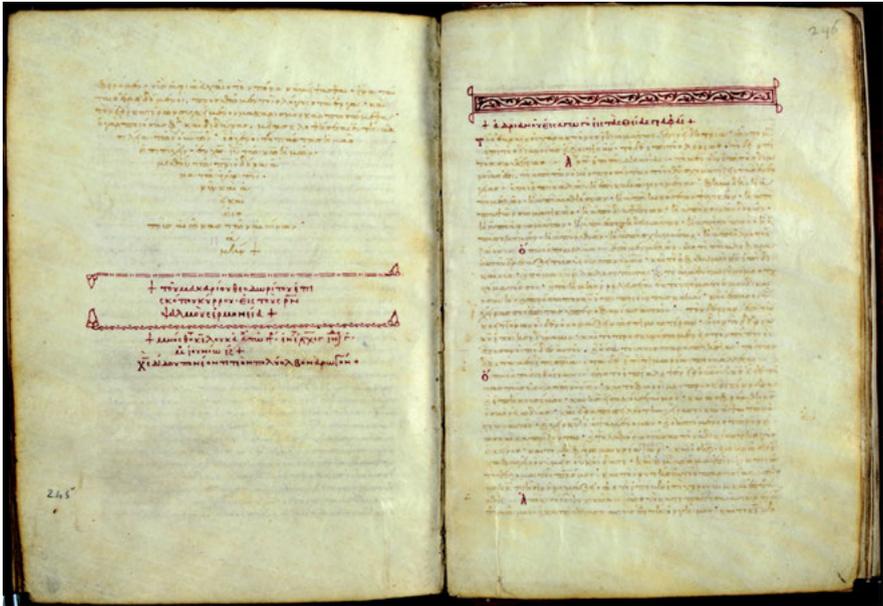


Fig. 5: *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr.* 39, folios 245v–246r. © 2015 MiBAC – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Χριστέ, δίδου πονέοντι τὴν⁵⁴ πολύολβον ἀρωγὴν

Christ, give a very wealthy aid to the man who is suffering.

The invocation reads as follows:

μνήσθητι, Κύριε, Λουκά ἁ⁵⁵τῶ γράψαντι ἐν ἔτει „ϸηγ’ ἰνδικτικῶνος γ’ μηνι Ἰουνίῳ ἱζ’

Remember me, oh Lord, Lukas the scribe, 17 June 6613 (1105), the third year in the indictional cycle.

Lukas referred to the year using the Byzantine calendar. In addition, he also mentioned the year within the indiction. However, in this case, there seems to be a discrepancy between the date and the indiction: 17 June 6613 corresponds to the

⁵⁴ Actually, *Conv. Soppr.* 39 reads τεῖν, but that makes no sense.

⁵⁵ So far, there is no plausible solution for this abbreviation. It probably alludes to the status of Lukas within the Church.

thirteenth year and not to the third year of the indiction.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the case of *Conv. Soppr.* 39 confirms that the indiction only represents supplementary information in addition to the other explicit dating elements present in colophons and subscriptions.

Sinai The Holy Monastery of Mount Sinai

Sinaiticus gr. 180 – This famous manuscript consisting of 261 parchment leaves (222 mm × 155 mm) was written by an otherwise unknown scribe, Georgios, in February 1186, as indicated in the colophon on leaf 260v.⁵⁷ Georgios probably produced this codex for a Greek priest named Michael (see line 11). Unfortunately, since lines 4–10 of the colophon have been almost totally erased, we are unable to read them, apart from a few words and letters that are still legible. Before indicating the month, indiction and year in lines 15–17, in lines 11–14 Georgios also recorded the name of the reigning Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, who was emperor from 12 September 1185 to 8 April 1195:

	Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν τετρα- βάγγελον διὰ χειρὸς κάμοῦ Γεωργίου ἀναγνώστου lines 4–7 deleted and at the end of the line still legible ἱερομονάχου at the end of the line still legible της	This Gospel Book was completed ⁵⁸ by the hand of the reader, Georgios of the priest-monk,
10	at the end of the line still legible πατῆ Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰσαακίου μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρος Ῥω- μαίων τοῦ Ἀγγέλου	Priest Michael, during the reign of the great king and Roman emperor Isaac Angelos
15	μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ ἰνδικ- τιῶνος δ' ἔτους Ϛϣϣδ'· καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες	in the month of February, the fourth year of the indiction, of the year 6694. And [all of] you who read

⁵⁶ More details on this point in Lorusso 2013: 34.

⁵⁷ Edited by Harlfinger/Reinsch/Sonderkamp 1983: 58.

⁵⁸ Literally ‘was brought to the end’. In general, the translations provided in this appendix mirror the wording of the original Greek in order to enable the reader to trace the position of specific information in the original text.

ταύτην εὐχέσθές⁵⁹ μοι
διὰ τὸν κύριον· ἀμήν.

this [book] should pray for me
through our Lord. Amen.

