

John Lascaris and Harpocraton

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IN 1491 AND 1492, Lascaris made two¹ trips to Greece to acquire manuscripts for Lorenzo de' Medici. Among the manuscripts so acquired was a lexicon to the orators which is agreed to be that written by Harpocraton. Although many of Lascaris' manuscripts have been more or less plausibly identified, this one has not, and efforts to that end have been hesitant. Five pieces of documentary evidence are relevant.

(a) An inventory of books in Lorenzo's library before Lascaris' trips.² This contains (fol. 35^v) a Θεοδώρου περὶ μηνῶν καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων, which matches exactly the contents of *Laur.* 55.14 (see *infra*).

(b) A list of *desiderata*, including (fol. 9^v) a λεξικὸν τῶν λέξεων τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων, Ἰουλίου.³

(c) A letter to Demetrius Chalcondyles written on the first trip while Lascaris was in Constantinople waiting for passage to Crete. He writes that he had purchased eight mss. in his travels through Acarnania and Thessaly.⁴ One was purchased directly, and he had copies made of the others, including a λεξικὸν σημαντικὸν τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων.

(d) A list of books acquired on the trip before Lascaris reached Constantinople. On fol. 59^v there is included ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Τριβολίου κυρίου Δημητρίου⁵ a λεξικὸν τῶν λέξεων τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων κατὰ στοιχείον.

(e) The text⁶ in Latin of a contract for the sale of books between Lascaris and Nicolaus Jacobus de Sena signed on 3 April 1492 in Candia: no lexicon to the orators is included in the book-list.

In the attempt to identify this codex, several mss. have come under more or less serious consideration. Piccolomini, who did not

¹ The first began in April/May 1491, and Lascaris had returned to Florence by February 1492. In April of the same year he was at Candia in Crete.

² This, like items (b) and (d), is from *Vat.gr.* 1412, written by Lascaris and published by K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek," *ZBB* 1 (1884) 331–412.

³ Müller emended to Ἰουλιανού, from Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 150, but matters are a bit more complicated (see n.11 *infra*).

⁴ E. Piccolomini, "Due documenti relativi ad acquisti di codici greci fatti da Giovanni Lascaris per conto di Lorenzo de' Medici," *RivFC* 2 (1874) 401–23, at 418.

⁵ ἐν Ἀρτη (Acarnania), fol. 58^r.

⁶ Piccolomini, 420–23.

know of the existence of *Vat.gr.* 1412, thought that the ms. could not be *Laur.* 58.4,⁷ written by Michael Apostolius, for he assumed that Apostolius died in 1480. The assumption is incorrect, for the date of death is not known,⁸ but the conclusion is correct, for there is no reason to put Apostolius in Arta, where the ms. was copied. Piccolomini also thought of *Laur.* 55.14, but realized that the identification was unlikely because of the presence of Ἄρποκρατίων in the title of that ms.: his suspicion was confirmed by the discovery of the inventory. L. Cohn⁹ suggested that *Vat.gr.* 2226, a codex of miscellaneous contents containing Ἄρποκρατίων and purchased by Demetrius Trivolis from his brother, was part of Lascaris' store, but did not claim that this was the ms. in question.

The evidence of items (c) and (d) suggests that three criteria are necessary for the identification: in the title of the ms. is contained the information that (1) it is a lexicon to the orators, (2) arranged alphabetically, and (3) unattributed.¹⁰ These criteria are met by only one ms., that portion of *Riccardianus* 12 (R) which contains (foll. 116^r–167^r) λεξικὸν ῥητορικὸν κατὰ στοιχείων.¹¹

There is more to the story. It has long been known that one of the mss. acquired by Lascaris contained a corpus of Attic orators: this has been identified as *Laur.* 4.11 (B).¹² Most descendants of B contain also the text of Harpocraton. *Marc.append.class.* VIII.6 (L) is a copy of B, *Burnesianus* 96 (S)¹³ is a copy of L, and *Vratisl.* 1096 (C)¹⁴ is a copy of S.

⁷ Müller (344, 394) also thought this a possibility.

