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Willibald Pirckheimer and his Greek codices from Buda

AMONG HIS VARIOUS HONORABLE ACTIVITIES, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), a distinguished humanist scholar from Nuremberg, is known as the editor and translator of a number of Greek authors who became accessible through his Latin and German translations for a large readership during the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹ His portrait made by Albrecht Dürer in 1524 expresses their close friendship and the artist's gratitude to his patron [see fig. 1]. His extensive correspondence reflects an exceptional network which connected him with almost all prominent humanist scholars of his age from Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Silesia, and the Netherlands.² Relying on his broad horizon of education and knowledge, Pirckheimer possessed a good sense for collecting books and artefacts. After studying law in Italy (Padua and Pavia), he became one of the few collectors in the German-speaking countries who attempted to acquire a copy from each printed Greek edition produced in the printing shop of the famous Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius.³ The ex libris that Pirckheimer pasted onto his printed volumes – which was designed by his friend Albrecht Dürer – expressed both his devotion and philological sensitivity through its use of the proverb »Initium sapientiae timor Domini« (”The fear of the Lord is the source of wisdom”; Prov. 1:7), featured in Hebrew, Greek and Latin above the coats of arms of Pirckheimer and his wife, Crescentia.⁴

Historians studying the provenance of the Arundel collection in the British Library maintain the view that Pirckheimer managed to acquire a substantial part of the famous humanist library of the Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus, called the Corvina library.⁵ The enigmatic story about

*New data on the manuscripts
used for the first editions of several
Greek Patristic works*

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1 On Willibald Pirckheimer with detailed bibliography, see WILLEHAD PAUL ECKERT / CHRISTOPH VON IMHOF: *Willibald Pirckheimer Dürers Freund im Spiegel seines Lebens seiner Werke und seiner Umwelt*. Cologne 1971. – Cf. also NIKLAS HOLZBERG: *Willibald Pirckheimer: Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland*. Munich 1981.

2 Pirckheimer's correspondence was published in seven volumes. *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*. Ed. EMIL REICKE, ARNOLD REIMANN, HELGA SCHEIBLE and DIETER WUTTKE. Munich 1940–

2009 (henceforth, REICKE = vol. 2, SCHEIBLE / WUTTKE = vol. 3, SCHEIBLE 2004 = vol. 6, SCHEIBLE 2009 = vol. 7).

3 Cf. JULIUS SCHÜCK: *Aldus Manutius und seine Zeitgenossen in Italien und Deutschland*. Berlin 1862, p. 57.

4 Cf. LES GRONBERG: The Cover. In: *The Journal of Library History*. 19 (1984), pp. 426–30, here pp. 426/7.

5 In 1739 William Maitland described the origin of volumes that were donated to the Royal Society by Henry Arundel. ”This collection originally was (kept at the City of Buda) Part of the Royal Library, belonging to the Kings of Hungary; which, upon the Demise of Matthias Corvinus, the last king of the Hungarian Race, was

dispos'd of; about Two Thirds whereof being bought by the Emperor, they are now in the Imperial Library at Vienna; and this Part coming to Bilibaldus Perkeymberus of Nuremberg, it was bought of him by the Earl of Arundel, on his Return from his Embassy to the Imperial Court.” WILLIAM MAITLAND: *The history of London: from its foundation by the Romans, to the present time*. London 1739, p. 656. On his description, see LINDA LEVY PECK: *Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation*. In: *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*. 52 (1998), pp. 3–24, here pp. 6–8, notes 17, 22, and 23.



[Fig. 1] The engraving of Willibald Pirckheimer by Albrecht Dürer 1524 (18,2 × 11,4 cm)

Pirckheimer's acquisitions from the Corvina library seems to have originated in the seventeenth century,⁶ thereafter developing into a widespread view through a series of inexplicit references.⁷ Despite the common view disseminated in various handbooks, there is not a single manuscript in the Arundel collection that wears traces of an origin from the royal library of Buda.⁸

When Pirckheimer died, he did not leave a male heir. Thus, Pirckheimer's possessions went to the hands of his sister, Caritas Pirckheimer, and his daughters. First, it was his daughter, Barbara, married to Hans Straub, who acquired Pirckheimer's goods. When she died without children in 1560, Pirckheimer's possessions passed on to the hands of Willibald Imhoff, his grandson from his daughter Felicitas' side.⁹ After Willibald Imhoff's death in 1580, some items of the art collection were transported to the imperial court of Prague. However, the entire book collection remained in Nuremberg. From among this rich collection, 14 printed volumes (11 incunabula and three sixteenth-century prints) were sold to a Dutch antiquarian, Matthaeus van Overbeck, in 1634.¹⁰ It was Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), who purchased the majority of Pirckheimer's books in 1636 in Nuremberg.¹¹ His grandson, Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk (1628–84) enriched the collection he had inherited from his grandfather. After returning from his European tour, Henry Howard finally donated his entire book collection to the Royal Society in 1667.¹² On the one hand, the Royal Society sold the manuscripts in Western languages in 1830–32 and the Eastern manuscripts in 1835 to the British Library; the British Library created the so-called Arundel collection from these acquisitions. Some of Pirckheimer's manuscripts, however, must

⁶ William Perry, the first "Library Keeper" of the Royal Society, the compiler of the 1681 catalogue (see note 12), mentioned the Corvina Library as a major source of the Arundel collection. JOHN WARD: *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*. London 1740, pp. 232/3. This myth may have originated from Henry Howard himself who visited Hungary where he met Peter Lambeck who showed great interest in the Corvina volumes and had much knowledge on this subject due to his activities in the HofB in Vienna. On their meeting, see NOÉMI VISKOLCZ: Peter Lambeck budai utazása a corvinákért 1666-ban. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Hungarian Book Review]. 125 (2009), pp. 149–188, here pp. 159–61.

⁷ CHARLES ISAAC ELTON, MARY AUGUSTA ELTON: *The Great Book Collectors*. London 1893, p. 86 (reprint: Fairford 2009, pp. 44/5). The information about the origin of the "Arundel collection" from King Matthias library relies on the description of the Gresham College Library William Oldys (1697–1761) compiled in the first half of the eighteenth century. A *literary antiquary. Memoir of William Oldys. Together with his diary, choice notes from his Adversaria, and*

an account of the London libraries. London 1862, pp. 79–80. The same notion appears in WILLIAM HENRY BLACK: *Catalogue of the Arundel manuscripts in the library of the College of Arms*. [not published] London 1829, p. ix; *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the British Museum*. New Series. Vol. 1. Part 1. *The Arundel Manuscripts*. London 1840, p. v. Following these references, book historians often emphasized the Corvina library in the context of Pirckheimer and the "Arundel collection".

⁸ It is possible that volumes of Hungarian origin will be identified within the Arundel collection. However, the volumes themselves do not provide physical evidence: none of the volumes is bound in Corvina binding or is furnished with the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus. The only basis of such a provenance can be Pirckheimer's correspondence or his editions and translations. Such volumes may occur among mss Arundel 516–49. Cf. DAVID PAISEY: Searching for Pirckheimer's books in the remains of the Arundel Library at the Royal Society. In: Enea Silvio Piccolomini nördlich der Alpen: Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions vom 18. bis 19. Nov. 2005 an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität

München. Ed. FRANZ FUCHS. Wiesbaden 2007 (*Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance und Humanismusforschung*. 22), pp. 159–218 (on Pirckheimer's activity as a collector and his library, see pp. 161–75). He inherited a Greek manuscript from his father, Johann Pirckheimer, who had acquired it from Johann Tröster, a city councillor in Nuremberg (Arundel 526). Cf. PAUL LEHMANN: Dr. Johann Tröster ein humanistisch gesinnter Wohltäter bayerischer Büchersammlungen. In: *Historisches Jahrbuch*. 60 (1940), pp. 646–63, here pp. 662/3. In Nuremberg, W. Pirckheimer also acquired two other Greek manuscripts from Johannes Löffelholz (Arundel 517, 525). Cf. THOMAS SMITH PATTIE/SCOT MCKENDRICK: *Summary Catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the British Library*. London 1999, pp. 4/5 and 8/9.

⁹ Cf. PATTIE/MCKENDRICK (see note 8), pp. 1–25 and PAISEY (see note 8), p. 163.

¹⁰ Cf. ERWIN ROSENTHAL: Dürers Buchmalereien für Pirckheimers Bibliothek. Berlin 1928 (*Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. 49), pp. 2/3. Cf. also EMIL OFFENBACHER: La Bibliothèque de Willibald Pirckheimer. In: *La Bibliofilia*. 40 (1938), pp. 241–63.

have left the collection rather early and drifted through different channels of owners. On the other hand, Pirckheimer's printed books remained at the Royal Society that sold some of these volumes to Bernard Quaritch, antiquarian in London, in 1873; the majority of the rest was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1925.¹³

Despite the lack of manuscripts and printed volumes of Buda origin in the Arundel collection, it has become obvious that Pirckheimer was well informed regarding the Greek holdings of the royal library at Buda. Scholars studying the Corvina library used to mention Pirckheimer in the context of four Greek codices: Firstly, it was through the secretary Jacobus Banissius in 1514 that Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) sent his request to Pirckheimer, asking him to translate the Greek *World Chronicle* by Johannes Monachus (Zonaras), which was transported by Johannes Cuspinianus from Buda in 1513, into Latin.¹⁴ First, Pirckheimer refused the imperial request, being busy with his other duties.¹⁵ Later on, Cuspinianus ceased to deliver the valuable Zonaras manuscript.¹⁶ Secondly, the other volume Pirckheimer was well informed about was a valuable humanist copy of the *Geography* by Ptolemy, frequently referred to by humanist scholars visiting the Buda court since the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁷ The German humanist Ulrich von Hutten provided valuable data on the variant readings of the Buda *Geography* manuscript in 1518 to Pirckheimer who was preparing a Ptolemy edition that time.¹⁸

This study strives to explore the other two manuscripts with an origin from Buda, which are known to scholars studying the Corvina library as two of the "lost" Corvinas.¹⁹ Their significance appears in the fact that these two manuscripts proved influential in the early Reformation by

11 On Hans Heronymus Imhoff's 1636 sale to Thomas Howard, see ROSENTHAL (see note 10), pp. 51/2.

12 On the volumes donated by Henry Howard, see [WILLIAM PERRY]: *Bibliotheca Norfolciana, sive, Catalogus libb. manuscriptorum & impressorum in omni arte & lingua quos illustriss princeps Henricus Dux Norfolciae, &c.; Regiae societati Londinensi pro scientia naturali promovenda donavit*. London 1681.

13 On the volumes returned to Germany, cf. ROSENTHAL (see note 10), p. 4. On the considerable part which remained in possession of the Royal Society, London (Carlton House Terrace), cf. PAISEY (see note 8), pp. 160 and 185–218.

14 The Zonaras manuscript is now in Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 16. See Emperor Maximilian's letter to W. Pirckheimer through his secretary Jacobus Banissius (Gmuden, 20.08.1514) in REICKE (see note 2), n° 328, pp. 454–6.

15 See the letter by Beatus Rhenanus to W. Pirckheimer after July 1515 in REICKE (see note 2), n° 364, pp. 560–2.

16 In a letter (dated 16.05.1515), W. Pirckheimer asked J. Cuspinianus to send him the Zonaras codex. *Johann Cuspinians Briefwechsel*. Ed. HANS

ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN. Munich 1933, n° 31, pp. 67/8. In a letter (dated 18. 10. 1518), J. Cuspinianus excused himself for not sending the manuscript. REICKE (see note 2), n° 372, pp. 577/8.

17 ÖNB, hist. gr. 1. See its description in JULIUS HERMANN: *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*. VI. *Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der italienischen Renaissance*. 3. *Mittelitalien: Toskana, Umbrien, Rom*. Leipzig 1932, n° 11, pp. 19–21, table IV. – Cf. also *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften*. Ed. HERBERT HUNGER. Vienna 1961–94, vol. 1, p. 1 and ERNST GAMILLSCHEG/BRIGITTE MERSICH: *Matthias Corvinus und die Bildung der Renaissance*. Vienna 1994, Cat. n° 29, pp. 69/70. Conrad Celtis ordered a copy for himself. This direct copy, made in 1482 in Buda, is now in Oxford, Bodleian L, Arch. Selden B 45. On f. 1r, the scribe wrote: »ὁ Ἰωάννης Ἀθεσίνος δούλος ποιητῆς Κονράδα Κέλτις Γερμανοῦ γεγραφεὶ ἐν ἔτει αὐτῷ». In *Buda inferioris Pannoniae*. At the end of the copied text (f. 176v, lower margin), the scribe repeated the colophon of the Vienna Ptolemy (ÖNB, hist. gr. 1, f. 98v). Cf. HENRY OCTAVIUS COXE: *Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues, I. Greek manuscripts*. Oxford 1853, p. 603. On the

humanists' correspondence regarding this copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*, see CSABA CSAPODI: *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*. Budapest 1973, n° 554.

18 Pirckheimer's edition of the Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* came to light in Strasbourg in 1525 (VD 16 P 5211). Ulrich von Hutten mentioned in his letter (Augsburg, 25. 10. 1518) that Sigmund von Herberstein, an envoy from Vienna to Moscow, visited Buda and consulted a Greek Ptolemy manuscript, which can be identified as the Vienna Ptolemy. SCHEIBLE/WUTTKE (see note 2), n° 561, pp. 400–25 (especially p. 420, ll. 714–6).