Vatican City Vatican Apostolic Library

Vaticanus gr. 354 – This liturgical manuscript of 235 parchment leaves is an Evangeliiary containing just the passages from the four Gospels that are read during the divine services of the Church. It is still uncertain where the manuscript was produced (perhaps in Constantinople or mainland Greece). In contrast, we are told about the scribe, a certain Michael, who indicated his own name both in a colophon on leaf 234v and in two invocations addressed to Jesus on leaves 77v and 115v. Michael’s script in the main text is a beautiful example of capital script, referred to by the current literature as ‘maiuscola ogivale inclinata’.⁶⁰

The colophon of *Vaticanus gr. 354* explicitly reports the month, day of the month, year, indiction, day of the week and hour of the day:⁶¹

Εγράφη ἡ τιμία δέλτος αὕτη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Μιχα- ῆλ μοναχοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ α΄ ἡμέρᾳ ε΄ ὥρᾳ ς	This precious book was written by my hand, [that is, the hand] of the erring monk Michael, on 1 March on Thursday at the sixth hour [about 12 noon] ⁶²
5 ἔτους ςζυζ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ΄.	of the year 6457, ⁶³ the seventh year of the indiction.

Vaticanus gr. 588 – Among the Greek manuscripts produced in Italy during the Renaissance, we can find some with colophons that are written exclusively in

⁵⁹ The manuscript reads εὐχέσθαι. This depends on the Byzantine pronunciation.

⁶⁰ See Cavallo 1967: 117–123.

⁶¹ The colophon is edited in Follieri 1969: 17.

⁶² In Greek colophons the days of the week are usually indicated in the same way as they are today: κυριακή (Sunday), ἡμέρα δευτέρα (Monday), ἡμέρα τρίτη (Tuesday), ἡμέρα τετάρτη (Wednesday), ἡμέρα πέμπτη (Thursday), παρασκευή (Friday) and σάββατον (Saturday). As far as the hours of the day are concerned, the calculation obviously depends on the daytime varying with the (latitude and) seasons. Assuming an ideal daytime around the equinoxes, the first hour of the daytime (*Prime*) starts at approximately 6 in the morning. Therefore, the remaining hours are calculated as follows: third hour (*Terce*) at 9 a.m., sixth hour (*Sext*) at 12 noon and the ninth hour (*None*) at 3 p.m. On this topic, see Perria 2011: 180–181.

⁶³ That means in 949 CE.

Latin. One example of this is *Vaticanus gr. 588*, a manuscript of 274 paper leaves containing works by early Christian theologians. *Vaticanus gr. 588* is the product of Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, the well-known *scriptor Graecus* of the Vatican Library from 1535 to circa 1563.⁶⁴ Giovanni's script clearly imitates the style of printed books and is an example of print minuscule (or *Druckminuskel*) as noted by Enrica Follieri.⁶⁵ The colophon written by Giovanni Onorio himself in Latin on leaf 272r informs us that *Vaticanus gr. 588* was completed in 1552:⁶⁶

Ego Ioannes Honorius Malliae Oppidi Hydruntini civis librorum Graecorum instaurator, hunc librum ad Vaticanae Bibliothecae usum sic exscribebam. Anno Domini MDLII. Iulio III. Pontifice Maximo sub Marcello Cervino Cardinali Sanctae Crucis Bibliothecae praefecto.

I, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, citizen of Otranto, renovator of Greek books, wrote this book in this way for the use of the Vatican Library in the year 1552 under the pontificate of Pope Julius III while Marcello Cervini, cardinal-priest of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (Rome), was prefect of the (Vatican) Library.

Vaticanus gr. 1591 – While reporting the date when the manuscript was completed, the scribe of the colophon on leaf 216v in *Vaticanus gr. 1591* (a codex of 216 parchment leaves written in southern Italy⁶⁷ and containing hagiographies) also refers to the day of the week as well as to the year number within the lunar cycle. Moreover, in this particular case, the word τέρμα (*térma*, 'end') is used by the scribe himself to describe the colophon:⁶⁸

⁶⁴ On this scribe, see *RGK* I 174. *Scriptor Graecus* is the official title, still in use today, of the curator of the Greek manuscript collection belonging to the Vatican Library.

⁶⁵ See Follieri 1969: 94. '*Druckminuskel*' is the name which the Austrian Byzantinist Herbert Hunger called the script in Greek manuscripts dating from the Renaissance period that were imitating the style of printed books. In his own words, 'Diese Schrift [...] weist eine gewisse Starre und Sterilität auf. So finden sich häufig großes, unziales Sigma mit Haken unter der Zeile am Wortanfang, einstrichiges Tau mit griffartiger Gestalt des Querbalkens, ähnliches, hochgezogenes Gamma mit Griff, fast bis zu einem Strich zusammengepreßtes, häßliches Majuskel-Theta, eckiges Phi usw.'; see Hunger 1961: 105–106.

⁶⁶ The colophon was edited by Follieri 1969: 94.

⁶⁷ Devreese 1955: 28–30 regarded this manuscript as belonging to the group of 'Tyrrenian manuscripts'.

⁶⁸ Edited by Follieri 1969: 44.