⁸ D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1962) 107.

⁹ "Unedirte Fragmente aus der atticistischen Litteratur," *RhM* 43 (1888) 405–18, at 408.

¹⁰ κατὰ στοιχείων is also found in the titles of F (*Laur.* 55.14), W (*Vind.phil.gr.* 237), V (see n.11 *infra*), and K (*Marc.gr.* 444): the work is ascribed in all four.

¹¹ The title is by a second hand, and on the title-page a third hand has added οἶμαί σε (leg. γε) εἶναι Ἄρποκρατίωνα. The ms. is in several hands: the Harpocraton portion was done by two scribes (foll. 116–143^v, 143^v–167), the second identifying himself as Νικόδημος ὁ μοναχός.

R is a congener of A (*Angel gr.* 3) and V (*Lond.* 16 C XVII). While A attributes the text to Harpocraton, in V the title is λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχείων τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων, Ἰουλίον, and the colophon at the end τέλος τοῦ λεξικοῦ Ἰουλίον. In a table of contents, a later hand has added Ἰουλίον, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄρποκρατίωνος. There may be some connection with the Ἰουλίον mentioned in Lascaris' *desiderata*. There was apparently a fourth congener, now lost. G. de Andres, *Catalogo de los codices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial* (El Escorial 1968) 23, describes a ms. containing a work attributed by a second hand to "Iulii" (the description is in Latin). He thinks the reference to be to Julius Pollux, but it may be the same name as in V.

¹² From the monastery of Vatopedion on Mt Athos (*Vat.gr.* 1412 fol. 76^{rv}).

¹³ My *siglum*, for a projected edition of Harpocraton, = M for the orators.

¹⁴ My *siglum*, = Z.

The precise relationship of a related ms. has not been established: this is **H**,¹⁵ *Ambros.* 26 (A 99), written, like **L** and **S**, in Florence between 1492 and 1508. In the last serious discussion of the question, Wyse¹⁶ suggested that **S** was the exemplar of **H**. Unless the two mss. have a common ancestor, the suggestion is correct.¹⁷ But this relationship is true only for the oratorical corpus: for Harpocraton,¹⁸ no direct relationship between **S** and **H** exists.¹⁹

Since **B** does not contain Harpocraton, one needs to find a ms. which will stand in the same relationship to **SCH** for the lexicon as **B** did for the corpus. The ms. is **G** (*Laur.* 58.14), the exemplar of **S** and **H**.²⁰ As was remarked above, this ms. was written by Michael Apostolius, most of whose scribal activity was in Crete.²¹ It is thus tempting to guess that the ms. was acquired by Lascaris there.

On the other hand, **G** was once owned by Harmenius of Athens. He was a nephew of Theodore of Gaza, Theodore an associate of Cardinal Bessarion, and Bessarion Apostolius' employer. It is possible that he wrote **G** for Harmenius, at least one of whose books (*Laur.* 57.28) is in the Laurentian. *Non liquet.*

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¹⁵ My *siglum*, = **P**.

¹⁶ W. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus* (Cambridge 1904) vi.

¹⁷ Separative errors show that **H** cannot be the source of **S**: cf. Andoc. 4.1, *προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλειν τοῦ πλήθους*] *τοῦ πλήθους* in mg. **S**, om. **H**; and 4.17, *πράττειν ἤδη* **S**, *ἤδη* om. **H**.

¹⁸ Two different scribes wrote the corpus and the lexicon in **S**. One scribe, Michael Souliardos, wrote the whole of **H**.

¹⁹ For Harpocraton, that **H** is not a copy of **S** is shown by s.v. *ὁδός* . . . *ἢ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι*, hab. **H**, om. **S**; that **S** is not a copy of **H** by s.v. *Γέγρα* . . . *διδόναι προσιώντι τῷ δήμῳ* **S**, *διδόναι διδόντι τῷ δήμῳ* **H** *per homoearchon*.

²⁰ And of *Genav.* 158, written in Florence by Kaiser Strategos.

²¹ Only one of those mss. whose provenance is known was not written in Crete. Cf. M. Vogel, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 305–10.