19 Cf. CSAPODI (see note 17), n° 306: the codex with more than 50 works by Gregory of Nazianzus; n° 107: the codex with the epistles by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great, both as lost Corvinas. PECK (see note 5), p. 17 and VISKOLCZ (see note 6), p. 161.

providing material for first printed editions of several Patristic works (both in original Greek and Latin translation). Thus, it seems equally helpful for a deeper understanding of the role the Greek Church Fathers played in the formation of King Matthias' library and for the identification of these manuscripts to analyze the various contexts which correlate these two codices with Pirckheimer. As a main contribution of this study, solid arguments will be provided, for the first time, that one of the two "lost" Corvinas can in fact be identified as Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177. Concerning the other codex, relying on Przychocki's and Crimi's results (see below), I will provide additional arguments that it can be identified as ms Oxford, Corpus Christi College (henceforth, CCC), 284. This identification, although first suggested almost one hundred years ago, has remained unknown to the scholars of the Corvina library. In order to go beyond the single references mentioning that each of the two manuscripts derived from Buda royal library, I collected the entire series of references mentioning either of the two "lost" Corvinas. The data thus amassed have been cross-checked with the candidate manuscripts themselves and the various editions and Latin translations of the early sixteenth century. This new method resulted in the successful identification of both manuscripts.

*A new authentic Corvina: the archetype of Pirckheimer's translation
of the homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus*

One of the documents mentioning the origin from Buda was Pirckheimer's letter (15 May, 1529) to Georg Spalatin (1484–1545),²⁰ a Lutheran theologian. In this letter, Pirckheimer referred to a Greek manuscript obtained from the booty of Hungary.

And I am sending you the homily by Gregory of Nazianzus "On the bishop's duty" [or. 2] as well, in order to show you how I can heal gout. In addition, a Greek codex by the same Gregory came to my hands, from the booty of Hungary, which contains more than fifty works by this very holy and learned man. If God permits, I will translate more of these works into Latin although I am almost always sick.²¹

The codex mentioned here was registered on the list of the lost Corvina volumes; neither the scholars studying the Corvina library,²² nor those

²⁰ Cf. IRMGARD HÖSS: *Georg Spalatin, 1484–1545: ein Leben in der Zeit des Humanismus und der Reformation*. 2nd, revised and enlarged ed. Weimar 1989.

²¹ SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1227, pp. 210–2 (Pirckheimer's letter to Georg Spalatin: Nuremberg, 15. 05. 1529; ll. 34–40): »Interim mitto orationem Nazianzeni De officio episcopi [oration 2, VD 16 G 3073: Nuremberg, 1529], ut videas, quemadmodum podagram meam consoler. Nactus praetera sum codicem graecum eiusdem Gregorii ex Ungariae spoliis ultra quinquaginta opuscula eiusdem sanctissimi et doctissimi viri continentem. Ex quibus, si deus voluerit, pleraque latine eloqui incipiam, licet assidue fere aegrotum.«

²² Cf. CSAPODI (see note 17), nos. 306 and 307 as lost Corvinas.

²³ Cf. HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 352/3 and 358/9 (l) notes 405/6.

²⁴ Cf. JULIUS KÖSTLIN: Johann Heß, der Breslauer Reformator. In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*. 6 (1864), pp. 97–131 and 181–265. – ADOLF HENSCHEL: *Dr. Johannes Heß der Breslauer Reformator*. Halle 1901. – GEORG KRETSCHMAR: Johann Heß. In: ADB, vol. 9, pp. 7/8.

²⁵ SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1219, pp. 190–2 (Johannes Heß's letter to W. Pirckheimer: Wrocław, 04. 04. 1529) »Salutem». Indicem thesauri verius quam libri ideo ad te opt(imum) patronum misi, ut mecum gauderes graciasque ageres deo nostro, quod haec dona ex

media Grecia nobis largitus est et Nazianzenum vetustiss(imum) servavit utcunque et nostris oculis, licet non omni ex parte integrum (desunt enim aliquae membranae). [...] Magnum hoc volumen vel hodie mecum est (est enim vel precipium ornamentum ornatissimae meae bibliothecae). [...] Sunt qui iurarent viso volumine vel ipsa etate auctoris librum scriptum«.

²⁶ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1324, pp. 419/20 (Johannes Heß's letter to Pirckheimer: Wrocław, 13. 10. 1530; ll. 4–11) »Tacui itaque ad aliquot menses, ut nihil litterarum ad tuam mag. (am) darem. Nunc autem nacta oportunitate rupto silencio cogor esse sollicitus pro meo Nazianzeno, quem indies expecto non solum grece sed et latine loquentem.

constructing Pirckheimer's biography²³ have hitherto managed to identify the manuscript.

Another letter by Pirckheimer reveals that it was Johannes Heß (1490–1547),²⁴ a humanist theologian in Wrocław, who sent Pirckheimer the substantial Gregory codex between 4 April and 15 May, 1529, in order to help him complete the translations of some homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus he published during the previous years. The edition comprising Pirckheimer's new translations based on Heß's manuscript only came out in print in 1531 after Pirckheimer's death.

I am sending to you, my great patron, a register, which seems to be an inventory of treasures rather than a register of the contents of a book. I hope that you share my pleasures and express gratitude to God for giving these gifts from the middle of Greece into our hands and for rescuing this ancient Gregory of Nazianzus volume as if it were only for our eyes. The volume is not intact (it has lost some parchment leaves) [...] This huge volume is with me today (an exceptional gem of my magnificent library) [...] When observing the volume, some people insist that the book was copied in the times of its author [i.e. Gregory of Nazianzus].²⁵

After receiving the codex, Pirckheimer seems to have kept it with him in Nuremberg at least until mid-October 1530.²⁶ However, it must have been returned to Heß as Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) mentioned in his letter to Heß that Joachim Camerarius was using Heß's volume in 1543.²⁷

About the codex sent to Pirckheimer, Heß mentioned that he obtained the outstanding manuscript from the middle of Greece («ex media Grecia»). This statement seems to parallel another expression in which Pirckheimer described the provenance of the other manuscript credited with an origin from Buda («qui e miseranda Graecia»),²⁸ as well as the phrasing Johannes Alexander Brassicanus used in the impressive description of his astonishing encounter with the royal library at Buda court («ex media Graecia»).²⁹ Based on the similarity of these phrases and their contexts, the phrase «ex media Graecia» does not seem to report on the direct provenance of the manuscripts in concern. It rather seems to have emphasized that these codices were not brand new Italian copies but old ones manufactured in the Greek-speaking world, i.e., in the Byzantine

Hanc enim spem meam nuper auxit epistola Uldarici Zasii doctissimi viri ad tuam mag.(am) scripta, in qua gracias agit pro translatione Nazianzeni.

²⁷ On Johannes Heß's library, see PAUL LEHMANN: *Aus der Bibliothek des Reformators Johannes Hessius*. In: *Aus der Welt des Buches: Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag von Georg Leyh*. Leipzig 1950, pp. 100–24 (on the lost codex comprising the works by Gregory of Nazianzus, see p. 105). »Tuus codex Nazianzeni est penes Camerarium, ut opinor. Nam Basileae habent similem, et ut audio, locupletiore. Perspexi totum, et quamquam monumentum est dignum bibliothecis, propter controversiam de trinitate, tamen praeter eam causam, non multa continent διδασκαλικά«.

Philippi Melancthonis opera quae supersunt omnia: epistolae, praeformationes, consilia. Ed. CAROLUS GOTTLIEB BRETSCHNEIDER. Halle 1838. Reprint New York 1963 (*Corpus Reformatorum*. 5), n° 2655, coll. 56/7.

²⁸ In the preface to the translation of St Nilus' sentences, Pirckheimer mentioned the provenance of the Greek codex he used. As will be demonstrated below, this manuscript seems to have passed through Buda, yet Pirckheimer emphasizes an origin from Greece. REICKE (see note 2), n° 377, pp. 596–8 (Pirckheimer's letter to Clara Pirckheimer: Nuremberg, 29. 12. 1515): »codicem pervetustum, qui e miseranda Graecia elapsus captivitatis iugum evaserat«.

²⁹ »Tantum erat hic antiquorum, graecorum simul & hebraicorum volumen, quae Matthias ille rex capta iam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inaestimandis sumptibus coemerat, ac tanquam mancipia ex barbarorum catastis atque compedibus receperat«. This sentence is cited from the preface to the edition of Salvianus by Alexander Brassicanus (Basle 1530: VD 16 S 1511, f. a₃^r).



[Fig. 2] Upper cover of the ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 (37 × 24 cm, »G. NAZIANZENS GRECE AN MDXXVIII«), prepared by Jannes Heß's binder in Wrocław; the coat of arms of Johannes Heß features in the center (in a medallion a lion standing on his hind legs with an inscription »ARMA HESSICA ANNO 1525«)

Empire. At the same time, the expressions reflect the topos of rescuing the Greek manuscripts conquered by the Barbarians from slavery.³⁰ Thus, Heß's statement on the "Greek origin" of the Gregory of Nazianzus manuscript does not necessarily negate Pirckheimer's implicit statement that the same manuscript passed through Hungary. Keeping this interpretation in mind, I have read through Pirckheimer's extensive correspondence, which convinced me to identify the codex as a manuscript in Vienna (ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177). In addition to Pirckheimer's letters, the Viennese manuscript itself provided evidence verifying that the codex was in fact in the royal library at Buda in the 1480s. The method of identification which has confirmed Pirckheimer's information may also help complete the scarce evidence which so far has proved insufficient to define the nature of the relationship of some other manuscripts with the Buda royal library.

The method of identification

First of all, the fact that Johannes Heß was the possessor of the manuscript ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 supports the identification. As mentioned above, it was the same humanist who sent the codex to Pirckheimer. The centers of the upper and lower covers of the Viennese Gregory hold Johannes Heß's coat of arms [see fig. 2]. At the top of the upper cover, the date of binding (1528) appears with the inscription »G. NAZIANZENS GRECE AN MDXXVIII«. It seems that the Viennese Gregory was bound in its present binding two years after the disastrous battle of Mohács and one year before Johannes Heß delivered the manuscript to Pirckheimer in the "restored form".

In addition, Pirckheimer's biographer Holzberg already noticed that a list among Pirckheimer's documents (BL Arundel 175, ff. 37^r–38^r),³¹ which comprises the contents of a Gregory of Nazianzus manuscript, provides a clue for the identification of the "lost" Greek Gregory manuscript Pirckheimer frequently alluded to in his correspondence. Holzberg thought that this list was the one Heß sent to Pirckheimer together with his letter (April 4, 1529). Holzberg could not find an extant manuscript based on the register of its contents.³² However, if we carefully compare this list with the contents of all the extant codices³³ containing the homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus it will turn out that only a tenth-century codex, now in Vienna (ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177), embraces Gregory's

³⁰ This is why I cannot accept the views of basic handbooks, based on Brassicanus' statement, which say that King Matthias acquired Greek manuscripts from Greece. If such acquisitions took place, Brassicanus could not have known about them.

³¹ HOLZBERG (see note 1), p. 356–8. London, BL Arundel 175, ff. 37^r–38^r (see its description in PAUL OSKAR KRISTELLER: *Iter Italicum*. Vol. 4. Leiden etc. 1989, p. 128). SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 1), n° 1219, pp. 190–2 (Johannes Heß' letter to Pirckheimer: Wrocław, 04. 04. 1529): »Indicem thesauri verius quam libri ideo ad te opt(imum) patronum misi«.

³² HOLZBERG (see note 1), p. 91 did not find any notes by Pirckheimer in ms London, BL Arundel 549 (245 folia), which contains the homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus. This volume is only half as large as the volume with more than 50 works by Gregory. At the same time, the sequence of these works is different from that of the list preserved in Pirckheimer bequest. For these two reasons, ms Arundel 549 cannot be the manuscript Pirckheimer used.

³³ I. R. H. T. Pinakes. Available online. See index of websites on p. 374.

³⁴ See the descriptions of the manuscript in HERBERT HUNGER/CHRISTIAN

HANNICK: *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Vol. 4. Supplementum Graecum. Vienna 1994 (*Museion: Veröffentlichungen der Handschriftensammlung*. NF 1,4), n° 177, pp. 304–10. – MARIA LUISA AGATI: *La minuscula «bouletée»*. Vatican City 1992, vol. 1, pp. 147/8, plate: vol. 2, p. 100. – EDUARD GOLLOB: *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften in Österreich außerhalb Wiens mit 11 Tafeln*. Vienna 1903 (*Sitzungsberichte. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*. 146.7), pp. 81–6. – *Bibliothek Fürst Dietrichstein Schloss Nikolsburg*,

more than fifty works in the same sequence as summarized in the register mentioned above.³⁴ In addition to the content being identical with the register, the list itself appears a faithful rendering of the tenth-century Greek majuscule text in ÖNB suppl. gr. 177, ff. 2/3, almost a facsimile copy. The paper used for the register possesses a watermark originating from the paper-mill of Wrocław.³⁵ These aspects also verify Holzberg's view that the exemplar behind the register, namely ms ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177, was used by Pirckheimer for his Latin translations from Gregory of Nazianzus. It is these works that were published in Froben's printing shop in Basle in 1531, under the supervision of Pirckheimer's son-in-law, Hans Straub.³⁶

The first table [table 1] summarizes how Pirckheimer's translation (Basle 1531) depended on ms ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177. The sequence of the homilies in the first third of the 1531 edition does not follow that of the Viennese codex; some clusters still demonstrate the direct interdependence between the two (e.g., *or.* 8, 6, 23). The fact that in each case the homilies are partially organized in a different sequence might be explained by the following hypothesis: the codex used by Pirckheimer was returned to Heß before Straub started to organize Pirckheimer's translations which he must have put together in an order different from that of the codex he was working from (Straub may have neglected the register sent by Heß).³⁷ In two thirds of the 1531 edition, however, the translated homilies are arranged in a sequence (pp. 163–304) identical with that of the Viennese codex (ff. 179^r–497^v); only those homilies were omitted which had already been published (1521, 1528, and 1529)³⁸ or which had been accessible in the translation by Petrus Mosellanus. The content of the Viennese codex sheds light on the surprising phenomena that a poem, numbered as Homily xxix, and four letters (*ep.* 101, 102, 202, and 243) were inserted among the translated homilies in a sequence identical with that of the Viennese Gregory.