Σὺν Θεῷ τέρμα πυ-	With [the help of] God the end of the book
κτίδος γραφὲν διὰ	[was reached that was]
χειρὸς Βασιλείου μοναχοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ	written ⁶⁹ by
ἀμαρτωλοῦ	the hand of Basil, a humbled and erring
μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κδ´	monk,
5 ἡμέρῃ σαββάτῳ ὥρα ς´ ἰνδικτιῶνος η´	on Saturday, 24 December
ἔτους ςουογ σελήνης κύκλου ιγ´.	at the sixth hour, the eighth year of the in-
δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἔνεκεν.	diction,
	of the year 6473, ⁷⁰ the 13th year of the lu-
	nar cycle.
	Glory to God for all things.

Vaticanus gr. 2138 – This manuscript, an Evangeliary consisting of 91 parchment leaves, can be attributed to the group of ‘greco-lombard’ manuscripts on palaeographical grounds.⁷¹ *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was written and completed in 991 by a scribe whose name was Kyriakos, as the colophon added by Kyriakos himself on leaf 91r clearly states. The colophon appears in capital letters up to line 7:⁷²

Τετελείωται σὺν Θεῷ τὸ	This Evangeliary has been completed ⁷³
ἐκλογάδιον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου	with [the help of] God
τούτου διὰ χειρὸς Κυριακοῦ	by the hand of priest Kyriakos,
πρεσβυτέρου, τλήμωνος	miserable
5 τοῦ καλογήρου, ἐν ἔτει ς	monk, in the year 6–
υθ´ ἰνδικτιῶνος δ´	499, the fourth year of the indiction,
μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰς τὰς ιβ´.	on 12 June.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως	From the Incarnation
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτη ἐν-	of our Lord Jesus Christ they are
10 νακόσια ἐνενήκοντα ἔν.	nine hundred and ninety one years.
λζα	991

⁶⁹ In the original Greek, the participle γραφὲν (*graphén*, ‘written’) refers only to the word τέρμα (*térma*, ‘end’).

⁷⁰ That means in 964 CE.

⁷¹ See Devreesse 1955: 11, 30. Basically, the handwriting of this Vatican manuscript is in minuscule with some letters written in majuscule.

⁷² Edited by Follieri 1969: 50.

⁷³ Literally ‘has been brought to the end’.

Some colophons, especially those contained in Greek manuscripts from southern Italy, are based on both the Byzantine and the Latin calendar. *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 is an example of this. Moreover, it is particularly interesting to note that the day of the month is introduced by the formula εἰς τὰς, that is, ‘on the day’, followed by the numeral ιβ’, 12 (see line 7). This practice seems to be quite common in manuscripts from southern Italy.⁷⁴ As has been mentioned above, linguistic elements in colophons can also help us locate manuscripts successfully. However, information about the place where *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was produced is clearly stated in a note that Kyriakos wrote in red ink and capital letters on leaf 52r:

Κυριακὸς μοναχὸς πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἄστειω (sic) Καπούης ἔγραψεν

The monk and priest Kyriakos wrote [this manuscript] in the town of Capua.

Colophons and subscriptions very often provide information about the social status of the scribes, too. For instance, in the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 on lines 4 and 5, the scribe, Kyriakos, presents himself as both priest (πρεσβύτερος, *presbýteros*) and monk (καλόγηρος, *kalógēros*).⁷⁵ Other titles occurring in the evidence considered in this Appendix are ἀναγνώστης (*anagnōstēs* ‘reader’; see line 3 in the colophon of *Sinaiticus gr.* 180), μοναχός (*monachós* ‘monk’; see line 3 in the colophon from both *Vaticanus gr.* 354 and *Vaticanus gr.* 1591) and πρεσβύτερος (*presbýteros* ‘priest’; see line 19 in the colophon of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 below).⁷⁶

In the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 (see lines 4 and 5), Kyriakos describes himself as a ‘miserable monk.’ This is not at all peculiar to Kyriakos since Greek scribes usually refer to themselves in colophons and subscriptions as humble individuals, if not sinners deserving of contempt. In this respect, the most frequent epithets are ἀβέλτερος (*abéltēros* ‘stupid’), ἁμαρτωλός (*hamartōlós* ‘erring’), ἀσύνετος (*asýnetos* ‘witless’), ἀφυής (*aphyḗs* ‘not clever’), εὐτελής (*eutelḗs*

⁷⁴ See Perria 2011: 182.

⁷⁵ Actually, *καλόγηρος* means ‘venerable’. Generally, the term is used when referring to priests and ascetics; see Lampe 1961: 698 s.v.

⁷⁶ Of course, Greek manuscripts were not written exclusively by priests and monks, but also by other professional figures that are mentioned in colophons and subscriptions such as notaries and other legal professionals, scholars, teachers, etc. (νοτάριος, *notários* ‘shorthand writer, secretary’ [Latin *notarius*]; ταβουλλάριος, *taboullários* ‘registrar, recorder’; νομικός, *nomikós* ‘lawyer’; γραμματικός, *grammatikós* ‘learned scholar’; διδάσκαλος, *didáskalos* ‘teacher’). Key publications appearing on this topic over recent decades have already shown how data provided by colophons can be interpreted to shed light on the social, cultural and economic situation of Greek scribes. See Granić 1922; Treu 1966; Cutler 1981; Gamillscheg 1993.

