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The Mynas codex and the Bibliotheca Corviniana

With three plates and eight figures

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the connection of a particularly valuable manuscript, Par. suppl. gr. 607, with the library of King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490), referred to as the *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. The manuscript under scrutiny here, Par. suppl. gr. 607, is also called the Mynas codex. It was named after Mynoïdes Mynas, the Greek emigré philologist in France (1798–1859) who discovered it at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos in 1843 during one of the expeditions he undertook to the Eastern Mediterranean at the behest of the French minister of education[1]. Although there is no conclusive evidence for a direct relationship between the the Mynas codex and the Hungarian royal library, a substantial number of "coincidences" – all independent from one another – indeed support the hypothesis that they are directly interrelated. Furthermore, as an advantage in the scrupulous procedure of uncovering the Greek stock of king Matthias' library, the Mynas codex highlights a number of problems that can arise for everyone studying the intricate web of material data and intellectual connotations that the Greek "Corvinian" manuscripts imply. By examining the Mynas codex, this paper attempts to raise some questions and demonstrate some new approaches to the Greek manuscripts that had been collected in the royal library until the end of the 15th century.

THE MYNAS CODEX

Although Par. suppl. gr. 607 is well known to scholars, there are different reasons for this, depending on the discipline. Historiographers of classical antiquity appreciate the numerous unique historical fragments that were transmitted only in the Mynas codex. Indeed, two classical historians – Eusebius[2] and Aristodemus[3] – are known to us only from this manuscript. At the same time, this codex transmitted unique fragments from historians such as Polybius[4], Priscus Panita[5] and Dexippus[6]. Military historians, especially those studying

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1 Par. suppl. gr. 607 is one of the more than 200 manuscripts Mynas brought from the East. H. OMONT, Mynas et ses missions en Orient. *Mémoires de l'Academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 40 (1916) 390–391, 403. Mynas copied the excerpts on the sieges of towns by his own hand (Par. suppl. gr. 485 and suppl. gr. 1253). Hunt probably refers to this manuscript, which he saw in Vatopedi Monastery in 1801: Κατάλογος Βατοπαιδίου τῇ 2 Ἀπριλίου 1801. Περὶ τὰ 705 χειρόγραφα συντομώτατα μνημονευόμενα Ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κώδιξ περιέχων πολλὰ τοῦ Λυσίου. See S. LAMBROS, Κατάλογος τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν Ἄθωνος. *Neos Ellenomnemon* 16 (1922) 421.

2 Jacoby FrGrHist A 101; H. SIVAN, The historian Eusebius (of Nantes). *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 112 (1992) 158–163.

3 After the Mynas codex had been acquired by the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in 1864, scholars soon discovered the Aristodemus fragments. C. WESCHER, Fragments inédits de l'historien grec Aristodème. *Revue Archéologique* 16 (1867) 363–368; 17 (1868): 177–188; K. MÜLLER, FHG vol. V, XXII–XXXIV, LVI–LVIII, 1–20; R. PRINZ. Aristodemos. *Jahrbuch für Classische Philologie* (1870) 193–210. A. SCHAEFER, Das neuerdings aufgefundene Bruchstück eines Geschichtsbuchs von Aristodemos. *Jahrbuch für Classische Philologie* (1868) 81–84. C. WACHSMUTH. Ein neuer griechischer Historiker. *Rheinisches Museum* 23 (1868): 303–315; Schwartz. Aristodemos (32). RE i, coll. 926–929; ZUNTZ, G. Teil. II. Die übrigen Aristophanes-Scholien auf Papyri. *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 658–665. Jacoby edited the text and summarised the various views on Aristodemus in FrGrHist A 104. One of the two fragments was also discovered in a papyrus: Pap. Oxy. 2469 (ed. in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXVII London 1962, 141–145, Plates v–vi).

4 The excerpt on the siege of Syracusae (ff. 98^{r}–100^{v}, Polybius, 8. 3–7, ed. by Th. BÜTTNER-WOBST vol. 2, 335–341) preserves elements that have not been transmitted elsewhere (e.g. the excerpts of Vat. Urb. gr. 102). The excerpt on the siege of Ambracia

military engineering, prize it as the earliest classical artillery manual preserved in Greek, carrying the closest textual evidence transmitted through majuscule codices from antiquity[7]. In an entirely different field – that of the history of book-binding, as a result of a snowball effect of subsequent misunderstandings, until recently the majority of historians in this field regarded the codex's blind stamped renaissance binding not only as a production of the "Corvina binder", but also as the place where the famous binder reveals his identity: Lucas Coronensis. Marianne ROZSONDAI, however, convincingly refuted this widespread view, disseminated in various handbooks, in her excellent article[8]. At the same time, she managed to prove that the binding of the codex shares the characteristics of the renaissance blind stamped leather bindings that were manufactured in the Buda monastic workshop in the early 16th century (**pl. 1**/**1**). However, the Mynas codex was bound 25 years after king Matthias's death.

The binder of the Mynas codex is known from a former note, which was once copied onto the inside of the lower binding board and which vanished when the binding was restored some time before 1897. It reveals the binder's name: Λυκας κωρονενσησ ιλληγατορ ληβρορυμ βυδενσισ ανν <. . .> 5<. . . > (=*Lucas Coronensis illigator librorum Budensis ann*<. . . > *5*<. . . >)[9]. According to this note, it was the bookbinder Lucas Coronensis (Lucas of Kronstadt = today Braşov in Romania) who unified the separate parts of the Mynas codex and bound them in a renaissance blind stamped leather binding, measuring 288 × 205 mm, in Buda in the 1510s. The text of this note, earlier viewed as suspicious evidence for the binder because of the lost original[10], has been confirmed by very close parallel bindings. ROZSONDAI found bindings of incunabula and early prints that were produced in the same workshop as that of the Mynas codex. The stamps applied to the binding of the Mynas codex are identical with those of other bindings produced in the monastic – probably Franciscan – workshop in Buda in the early sixteenth century[11]. Thanks to these close parallels, she managed to corroborate – while refuting the Corvina origin of the binding – the Buda origin of the binding tools applied to the Mynas codex and the authenticity of the former note naming Lucas Coronensis.