In addition, Straub appended the homilies of Gregory, published in 1521 and 1528 in Pirckheimer's translation, subsequent to the new corpus of translations (pp. 1–126).³⁹ Moreover, Straub inserted Pirckheimer's translation of the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus* by Gregorius Presbyter which also seems to have been based on the text of ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 (ff. 512^r–530^r = pp. 1–23).⁴⁰ Apart from the partially different sequence of the homilies, all previously unpublished works of ms ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177

Versteigerung am 21. und 22. November 1933, Luzern. Ed. H. GILHOFER & H. RANSCHBURG AG. Luzern 1933, n° 407, p. 82. On the position of the codex in the manuscript transmission, see *Gregorii Presbyteri Vita Sancti Gregorii Theologii*. Ed. XAVIER LEQUEUX. Turnhout 2001 (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca.* 41), pp. 84/5. – VÉRONIQUE SOMERS: *Histoire des collections complètes des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, pp. 77, 129, 368–74 (it is marked as siglum X7).

³⁵ The watermark is the head of St John the Baptist, the patron saint of Wrocław featuring in a shield round in

base (4,2 × 3,5 cm). I owe Jenő Pelbárt, the president of the Hungarian Paper and Watermark Association, a debt of gratitude for the identification from his database (cf. similar types MVA 4355/6, both from archival material dated to 1536). On the paper-mill in Wrocław, see GEORG EINEDER: *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their watermarks*. Hilversum 1960. Vol. VIII. pp. 145, 147.

³⁶ VD 16 G 3082.

³⁷ The foliation of ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 appears in parentheses: VD 16 G 3082, pp. 1–23 (ff. 512^r–530^r), pp. 23–5 (ff. 39^v–41^v), pp. 25–30 (ff. 82^v–87^v), pp. 30–3

(ff. 80^r–82^v), pp. 30–3 (ff. 80^r–82^v), pp. 33–5 (ff. 88^r–90^v), pp. 36–43 (ff. 123^v–130^v), pp. 43–56 (ff. 41^v–53^r), pp. 56–94 (ff. 138^r–179^r), pp. 94–119 (ff. 53^v–79^v), pp. 119–26 (ff. 356^r–363^r), pp. 126–57 (ff. 91^r–123^r), pp. 157–62 (ff. 131^r–136^v), pp. 163–304 (ff. 179^r–500^r).

³⁸ 1521 (VD 16 G 3038): *or.* 38–41, 44, 45; 1528 (VD 16 G 3081): *or.* 4/5; 1529 (VD 16 G 3073): *or.* 2. On these editions, cf. HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 287–98, 343–51 and 352–62.

³⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *or.* 27–41.

⁴⁰ SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1288: Pirckheimer's letter (29.04.1530). Pirckheimer sent his translation of the

Work	Suppl. gr. 177 (ff.)	Suppl. gr. 177 (no.)	PG (coll.)	Basle 1531(pp.)	Basle 1531(no.)
or. 1	5 ^r – 6 ^r (fr.)	(A')	35, 396–401	—	—
or. 2	6 ^v – 39 ^r	(B')	35, 408–514	(1529: VD16 G 3073)	—
or. 3	39 ^v – 41 ^v	(Γ')	35, 517–25	23–25	(I)
or. 7	41 ^v – 53 ^r	(Δ')	35, 756–88	43–56	(VII)
or. 8	53 ^v – 62 ^v	(E')	35, 789–817	94–103	(IX)
or. 6	63 ^r – 73 ^v	(ΣT')	35, 721–52	103–113	(X)
or. 23	74 ^r – 79 ^v	(Z')	35, 1152–68	13–119	(XI)
or. 9	80 ^r – 82 ^v	(H')	35, 820–5	30–33	(IV)
or. 10	82 ^v – 84 ^r	(Θ')	35, 828–32	25–27	(II)
or. 11	84 ^v – 87 ^v	(I')	35, 832–41	27–30	(III)
or. 12	88 ^r – 90 ^v	(IA')	35, 844–9	33–35	(V)
or. 16	91 ^r – 101 ^v	(IB')	35, 933–64	126–136	(XIII)
or. 18	102 ^r – 123 ^r	(II')	35, 985–1044	136–157	(XIV)
or. 19	123 ^v – 130 ^v	(ID')	35, 1044–64	36–43	(VI)
or. 17	131 ^r – 136 ^v	(IE')	35, 964–81	157–162	(XV)
or. 43	138 ^r – 179 ^r	(IΣT')	36, 943–605	56–94	(VIII)
or. 14	179 ^r – 198 ^r	(IZ')	35, 857–909	163–181	(XVI)
or. 20	198 ^v – 203 ^v	(IH')	35, 1065–80	181–186	(XVII)
or. 27	204 ^r – 208 ^v	(IO')	36, 12–25	(P. Mosellanus)	—
or. 28	209 ^r – 226 ^r	(K')	36, 25–72		—
or. 29	226 ^r – 237 ^r	(KA')	36, 73–104		—
or. 30	237 ^v – 248 ^v	(KB')	36, 104–33		—
or. 31	248 ^v – 263 ^v	(KΓ')	36, 133–72		—
or. 38	264 ^r – 271 ^r	(KΔ')	36, 312–33		—
or. 39	271 ^r – 280 ^r	(KE')	36, 336–60		—
or. 40	280 ^r – 302 ^r	(KΣT')	36, 360–425		—
or. 45	302 ^r – 315 ^v	(KZ')	36, 624–64		—
or. 44	315 ^v – 319 ^r	(KH')	36, 608–21		—
or. 41	320 ^r – 327 ^v	(KΘ')	36, 428–52		—
or. 21	327 ^v – 342 ^r	(Λ')	35, 1081–128	186–201	(XVIII)
or. 24	342 ^r – 349 ^v	(ΛA')	35, 1169–93	201–210	(XIX)
or. 15	349 ^v – 356 ^r	(ΛB')	35, 912–33	210–217	(XX)
or. 22	356 ^r – 363 ^r	(ΛΓ')	35, 1132–52	119–126	(XII)
or. 32	363 ^r – 376 ^r	(ΛΔ')	36, 173–212	217–231	(XXI)
or. 25	376 ^r – 385 ^v	(ΛE')	35, 1197–225	231–240	(XXII)
or. 34	385 ^v – 390 ^v	(ΛΣT')	36, 241–56	240–245	(XXIII)
or. 33	390 ^v – 397 ^v	(ΛZ')	36, 213–37	245–252	(XXIV)
or. 36	398 ^r – 401 ^v (fr.)	(ΛH')	36, 265–380	253–258	(XXV)
or. 26	405 – 412 ^r	(ΛΘ')	35, 1228–52	258–267	(XXVI)
or. 42	412 ^r – 423 ^v	(M')	36, 457–92	267–280	(XXVII)
ep. 101	424 ^r – 429 ^r	(MA')	37, 176–93	280–285	
ep. 102	429 ^r – 431 ^v	(MB')	37, 193–201	286–288	
ep. 202	431 ^v – 433 ^r	(MΓ')	37, 329–33	288–289	
or. 4	433 ^r – 470 ^v	(MΔ')	35, 532–64	(1528: VD16 G 3081)	—
or. 5	471 ^r – 486 ^r	(ME')	35, 664–720		—
or. 13	486 ^v – 487 ^v	(MΣT')	35, 852–6	290–291	(XXVIII)
carm. l./ 2.3	487 ^v – 489 ^r	(MZ')	37, 632–40	291–293	(XXIX)
carm. l./ 1.32	489 ^r – v	(MH')	37, 511–4	—	—
or. 37	489 ^v – 497 ^v	(—)	36, 281–308	293–302	(XXX)
ep. 243	497 ^v – 500 ^r	(MΘ')	46, 1101–8	302–304	
CPG 3060	500 ^r – 501 ^r	(N')	36, 665–9	—	—
A	501 ^r – 511 ^r	(—)	10, 988–1017	—	—
B	512 ^r – 530 ^r	(—)	35, 244–304	1–23	

feature in the 1531 Basle edition except for the texts on ff. 489^{r-v}, 500^r–511^r. It is only Homily 1 that was omitted in a way which requires explanation because it was not accessible in earlier translations. It is the physical state of the Viennese codex, a phenomenon also hinted at by Heß in the passage quoted above, that provides an answer. The fact that the first two folios (ff. 5/6), carrying Homily 1, are mutilated clarifies why Pirckheimer could not translate this homily into Latin. The other codex with a purported Hungarian origin was in the possession of Pirckheimer.

Oxford, Corpus Christi College (CCC), ms 284

In the Hagenau printing shop of Johannes Setzer,⁴¹ Vincent Opsopoeus published the first Greek edition of the letters by Cappadocian fathers, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus in 1528. As a preface to the edition, a letter was inserted which Opsopoeus wrote to Pirckheimer in April 1528. In this letter, Opsopoeus described the direct provenance of the exemplar he used for the edition and clearly stated that it was a two-hundred-year-old codex, originating from the royal library of Buda.

To Thou, most glorious lord, Bilibald Pirckheimer, patrician in Nuremberg, Vincent Opsopoeus [is sending his] greetings. Recently Georg Leutius transferred from your library, most glorious Pirckheimer, to me to study the codex comprising the letters by Basil and Gregory. I was excited to see it as much for the characters of the letters as for the old age of the volume, – because it was copied, as far as I can judge, at least two hundred years ago or even earlier, and was kept in the library of the Hungarian king –, and when I had become avidly engaged in reading the volume, I started to copy a few letters [...]⁴²

Based on Opsopoeus' statement on the Hungarian provenance of the exemplar used for the edition, Csaba Csapodi registered the volume among the lost Corvinas in his 1973 repertory under the names of »Basilus Magnus« and »Gregorius Nazianzenus«.⁴³ As far as the identification is concerned, there has not yet been any progress in the scholarly literature on the Corvina library.⁴⁴

However, scholars studying the textual tradition of the two Church Fathers already suggested in the 1910s that the codex mentioned in Opsopoeus' letter can be identified as the fourteenth-century manuscript kept

[Table 1] Ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 and Pirckheimer's Latin translation of the homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus in the edition by Hans Straub (Basle 1531, VD 16 G 3082)

A Gregorius Thaumaturgus:

Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasticen

B Gregorius Presbyter:

Vita Gregorii theologi

CPG Maurice Geerard:

Clavis Patrum Graecorum

Life of Gregory to G. Spalatin. HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 355–62 and cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1176.

41 KARL STEIFF: Johannes Setzer (Secerius), der gelehrte Buchdrucker in Hagenau. In: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. 9 (1892), pp. 297–317.

42 The letter by Vintentius Opsopoeus to W. Pirckheimer is attached as a preface to this edition: *Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazianzeni, Theologorum, Epistolae Graecae, nunquam antea editae*. Hagenau: Johann Setzer, 1528. (VD 16 B 688). See the critical edition of the letter, in SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1159, pp. 36–43. The cited passage is as follows: »Clarissimo viro domino Bilibalde Pirckheimero, Patritie Norimbergensi, Vintentius Opsopoeus Sal(utem). Cum

nuper inspiciendum mihi obtulisset ex bibliotheca tua, Bilibalde clariss(ime), Georgius Leutius codicem epistolarum Basilii et Gregorii, quem cum ob litterarum characteras, tum ob vetustatem vehemeter videre cupiebam – est enim, ut mihi coniecturam facienti visum est, ante ducentos aut amplius annos descriptus inque regis Ungariae bibliothecam repositus – in eo ergo cum avidissime versarer, coepi epistolas quoque aliquot excutere, [...].«

43 CSAPODI (see note 17), nos. 107 and 307. On a possible identification of ms Munich, BSB cod. gr. 497, see HENRY SIMONSFELD: Einige kunst- und literaturgeschichtliche Funde. In: *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der k. b.*

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. (1902), pp. 521–68, here p. 550. WEINBERGER refused SIMONSFELD's suggestion based on the fact that cod. gr. 497 was purchased by the city council of Augsburg in 1545 from Antonius Eparchus in Venice. WILHELM WEINBERGER: *Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde*. I. Die Bibliotheca Corvina. Wien 1908 (*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*. 159, 6), p. 41.

44 ISTVÁN MONOK: La Bibliotheca Corviniana et les imprimés. In: *Mathias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'État moderne*. Ed. JEAN-FRANÇOIS MAILLARD, ISTVÁN MONOK and DONATELLA NEBBIAI. Budapest 2009, pp. 161–75, here p. 170.

in Oxford, CCC, ms 284.⁴⁵ A number of arguments such as the sequence of the letters, the age of the manuscript as well as the variant readings lead to the conclusion that among the extant manuscripts of letters of Basil and Gregory it is only ms 284 in Oxford, CCC that corresponds to Opsopoeus' description.⁴⁶

The first edition of the Epistles by Basil and Gregory

The 59 epistles by Basil the Great and the 80 epistles by Gregory of Nazianzus are mixed in a unique way in ms 284 CCC, Oxford. The table [table 2] shows the sequence of the epistles in ms 284 CCC, Oxford (columns 5/6) with references to its foliation (column 1), to the Greek numbers labelling the epistles in the manuscript (column 2), the page numbers in Opsopoeus' edition (Hagenau, 1528) (column 3 referred to with quire signatures), and the pagination of the edition by Erasmus of Rotterdam (Basle 1532: column 4).⁴⁷ Column 6 gives the number of the letters according to the modern editions. The sequence of the epistles in ms Oxford, CCC, 284 almost exactly follows the order found in the editions by Opsopoeus and Erasmus. There are only minor differences. On the one hand, Opsopoeus mistakenly omitted Epistle 8 by Basil. In addition, preceding Epistle 61 by Gregory, he jumped exactly ten leaves (ff. 276^r–286^r) with sixteen epistles on them; subsequent to Gregory, Epistle 61, Opsopoeus also failed to copy the last seven epistles in the codex (ff. 287^v–292^v). At the end of his edition, Opsopoeus published Basil, Epistle 8 that seems to have been omitted before (ff. Y₄^r–Z₇^v) when compared to ms 284 CCC, Ox-

⁴⁵ See its more detailed description – with a focus on the decoration – in IRMGARD HUTTER: *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*. Vol. 5.1. Oxford College Libraries. Stuttgart 1997 (*Denkmäler der Buchkunst*. 13), n° 9, pp. 20–2.