‘worthless’), ταπεινός (*tapeinós* ‘humbled’), etc. referring to the personality of the scribes, and ἀγροικικός (*agroikikós* ‘rustic’), κακογράφος (*kakográphos* ‘bad scribe’), χωρικός (*chōrikós* ‘boorish’), etc., which refer to the final result of their activity.⁷⁷

Venice National Library of St Mark

Marcianus gr. 200 – This very luxurious multiple-text manuscript written on parchment contains the whole corpus of Aristotle’s works apart from the *Organon*. With regard to its content, Bessarion noted the following on leaf 1v:

Ἀριστοτέλους πάντα τὰ νῦν εὐρισκόμενα συγγράμματα πλὴν τῆς λογικῆς βιβλίον ἄριστον

Aristotle’s complete works as far as now acknowledged [as being authentic] except *Logic*. [This is] a very precious book.

Marcianus gr. 200 was written by Ioannes Rhosos of Crete, one of the most celebrated Greek calligraphers working in Italy during the fifteenth century. Rhosos finished copying for Cardinal Bessarion on 15 July 1457 in Rome, as he clearly stated in the colophon on leaf 594r:

	<p>Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ,αυζ´ ἰνδικτιῶνος ε´ μηνὸς Ἰουλίου ιε´ διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου</p>	<p>This book was completed in the year 1457 from the birth of Christ, the fifth year of the indiction, on 15 July by my hand, [that is, the hand of]</p>
5	<p>ἱερέως Ῥόσου τοῦ ἐκ Κρήτης δι’ ὀρισμοῦ καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὸς κυρίου κυρίου Βησσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως ἐπισκόπου</p>	<p>Priest Ioannes Rhosos from Crete on behalf of and with the financial support of the most venerable father in Christ, Bessarion, Cardinal, Bishop</p>
10	<p>τῶν Τούσκλων καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμετέρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ.</p>	<p>of Tusculum as well as our patron in Rome</p>

⁷⁷ As early as 1950, the German scholar C. Wendel collected all these epithets from colophons, indicating for each of them the age of the oldest manuscript in which they are attested for the first time; see Wendel 1950: 261.

This colophon is preceded by a couple of verses written by Rhosos himself on leaf 593v at the end of Aristotle's *Poetics* to mark the conclusion of the entire copying activity. In his concluding verses, Rhosos emphasises how hard his own work was (Fig. 6):

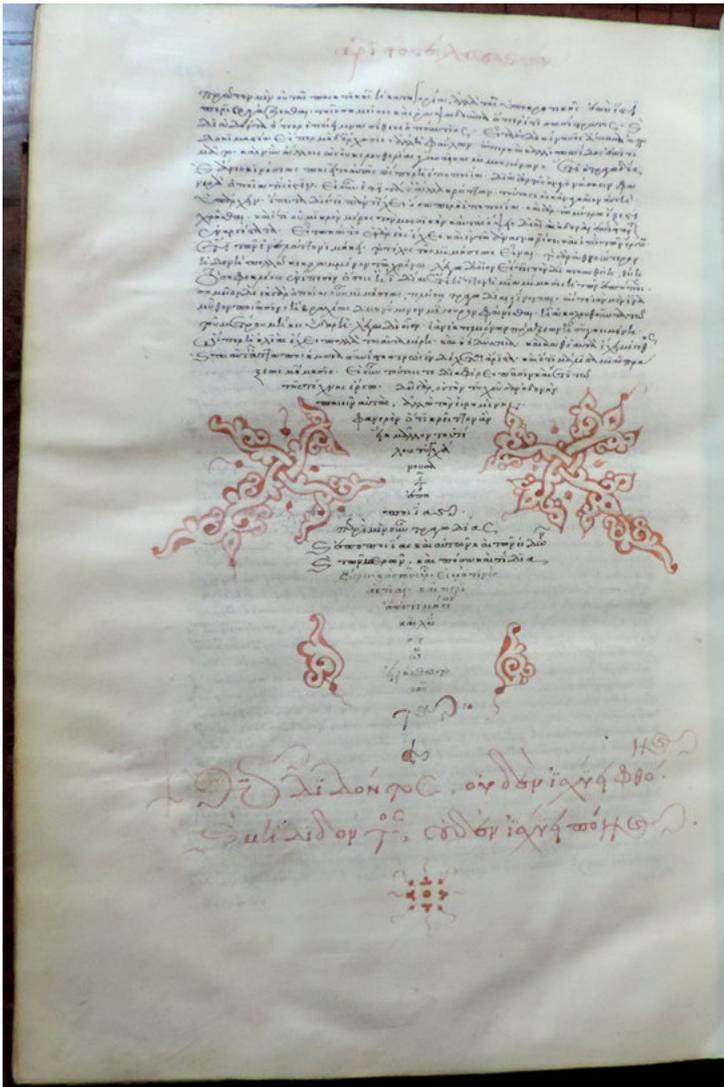


Fig. 6: *Marcianus gr.* 200, folio 593v. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Θεοῦ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος
καὶ μὴ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος

With the help of God⁷⁸ envy has no power
Without the help of God,⁷⁹ working hard is not useful.