Par. suppl. gr. 607 is a composite codex that consists of 129 folia (275 × 203 mm) and comprises four units. Each semms to have had an independent life before arriving to Hungary[12]. Not only their quires but also some of their bifolia (double leaves) and leaves were partially intermingled before reaching Buda – in most cases in Lucas Coronensis' hand. This is why the present sequence of the leaves does not correspond to the order demanded by the texts copied onto the leaves (**fig. 5** describes the structure of the present codex's quire composition and **fig 6** presents the reconstructed structure with references to the lost leaves). The four separate parts are the following:

(f. 100^{v}–102^{r}, Polybius, 21.27.1 – 28.18, ed. by id. vol. 4. 55–68) is also important for the textual reconstruction of this passage. J. M. MOORE, The Manuscript tradition of Polybius (hereafter: MOORE, Polybius). Cambridge 1965, 134–136.

5 The excerpts on the siege of Obidunae (f. 93^{v}) and Naissus (ff. 93^{v}–94^{v}) survive only in the Mynas codex. C. WESCHER. Fragments inédits de l'historien grec Priscus relatifs au siège de Noviodunum et à la prise de Naissos. *Revue Archéologique* 17 (1868) 3–11.

6 On the transmission of Dexippus in the manuscript see G. MARTIN, ed. Dexipp von Athen (Classica Monacensia 32). Tübingen 2006, 51–52. The excerpts on the siege of Marcianopolis (ff. 91^{r}–92^{r}, F 22 [ed. MARTIN, 108–111]), Philippopolis (ff. 92^{r}–93^{r}, F 24 [ed. MARTIN, 116–119]), and Sidon (f. 93$^{r–v}$, F 27, [ed. MARTIN, 124–125]) survive only in the Mynas codex.

7 A. DAIN, La tradition du text d'Héron de Byzance. Paris 1933. J.-A. FOUCAULT, Les stratégistes byzantins par Alphonse Dain. *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) 347–349, 380–381 (henceforth: FOUCAULT, Les stratégistes).

8 M. ROZSONDAI, Lucas Coronensis, A master of Hungarian Renaissance bindings, early 16th century, Buda. *The Book Collector* 46/4 (1997) 515–540 (henceforth: ROZSONDAI, Lucas Coronensis).

9 The text of the binder's note was copied onto a slip from the publications of two scholars: C. WESCHER, ed., Poliorcétique des Grecs. Paris 1867, xv (hereafter: WESCHER, Poliorcétique); and H. SCHÖNE, Über den Mynascodex der Griechischen Kriegschriftsteller in der Pariser Nationalbibliothek. *Rheinisches Museum* (NF) (1898) 446 (hereafter: SCHÖNE, Mynascodex).

10 W. WEINBERGER, Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde. I. (Die Bibliotheca Corvina.), in: Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 159, 6 (1908) 45–46; See Cs. CSAPODI, The Corvinian Library, History and Stock. Budapest 1973, no. 886 (hereafter: CSAPODI, Stock).

11 On the bookbinder and the later history of the other volumes from the Buda monastic workshop, see ROZSONDAI, Lucas Coronensis.

12 I am indebted to M.-H. TESNIÈRE for her assistance in acquiring permission to consult the original manuscript in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.

(1) The first unit of the codex comprises a fourteenth-century fragment of Nicetas Choniates' *Histories* (ff. 1–7), on the siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204[13]. Although the content is linked to the extensive tenth-century part of the codex (ff. 16–103), the slightly different size of these leaves, which is noticeable in trimmed marginal notes, admits the possibility that this quire originates from a codex other than the Byzantine expansion of the tenth-century central part (3).

(2) The second quire of the codex comprises a thirteenth-century fragment of John Chrysostom's *De sacerdote* (**pl. 3**/**1**)[14]. This quire originates from a vast codex because f. 8^{r} has the quire number κβ' (= 22) in the lower left margin, which shows that the former codex should have contained 168 leaves (21 × 4 × 2) preceding this quire.

(3) The third and most extensive unit of the Mynas codex is the tenth-century collection consisting of three units. (3a) The first cluster of artillery manuals (ff. 18–80, 82; **pl. 2**/**2**), copied in the 930s or 940s (see justification below)[15], seems to have been expanded (3c) by a collection of excerpts describing the sieges of various towns (ff. 16–17, 88–103; **pl. 2**/**1**)[16]. These two sets were copied in very close scripts but not in an identical hand: in the works on the construction of missiles, there are 34 lines to a page (f. 18^{r}: 41 lines) and 42–48 letters to a line, while the leaves of part 3c (ff. 16–17 and ff. 88–103) also have 34 lines to a page but 38–44 letters to a line. The tenth-century military collection was expanded (3b) by short, unsystematic fragments from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*[17] and from Aristodemus' work (ff. 83–87, 81, see the bibliography above), both of which were also copied in the 930s–940s (**pl. 2**/**3–4**).

(4) The fourth unit of the Mynas codex is an extensive fragment from a mid-fifteenth century deluxe parchment copy of Lysias (ff. 104–129, see below; **pl. 3**/**2**).

These four units seem to be independent from each other. It is difficult to postulate the origin of this strange composition in a context where anyone with a good command of Greek could assemble these parts into such a single entity. Thus, the four fragmentary units seem to originate from different contexts. It is very likely that the four units were bound for the first time into a single volume in the Buda monastic binding shop.

In addition to other evidence (see below), the four units of the Mynas codex may also demonstrate that a certain number of Greek codices had been assembled through a variety of channels in Buda until the 1510s. Some of these manuscripts (defining their number more precisely would be impossible) had been collected in

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[13] See the description of the codex and the text of this fragment in Nicetas Choniates, Historia (ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN [CFHB 11,1]). Berlin 1975, vol. 1, XXX–XXXI, 566,39–582,46.

[14] I owe a debt of gratitude to E. GAMILLSCHEG for dating the script. See the passage edited in: Johannes Chrysostomus, *De sacerdote* 3.14.44 – 4.4.2. (ed. A.-M. MALINGREY [Sources Chrétiennes no. 272]. Paris 1980, 222–252).