⁴⁶ Cf. GUSTAV PRZYCHOCKI: De Gregorii Nazianzeni epistularum codicibus Britannicis, qui Londinii, Oxoniae, Cantabrigiae asservantur. In: *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydział Filologiczny*. 3.5 (1913), pp. 230–46, here p. 240. – STIG Y. RUDBERG: *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de Saint Basil*. Uppsala 1953, pp. 48–52. – GALLAY concluded that a manuscript close to ms Oxford, CCC 284 was the basis of the edition. PAUL GALLAY: *Les manuscrits des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*. Paris 1957, pp. 50/1 and 105–9 (especially p. 106). – See also PAUL JONATHAN FEDWICK: *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*. Vol. 1: The letters. Turnhout 1993, pp. 34/35 (siglum Ebs) and 203–7.

⁴⁷ Table 2 is based on the summary by CARMELO CRIMI: »Editiones principes« dell'Epistolario di Basilio di Cesarea. In: »Editiones principes« delle opere dei padri greci e latini. Ed. MARIAROSA CORTESI. Florence 2006 (*Millennio medievale. Atti di convegno*. 19), pp. 313–54,

here pp. 350–4 and is supplied with references to the foliation of the Oxford manuscript (CCC 284) and the editions by Opsopoeus and Erasmus, respectively.

⁴⁸ Opsopoeus mentioned that Pirckheimer was willing to lend his Greek manuscript containing the letters of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus to Opsopoeus when he asked him through Andreas Rüttel. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1159: »Itaque ego hoc tuo iam liberali responso sum non mediocriter erectus et exhilaratus tuaeque cohortationi non illibenter obsequutus«. Opsopoeus clearly said that he copied the sections which were not edited by Aldus Manutius. Although both Opsopoeus' request and Pirckheimer's reply were lost, it is clear that Opsopoeus worked from his copy where he combined Aldus' edition with the letters found in Pirckheimer's manuscript.

⁴⁹ By the 1528 edition, Opsopoeus wanted to complete the previous edition by Manutius (Venice 1499; ll. 29–39): »Eas vel hoc nomine diligentius transscripsi, partim quod antea nunquam editas compererim, partim quod sperarem studiosis et candidis lectoribus me non vulgariter gratificaturum, si nostra opera tanti ac tam rari thesauri potirentur. Promiserat quidem Aldus ille optime de literis meritis in epistolio ad Codrum Urceum, quod secundo libro Graecarum

Epistolarum praefixum est, eas aliquando se editurum. Verum quid eius voluntatem ab edendo retraxerit, parum compertum habeo. Paucas saltem Basilii ad Libanium sophistam et alios nonnullos in secundo volumine edidit, quas nos in hoc libello consulto praetermisimus«. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1159. On the 1499 edition by Aldus, cf. FEDWICK (see note 46), 199–201. On ff. α₁^r–β₇^v, there are 44 letters by Basil the Great. The location of the letters in the Aldina edition: n° 151: ff. 9^v–10^r, n° 20: f. 11^r–v, n° 14: ff. 15^r–16^r, n° 2: 16^r–20^r, n° 19: 20^v. The other thirty-nine letters were inserted by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

⁵⁰ Cf. CRIMI (see note 47), pp. 325–7. In note 45, CRIMI provided instances when Opsopoeus followed Aldus' edition. However, the variant readings of the Oxford codex as well as the editions by Opsopoeus and Erasmus demonstrate that the latter two were primarily based on the Oxford codex (CCC 284). The differences can be explained as editorial corrections or conjectures. CRIMI, pp. 336–43.

ms 284	gr. no	Hagenau 1528	Basle 1532	author	Epistle Aldina 1499
86 ^r – 101 ^r	(α' – Ια')	Β 1 ^r – C 7 ^r	504–14	Basil	2, 7, 19, 47, 34, 27, 30, 138, 268, 239, 271
101 ^r – 113 ^v	(Ιβ')	–	–	Basil	8
113 ^v – 116 ^v	(α' – ζ')	C 7 ^r – D 2 ^r	515–8	Gregory	53, 54, 114, 91, 186, 172, 120
117 ^r – 118 ^v	(ιψ')	D 2 ^r – D 3 ^v	518/9	Basil	14
118 ^v – 130 ^v	(η' – κ')	D 3 ^v – E 6 ^r	519–28	Gregory	60, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 46, 8, 19, 16, 41, 43, 58
130 ^v – 132 ^r	(Ιδ')	E 6 ^r – E 7 ^v	528/9	Basil	71
132 ^r – 137 ^v	(κα' – κζ')	E 8 ^r – F 4 ^v	529–33	Gregory	59, 48, 49, 50, 45, 47, 40
137 ^v – 243 ^r	(Ιστ' – υψ')	F 4 ^v – S 4 ^v	533–608	Basil	9, 277, 38, 58, 60, 59, 61, 66, 80, 67, 82, 69, 25, 24, 197, 57, 68, 120, 129, 140, 90, 28, 207, 210, 261, 246, 29, 97, 92, 243, 139, 251, 226, 263, 204, 53, 203, 125, 223, 189
–		S 4 ^v – S 5 ^v	608	Basil	151
243 ^r – 256 ^v	(υδ' – υθ')	S 5 ^v – V 1 ^v	609–18	Basil	244, 20, 32, 250, 51, 115
256 ^v – 275 ^v	(κη' – υστ')	V 1 ^v – Y 3 ^r	618–33	Gregory	79, 80, 30, 92, 81, 72, 73, 76, 182, 11, 195, 196, 141, 154, 130, 90, 193, 194, 25, 26, 138, 153, 20, 7, 29, 93, 135, 190, 191
275 ^v – 286 ^r	(υζ' – οβ')	–	634–42	Gregory	178, 32, 87, 34, 33, 35, 36, 31, 224, 147, 148, 173, 132, 94, 112, 113
286 ^r – 287 ^v	(ογ')	Y 3 ^r – Y 4 ^r	–	Gregory	61
287 ^v – 292 ^v	(οδ' – π')	–	643–6	Gregory	64, 44, 65, 131, 125, 140, 199
–	–	–	647	Gregory	61
–		Y 4 ^r – Z 7 ^v	648–56	Basil	8
–	–	–	656–74	Basil	(Aldina 1499, ff. 1 ^r –15 ^r , f. 20 ^v) 335–356, 112, 1, 293, 135, 16, 4, 211, 12, 13, 3, 116, 10, 330, 332, 333, 86, 334

[Table 2] Ms Oxford, ccc 284 and the first two editions of the epistles of Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great by Opsopoeus (Hagenau 1528) and Erasmus (Basle 1532)

ford. From the edition by Aldus Manutius (Venice 1499), Opsopoeus inserted only one epistle by Basil (n° 151), which is surprising because Opsopoeus intended his new edition to complement the earlier one by Aldus.⁴⁸ However, Opsopoeus did not omit the four epistles (nos. 2, 19, 14, and 20) that Aldus Manutius published in 1499,⁴⁹ and collated them with ms 284 CCC, Oxford.⁵⁰ Compared to the latter, the single peculiarity in Opsopoeus' edition is the fact that he inserted Epistle 151 by Basil in his own copy from Aldus Manutius' edition although it is absent in the Oxford manuscript that seems to have been the exemplar he used. This oddity might be explained by the addressee («Eustathios archiitatos») of Epistle 151, identical with that of Epistle 189 after which it was inserted. Thus, the act of inserting an item from Manutius' edition can be regarded as an editorial attempt to complete the deficiency of the other exemplar. As a further explanation, it is worth observing that Epistles 151, 244, and 20 feature in an identical sequence in both the Aldina and Opsopoeus' edition; thus, the editor might have used the printed edition when he was transcribing this part of Pirckheimer's manuscript (ff. 9^v–11^v).

On the other hand, it is well known that Erasmus asked Pirckheimer

for the manuscript that Opsopoeus employed when preparing a more complete edition of the two Church Fathers (Basil and Gregory).⁵¹ After comparing Opsopoeus' edition with Pirckheimer's manuscript, Erasmus complained about the inaccuracy of Opsopoeus' Hagenau edition.⁵² Erasmus pointed out that Opsopoeus omitted almost one third of the epistles featured in Pirckheimer's manuscript. In order to correct these shortcomings, Erasmus promised that he would include the absent epistles in his new edition. Erasmus' edition that was published in Basle in 1532 demonstrates that he kept his word. His edition contains the 23 epistles that Opsopoeus omitted, in a sequence identical with that of ms 284 CCC, Oxford.⁵³ The only difference is that Epistle 61 by Gregory and Epistle 8 by Basil are arranged according to Opsopoeus' edition. Subsequent to the epistles that appear in the Oxford manuscript, Erasmus inserted the correspondence between Basil and Libanius (39 epistles) from the 1499 edition by Aldus Manutius (ff. 1^r–15^r, 20^v), which Opsopoeus did not want to include due to its being available in an alternative edition.

In addition to the letters of the two Church Fathers, some other texts copied in ms 284 CCC, Oxford also demonstrate its possession by Pirckheimer. Quite recently, relying on former arguments, Carmelo Crimi demonstrated with even stronger evidence that Opsopoeus referred to ms 284 CCC, Oxford. Among his arguments, Crimi emphasized that the sequence of the letters of the two Church Fathers in ms 284 is basically identical with that of the *editio princeps* by Opsopoeus and share a great number of distinctive readings with it. In addition, Crimi used a passage in Pirckheimer's early biography by Konrad Rittershausen as a further argument. This passage provides a selection of Pirckheimer's translations: sentences by St Nilus of Ancyra († c. 430), extracts from St John Damascene (c. 676–749), and a treatise by St Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662).⁵⁴ Relying on Holzberg's view, Crimi believed that Rittershausen's list of these translations implies that all of them are based on a single manuscript because all these works can be found in ms 284 CCC, Oxford.

Nevertheless, the statement by Rittershausen can be understood in a different way as well. I do not think that Pirckheimer's biographer had

⁵¹ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (note 2), n^o 1174 (28. 05. 1528); n^o 1190, pp. 125/6 (25. 08. 1528): »Existimo tibi redditae litteras, quibus rogabam, ut codicem calamo descriptum epistolarum Basilii et Nazianzeni ad me mitteres. Vehementer enim hoc cupio nec levibus de causis et fiet absque de tuo detrimento. Sed expecto his nundinis scripta tua« (cf. n^o 1176).

⁵² Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (note 2), n^o 1242, pp. 241/2 (also edited in *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. PERCY STAFFORD ALLEN, Oxford 1934, n^o 2214, vol. 8, pp. 276/7). Erasmus sent his edition of the letters to W. Pirckheimer through Hieronymus Froben (Freiburg i. Br., 07. 09. 1529) with a letter: »De codice graeco ignoscat tua humanitas mihi,

quod non praesto fidem. Sub nundinas coepimus conferre. Quo sumus ingressi altius opus, hoc plus offendimus portentorum. Interdum toti versus omissi sunt, multa mutata studio, ut videtur. Quin et epistolae multae omissae. Postremo plusquam tertia pars voluminis abest. Collatio peracta est; sed coepimus, quod nobis deest, describere. De codice ne sis sollicitus; erit domino suo incolumis. Fortasse curabimus excudendum exemplar nostrum«. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n^o 1254, pp. 266–9 (Johannes Baptista Egnatius' letter to Pirckheimer: Venice, 13. 11. 1529). The letter mentions a codex comprising Gregory of Nazianzus from which Pirckheimer made the sections copied for him, which were missing in his

manuscript. This copy was sent to Pirckheimer from Venice through a merchant, Jakob Wesler.

⁵³ Basle, VD 16 B 338 and VD G 3040. Erasmus' edition of the letters of the two Cappadocian Fathers was appended to Froben's edition of Basil's homilies (*En amice lector ...*, Basle 1532, pp. 504–674). See also the digitalized copy. See index of websites on p. 374. On this edition, see FEDWICK (see note 46), pp. 208–17.

⁵⁴ »Sibi comparavit ex graecis [auctoribus] Epistolas sanctorum Patrum atque episcoporum, Basilii Magni, et Gregorii Nazianzeni, quibuscum etiam Nili capita gnostica: Item Iohannis Damasceni quaedam, et Maximi Confessoris: Quae omnia ante aliquot centenos

any information regarding the exemplars Pirckheimer used for his translations. This sentence seems to have been compiled exclusively based on the editions which were easily accessible for the biographer. Thus, Rittershausen's statement about Pirckheimer's translations cannot be used as a proof of the hypothesis that all derive from a single manuscript. So far, this supposition has not been examined through comparison of the manuscript with the editions. For the identification of the exemplars used by Pirckheimer, the letters and St Nilus' sentences seem to provide solid grounds by the sequence of the short literary pieces because they are arranged in an identical and distinctive way in both cases (see below). At the same time, the distortion generated by the translation makes this task rather difficult in longer texts such as the treatise by St Maximus. The extracts from St John Damascene, however, seem to originate from a manuscript other than ms 284 CCC, Oxford.