Marcianus gr. 206 – This manuscript consisting of 336 parchment leaves is a multiple-text manuscript containing several philosophical and scientific works by Aristotle. It was written by three different scribes affiliated to Cardinal Bessarion’s workshop in 1467. One of these scribes is Charitonimus Hermonymus, who wrote leaves 1r–176r and 295r–333r. On the basis of palaeographical features, Dieter Harlfinger successfully identified two further scribes: leaves 178r–282r were written by the anonymous copyist referred to by Harlfinger as ‘Anonymous 40’, whereas leaves 282r–291r originated from the pen of scribe Theodorus. Both of these scribes produced other Greek manuscripts as well.⁸⁰

Together with other Greek scribes such as Demetrius Trivolis and Athanasius Chalceopulus,⁸¹ Charitonimus was employed by Bessarion to produce a set of manuscripts containing the whole corpus of Aristotle’s works, except the six preparatory treatises devoted to logic (the *Organon*).⁸² This set consists of the four codices known as *Marciani gr.* 206, 207, 213 and 215. As already noted by Aubrey Diller, all of them are made of parchment, are of the same size and have the same number of lines.⁸³ In two paratexts of *Marcianus gr.* 206, the scribe Charitonimus mentions his own name as well as his native country at the end of *Physics* (leaf 67r) and the end of *Meteorology* (leaf 165v). This last paratext is a subscription which reads as follows:

τῷ Θεῷ χάρις. ἐτελειώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιηλατουμένῳ μοι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀπριλίῳ ια΄ ἔτει ᾿ς ροε΄
πατρὶς δέ μοι Λακευδαίμων ἢ πάλαι ποτέ μὲν εὐδαίμων, νῦν δὲ μάλιστα κακοδαίμων

Thanks be to God – [this text] was also completed for his sake, that is, for Cardinal Bessarion, in Rome by me [Charitonimus] so persistently afflicted on 11 April 6975 (1467)./My

78 Literally ‘if God provides assistance’.

79 Literally ‘if God does not provide assistance’.

80 See Harlfinger 1971: 420 and 417. For a detailed description of *Marcianus gr.* 206, see Mioni 1981: 320–321. This manuscript, like its textual relationship with other Greek manuscripts, has been studied recently in Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 86–87, 89 along with note 20, and 90–91.

81 See Mioni 1981: 321, 327, 329.

82 This sub-corpus within the body of Aristotle’s work is expressly devoted to logic and consists of the following treatises: *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*.

83 See Diller 1967: 408.

country is Lacedaemon (Sparta, that is, Mystras in Laconia, Peloponnese, Greece⁸⁴). This town was once blessed with a good genius,⁸⁵ whereas today it is most certainly possessed by an evil one.⁸⁶

Charitonimus' paratext on leaf 67r after the final words of Aristotle's *Physics* consists of a short subscription, some laudatory verses on Bessarion and a signature. The subscription mentions the time (the penultimate day of January 1467) and the place (Rome) where the scribe completed his work on *Physics* as follows:

ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκρόασεως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ
λ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε' ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ,αυξζ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ

This book of Aristotle's *Physics* was completed on 30 January, in the year from [the birth of] Christ 1467, the fifteenth year in the indictional cycle, in Rome.

Thereafter, Charitonimus wrote the following dedication poem (Fig. 7):⁸⁷

Βησσαρίων κλέος οὐρανόμηκες ὃς ἔσχ' ἐπίγαιος,
ἄλκαρ ἐὼν μέγα τληπαθέων ἀχέων Ἑλλήνων,
τὴν δ' ἄκος ἄθλου δέλτον Ἀριστοτέλους γε σοφίης
τεῦξεν ἀριπρεπέως ζῆν ὅτι πλείσταις θεῖς ἄθλα

Bessarion, who on Earth acquired a clear fame reaching up to Heaven,
since he is a powerful protection for the Greeks in their great suffering,
let this book of Aristotelian wisdom be produced as a cure for [my] pain
in a wonderful way together with as many books as possible. For this work he had fixed a
reward.

84 See Diller 1967: 409.

85 In other words, 'fortunate'.

86 Anyone familiar with Ancient Greek will appreciate the homoeoteleuton, or repetition of the same sounds, at the end of the words *Λακεδαίμων*, *εὐδαίμων* and *κακοδαίμων* in the second line of the subscription.

87 This dedication poem has already been edited and translated. See Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 87, note 12.