[15] On ff. 18^{r}–24^{v}, 32$^{r–v}$, 25$^{r–v}$, Athenaeus, *De machinis* (ed. WESCHER, Poliorcétique 3–40). On ff. 25^{v}–31^{v}, Bito, *De constructione machinarum* (ed. WESCHER, Poliorcétique 43–68; E. W. MARSDEN, Greek and Roman artillery: technical treatises, with English translation. Oxford 1971, 61–103). On ff. 56$^{r–v}$, 58$^{r–v}$, 57$^{r–v}$, Hero of Alexandria, *De mensura Chiroballistae* (ed. WESCHER, Poliorcétique, 123–134 and MARSDEN 206–233). On ff. 60$^{r–v}$, 59$^{r–v}$, 61$^{r–v}$, 33^{r}–45^{v}, Apollodorus of Damascus, *Poliorcetica* (ed. Wescher 1867, 143,11–193 and R. SCHNEIDER, Griechische Poliorketiker. Mit den handschriftlichen Bildern herausgegeben und übersetzt [A*bhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, *Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Neue Folge 10,1]. Berlin 1908). On ff. 46^{r}–55^{v}, Hero of Alexandria, *Belopoeica* (ed. Wescher 1867, 71–119 and Marsden, 18–60). On ff. 62–80^{v}, 82$^{r–v}$, Hero of Alexandria, *De dioptra* (ed. H. SCHÖNE, Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia. Leipzig 1903, III, 141–315).

[16] (ff. 88^{r}–90^{v}) Excerpt on the siege of Asculum (Dionysius Halicarnasseus, 20.1–3); (ff. 90^{v}–91^{r}) Excerpt on Alexander the Great and Porus (Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, 4.3.22.); (ff. 91^{r}) Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, 4.6.3); (ff. 91^{r}–92^{r}) Excerpt on the siege of Marcianopolis (Dexippus F 22); (ff. 92^{r}–93^{r}) Excerpt on the siege of Philippopolis (Dexippus F 24); (f. 93$^{r–v}$) Excerpt on the siege of Sidon (Dexippus F 24); (f. 93^{v}) Priscus, Excerpt on the siege of Obidunae; (ff. 93^{v}–94^{v}) Priscus, Excerpt on the siege of Naissus; (ff. 94^{v}–97^{r}) Excerpt on the siege of Tyre (Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis*, 2.15,6–24,2); (f. 97^{r}) Excerpt on the siege of Gaza (Arrianus, *Alexandri Anabasis*, 2.25,4–27,7); (ff. 98^{r}–100^{v}) Excerpt on the siege of Syracusae (Polybius, 8.3–7); (ff. 100^{v}–102^{r}) Excerpt on the siege of Ambracia (Polybius, 21.27.1 – 28.18); (ff. 102^{r}–103^{v}) Excerpt on the siege of Plataea (Thucydides, 2. 75–78); (f. 103^{v}) Excerpt on the siege of Thessalonica (Eusebius, FrGrHist II A, no. 101, F 1); (f. 17$^{r–v}$) Excerpt on the siege of Tours; (Eusebius, FrGrHist II A, no. 101, F 2); (f. 16$^{r–v}$), Excerpt on the siege of Iotapata (Iosephus Flavius, Bellum Iudaicum, 3, 167–187).

[17] On ff. 81$^{r–v}$, 81^{v}, 85^{r}–86^{r}, Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii Tyanei* 1.1.–1.9, 1. 14–16.

the royal library so that copies and translations could be made from them. Some of them were to be joined to the lavishly illuminated Latin codices of King Matthias Corvinus. After his death, nobody at the royal court of Buda was interested in the Greek codices except for the envoys, especially those from Vienna, who managed to acquire a considerable number of them in the 1510s and ’20s (e.g. Johannes Cuspinianus, Johannes Gremper, and Johannes Alexander Brassicanus).

In the analogy to the volumes that were incorporated in the Renaissance library by new gilded leather Corvina binding (no. 1–4 below), it seems reasonable to postulate that in the 1510s and `20s there were aged Greek codices and unbound gatherings in Buda. The Chrysostom fragment, possibly deriving from such a volume, can be mentioned in parallel with the menologion fragments (in ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 4, no. 2 below), which were reused in the rebinding procedure. Thus, it also seems probable that this quire was purchased as binding support. The other independent fragment in the Mynas codex, a fourteenth-century fragment of Nicetas Choniates (ff. 1–7, containing the description of Constantinople’s siege by the Crusaders in 1204), may also be assigned to this group. In order to establish the relationship between the Corvinian Library and the four units of the Mynas codex, I would like to give a short overview of the various definitions used by scholars when discussing the Corvina manuscripts in Greek.

MULTIPLE DEFINITIONS OF THE CORVINIAN LIBRARY

Specialists of the Corvinian Library speak of fifteen or – if one approaches the matter with the strictest criticism – only about two Greek Corvinas, i.e. those that still preserve the gilded leather binding characteristic of the Corvinas. The astonishing difference between the two figures, which also represents the main difficulty in discussing Greek Corvinian manuscripts, can be explained by the various methodological approaches. Because scholarly viewpoints range between two extremities, it is quite unclear which criteria would classify a manuscript or an incunabulum as belonging to the group of “Corvinas”. According to the most generous view, all the books that were accumulated in the “royal library” of Buda beginning with Matthias’s reign until 1526 may be considered as belonging to the *Bibliotheca Corviniana*. For Csaba CSAPODI, this was the basis for compiling the most profound repertory of books that have emerged in the context of the royal library[18]. He added all items that have been or may be viewed as Corvinas, and at the end of his book he provided a list of the codices he accepted as authentic Corvinas[19]. Finally, CSAPODI modified his register of genuine Corvinas (1990), leaving fifteen extant Greek codices in it[20]. The richly illustrated publications circulating CSAPODI’s final list did not leave space for satisfactory background data, making the list of these Greek codices an authoritative point of reference without providing proof of its reliability. Thus, scholarly studies still use this selection with credit but often without control[21].

In order to take this circumstance into account, a minimalist view has been formulated that aims to exclude all items which were neither integrated into the renaissance library of King Matthias, nor were commissioned by him for his library[22]. Although this view has the advantage of creating a stable framework for

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[18] CSAPODI’s database, the most extensive ever made on the Corvinian manuscripts, has the disadvantage that the list of works is based on the authors’ names instead of the volumes. This principle necessarily multiplies the number of volumes that contained more than one author. See CSAPODI, Stock.

[19] CSAPODI, Stock 486–489.

[20] Cs. CSAPODI and K. CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana. Budapest 1990 (hereafter: CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana).