The first Latin translation of St Nilus' sentences

Pirckheimer translated the sentences by St Nilus both in Latin and German in December 1515.⁵⁵ A clear sign of their popularity was that Pirckheimer found five different publishers who printed his Latin translation in the subsequent year (1516). An edition, dedicated to Georg Spalatin, was published in Johann Rhau-Grunenberg's printing shop in Wittenberg.⁵⁶ In addition, Pirckheimer's Latin translation of St Nilus's sentences was published in the printing shop of Friedrich Peypus in Nuremberg (VD 16 N 1759–1760) and in an edition by Matthias Schürer in Strasbourg (VD 16 N 1761). Moreover, it was also published by Lotter Melchior in Leipzig (VD 16 N 1758) and in Cologne (VD 16 N 1757). In addition to St Nilus' sentences, three editions (those by Peypus, Schürer, and Melchior) contain Pirckheimer's Latin translation of a set of short extracts from the homilies by St John Damascene (VD 16 J 525–9). Later, Pirckheimer translated both texts into German as well,⁵⁷ and his Latin translation came out in a number of subsequent editions.⁵⁸ As a preface to the translation, all editions are preceded by a letter Pirckheimer wrote to his sister. This letter narrated the acquisition of the exemplar used for the editions in the same phrases as cited here:

annos in ipsa Graecia scripta sunt, nec unquam viderant lucem, quam ab ipso fuissent edita. KONRAD RITTERSHAUSEN / GOLDAST MELCHIOR, V.: *Illustris Willibaldi Pirckheimeri... Opera Politica, Historica, Philologica Et Epistolica*. Frankfurt 1610, p. 14. Cited by: HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 90, 223 and 226–30. – CRIMI (see note 47), p. 343, note 105. – HOLZBERG, p. 227, did not manage to identify the manuscript used for the edition.

⁵⁵ On this translation (MAURICE GEERARD: *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Vols. I–IV. Turnhout 1974–83, n° 6583) and its significance, see PAOLO BETTIOLO: *Le Sententiae di Nilo: patristica ed umanesimo nel XVI secolo*. In: *Cristianesimo nella Storia, Ricerche Storiche*

Esegetiche Teologiche Bologna. 1 (1980), pp. 155–84, here pp. 165–8.

⁵⁶ VD 16 N 1762: the dedication is dated 11. 03. 1516. On this edition, see CRIMI (see note 47), p. 344, note 106.

⁵⁷ Cf. HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 232–6. London, Arundel 503, ff. 1^r–17^r (sentences by St Nilus), ff. 17^v–20^r (excerpts from St John Damascene), described by KRISTELLER (see note 31), p. 131. Pirckheimer's German translation of St John Damascene has not yet been edited in print. The German translation of the sentences by St Nilus was published in Nuremberg in 1536 (VD 16 ZV 25849).

⁵⁸ Cf. HOLZBERG (see note 1), p. 232. Pirckheimer sent the small volume to many of his friends. REICKE (see note 2),

n° 377, pp. 596–8 and SCHEIBLE / WUTTKE (see note 2), n° 380, pp. 2/3. Both translations were published in a number of later editions: Leipzig 1517: VD 16 ZV 11740; Basle 1517: VD 16 ZV 11741 (without St John Damascene); Basle 1518: VD 16 ZV 11742; Strasbourg 1519: VD 16 ZV 11743; Cologne 1520: VD 16 ZV 11739; Augsburg 1540: VD 16 N 1763; Augsburg 1542: VD 16 N 1764; Ingolstadt 1556: VD 16 N 1765; and Ingolstadt 1568: VD 16 N 1766.

ms Oxford ccc 284 / 1516 Nuremberg VD 16 N 1759 / PG 79 / work			
66 ^v –70 ^r , l. 21	A ₂ ^r l. 1–A ₄ ^r l. 18	1251–7	(cap. 25–96)
70 ^r l. 21–71 ^r l. 14	A ₄ ^r l. 19–A ₄ ^v l. 17	1241–3	(sen. 19–33)
71 ^r l. 15–73 ^v l. 6	A ₄ ^v l. 18–A ₆ ^r l. 3	1243–7	(sen. 35–72)
73 ^v l. 7–74 ^r l. 23	A ₆ ^r l. 4–A ₆ ^v l. 1	1257–60	(cap. 97–109a)
74 ^r l. 19–23	A ₆ ^v l. 1–5	—	—
74 ^r l. 23–74 ^v l. 21	A ₆ ^v l. 6–21	1260	(cap. 110–117)
74 ^v l. 22–24	A ₆ ^v l. 22–23	—	—
75 ^r Z. 1–19	A ₆ ^v l. 24–B ₁ ^r l. 5	1260	(cap. 118–123)
75 ^r l. 19–75 ^v l. 7	B ₁ ^r l. 6–15	1261/2	(cap. 127–128, 130–132, 136)
75 ^v l. 7–11	B ₁ ^r l. 16–18	1262	(cap. 139a)
75 ^v l. 11–24 ₃	B ₁ ^r l. 19–32	1240	(sen. 1–6)
76 ^r l. 1–4	—	—	—
76 ^r l. 4–19	B ₁ ^v l. 1–11	1241	(sen. 8–12)
76 ^r l. 19–76 ^v l. 10	B ₁ ^v l. 12–22	1261	(cap. 125–126, 129–130, 134)
76 ^v l. 11–12	B ₁ ^v l. 22–23	?	?
76 ^v l. 12–19	—	1261	(cap. 137–138)
76 ^v l. 19–77 ^r l. 9	B ₁ ^v l. 24–B ₂ ^r l. 3	1241	(sen. 13–18)
77 ^r l. 10–24	B ₂ ^r l. 4–12	—	(sen. 73–77a)
= 76 ^v l. 15–19	B ₂ ^r l. 13–15	1261	(cap. 138)
77 ^v l. 1–78 ^v l. 2	B ₂ ^r l. 16–B ₂ ^v l. 21	1248	(sen. 78–97)
78 ^v l. 3–5	—	—	—
77 ^v –78 ^v l. 5–14	B ₂ ^v l. 22–29	—	—

[Table 3] St Nilus' sentences in ms Oxford, ccc 284 and in the editions of Pirckheimer's Latin translation

Jacobus Banissius, the councilor and secretary of his imperial majesty, dean of Trident, sent us a rather old codex which escaped the yoke of slavery by being rescued from a miserable Greece through our common friend, the imperial historian and prominent mathematician Johannes Stabius. I was skimming over it and reading bits and pieces when I suddenly arrived at the wise sentences by Father Nilus, saint bishop and Christ's confessor.⁵⁹

The sentences by St Nilus (ff. 66^v–78^v) were copied down behind an extract from St John Damascene (ff. 56^r–66^v) in ms 284 CCC, Oxford. I compared the Greek text with the Latin translation of the sentences by St Nilus, which has decisively confirmed the hypothesis that Pirckheimer used ms 284 CCC. Except for three sentences among the more than two hundred, Pirckheimer's translation faithfully follows the sequence of the sentences as transmitted in ms 284 CCC, Oxford [see table 3].⁶⁰ All of the three cases can be regarded as Pirckheimer's slips of attention; he recognized one of them, as his correction manifests.⁶¹ However, the extracts from the homilies of St John Damascene derive from a selection different from the one in ms 284 CCC, Oxford.⁶² Thus, in this particular case the exemplar used by Pirckheimer must have been a manuscript other than ms 284 CCC, Oxford.

In the preface mentioned above – the letter to Clara Pirckheimer – Pirckheimer did not mention the extracts from St John Damascene.

Among the manuscripts that can be traced as a part of Pirckheimer's bequest, the identical selection of extracts from St John Damascene appears in a single manuscript: London, BL, Arundel 528, ff. 107^v–110^v. This composite manuscript moved together with Arundel 527 and seems to have been transferred from Johannes Gremper's († 1519) possession (cf. f. 193: »Jo. Gremperij Memor Sis«) to Pirckheimer.⁶³ The various parts of the composite manuscript were put together by a certain Makarios, Bishop of Halicz (now Ukraine).⁶⁴ As far as the date of Pirckheimer's edition allows a precision, he translated it at the very end of the year 1515. The ms Arundel 527/8 could easily have been acquired in Hungary, perhaps in Buda by Gremper who visited the Hungarian royal court in 1513 and 1514 and acquired a number of volumes from the royal library.⁶⁵ It seems in 1515 through Jacobus Banissius (Jakov Baničević, † 1532), the secretary of Emperor Maximilian I and Johannes Stabius who devised the iconographic

59 REICKE (see note 2), n° 377, pp. 596–8 (W. Pirckheimer's letter to Clara Pirckheimernek, Nuremberg, 29. 12. 1515): »Jacobus Banissius, Caesareae maiestatis a consiliis et secretis, decanus Tridentinus, codicem pervetustum, qui e miseranda Graecia elapsus captivitatis iugum evaserat, per communem amicam Joannem Stabium, imperialem historiographum et mathematicum insignem, ad me misisset egoque levi transcurso illum delibassem, sorte quadam in beatissimi patris Nili, episcopi et martiris Christi, sententiosa incidi dicta«. This phrase also features in the preface to the edition by Johann Rhau-Grunenberg, which was dedicated to Georg Spalatin: VD 16 N 1762, f. A iir, cf. CRIMI (see note 47), p. 344, note 107.

60 See also the table in HOLZBERG (see note 1), p. 228, who was not familiar with the Oxford manuscript.

61 Pirckheimer omitted three sentences: Oxford, CCC, ms 284, f. 76^r, ll. 1–4; 76^v, ll. 16–9 (the latter one is inserted on p. B₂ r ll. 13–5); f. 78^v, ll. 3–5. There is no evidence for such sentences that Pirckheimer translated and do not feature in the Oxford codex.

62 Subsequent to the Nilus sentences, there is a short section excerpted from St John Damascene: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. 95 (1864), 83B–86C: (*Octo sunt Passiones ...*), GEERARD (see note 55), nos. 8110 and 3975. MIGNE published this redaction from Pirckheimer's translation without the Greek original. The CCC, ms 284 contains a redaction GEERARD n° 8111 (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. 95 [1864], pp. 85–96.) different from Pirckheimer's translation, which refutes the hypothesis that RITTERSHAUSEN (see note 54) referred to a single manuscript.




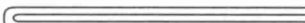


63 PATTIE/MCKENDRICK (see note 8), pp. 9–12. RALPH CLEMINSON: *A Union Catalogue of Cyrillic Manuscripts in British and Irish Collections*. London 1988, n° 94/5,



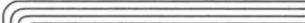



pp. 144–6. Cf. also HANS ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN: Magister Johannes Gremper aus Rheinfelden, ein Wiener Humanist und Bibliophile des XVI. Jahrhunderts. In: *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. 30 (1913), pp. 197–216, here pp. 212/3. The extracts from St John Damascene on ff. 107^v–110^v are verbatim identical with the edition in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*. 95 (1864), 83B–86C: (*Octo sunt Passiones ...*), GEERARD (see note 55), nos. 8110. Within Part ff. 63–110, the heading of the exact Pirckheimer translated (ff. 107^v–110^v) does not tell the name of its author, the title of f. 85^v yet gives the name of St John Damascene, who could easily be understood as the author of all the subsequent writings: f. 85^v: »τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνου περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακίῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν« (GEERARD (see note 55), n° 8111); f. 97^r: »περὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν δυναμῶν« (*Michael Psellos: De anima*, extract); f. 107^v: »Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ πονηρίας πνεύματος« from which Pirckheimer translated the extracts with the Latin heading »ex sanctissim(ī) patris Ioannis Damasceni sermonibus«. Compared to the latter redaction, Pirckheimer's translation is a condensed paraphrase. The closing summary added after the final section of the Greek text discussing the fight against arrogance seems Pirckheimer's own composition.



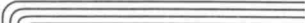



64 Arundel 528 was bound from at least five parts. Part 1: ff. 1–8; Part 2: ff. 9–62 (quire signatures: α'–ζ'); Part 3: ff. 63–110 (quire signatures: α'–στ', some are not well visible); Part 4: ff. 111–82 (quire signatures: α'–θ', some are not well visible); Part 5: 183–94. See Makarios' notes »ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ...« in Slavonic on f. 110^v: »Τοῦ ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Γαλιτῆζης μακαρίου« in Greek on f. 60^v: »ὁ γαλιτῆζης μακάριος« a *monokondylio* (a signature written in a single continuous line) on f. 162^r and f. 181^v: »μακάριος« on f. 182^v. Cf. PANAYOTIS G. NIKOLOPOULOS: Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην






Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί. Athens 1973, p. 279. Makarios, a monk of Serbian origin in the monastery of St Cyprian in Constantinople, was appointed as a bishop of Halicz by Pope Callistus III (1455–8) in 1458. ANTONI PROCHASKA: *Miscellanea Archiwalne: Nieznane dokumenta do unji Florenczkiej w Polsce*. In: *Ateneum wilneskie*. 1 (1923), pp. 58–74, here pp. 64/5, 68/9. GEORG HOFMANN: Papst Kalixt III und die Frage der Kircheneinheit im Osten. In: *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*. Vol. 3. Letteratura e storia bizantina. Vatican City 1946, pp. 209–37, here pp. 227–9. – Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800–1600. Vol. 1. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens Ed. ERNST GAMILLSCHEG, DIETER HARLFINGER and HERBERT HUNGER. Vienna 1981 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*. 3), n° 244. *Prosopographisches Lexikon des Palaiologenzeit*. Wien 1976–96, vol. 7, n° 16192.