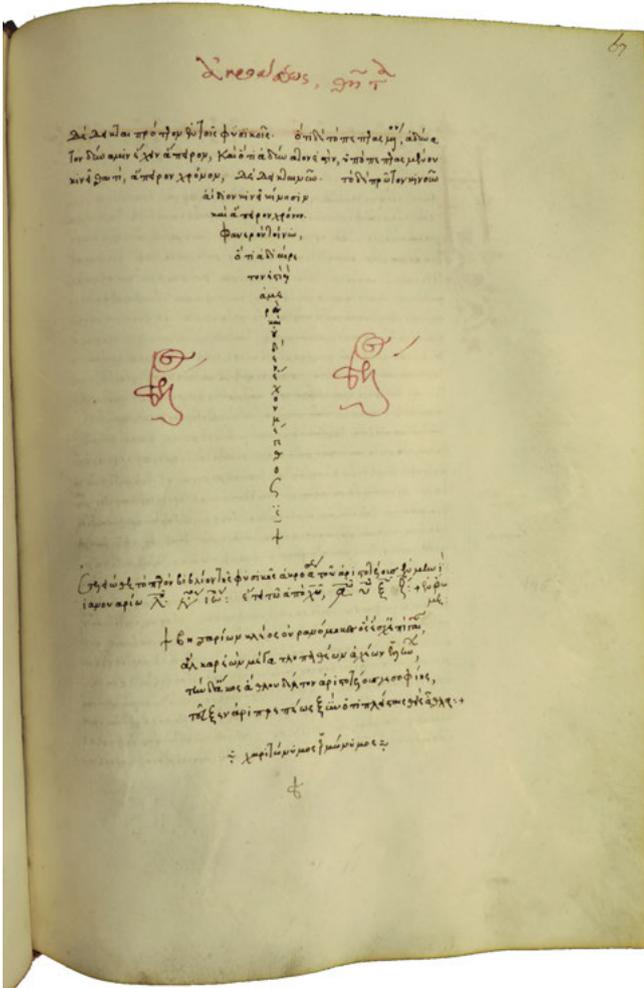


Fig. 7: *Marcianus gr. 206*, folio 67r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

The goal of these verses is manifestly to celebrate Cardinal Bessarion for financially supporting both the production of *Marcianus gr. 206* and the many Greek émigrés working in the scholarly network centred around the Cardinal. The phrasing of Charitonimus’ poem is extremely conventional. It contains formulaic expressions also used by other Ancient Greek poets, such as κλέος οὐρανόμεκες (*kléos oyranómēkes*, ‘clear fame reaching up to Heaven’) occurring, for instance,

in Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, v. 459 or ἄλκαρ μέγα (*álkar mega*, ‘powerful protection’) seen, for example, in Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 6, v. 119. Moreover, in the last two lines, there is a minor wordplay consisting of using two Greek words that look very similar orthographically, but which actually have a different meaning: ἄθλος (*áthlos*, ‘struggle, ordeal’), see ἄθλου (*áthlou*) on v. 3, and ἄθλον (*áthlon*, ‘prize of the contest’), see ἄθλα (*áthla*) on v. 4.

Finally, at the end of the subscription on leaf 67r, Charitonimus mentions his own name in the signature Χαριτώννυμος Ἑρμώννυμος (*Charitónnymos Hermónnymos*, ‘Charitonimus Hermonymus’).

Marcianus gr. 333 – This codex on paper consisting of 287 leaves was copied almost entirely by Bessarion himself between 1440 and 1450.⁸⁸ *Marcianus gr. 333* is a valuable record of Bessarion’s astronomical interests.⁸⁹ For instance, *Marcianus gr. 333* transmits Bessarion’s still unedited summary of the first book of Aristotle’s treatise *On the Heavens* on leaves 1r–2r, whereas on leaves 4r–7r we find his summary of the first six books of Aristotle’s *Physics*.⁹⁰

Leaf Iv of *Marcianus gr. 333* contains an autographical note written by Bessarion about the Byzantine calendar. The note simply states that the Byzantine year 6950 began in September 1441 (Fig. 8):

88 Mioni 1985: 62 ascribes leaves 1r–282r of *Marcianus gr. 333* to Bessarion. With regard to the date, we have to be aware that *Marcianus gr. 333* is a composite manuscript consisting of three parts: leaves 1–33, 34–271 and 272–286. By studying the watermarks present on leaves 34–271, the Italian scholar Paolo Eleuteri was able to assign the production of these leaves more precisely to the fifth decade of the fifteenth century. The three parts of the manuscript were put together around 1450–1451; see Eleuteri 1994: 190. Generally, earlier scholars considered *Marcianus gr. 333* as being written either in the middle of the fifteenth century or before 1450; see Harlfinger 1974: 26 and Mioni 1985: 61.

89 On this topic and, particularly, on the manuscripts from Cardinal Bessarion’s library containing Greek astronomical texts, see Rigo 1994: 105–117.

90 Edited by Bernardinello 1975: 32–42. As far as the content of *Marcianus gr. 333* is concerned, in this manuscript we find fundamental works in the fields of mathematics and astronomy elaborated by ancient Greek as well as Byzantine authors: among others, the *Introduction to Arithmetic* in two books by the Neoplatonic mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (about 100 CE), on leaves 39r–83r, the two books of the astronomical teaching manual *On the Circular Motion of the Celestial Bodies*, which was written sometime between the middle of the first century BCE and the third century CE by Cleomedes, on leaves 91r–142v and the treatise *On the astrolabe* by the Byzantine astronomer and historian Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295–1360) on leaves 272r–274r.



