John Lascaris and Harpocration

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

(a) An inventory of books in Lorenzo’s library before Lascaris’ trips. This contains (fol. 35) a Θεοδόρον περὶ μηνῶν καὶ Ἀρτοκρατῶν, which matches exactly the contents of Laur. 55.14 (see infra).

(b) A list of desiderata, including (fol. 9) a λεξικόν τῶν λέξεων τῶν δέκα ρητόρων, Ἰουλίου.

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

(d) A list of books acquired on the trip before Lascaris reached Constantinople. On fol. 59 there is included ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Τριβολίου κυρίου Δημητρίου a λεξικόν τῶν λέξεων τῶν δέκα ρητόρων κατὰ στοιχεῖον.

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

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

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1 The first began in April/May 1491, and Lascaris had returned to Florence by February 1492. In April of the same year he was at Candia in Crete.
2 This, like items (b) and (d), is from Vat.gr. 1412, written by Lascaris and published by K. K. Müller, “Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek,” ZBB 1 (1884) 331–412.
3 Müller emended to Ἰουλίανοῦ, from Phot. Bibl. cod. 150, but matters are a bit more complicated (see n.11 infra).
5 ἐν Ἀρτη (Acarnania), fol. 58.
6 Piccolomini, 420–23.
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know of the existence of Vat.gr. 1412, thought that the ms. could not be Laur. 58.4, written by Michael Apostolius, for he assumed that Apostolius died in 1480. The assumption is incorrect, for the date of death is not known, but the conclusion is correct, for there is no reason to put Apostolius in Arta, where the ms. was copied. Piccolomini also thought of Laur. 55.14, but realized that the identification was unlikely because of the presence of Αρποκρατίων in the title of that ms.: his suspicion was confirmed by the discovery of the inventory. L. Cohn suggested that Vat.gr. 2226, a codex of miscellaneous contents containing Αρποκρατίων and purchased by Demetrius Trivolis from his brother, was part of Lascaris' store, but did not claim that this was the ms. in question.

The evidence of items (c) and (d) suggests that three criteria are necessary for the identification: in the title of the ms. is contained the information that (1) it is a lexicon to the orators, (2) arranged alphabetically, and (3) unattributed. These criteria are met by only one ms., that portion of Riccardianus 12 (R) which contains (foll. 116r-167r) λεξικόν ῥητορικόν κατά στοιχείον.

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

1 Müller (344, 394) also thought this a possibility.
9 "Unedirte Fragmente aus der attistischen Literatur," RömM 43 (1888) 405-18, at 408.
10 κατά στοιχείον is also found in the titles of F (Laur. 55.14), W (Vind.phil.gr. 237), V (see n.11 infra), and K (Marc.gr. 444): the work is ascribed in all four.
11 The title is by a second hand, and on the title-page a third hand has added οἶμαι σε (leg. γε) εἶτα Αρποκρατίων. The ms. is in several hands: the Harpocration portion was done by two scribes (foll. 116-143r, 143r-167), the second identifying himself as Νικόδημος ὁ μοναχός.
R is a congener of A (Angel gr. 3) and V (Lond. 16 C XVII). While A attributes the text to Harpocration, in V the title is λεξικόν κατά στοιχείον τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων, Ἰου­λίων, and the colophon at the end τέλος τῶν λεξικῶν Ἰουλίων. In a table of contents, a later hand has added Ἰουλίων, ἀλλοι δὲ Ἀρποκρατίων. There may be some connection with the Ἰουλίων mentioned in Lascaris' desiderata. There was apparently a fourth congener, now lost. G. de Andres, Catalogo de los codices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial (El Escorial 1968) 23, describes a ms. containing a work attributed by a second hand to "Julii" (the description is in Latin). He thinks the reference to be to Julius Pollux, but it may be the same name as in V.
12 From the monastery of Vatopedion on Mt Athos (Vat.gr. 1412 fol. 76r).
13 My siglum, for a projected edition of Harpocration, = M for the orators.
14 My siglum, = Z.
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The precise relationship of a related ms. has not been established: this is H,\textsuperscript{15} Ambros. 26 (A 99), written, like L and S, in Florence between 1492 and 1508. In the last serious discussion of the question, Wyse\textsuperscript{16} suggested that S was the exemplar of H. Unless the two ms. have a common ancestor, the suggestion is correct.\textsuperscript{17} But this relationship is true only for the oratorical corpus: for Harpocration,\textsuperscript{18} no direct relationship between S and H exists.\textsuperscript{19}

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

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

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\textsuperscript{15} My siglum, = P.
\textsuperscript{16} W. Wyse, \textit{The Speeches of Isaeus} (Cambridge 1904) vi.
\textsuperscript{17} Separative errors show that H cannot be the source of S: \textit{cf.} Andoc. 4.1, \textit{προκυπτόντες ἐθέλειν τοῦ πλήθους} τοῦ πλήθους in mg. S, om. H; and 4.17, \textit{πράττειν} ἡ δή S, ἡ δή om. H.
\textsuperscript{18} Two different scribes wrote the corpus and the lexicon in S. One scribe, Michael Souliardos, wrote the whole of H.
\textsuperscript{19} For Harpocration, that H is not a copy of S is shown by \textit{s.v.} ὁδὸς ... ἡ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι, hab. H, om. S; that S is not a copy of H by \textit{s.v.} Γέρρα ... διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ S, διδόναι διδόντι τῷ δήμῳ H per homoeograph.
\textsuperscript{20} And of Genav. 158, written in Florence by Kaisar Strategos.
\textsuperscript{21} Only one of those ms. whose provenance is known was not written in Crete. \textit{Cf.} M. Vogel, \textit{Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance} (Leipzig 1909) 305–10.