[21] C. TRISTANO, La biblioteca greca di Mattia Corvino. In: Mathias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l’État moderne, ed. J.-F. MAILLARD, I. MONOK István, D. NEBBIAI (*Supplementum Corvinianum* II). Budapest 2009, 215–236. (hereafter: MAILLARD, Mathias Corvin; see the entire volume in the internet at http://mek.niif.hu/07400/07400/07400.pdf). She uses an expanded version of CSAPODI’s selection (CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana; CSAPODI, Stock) when discussing the Greek Library of Matthias Corvinus. TRISTANO accepts CSAPODI’s data and does not seem to deal with the internal contradictions in them. In addition, the fifteen or sixteen Greek Corvinian manuscripts are often referred to as if they were a definite number of Greek Corvinas.

[22] See Edit Madas’s list, contrasting the list of CSAPODI, Stock, with CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana. and applying fine distinctions between various types of Corvinas. E. MADAS, La Bibliotheca Corviniana et les Corvina «Authentiques», in: MAILLARD, Mathias Corvin 48–78 (hereafter: MADAS, La Bibliotheca Corviniana).

discourse on a large group of volumes, it excludes a smaller but significant group of items which were available in the royal library but which were not part of the princely renaissance library. According to this strict approach, only two Greek Corvinas can be viewed as having been belonged to Matthias' renaissance library[23].

According to the available evidence, none of the Corvinian manuscripts in Greek contain the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus on its title page, which demonstrates that none of them were commissioned directly for the royal collection or illuminated accordingly[24]. On the contrary, they all seem to have been accidentally added to the royal collection[25]. By adding two new items to the list of the minimalist view, I can mention four extant early Greek codices (see below) that were intended for integration into the renaissance royal library. In addition to the two codices that still preserve the gilded leather binding distinctive of the Corvinian volumes, the Zonaras codex (Vienna, ÖNB, Hist. gr. 16) and the Gregory of Nazianzus codex (Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 177) seem to have been disbound in the Buda royal binding workshop for rebinding. However, the binding procedure seems to have stopped at a certain stage, namely when Matthias died in 1490 and the Corvina binder returned with his tools to Italy. Thus, the process of integration should have taken place relatively late in the 1480s, simultaneously with the integration process of the Latin volumes[26], and seems to have left behind a large number of Greek codices – especially paper ones – in the royal library in their original binding (or unbound)[27]. For this reason, the criterion of rebinding does not give the final number of Greek manuscripts that were available and read in Matthias' library[28]. In this context, I assume that the Greek volumes that were disbound in the Corvina binding workshop may explain how and why the quires were intermingled in the Mynas codex.

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[23] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I 17. See the photocopy of the binding in CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana, no. 88. Chrysostom, Homilies on the Gospel according to Matthew, Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 4; see the photocopy of its binding in CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana, no. 221.

[24] The title of the Greek codex (Vienna, ÖNB Cod. phil. gr. 2, f. 1[r]) has a humanist architectural frame with various figural motives and the coat of arms of Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva, Duke of Atri (1458–1529). The codex is roughly contemporary with Matthias' Corvinian Library, which means that Greek codices with arms were available in the Neapolitan context. J. ALEXANDER, no. 53. Aristotle, Physics, On Generation and Corruption, On the Heavens, On the Soul, in Greek, in: J. ALEXANDER, The Painted Page, Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450–1550. London 1994, 126–127.

[25] The integration of a codex into the royal library without the arms of the king being painted on the title page does not seem to be characteristic only of the Greek codices, see the Victorinus corvina (National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 370).

[26] On the integration of the Latin volumes by adding homogenous blind-stamped leather bindings with gilt chased edges, as well as by silk- and velvet bindings while Taddeo Ugoleto was librarian of the Corvinian Library, see Á. MIKÓ, Bibliotheca Corvina – Bibliotheca Augusta, in: Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994. október – 1995. február (Art in Transdanubia 1000–1541, Exhibition in the National Gallery). Budapest 1994, 404. E. ZSUPÁN, Die Bibliotheca Corviniana im Kleinen, Beschreibung der Lateinischen Corvinen der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, in: Die acht Münchener Handschriften aus dem Besitz von König Matthias Corvinus (Ex Bibliotheca Corviniana, *Supplementum Corvinianum* I, *Bavarica et Hungarica* I; open access version: http://mek.niif.hu/06000/06042/06042.pdf). Budapest 2008, 71.

[27] Eight codices linked with the Corvinian Library with a high degree of probability (CSAPODI, Stock) have such Corvina bindings of a date before the 1480s that are not Corvinian bindings. I managed to see all codices in the original, and thank the colleagues in the ÖNB in Vienna, in BSB in Munich, in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and in the British Library for their cooperation. These were: a simple blind-stamped leather binding of a dictionary of Janus Pannonius (Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 45); a simple blind-stamped leather binding of Xenophon: Cyropaedia (ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 51); a Florentine blind leather binding of Ptolemy (ÖNB, Hist. gr. 1), Plutarch's lives (ÖNB suppl. gr. 11), and Diodorus of Sicily (ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 30) transferred after the London ms and an Italian blind-stamped leather binding with chased gilt edges of Iamblichus (London, BL, Add. 21165), a Byzantine-type blind-stamped leather binding made in Italy (Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 449). I am indebted to Christian Gastgeber for calling my attention to the Greek codex that Brassicanus took from Buda (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Fabr. 78,4), which has a fifteenth-century blind-stamped leather binding made in Italy. Cf. B. SCHARTAU, Codices graeci Haunienses. Ein deskriptiver Katalog des griechischen Handschriftenbestandes der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen (*Danish Humanist Texts and Studies* 9). København 1994, 409–410.

[28] See my summary of previous and possible new approaches to the study of the Greek Corvinas in A. NÉMETH, Byzantine and Humanist Greek Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Corviniana, in: Proceedings of Matthias Rex 1458–1490, Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance, International Conference, Budapest May 20–25, 2008 (forthcoming).

EVIDENCE FOR OLD BYZANTINE VOLUMES BEING REBOUND IN BUDA

In the royal library in Buda, a considerable number of Greek codices had been accumulated until the death of King Matthias (1490). Among these manuscripts, as shown above, some were selected for integration among the lavishly illuminated Latin volumes by rebinding. In the case of the Latin volumes, the codices were taken apart into quires, resewn and rebound in velvet or silk bindings or in gilded leather binding with chased gilt edges. Two Byzantine codices (nos. 1–2) still have the gilded leather Corvina binding with Mathias' coat of arms in the centre. In the binding process, identical tools were used and the motives were distributed similarly to the Latin volumes. However, *alla greca* binding techniques[29] were applied to these two codices. In addition, the title of the Greek volume was stamped in Latin at the bottom of the upper cover. The titles of the Latin volumes were always stamped in a slightly different way, namely in Latin at the top of the lower cover of the gilded leather bindings. This distinction may provide some hints at how these volumes were displayed on separate shelves. The Zonaras codex (no. 3) is today furnished with chased gilded edges with rosette motives, which seem to have been remade based on those of some Latin Corvinas when the codex was rebound in 1754. At the same time, the humanist flyleaves seem to reflect the Corvina binder's activity. These characteristics may show that the Zonaras codex previously had a similar gilded leather binding.