65 Vienna, ÖNB Cod. Lat. 138 (Marcellinus comes Illyricus, Gennadius Massiliensis, Isidorus Hispalensis, Ildefonsus Toletanus), 218 (*In perversionem problematum Aristotelis*), 977 (*Dialogus S. Iohannis Chrysostomi et [Pseudo-] Sancti Basilii ...*) and Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 417 (Philostratus), CSAPODI (see note 17), nos. 418, 669, 170, 478, and 503. In addition to these volumes, Gremper's interest in theology is also manifested by his annotations in Bessarion's three theological works in Latin, later rebound in a Corvina binding in Buda (today Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 438) and, presumably in Vienna, copied the entire manuscript comprising the Latin translation of two works by Basil the Great (*De divinitate filii et spiritus sancti* and *Adversus Eunomium*) from a Corvina manuscript today kept in Budapest (OSZK, Cod. Lat. 415). His apograph is kept in HAB Wolfenbüttel (4. 7. Aug. 4°). ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN (see note 63), pp. 213–5.

[Fig. 3] The Corvina binder's activity (ÖNB suppl. gr. 177)		f. 1	Heß-binding (1528) pastedown (1528) 13 th century legal text
		ff. 1, 4 ff. 2, 3	15 th century parchment 10 th century table of contents
		ff. 5–12	
		ff. 13–527	10 th century
		ff. 528–531	
		ff. 532, 533	15 th century parchment
		f. 534	13 th century legal text pastedown (1528) Heß-binding (1528)

[Fig. 4] The Corvina binder's activity (UB Leipzig, Rep. I.17)			upper board: Corvina binding reflections [(4) ^v and 1 ^r] (1)
			lost leaves (2), (3), (4), (5) = 1
		ff. 1–8	
		ff. 9–261	10 th century
		ff. 262–264	lost leaves
		ff. 265	lost leaves
			pastedown lower board: Corvina binding

[Fig. 5] The Corvina binder's activity (ÖNB hist. gr. 16)			pastedown, I, II, III: 18 th century paper
			IV, V: 15 th century parchment
		ff. 1–472	14 th century Zonaras
			end of the chronicle 14 th century ff. (a1) 473, (a2) 474, (a3) 475, (a4) 476, 477, 478 lost leaves (?)
			15 th century parchment
		f. 479	
		ff. 480–482	18 th century paper pastedown

[Fig. 6] The Corvina binder's activity (ÖNB suppl. gr. 4)			upper board: Corvina binding lost pastedown & flyleaf [I], [II]
		ff. 1, 2	"pseudo beginning" 11 th century
		ff. 3, 4, 5	1 st mutilated quire Chrysostem (11 th century)
		ff. 6–331	Chrysostem (11 th century)
		ff. 332, 333	"pseudo end" 11 th century
		f. 334 f. 335	flyleaf: 15 th century parchment former pastedown lower board: Corvina binding

reconstructed squire of the
menologion (11th century)

program of Maximilian's "Triumphal Arch" (*Ehrenpforte*) with Pirckheimer's assistance that the exemplar was transferred to him. This is known from a letter (January 1516) in which Pirckheimer expresses his gratitude for more than one volume and states that he had translated more works by referring to the name of Banissius as it stands in the preface to the edition of the sentences by St Nilus, which was expanded with the excerpts from St John Damascene.⁶⁶ The use of the plural (*libellos quosdam graecos*) also supports the identification of Arundel 527/8 as Pirckheimer's exemplar because it consisted of several short manuscripts at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Liber Asceticus by St Maximus the Confessor

In addition to the epistles of the two Cappadocian Fathers, and the sentences by St Nilus, Pirckheimer translated two other works from ms 284 CCC, Oxford. One of them is the *Liber Asceticus* by St Maximus the Confessor, which was published in 1530.⁶⁷ This work does not feature in any manuscripts of the Arundel collection in the British Library, a reservoir of Pirckheimer's bequest, and copies preceding the year 1530 are considerably scarce, almost not attested in the West. Thereafter, ms 284 CCC, Oxford seems an acceptable candidate to be regarded as the exemplar Pirckheimer used (ff. 293^v–324^r). Regrettably, there is not a preface preceding the edition which can inform us about the provenance of exemplar.

The two codices and the Corvina library

The other work is *De officio episcopi* (or. 2) by Gregory of Nazianzus, a homily which Pirckheimer already decided to translate in 1528 when he published his translations of two other homilies by Gregory.⁶⁸ Pirckheimer's translation of Homily 2 came out in print at the beginning of 1529.⁶⁹ It is in the context of this 1529 edition of Homily 2 that Heß expressed his debt of gratitude to Pirckheimer for sending a copy. In addition, it was the same letter to which Heß appended the index of contents of ÖNB suppl. gr. 177. Because of this chronology and Pirckheimer's turn of phrase (*praeterea*), he must have used a manuscript other than the one sent by Heß; thus it could be easily ms 284 CCC, Oxford. The title of the trans-

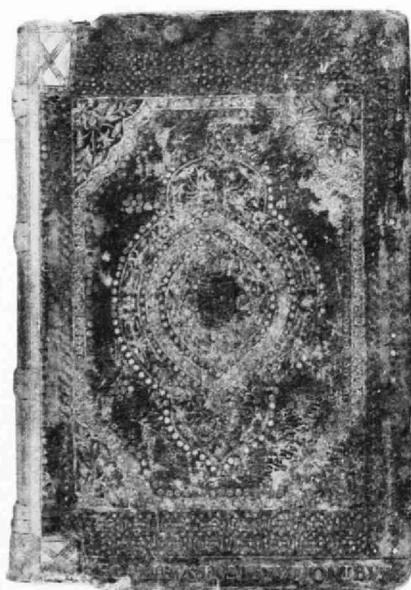
⁶⁶ Cf. SCHEIBLE / WUTTKE (see note 2), n° 379, pp. 1/2: Pirckheimer's letter to Jacobus Banissius (Nuremberg, January 1516): *»Interim vero, cum Stabius noster libellos quosdam graecos a dominatione tua attulisset, quaedam ex illis convertimus ac in publicum non sine nominis tui, ut decet, praeconio edidimus«*. Pirckheimer sent his friend twenty copies of his translation of Nilus' sentences. On the occasions when Banissius, the imperial secretary, disposed of the acquired manuscripts according to Maximilian's wish, see a manuscript sent by Gremper through Georg von Slatkonja, Bishop of Vienna (1456–1522) to Banissius in ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN (see note 63), p. 203 and Maximilian's request from Johannes

Cuspinianus (1443–1529) to transfer the Zonaras manuscript from Buda to Banissius who would forward it to Pirckheimer for translation in *Johann Cuspinianus Briefwechsel* (see note 16), n° 18, pp. 39–41 (Weissenburg, 05. 02. 1513). On Pirckheimer's cooperation with Stabius, see HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 176/7. – JOHN MONFASANI: A tale of two books: Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* and George of Trebizond's *Comparatio Philosophorum Platonis et Aristotelis*. In: *Renaissance Studies*. 22 (2007), pp. 1–13, here pp. 12/3. – ANDRÁS NÉMETH: I. Miksa Willibald Pirckheimernek küldött ajándékkönyvei: Újabb budai eredetű görög kódexek? In: *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* [Bulletin of History of Arts]. 59 (2011), pp. 275–291.

⁶⁷ Cf. GEERARD (see note 55), n° 7692. – VD 16 1664. – HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 351/2.

⁶⁸ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1176, p. 97: *»et si deus annuerit, brevi alia quoque theologi huius – ita enim a Graecis appellatur – scripta in publicum exire videbis, precipue vero orationem elegantissimam de munere episcopali, quam me tunc in manibus habere vidisti«*, see full citation in note 52. See the edition as VD 16 G 3081.

⁶⁹ VD 16 G 3073: HOLZBERG (see note 1), pp. 348–51.



[Fig. 7] Upper cover of the *alla greca* gilded leather binding of ms UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17 (34,5 × 23,3 × 9 cm) prepared in Buda in the late 1480s; at the bottom of the upper cover features the title »(DE) REGALIBUS INSTITUTIONIBUS«; the coat of arms of King Matthias Corvinus appears in the centre

lated homily is a verbatim translation of the title in the Oxford manuscript. Otherwise, the distortion of the Latin translation cannot provide decisive evidence for the identification of the archetype of these two texts.

It is also in connection with the homily *On the bishop's office* (or. 2) that Pirckheimer mentioned the Hungarian provenance of the Gregory codex in a letter to his friend, Georg Spalatin, in 1529 as a seemingly unfitted and redundant piece of information. The note that the substantial Gregory codex was acquired as booty from Hungary appears rather suddenly and without an adequate context. Pirckheimer seems to have more reasons to refer to the substantial unique codex he received from Heß. The homily (*On the bishop's office*) of which Pirckheimer was sending a Latin translation to Georg Spalatin featured in both codices: in Heß's manuscript it was the work subsequent to the truncated Homily 1 (ff. 6^v–39^v, incomplete at the beginning); in the other manuscript, which seems to have been ms 284 CCC, Oxford, on ff. 5^r–56^v. The additional note that Heß's codex originated from Hungary can be best explained through the origin shared by the exemplar Pirckheimer used for the 1529 edition – as we have already learned from Opsopoeus in connection with other texts edited from the same manuscript. On the one hand, Opsopoeus is likely to have learned from Pirckheimer that the codex comprising the epistles of the two Cappadocian Fathers was once housed in the royal library in Buda. On the other hand, Pirckheimer seems to have come to know about the provenance of the old volume comprising more than 50 works by Gregory of Nazianzus from Heß who also mentioned his Gregory codex in the context of the homily *On the bishop's office*. Regrettably, neither of the two sources survives.

The value of an origin from the Hungarian royal library in Buda, which immediately increased after its pillage by the Turks in 1526, can be viewed as an additional explanation. This change of appreciation might explain the differences between the preface to St Nilus' sentences, where the Greek origin was emphasized, and Pirckheimer's letter to Spalatin. In the latter, the Nuremberg scholar found the Hungarian provenance worth mentioning in the case of Heß's codex; Heß had previously emphasized the Greek origin of his manuscript in a letter to Pirckheimer (as cited above). A similar difference can be observed concerning the provenance of Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 157 in Vincent Opsopoeus' Polybius edition (Hagenau 1530: VD 16 P 4082) where he does not mention the provenance of the manuscript, and his Heliodorus edition (Basle 1534: VD 16 H 1673) where he describes the adventures how a soldier obtained the manuscript from King Matthias' library. Philological studies have demonstrated that both editions rely on Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 157.⁷⁰

The personage of Georg Spalatin might provide a further supportive argument. Pirckheimer dedicated an edition of Nilus' sentences to Spalatin (Wittenberg 1516: VD 16 N 1762). This translation is also based on the same codex from which the homily *On the bishop's office* seems to have been made. This dedication may have given Pirckheimer an opportunity to share his knowledge of the origin of this codex with Spalatin although

⁷⁰ Cf. KERSTIN HAJDU: Codices Graeci Monacenses 110–180. Wiesbaden 2003 (*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*. 2,3), pp. 255–9 with literature.

such a letter does not survive. However, Opsopoeus' 1528 Basle edition certainly revealed the provenance of its archetype to Spalatin if he knew that the homily *On the bishop's office* and the epistles of the two Greek fathers were in the same manuscript. All these aspects together may explain why Pirckheimer mentioned the direct Hungarian provenance of Heß's Gregory codex, being of secondary importance for theological discussions he focused on, in his letter to Georg Spalatin. These connections between the two codices seem to corroborate Opsopoeus' statement that scholars used to distrust.

It is true that in the Oxford manuscript there is not any evidence left for its history before the turn of the eighteenth century when Christopher Wase donated it to Corpus Christi College in 1704.⁷¹ Wase enrolled in the college in 1677 and became a scholar in 1690. His father, also named as Christopher Wase (1625?–90) was a famous classical scholar and is credited with English translations of several works such as Sophocles' *Electra* and Phaedrus' *Fables*. He was the *architypographus* of Oxford University Press for some time and also bequeathed manuscripts to Corpus Christi College. Wase may have acquired the volume in England because Thomas Howard, as shown above, purchased Pirckheimer's manuscripts and brought them to England in 1636. Shortly after Henry Howard donated his books to the Royal Society, Oxford University initiated negotiations with the earl to consent with the exchange of some manuscripts donated to the Royal Society.⁷² Thus, it could easily have been in the 1670s or 1680s, when negotiations took place with Oxford University, that the elder Wase obtained this manuscript with an origin from Pirckheimer's library.

The scholars who described ms 284 CCC, Oxford (Irmgard Hutter and Nigel Wilson)⁷³ rejected Opsopoeus' report on its provenance from the Hungarian royal library, which might have come from Pirckheimer, for two major reasons. Firstly, because the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus is absent from the manuscript, and secondly because there are not any marks left in the margins that were introduced in Hagenau in Setzer's printing shop when Opsopoeus edited the epistles of Basil and Gregory. The characteristics of the other Greek manuscripts that were certainly available at Buda for a couple of decades refute the first objection, as none of them is furnished with the coat of arms of the king on the title pages. In addition, Opsopoeus stated in the preface to his edition that it was based on his own selection which he transcribed from Pirckheimer's manuscript.⁷⁴ Opsopoeus did so in his other editions as well. For example, the *editio princeps* of Heliodorus was based on manuscript Munich, cod. gr. 157, ff. 124^r–167^v. Instead of the precious parchment manuscript itself, however, there was a copy in Opsopoeus' hands (Leiden, UL, BPG. 61a) which was directly used for the edition (Basle 1534: DV 16 H 1673); this copy is supplied with the editorial marks introduced in the printing shop.⁷⁵ The same procedure can be observed in Erasmus' edition (Basle 1532) who also worked from an apograph because he handled the old Greek codex, lent from Pirckheimer, with care and avoided writing in the manuscript.⁷⁶ Thus, neither of the two editions was based directly on

⁷¹ I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Julian Reid, archivist of Corpus Christi College for assisting me. It was Christopher Wase († 1711) who donated the volume to Corpus Christi College (see f. 1^r: »ex dono Christophori Wase«). THOMAS FOWLER: *The History of Corpus Christi College with Lists of Its Members*. Oxford 1893, pp. 401/2. On the 1704 donation, see ms Oxford, CCC, D/2/2: *Donations to the library C. C. Oxon. from 1695*: »a. 1704: Vol. mss. in pergam. continens quoddam Gregorii, Damasceni, Nili, Basilii«. Although the entry speaks about a parchment manuscript, it cannot be anything else but cod. 284.