Fig. 8: *Marcianus gr. 333*, folio IV. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

σημείωσαι ὅτι μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τοῦ αὐτῆ^{ου} ἔτους ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἦρξατο ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ζᾶν ἔτος ἰνδικτιῶνος ε΄

Note that in September 1441 – counting from the birth of Christ – the year 6950 – counting from the creation of the world – began. [This was] the fifth year of the indiction.

Moreover, on the left margin of the same leaf, Bessarion listed the years 1441 to 1452, also indicating the year number according to the Byzantine system for each of them. The entries in this list were probably written on three different occasions since different inks are used for the years 1441–1446, 1447–1450 and 1451–1452:⁹¹

⁹¹ As has already been noted by Eleuteri 1994: 190.

	α̅υμα Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅	1441	September	6950
	α̅υμβ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅ ^{ov}	1442	September	6951
	α̅υμγ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅β ^{ov}	1443	September	6952
	α̅υμδ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅γ ^{ov}	1444	September	6953
5	α̅υμε Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅δ ^{ov}	1445	September	6954
	α̅υμς Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅ε ^{ov}	1446	September	6955
	αυμζ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅ς	1447	September	6956
	αυμη Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅ζ	1448	September	6957
	αυμθ Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅η	1449	September	6958
10	αυν Σεπτέμβριος ϙ̅αν̅θ	1450	September	6959
	αυνα ξ	1451		60
	αυνβ Σεπτέμβριος ξα	1452	September	61

The years according to the Byzantine system are indicated exclusively in lines 11 and 12 of the above list, with Greek letters being used as numerals: ξ (60) and ξα (61). In both his note and the list written on leaf Iv, Bessarion indicated the month of September as the first month of the year. However, he forgot to mention this month in line 11 of the list.

Vienna Austrian National Library

Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64 – This manuscript consisting of 510 paper leaves represents a fundamental record of the textual transmission of Aristotle’s ideas in the Renaissance period.⁹² It was produced by a team of at least five scribes from Cardinal Bessarion’s *scriptorium* in Rome. The production of the Vienna manuscript

⁹² The Vienna manuscript is also available on the Teuchos Centre website of the University of Hamburg <www.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de>. On leaves 9r–447r, the Viennese manuscript contains philosophical and scientific works of Aristotle as follows: *Physics* (9r–84v), *On the Heavens* (85r–138v), *On Generation and Corruption* (139r–161r), *Sense and Sensibilia* (161r–172v), *On Memory* (172v–176r), *On Sleep* (176r–180v), *On Dreams* (180v–184v), *On Divination in Sleep* (184v–186v), *Movement of Animals* (186v–192v), *On Length and Shortness of Life* (193r–195v), *On Youth, Old Age, Life and Death, and Respiration* (195v–207v), *On Colours* (208r–216v), *Meteorology* (219r–284r), *Parts of Animals* (285r–342v) and *Metaphysics* (343r–447r). Other works transmitted by *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* are: the treatise *On the Harmonics* written in the first half of the fourteenth century by the Byzantine astronomer and mathematician Manuel Bryennius (see *PLP* 3260) on leaves 453r–499v as well as *On the Nature of the Cosmos and of the Soul* on leaves 501r–

was guided by Ioannes Rhosos, the same scribe we have already mentioned in respect to the Venetian manuscript *Marcianus gr. 200*. On leaves 447v–448r of *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64*, we read the following colophon:⁹³

	Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον	This book was completed ⁹⁴
	ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ	in the year from [the birth] of Christ
	α ^ω υ ^ω ν ^ω ζ ^ω ἰνδι-	1457 of the
	κτιῶνος πέμπτης	fifth indiction
5	μηνὸς Μαρτίου κε´	on 25 March,
	τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ μακα-	in the second year of the pontificate
	ριωτάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν κυρίου	of our most blessed lord
	Καλλίστου πάπα γ ^ω ἔτει β ^ω	Pope Callixtus III,
	ἀρχιερατεύοντος καὶ τοῦ πανα-	when also
10	γιωτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου	our all-holy bishop
	καὶ δεσπότης κυρίου Γρηγορίου, πατριάρχου	and lord Gregory, the Ecumenical Pa-
	Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ	of Constantinople, was high priest,
	ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ	in the ‘old’ Rome ⁹⁵
	Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ συνδρομῆς	supported
15	καὶ ἐξόδου Ἰσαΐου ἱερο-	and funded by the priest-monk
	μονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ πατρὸς	and spiritual father, Isaiah
	τοῦ Κυπρίου.	of Cyprus.
	Τέλος.	[This is the] end [of the book].
	Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης.	Priest Ioannes of Crete.

In the last line of the colophon, Rhosos mentions his name as well as his native country. Furthermore, in the previous lines, he indicates the name of the patron

507v. Although this work is usually attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Timaeus of Locri in the Greek manuscripts, it must be regarded as a forgery dating back to the first century BCE (see Baltes 2002, 574 for an overview on this topic).