The Corvina binder of Italian origin was active in Buda in the 1480s, before the death of his patron, because he returned with his tools to Italy in 1490[30]. The Greek manuscripts must have been in poor condition before they were rebound. This is why the damaged leaves were complemented (e.g. no. 4: Gregory of Nazianzus codex) and additional double leaves were installed (e.g. no. 2: Chrysostom codex). The examples presented here demonstrate the careful treatment and prestige of the aged Greek volumes, as well as the accuracy of the binder. It is also accepted that the Greek volumes selected for rebinding were taken apart into double leaves. The evidence is provided by the quire numbers, which were written in an identical hand in all the four codices below, as well as by the systematic numbering of the double leaves in the Gregory of Nazianzus codex (no. 4). These numbers are very likely to have entered the codices in the Corvina binding workshop in Buda in the 1480s, because the diverging later histories of these volumes. Thus, the hand of these quire numbers may provide a reliable new criterion for identifying Greek Corvinas which have escaped the attention of scholars so far, even if the codices were rebound later and lost the more easily noticeable traces of their earlier presence in Buda (e.g. no. 4). In two cases (nos. 3–4), the fact that these volumes were rebound later may be explained by the hypothesis that their rebinding was stopped and left incomplete when King Matthias died in 1490.

(1) The single extant manuscript of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De cerimoniis* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I. 17: 330 × 230 mm), copied in the 960s in Constantinople for the Byzantine imperial library[31], still preserves its *alla greca* gilded leather Corvina binding (345 × 233 × 90 mm)[32]. The title of the volume appears in Latin at the bottom of the upper cover: <*DE*> *REGALIBUS INSTITUTIONIBUS*. In the upper right margin of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire, there is an Arabic quire number written in a humanist hand identical to that which wrote down the quire numbers in the three other codices (nos. 2–3)[33].

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[29] On *alla greca* bindings see J. A. SZIRMAI, The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding. Aldershot 1999, 84–87.

[30] On the Corvina bindings see M. ROZSONDAI, Die Bibliotheca Corviniana und die Corvineneinbände – Neue Erkentnisse zu ihrer Beurteilung, in: Österreichischer Bibliothekartag, Congress Innsbruck, 3.–7. 9. 1996. Vereinigung Österreichischer Bibliothekarinnen und Bibliothekare (*Biblos-Schriften* 168). Wien 1998, 337–360. M. ROZSONDAI, Über die Einbände der in München aufbewahrten Corvinen, in: *Supplementum Corvinianum* I (see n. 26), 143–152.

[31] See its detailed description in J. M. FEATHERSTONE, Preliminary Remarks on the Leipzig Manuscript of *De Cerimoniis*. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95 (2002) 457–479 (hereafter: FEATHERSTONE, Preliminary Remarks). On the dating, see O. Kresten, Sprachliche und inhaltliche Beobachtungen zu Kapitel I 96 des sogennanten «Zeremonienbuches». *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93 (2000), 474–475, n. 6.

[32] See the photo of the upper cover in CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana, no. 88, and MADAS, La Bibliotheca Corviniana 39.

[33] I am indebted Dr. Christoph Mackert for permitting me to consult the codex. In the upper right margin of the recto page of the first leaf of each quire, quire numbers characteristic of the Corvina binding workshop occur: 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;

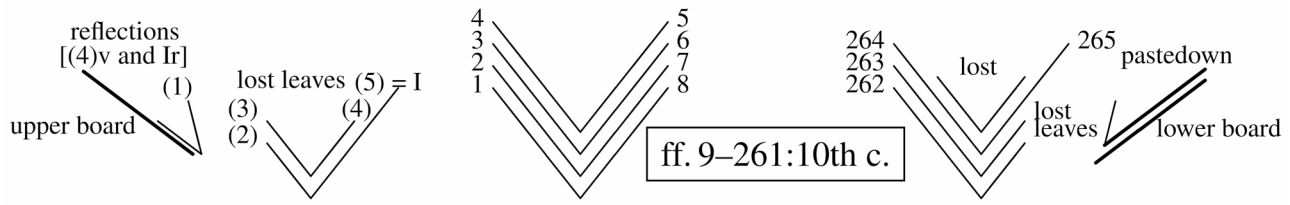

Fig. 1

In the 1480s, four more leaves seem to have been preserved preceding f. I (see **fig. 1**). There are more data supporting this hypothesis. First of all, the humanist hand of the quire numbers numbered f. 1 as if it were the first leaf of the second quire by writing no. 2 on it. Secondly, a sixteenth-century hand foliated f. I as 5, and a later hand continued the foliation as 6 on f. 1^{r}. Interestingly enough, the surface of f. Ir, which was formerly used as a pastedown and was forcefully detached later, remained on the inside of the wooden upper board as a mirror print. The violent removal of the former pastedown (now flyleaf: f. I) may explain the two types of mirror prints: the text from right to left is the mirror print of f. 1^{r} and the text leading normally from left to right is the double reflection of the verso side of the leaf formerly preceding f. 1. In this way, the inside of the upper wooden board preserved an exact copy of the otherwise lost text. These two sections constitute the consecutive end of the table of contents of book 1 of *De cerimoniis*[34]. It would be difficult to find another explanation for how tenth-century ink could have otherwise been copied onto the fifteenth-century wooden board[35]. All these data lead to the conclusion that the first four leaves of the volume were lost after the 1490s. The similar loss of the tenth-century leaves subsequent to f. 265 (see **fig. 1**) cannot be dated with such precision.