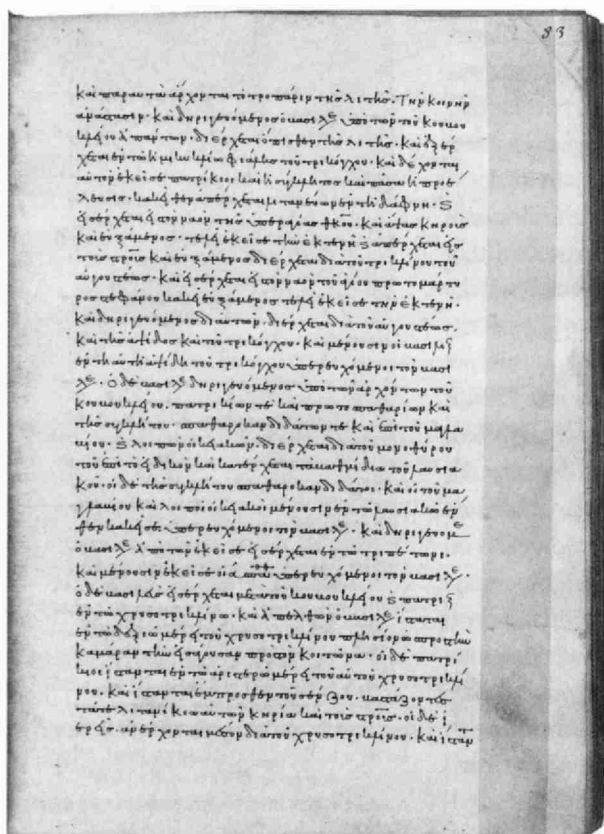
⁷² Cf. PAISEY (see note 8), pp. 173/4.

⁷³ Cf. HUTTER (see note 45), n^o 9, pp. 20–2. – CRIMI (see note 47), p. 347. I owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Nigel Wilson for providing me with his notes on the provenance of ms 284 CCC, Oxford.

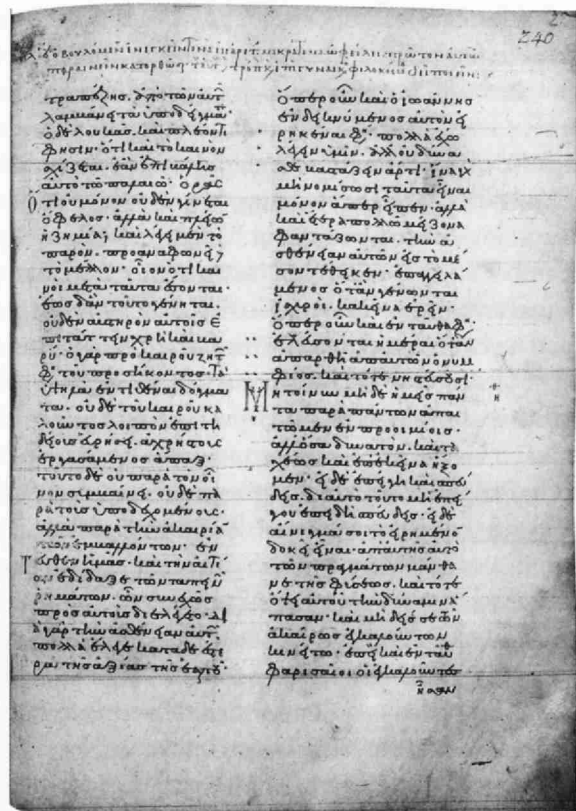
⁷⁴ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n^o 1159 (ll. 15–23): »Sed enim cum animadverterem huius tam rari codicis pretium nulla tua invidia premi, cum alias tuae instructissimae bibliothecae utriusque linguae auctores studiosis a te flagitantibus candidissime et libentissime utendos dare soleas, sed potius librarii penuria hactenus in obscuro delituisse, cepi te per Andream Rutellium familiarem tuum interpellare [...] me describendi laborem et taedium libenti animo suscipere et devorare velle«. Ll. 29–33: »Eas vel hoc nomine diligentius transscripsi, partim quod antea nunquam editas [compared to the edition (1499) by Aldus Manutius] compererim, partim quod sperarem studiosis et candidis lectoribus me non vulgariter gratificaturum, si nostra opera tanti ac tam rari thesauri potirentur«. He omitted the epistles edited by Aldus Manutius (Venice 1499; ll. 37–9): »Paucas saltem Basilii ad Libanium Sophistam et alios in secundo volumine edidit, quas nos in hoc libello consulto praetermissimus«.

⁷⁵ Cf. KAREL ADRIAAN DE MEYER: *Codices bibliothecae publicae Graeci*. Leiden 1965 (*Codices manuscripti/Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis*. 8), pp. 90/1. On the collation of both manuscripts with Opsopoeus' edition, see the literature in HAJDU (see note 70), p. 258.

⁷⁶ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n^o 1242, pp. 241/2: »De codice ne sis sollicitus; erit domino suo incolumis«, see full citation in note 52.



[Fig. 8] UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17, f. 83^r
(33 × 23 cm, quire number: 13)



[Fig. 9] Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 4, f. 240^r
(34 × 25 cm, quire number: 32)

Pirckheimer's codex: Opsopoeus worked from his apograph and Erasmus from his notes, which have not been identified so far. There is no reason to distrust the information deriving from Pirckheimer and Opsopoeus.⁷⁷ The quire signatures in ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 demonstrate that his knowledge of the origin of the Gregory codex was correct.

Pirckheimer's reliability

As far as Pirckheimer's reliability is concerned, the careful study of ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 demonstrates with material evidence that the huge codex he received from Heß in fact originates from the Corvina library:

(a) In the upper right corner of the first leaf of each quire, there are Arabic quire numbers in ÖNB suppl. gr. 177, ff. 5^r–173^r, which are identical in function (all facilitate the job of a binder) with the other codices with Corvina bindings and similar to them with regard to their ductus [see tab. 4].⁷⁸ The other three manuscripts are UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17,⁷⁹ Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 16,⁸⁰ and suppl. gr. 4 [see fig. 3–6, 8–10].⁸¹ In addition, in the outer corner of the lower margin there are quire signatures which could be ascribed to Johannes Heß's binder: ff. 5^r–173^r: lower case Gothic letters from b–z; ff. 151^r–352^r: also lower case Gothic letters from a–z; finally ff. 360^r–528^r: upper case Gothic letters from A–Y [see fig. 11].

(b) The hand identical with that of the quire numerals numbered the first four leaves of each quire in the entire codex (ÖNB suppl. gr. 177), occasionally jumping several numbers between subsequent leaves. This demonstrates that an assistant of the binder numbered the folia in order

to facilitate the job of reassembling the double leaves in the correct order when rebinding the vast volume. The double-leaf numbers demonstrate that the Gregory of Nazianzus codex was disbound between the mid-fifteenth-century and 1528 with the purpose of rebinding. The fact that the double-leaf numbers in the identical function appear in the truncated initial and final quires in other Corvina codices leads to the conclusion that the Gregory of Nazianzus codex arrived at the Buda court in a loose binding.⁸² Because the process of rebinding lasted relatively short time, cod. suppl. gr. 177 seems to have received an *alla greca* type of gilded leather Corvina binding, similar to those of ms UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17 [see fig. 7] and ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 4 (35,5 × 25,5 × 9,5 cm). In 1528, however, Heß's binder deprived the manuscript of all evidence necessary to answer this question. The execution of the 1528 re-binding, prepared with a different binding technique, necessitated the dis-binding the Corvina volume, stitching the double leaves into quires and sewing together the quires again. This procedure explains the new system of quire signatures copied by Heß's binder in the lower margin's outer corner [see fig. 3 and fig. 11].

(c) The state of preservation must have been also damaged because several truncated leaves of ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 were completed with fine Italian parchment [see fig. 3].⁸³ In addition to the humanist quire numbers, the insertion of the fifteenth-century fine parchment leaves might also be ascribed to the binding workshop at Buda. Similarly to ff. 532/3, ff. 1 and 4 could have functioned as flyleaves before the codex was rebound for Heß. It could have been Heß's binder who transferred the double leaf of ff. 1 and 4 in order to protect ff. 2/3 that comprise the table of contents of the volume. Three other manuscripts demonstrate that the Corvina binder

77 As shown above (see notes 14–8), Pirckheimer was well informed on other manuscripts of the royal library in Buda and also in the news from Hungary such as, e.g., on the Hungarians' preparations against the Turks. SCHEIBLE 2004 (see note 2), n° 1028 (Vienna, 26. 04. 1526), pp. 138–42.

78 On these four manuscripts (ÖNB hist. gr. 16, suppl. gr. 4, 177 and UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17), see ANDRÁS NÉMETH: *The Mynas codex and the Bibliotheca Corviniana*. In: *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit. Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel*. Ed. CH. GASTGEBER et alii. Vienna 2011 (forthcoming), pp. 158–63. See numerals copied by the assistant of the Corvina binder and those of Heß's binder in parentheses: (in the humanist complement of the truncated leaf) 1 (b); f. 13^r: 2 (c); f. 21^r: 3 (d); f. 29^r: 4 (e); f. 37^r: 5 (f); f. 45^r: 6 (g); f. 53^r: 7 (h); f. 61^r: 8 (i); f. 69^r: 9 (k); f. 77^r: 10 (l); f. 85^r: 11 (m); f. 93^r: 12 (n); f. 101^r: 13 (o); f. 109^r: 14 (p); f. 117^r: 15 (q); f. 125^r: 16 (r); f. 133^r: 17 (s); f. 141^r: 18 (t? washed); f. 149^r: 1(9) (trimmed) (v); f. 157^r: 20 (x); f. 165^r: 2(1) (y); f. 173^r: 22 (z).

79 UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17: f. 1^r: 2; f. 9^r: 3; f. 17^r: 4; f. 25^r: 5; f. 33^r: 6; f. 41^r: 7; f. 43^r: 8;

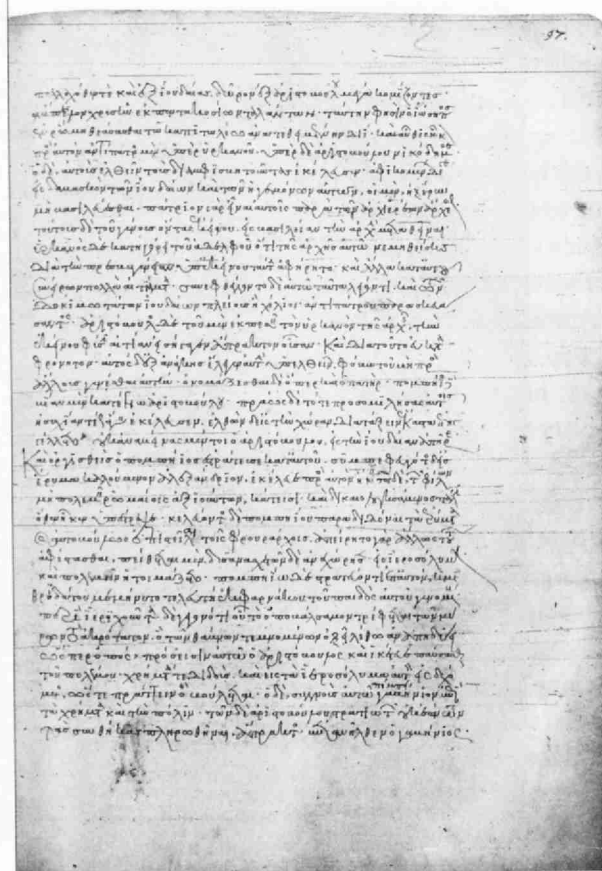
f. 51^r: 9; f. 59^r: 10; f. 67^r: 11; f. 75^r: 12; f. 83^r: 13; f. 91^r: 14; f. 99^r: 15; f. 107^r: 16; f. 115^r: 17; f. 123^r: 18; f. 131^r: 19; f. 139^r: 20; f. 147^r: 21 (trimmed upper part); f. 155^r: not visible; f. 163^r: 23 (trimmed upper part); f. 171^r: leaf lost after the binding was made; f. 179^r: not visible; f. 187^r: not visible; f. 195^r: not visible; f. 203^r: leaf lost after binding; f. 211^r: 2(9) (trimmed upper part); f. 222^r: 31 (trimmed upper part); f. 230^r: 32; f. 238^r: 33; f. 246^r: 3(4); f. 254^r: not visible; f. 262^r: not visible.

80 ÖNB hist. gr. 16: f. 17^r: 3; f. 25^r: 4; f. 33^r: 5; f. 41^r: 6; f. 49^r: 7; f. 57^r: 8; f. 65^r: 9; f. 73^r: 10; f. 81^r: 11; f. 89^r: 12; f. 97^r: 13; f. 105^r: 14; f. 114^r: not visible; f. 121^r: 16; f. 129^r: 17; f. 137^r: not visible; f. 145^r: 19; f. 153^r: 20; f. 161^r: not visible; f. 169^r: 2(2); f. 177^r: 2(3); f. 185^r: not visible; f. 193^r: 25; f. 201^r: 2(6); f. 209^r: 2(7); f. 217^r: not visible; f. 225^r: 29; f. 233^r: 30; f. 241^r: 31; f. 249^r: 32; f. 257^r: 33; f. 265^r: 34; f. 273^r: 35; f. 281^r: 36; f. 289^r: 37; f. 297^r: not visible; f. 305^r: 39; f. 313^r: 4(0); f. 321^r: not visible; f. 329^r: not visible; f. 337^r: 43; f. 345^r: not visible; f. 353^r: 45; f. 361^r, f. 369^r and f. 377^r: not visible; f. 385^r: 4(9); f. 393^r: not visible; f. 401^r: 5(1); f. 409^r: 5(2); f. 417^r: 5(3); f. 425^r: 54; f. 433^r: 55; f. 441^r: 56; f. 449^r: 57; f. 457^r: 58; f. 465^r: 59.