⁹³ The manuscript can be accessed through <<http://beta.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de/TeuchosWebUI/manuscripts/tx-container-manuscripts#>> (last checked 23/09/2015).

⁹⁴ Literally ‘was brought to the end’.

⁹⁵ According to tradition, ‘new Rome’ is the name that Emperor Constantine the Great (c. 272–337 CE) gave the new capital of the Roman empire, Byzantium/Constantinople, in 330. Comparing it to the ‘old Rome’, Byzantines usually refer to their city as ‘the New Rome of Constantinople’.

who sponsored the production of the manuscript, Bessarion's secretary, Isaiah of Cyprus (see lines 14–17), as well as the time and place where the manuscript was completed, that is, in Rome on 25 March 1457 (see lines 13–14 and 2–5). In lines 6–12, Rhosos embellishes the information about the time with further details by referring to the then heads of Latin and Greek Orthodox Christianity, Pope Callixtus III (1455–1458) and patriarch Gregory III, who was actually the patriarch of Constantinople from the summer of 1445 to 1451 as well as titular Latin patriarch of the same Church from 1452 until his death in 1459.⁹⁶

From a palaeographical point of view, the colophon of the Viennese manuscript is rather impressive. It is written in red ink and spacious letters by the scribe under whose guidance the remaining scribes had worked, that is, Ioannes Rhosos of Crete. In line 3 it is also remarkable that the endings of the Greek letters used as numerals for the date are superscript. It is quite common to see this used from Renaissance times onwards.⁹⁷

As far as the circulation of the Viennese manuscript *phil. gr. 64* is concerned, an autographic note by scribe Ioannes Rhosos on leaf 8r clearly states that this codex was in the manuscript collection belonging to Isaiah of Cyprus:⁹⁸

κτῆμα τοῦ Ἡσαίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου

Possession of the priest-monk and spiritual father, Isaiah of Cyprus.

Isaiah had given financial support for its production, as indicated in the colophon on leaf 448r. However, at a certain point in the course of its lifetime, *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* came into the possession of the Cretan scholar Marco Mamuna (after 1430–before 1528), as a further bookplate on the same leaf explicitly states:

βιβλος Μαμουῶνα ἦν, εὗτε τὰδ' ἐγράφετο

This was a book belonging to Mamuna when this [bookplate] was written.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ On the patriarch, Gregory III, see *PLP* 4591.

⁹⁷ See Perria 2011: 187.

⁹⁸ The note can be accessed through <<http://beta.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de/TeuchosWebUI/manuscripts/tx-container-manuscripts#>> (last checked 23/09/2015).

⁹⁹ On the fact that the Vienna manuscript was in Mamuna's library, see also Cataldi Palau 1991: 533–536. The same bookplate occurs in other Greek manuscripts owned by Marco Mamuna, for instance on leaf 6r in Burney MS 89 from the British Library in London (καὶ τὸ Μαμουῶνα ἦν εὗτε τὰδ' ἐγράφετο). However, this manuscript is not listed among Mamuna's codices by Cataldi Palau 1991: 574–575. Burney MS 89, a paper manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century

Thus, we are informed about the relocation of *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* between the years 1457 and circa 1528 by two different paratexts written on the same page of the manuscript.

Along the edges of *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64*, a reader – probably Isaiah himself, who was the former possessor of the manuscript – had written nine exegetical notes on *Physics*. They are introduced by the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἡμετέρου καθηγεμόνος ('from the dictation of our master, Theodorus') or similar. Now, we are aware of the fact that the Theodorus mentioned in this formula, that is, the Greek humanist Theodorus Gazes (1410?–1475), gave classes on Aristotle's *Physics* in Cardinal Bessarion's house in Rome around the mid-1460s.¹⁰⁰ So we can regard the nine notes in the Vienna manuscript as unequivocal evidence that *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* reflects the teaching practice of Theodorus during his classes. Besides the notes on *Physics* dictated by Theodorus, leaves 3r–7r of *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* also contain shorter texts providing general definitions of technical terms used by Aristotle such as 'cause', 'principle', 'substance' and 'accident'. Finally, many other comments and glosses are disseminated through the manuscript, particularly on the edges of leaves 9r–84v containing *Physics*. Some of these comments and glosses can also be found on the margins of *Marcianus gr. 205*. In this manuscript, they were added by Bessarion. One can therefore confidently assume that some of the commentaries in *Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64* and *Marcianus gr. 205* are the product of the scholarly/teaching environment around Gazes.

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containing the poem *Alexandra* by the tragedian Lycophron (fourth century BCE) as well as the scholia written by the Byzantine scholars Ioannes or Isaac Tzetzes in course of the twelfth century, is now available online at <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Burney_MS_89>. On the *vexata quaestio* about the authorship of Tzetzes' commentary on *Alexandra*, see Hunger 1978: 62–63.

100 See Bernardinello 1976: 19 and Martinelli Tempesta 2013: 144. On the activity of Gazes as a philosopher and teacher, see Monfasani 2002.

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