(2) The eleventh-century copy of John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Gospel according to Matthew (Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 4: 340 × 250 mm) still maintains its Corvina binding (355 × 255 × 95 mm) and the title in Latin at the bottom of the upper cover: *CHRYSOSTOMUS SUPER EVĀGELIA*[36]. Before the front and after the back of the volume, leaves were inserted from another manuscript (see **fig. 2**), namely an eleventh-century copy of the Life of Ioannicus (†846) (BHG 937) from a *menologion*[37], a Byzantine collection of saints' lives arranged according to the liturgical calendar. In this case, the similar appearance of the script counted for the binder, who could not read the Greek content of the recycled leaves. The Arabic quire numbers in the upper right margin of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire are to be ascribed to the same hand that numbered the quires of the three other codices (no. 1, 3–4)[38]. The difference between the Byzantine

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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 binding; 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.

[34] For more on the table of contents see FEATHERSTONE, Preliminary Remarks 466–468.

[35] The suggestion by FEATHERSTONE that the Corvina binder preserved the Byzantine wooden board has been rejected by specialists. J. M. FEATHERSTONE, Further Remarks on the *De cerimoniis*. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 97 (2004) 113, n. 2. The fact that the first four leaves seem to have been lost after 1490, as well as the careful application of the wooden board to the *alla greca*-type Corvina binding, tend to support the hypothesis that the wooden board was manufactured in Buda in the 1480s and that the text on it is a double reflection. The fact that the mirror reflection of the former f. (4)^{v} appears on the flyleaf (f. I^{r}) also corroborates this hypothesis.

[36] See the description in H. HUNGER – Ch. HANNICK, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Veröffentlichungen der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Bd. 4. Supplementum Graecum. Wien 1994, no. 4, 9–11 (hereafter: HUNGER, Katalog). The photo of the upper cover was published in CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana, no. 221.

[37] For the reconstruction of its former quire see Vienna, ÖNB, suppl. gr. 4, f. 1ra incipit: <συγγε>νόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν φίλην = PG 116, 44A line 6, f. 1^{vb} explicit: ὁ γε καὶ ὕστερον ἐξεβη · καθὰ καὶ περὶ = PG 116, 45A line 13; on f. 332^{r}a: καταπλαγέντες = PG 116, 48 B2, f. 332^{vb} explicit ὅφιν οὖν τινα φοινικοειδὴ μέγιστον ἐκ ταύτης ὑπο<φαινόμενον> = PG 116, 49 B5, f. 333ra incipit: <ὑπο>φαινόμενον ἰδὼν = PG 116, 49 B5, f. 333^{vb} explicit: ἔστρεφον καὶ ὅπως = PG 116, 52 B8, f. 2ra incipit: δράσας · τῶι τε τοῦ ἤθους = PG 116, 53 B8, f. 2^{vb} explicit: τοῦ κλῆσιν εἰς αὐτὸν μετα<βαίνουσαν> = PG 116, 56 B8.

[38] I am indebted to my colleagues at the ÖNB, who generously allowed me to study the three manuscripts (nos. 2–4) simultaneously. The Arabic numbers in the upper right corner of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire appear in the following leaves: 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 that foliated the volume; f. 144^{r}: 20; f. 152^{r}: 21;

and the Corvina binder's humanist quire numbers corroborates the hypothesis that it was the Corvina binder who installed the eleventh century double leaves in Buda[39]. It is possible that these two double leaves had been purchased as binding support. However, it is also likely that they originated from a Greek fragment collected in Buda and were recycled in this form with the purpose of preserving them.

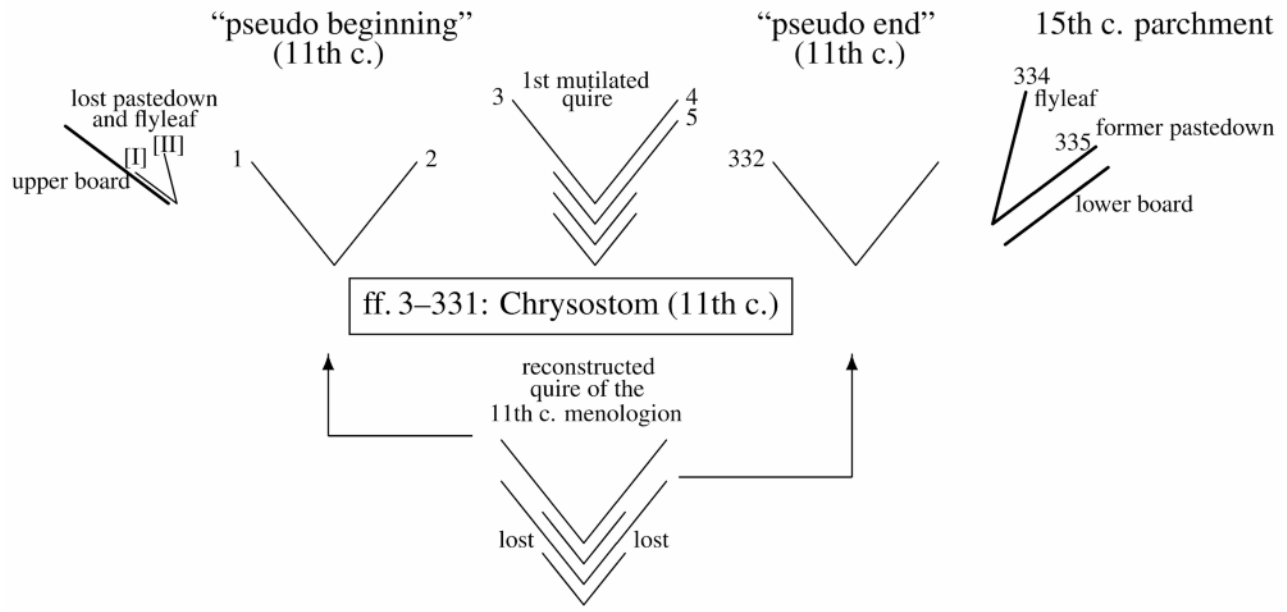

Fig. 2

(3) The Zonaras codex (Vienna, ÖNB, Hist. gr. 16: 315 × 235 mm) still preserves the fifteenth-century flyleaves that are now easily discernible as ff. IV–V and f. 479. They seem to have been installed by the Corvina binder preceding the front and subsequent to the back of a 14th century copy of the chronicle of the Byzantine historian, Zonaras (**fig. 3**). The Arabic quire numbers in the upper right margin of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire belong to the same hand that numbered the quires of the three other codices (no. 1–2, 4)[40]. The pastedown of the lower board (now flyleaf: f. 479) had already been detached in 1520, when

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f. 160^{r}: 22; f. 168^{r}: 23; f. 177^{r}: number is missing; 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. The double leaves of the last quires were numbered in the lower margin by the Corvina binder: f. 328^{r}: 1, f. 329^{r}: 2.