81 ÖNB suppl. gr. 4: f. 1^r: 1; f. 3^r: 2; f. 6^r: 3; f. 14^r: 4; f. 22^r: 5; f. 30^r: 6; f. 39^r: 7; f. 48^r: 8; f. 56^r: 9; f. 64^r: 10; f. 72^r: 11; f. 80^r: 12; f. 88^r: 13; f. 96^r: 14; f. 104^r: 15; f. 112^r: 16; f. 120^r: 17; f. 128^r: 18; f. 136^r: 19 crossed out by the hand foliating the volume; f. 144^r: 20; f. 152^r: 21; f. 160^r: 22; f. 168^r: 23; f. 176^r: 24; f. 184^r: 25; f. 192^r: 26; f. 200^r: 27; f. 208^r: 28; f. 216^r: 29; f. 224^r: 30; f. 232^r: 31; f. 240^r: 32; f. 248^r: 33; f. 256^r: 34; f. 264^r: 35; f. 272^r: 36; f. 280^r: 37; f. 288^r: 38; f. 296^r: 39; f. 304^r: 40; f. 312^r: 41; f. 320^r: 42; f. 328^r: 43; f. 330^r: 44.

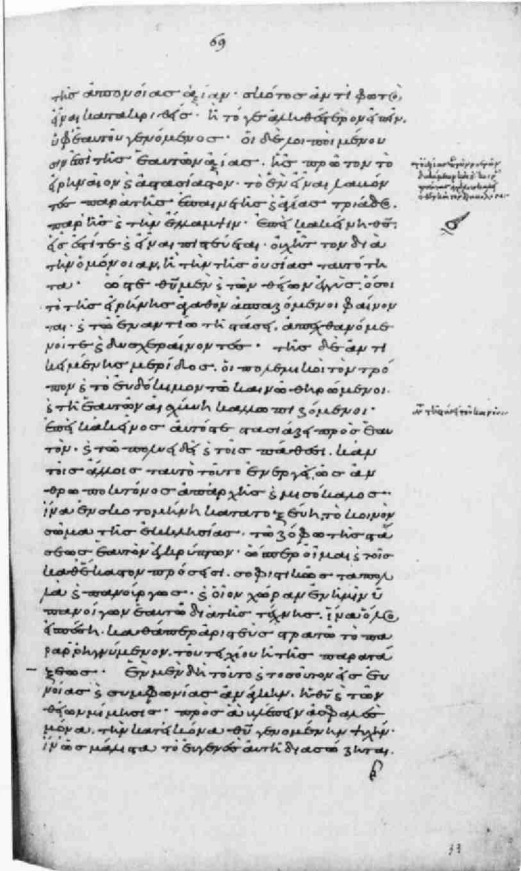
82 See numerals in similar hand and function in mss Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 16, f. 473^r: a1; f. 474^r: a2; f. 475^r: a3; f. 476^r: a4 and ÖNB, suppl. gr. 4, f. 328^r: 1 and f. 329^r: 2.

83 See a similar attempt in ms UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17, f. 91 where the lower margin (3,8 cm) was completed in Buda as the gilded edges of the fine Italian parchment, used for the completion, demonstrates.



[Fig. 10] Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 16, f. 97^r
(31.5 × 23.5 cm, quire number: 12)

[Fig. 11] Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 177,
f. 69^r (34 × 23 cm, quire number
copied in Buda: 9, double-leaf number
copied in Burda: 33, Heß's
quire signature: k)



⁸⁴ The insertion of the central double leaf (ff. 402-4: n° 404 appears on f. 403^v) could easily have taken place in Buda.

⁸⁵ The ÖNB purchased the Gregory of Nazianzus codex together with the other Greek manuscripts of the Dietrichstein library. Cf. *Bibliothek Fürst Dietrichstein ...* (note 34), n° 407, p. 82.

used to insert a double leaf of fine Italian parchment in the front and in the back of the aged Greek codices that were rebound in Buda in the 1480s [see figs. 3-6]. As remarkable evidence of how the old Greek volumes were approached as objects, the heavily truncated leaves (ff. 5/6) were complemented in the fifteenth century because the quire number 1 on f. 5^r was copied in the newly complemented part and belongs to the Corvina binder's quire system.⁸⁴ The flyleaves (ff. 1 and 534) carrying legal texts from the thirteenth century might have been inserted only by Heß's binder.

The several hundreds of Arabic numerals copied in mss ÖNB hist. gr. 16, suppl. gr. 4, 177, and ms UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17 seem to have been copied in Buda in order to assist the Corvina binder's work. Supplied with additional data, thus, the similarities in the ductus of these numerals, especially that of n° 3 [see tab. 4], may help identify other old Greek manuscripts that were rebound in Buda. The codex of Gregory of Nazianzus left Buda only after 1526, reached Johannes Heß in Wrocław, was transported to Pirkheimer in 1529, returned to Heß in 1530, and arrived at Nikolsburg (the Dietrichstein collection, today Mikulov in Czech Republic) afterwards. It did not turn up in Vienna before 1936 so that the numerals could not have been copied there in the early sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Thus, the information Pirkheimer first shared with Georg Spalatin regarding the provenance of the Gregory codex from the Hungarian booty has been confirmed with some material evidence for its presence in Buda.

A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
	f. 67 ^r	f. 1 ^r	f. 9 ^r	f. 17 ^r	f. 25	f. 33 ^r	f. 41 ^r	f. 43 ^r	f. 51 ^r	f. 59 ^r
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
	f. 75 ^r	f. 83 ^r	f. 91 ^r	f. 99 ^r	f. 107 ^r	f. 115 ^r	f. 123 ^r	f. 131 ^r	f. 139 ^r	
B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
	f. 72 ^r	f. 3 ^r	f. 6 ^r	f. 14 ^r	f. 22 ^r	f. 30 ^r	f. 120 ^r	f. 48 ^r	f. 56 ^r	f. 64 ^r
	2	3	4	5	6		8	9	0	
	f. 80 ^r	f. 88 ^r	f. 96 ^r	f. 104 ^r	f. 112 ^r		f. 128 ^r	f. 136 ^r	f. 144 ^r	
C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
	f. 473 ^r	f. 89 ^r	f. 97 ^r	f. 265 ^r	f. 465 ^r	f. 41 ^r	f. 49 ^r	f. 57 ^r	f. 465 ^r	f. 73 ^r
	2	3	4				8			
	f. 474 ^r	f. 475 ^r	f. 25 ^r				f. 457 ^r			
D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
	f. 85 ^r	f. 93 ^r	f. 238 ^r	f. 426 ^r	f. 37 ^r	f. 125 ^r	f. 482 ^r	f. 61	f. 467 ^r	f. 77 ^r
	2	3	4	5	6	7		9		
	f. 426 ^r	f. 21 ^r	f. 426	f. 53 ^r	f. 125 ^r	f. 482 ^r		f. 101 ^r		

[Table 4] Numerals written to assist the Corvina binder (Buda 1480s)

A = UB Leipzig, Rep. I. 17

f. 67^r (1), f. 1^r (2), f. 75^r (12), f. 9^r (3), f. 83^r (13), f. 17^r (4), f. 91^r (14), f. 25 (5); f. 99^r (15), f. 33^r (6), f. 107^r (16), f. 41^r (7), f. 115^r (17), f. 43^r (8), f. 123^r (18), f. 51^r (9), f. 131^r (19), f. 59^r (10), f. 139^r (20)

B = Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 4

f. 72^r (11), f. 3^r (2), f. 80^r (12), f. 6^r (3), f. 88^r (13), f. 14^r (4), f. 96^r (14), f. 22^r (5), f. 104^r (15), f. 30^r (6), f. 112^r (16), f. 120^r (17), f. 48^r (8), f. 128^r (18), f. 56^r (9), f. 136^r (19), f. 64^r (10), f. 144^r (20)

C = Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 16

f. 473^r (α1), f. 89^r (12), f. 474^r (α2), f. 97^r (13), f. 475^r (3), f. 265^r (34), f. 25^r (4), f. 465^r (59), f. 41^r (6), f. 49^r (7), f. 57^r (8), f. 457^r (58), f. 465^r (59), f. 73^r (10)

D = Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 177

f. 85^r (11), f. 93^r (12), f. 426^r (234), f. 467^r (259), f. 482^r (267), f. 238^r (123), f. 21^r (3), f. 125^r (63), f. 426^r (234), f. 101^r (49), f. 426 (234), f. 37^r (5), f. 53^r (25), f. 467^r (259), f. 125^r (63), f. 61^r (8), f. 101^r (49), f. 467^r (259), f. 77^r (10)

Conclusion

The horizon of this study does not allow me to locate these two manuscripts within the Corvina library. Their acquisition coincides with the increasing interest in the Greek Fathers, which received a major impetus in the Council of Florence in 1438/9 when the theological debates with the eastern Churches highlighted the significance of the old Greek codices of the Fathers, especially the Cappadocian Fathers.⁸⁶ This interest continued after the council. In this context, such a complete selection of the homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus, especially in an early manuscript as recognized and emphasized by Heß's theologian friends in Wrocław (see the citation above), must have been of a great value and appreciation. Both codices mainly contained writings that were not accessible in Latin. At the same time, the homilies and epistles by Basil and Gregory were considered to be valuable both for their rhetorical and theological merits, which then became accessible in Greek and Latin. This process was fostered by the increasing interest of early sixteenth-century audiences, which was a period of expanding activity of printing shops in the territory of the early Reformation. Opsopoeus described the Arrianism, a heresy in the times of the Cappadocian Fathers – Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus –, as comparable with the heresy of his own age exemplified in the teachings of Thomas Müntzer, Oecolampadius and Martin Luther.⁸⁷ It was also in these years that J. A. Brassicanus primarily saw the works of the Greek Fathers as being worth editing from his own manuscripts, which would bring him fame and fortune.⁸⁸

The humanist scholars who were active in Matthias' court discovered the value of the Greek manuscripts at a rather early point in time. Like the Medicis, the Hungarian king collected paper manuscripts, fragments of codices in the form of unbound gatherings,⁸⁹ primarily for the value of the texts and not for their beauty.⁹⁰ Most of these works have not been translated into Latin, or were accessible in alternative Latin translations competing for acknowledgment, for which the Greek original must have served as a decisive basis. Ms ÖNB suppl. gr. 177 elucidates how much respect the Greek codices received as objects: in the procedure of rebinding, the damaged leaves were treated with care and the truncated leaves were complemented. Interestingly enough, only considerably old large folio size parchment manuscripts received *alla greca* type gilded leather Corvina binding.⁹¹ Thus, it is the dis-binding and re-binding of the aged volumes, which left quire signatures in the manuscripts, that may provide an opportunity to expand the scarce knowledge provided in the correspondence of humanist scholars.

⁸⁶ Cf. PAUL HETHERINGTON: Vecchi, e non antichi: Differing Responses to Byzantine Culture in Fifteenth-century Tuscany. In: *Rinascimento*. 32 (1992), pp. 203–11.

⁸⁷ Cf. SCHEIBLE 2009 (see note 2), n° 1159 (ll. 55–60): »Vixerunt enim eo tempore in Caesarea Cappadotiae quidem Basilius, Constantinopoli autem Gregorius, quo vehementissime viguit arriana haeresis«. Ll. 75–80: »Neque enim minore multorum ruina et offendiculo iam furiunt haeretici munzerani et omnium maxime oecolampadiani, qui olim insaniebant Arriani«.

⁸⁸ See the passage in the *editio princeps* of Salvianus by J. Alexander Braccianus, Basle 1530 (VD 16 S 1511), ff. Biiiv–Biiiv. On the manuscripts Brassicanus saw in the royal library in 1525 he said: »Vidimus grandem librum apostolicorum canonum, opus incomparabile; vidimus Theodoretum Cyrensem in Psalterium integrum. Vidimus Chrysostomi, Athanasii, Cyrilli, Nazianzeni, Basilii Magni, Gregorii Nysseni, Theophanis, Dorothei infinita opera. Vidimus Marcum monachum, cognomento Anachoritam«. Subsequent to this list, Brassicanus enumerated some of his manuscripts he planned to publish in print, among which appear Philo's eleventh-century manuscript (Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 50), a number of works by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great, 14 homilies by Severianus of Gabbala, and the commentary on Genesis by Gregory of Nyssa.

⁸⁹ Cf. NÉMETH (see note 78), pp. 158–63.

⁹⁰ Cf. ENNEA S. PICCOLOMINI III.: Inventario della libreria medicea privata compilato nel 1495. In: *Archivio storico italiano*. 20 (1875), pp. 51–94. See *capsae* nos. 1, 3/4 and 8/9. In the Medici collection, the Greek manuscripts were mainly paper codices, while the Latin ones parchment codices. The inventory registered separate cases which contained the unbound paper and parchment gatherings (p. 79). King Matthias' collection must have shown a similar picture.

⁹¹ Cf. MARIANNE ROZSONDAI: Sulle legature in cuoio dorato per Mattia Corvino. In: *Nel Segno del Corvo: libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino re d'ungaria (1443–1490)*. Modena 2002, pp. 249–59, here p. 259, nos. 16, 46. Available online. See index of websites on p. 374.