39 The ff. 3–5 in Chrysostom's codex (ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 4), which contain the manuscript's table of contents and two epigrams that also appear in other eleventh-century codices with Chrysostom's homilies (e.g. Athens, National Library, cod. 2553, f. 1^{v}), are in poor condition, in contrast to the bifolium preceding these damaged leaves. It is quite implausible to presume that a Greek binder could have inserted leaves with irrelevant content just to improve the aesthetic appearance of the codex, which would habe been later inherited by the Corvina binder. That is why Buda is very likely that the bifolia were inserted in, especially because the principle of symmetry was carefully observed.
The Greek numbers are often not visible because 3–4 mm were trimmed off – and along with them, the Greek numbers – when the codex was rebound in Buda. However, some of the Greek quire numbers also appear in the upper right corner of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire: f. 30^{r}: δ΄ (4); f. 88^{r}: ια΄ (11); f. 208^{r}: κ<ϛ΄ (26); f. 224^{r}: κ<η΄ (28); f. 296^{r}: λ<ζ΄ (37); f. 304^{r}: λ<η΄ (38). The Greek quire numbers do not embrace ff. 3–5, which contain the codex's table of contents and which were inserted after finishing the body of the text of the original Greek codex. These leaves have the same ruling pattern as those containing Chrysostom's homilies, and the content of the codex has been copied by the same scribe who had copied the saint's homilies.

40 The quire numbers of the Corvina binder are sometimes discernible only with UV lamp. When the codex was rebound, the upper parts of these numbers were occasionally trimmed. However, the reading of numbers here was ascertained in the original manuscript. 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;

Philip Gundel copied a note saying that he had translated an extensive section of the volume[41]. It may be illustrative for the history of the volume's binding that Johannes Cuspinianus, who had acquired the Zonaras codex in Buda in 1513 and kept it with him for a long time, was afraid of the manuscript being transported to Nürnberg because of the risks concerning its preservation[42]. The manuscript catalogue of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, compiled in 1576, describes the codex as being gilded on the outside, with a possible reference to its gilded edges[43]. Although the codex was rebound 1754 in Vienna, the rosette motives enclosed within the diagonal squares on the gilded edges of this codex seem similar to those stamped on the gilded edges of the other Corvina volumes bound in the characteristic gilded leather Corvina binding. As the single difference is the absence of the rosette motives compared to the rebound Greek Corvinas (nos. 1–2), the edges of the Zonaras codex seem to have been remade in the 18th century with the aim of restoring the faint decoration of the edges.

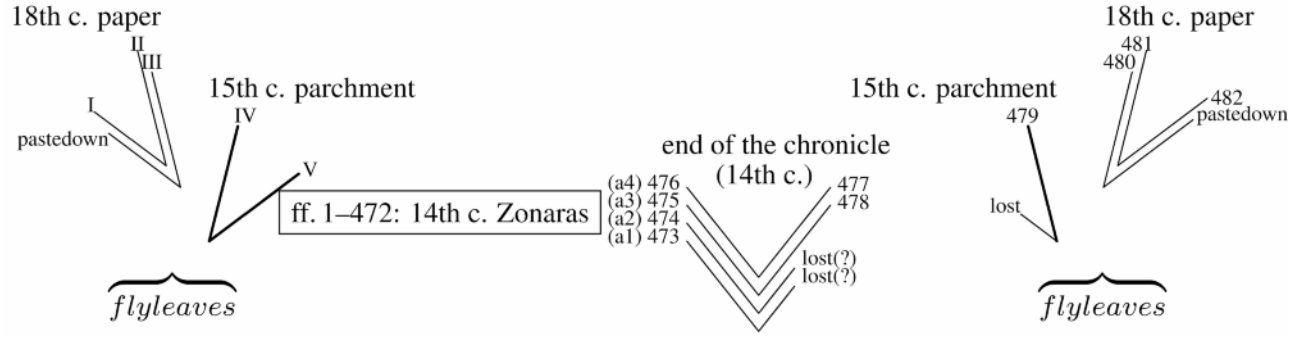

Fig. 3

(4) I managed to identify the voluminous Gregory of Nazianzus codex (ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 177), copied in the 10th century, as an authentic Corvina only recently[44]. This identification was based on two independent circumstances. On the one hand, codex suppl. gr. 177 is identical to the volume which the Nürnberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) received in 1529 from Johannes Heß (1490–1547), a theologian and humanist in Breslau (Wrocław). Pirckheimer says that the vast manuscript originated from the "booty of

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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. The double leaves of the last quires were numbered in the lower margin by the Corvina binder: f. 473^{r}: a1; f. 474^{r}: a2; f. 475^{r}: a3; f. 476^{r}: a4.

[41] ÖNB hist. gr. 16, f. 479^{v}: μετάφραζον ἐγω Φίλιππος ὁ Γουοδελίος εἰς τὸ ρωμαϊκὸν ἀπὸ μιχαὴλ τοῦ αργυροπύλου εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐτους α,φκ.

[42] J. Cuspinianus answered Willibald Pirckheimer's request to study the manuscript in the following words (Vienna, 18 October 1515): *Sic repperi in bibliotheca regia Budae tum multos insignes codices, tum illum praecipue Johannem Monachum, qui sub Alexio Comneno claruit et graece historiam ab exordio mundi ad sua usque tempora elegantissime scripsit, imperatores praesertim graecos illustravit, de quo tibi caesar scripsit. Sed liber portatilis non est, et ego periculo itineris committere non audeo, quod fidem meam regi obstrinxi. Et quod credam aliud exemplar non esse neque in Italia neque in Francia. Maxima igitur eret iactura reipublicae litterariae, si tantum opus periclitaretur incuria nostra*. See its edition in H. ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, Johann Cuspinians Briefwechsel. München 1933, no. 33, 70–73.

[43] See the catalogue compiled by Hugo Blotius in 1576, f. 81^{r} (E 1550): *manuscripta in charta pergamena et extrinsecus deauratus*. H. MENHARDT, Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von Hugo Blotius 1576, Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series Nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit vier Anhängen. Wien 1957, 98 (hereafter: MENHARDT, Handschriftenverzeichnis).

[44] The method used for the identification will be described in an upcoming publication by the National Széchényi Library. My paper on this topic was presented on 7 December 2009 at a local conference at the National Library in Budapest, and bore the title: 'Willibald Pirckheimer és a Budáról származó görög kódexei' (Willibald Pirckheimer and his Greek codices originating from Buda).

Hungary", probably referring to the various goods pillaged and sold after the battle of Mohács in 1526[45]. The volume's table of contents, mentioned in Heß's letter, was preserved among Pirckheimer's documents, which proved to be identical with that of the codex suppl. gr. 177[46]. The binding of this codex contains the coat of arms of Johannes Heß, who sent the Gregory of Nazianzus codex to Pirckheimer and refers to the year 1528[47]. On the other hand, the Arabic quire numbers in the upper right margin of the recto side of the first leaf of each quire originate from the same hand, namely that of the Corvina binder who also numbered the quires of the three other codices (no. 1–3)[48]. Furthermore, the same hand numbered the double leaves in the lower margin of the recto side of the first four leaves of each quire. These numbers demonstrate without any doubt that codex suppl. gr. 177 was in Buda in the 1480s.

As for the problem of how the Gregory of Nazianzus volume was disbound and restored by the Corvina binder in Buda in the 1480s, the careful numbering of the double leaves throughout the entire vast volume indicates that this volume was taken apart into double leaves and resewn afterwards. At present it is not possible to say whether the rebinding was completed. Nevertheless, the fact that the Gregory of Nazianzus codex was rebound in Breslau in 1528 would support the hypothesis that the rebinding of this codex was interrupted when the Corvina binder left Buda in 1490 (see **fig. 4**).

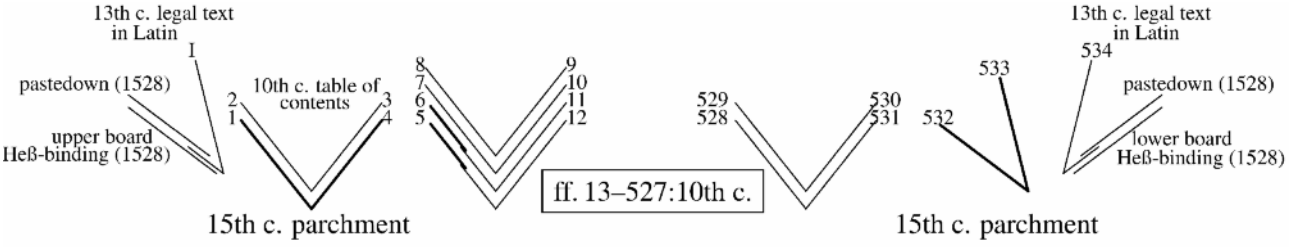

Fig. 4

In addition to the humanist quire numbers, the insertion of the fine fifteenth-century parchment leaves might also be ascribed to the Corvina binder. Similarly to ff. 532–533, ff. 1, 4 could have functioned as fly-leaves before the codex was rebound for Heß, as the examples of nos. 2–3 would imply. It must have been Heß's binder who transferred the double leaf of ff. 1, 4 in order to protect ff. 2–3, which comprise the vol-

[45] H. SCHEIBLE, Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel, Bd. VII. München 2009, no. 1219, 190–192 (Johannes Heß to Pirckheimer, Breslau, 4 April 1529): *S<alutem>. 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)*. Ibid. no. 1227, 210–212 (Pirckheimer's letter to Georg Spalatin, Nürnberg, 15 May 1529): (l. 34–40) *Interim mitto orationem Nazianzeni De officio episcopi, 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 aegrotem.* This letter is the basis of a lost Corvina item on the list compiled by CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 306. The "booty from Hungary" may refer to codices looted in Buda after the battle of Mohács. Among the Greek codices that might have been part of this booty are: Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 8 (Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus), phil. gr. 289 and Munich, BSB, cod. gr. 157.

[46] London, BL, Arundel, 175, ff. 37^{r}–38^{r}. See the description of the content in N. HOLZBERG, Willibald Pirckheimer, Griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland. München 1981, 358.

[47] See the description of the codex and its binding in HUNGER, Katalog, no. 177, 304–310.

[48] There are easily visible Arabic quire numbers in ÖNB suppl. gr. 177, ff. 5^{r}–173^{r} in the upper right corner. In addition, in the lower right corner 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. The Corvina binder did not number the first truncated quire but Heß's binder did so. The vast codex was originally bound in two volumes, the second part began on f. 264^{r}. In the second part, the Greek quire numbers are clearly visible. This is why the Corvina binder did not find it necessary to apply his own system in this part.
See the Corvina binder's quire numbers and those of Heß's binder in parentheses: f. 5^{r} (in the completion 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).

ume's table of contents. Remarkable evidence of how the old Greek volumes were treated as objects, the heavily truncated leaves (ff. 5–6) were complemented in the 15th century; this is demonstrated by the fact that quire number 1 on f. 5^{r} was copied in the newly complemented part and belongs to the Corvina binder's quire system[49]. The flyleaves containing legal texts from the 13th century could have been inserted only by Heß's binder.

It was precisely in the late 1510s that humanist envoys from Vienna visited the royal court at Buda and consulted Latin and Greek manuscripts there, that is, while the four separate units of the Mynas codex were being bound a few hundred meters from the royal palace in Buda. In addition to a deluxe copy of Lysias' Speeches, there was an important tenth-century collection on military engineering that also must have been valuable for the royal library of Matthias Corvinus – particularly for its drawings of missiles and artillery[50].

Thus, as a tenable explanation for the creation of this strange composition, I suggest that the four units of the Mynas codex originate from the book collection of the royal court that lost its responsible keeper when Taddeo Ugoleto, the royal librarian, left Buda and returned to Parma after Matthias' death. Anyone in the royal court could have easily acquired and rescued bits and pieces of the neglected manuscripts.

THE DELUXE LYSIAS CODEX

The unsubtle association and the arrangement of the four units of the Mynas codex probably resulted from the binder's ignorance of Greek. Obviously his mastery of the language did not go beyond his proudly copying his name – in Greek letters but in the Latin language – onto the inside of the lower binding board of the Mynas codex. The confusion of the extant leaves coincided with the simultaneous loss of many other leaves, particularly with the loss of nearly three-fourths of Lysias' text, of which 36 leaves were preserved and 84 lost (see the structure in **fig. 6**)[51]. Concerning this dismantling of the leaves of the mid-fifteenth-century deluxe Lysias codex, it seems that the Corvina binder had started to prepare the Lysias codex, not yet available in Latin translation, for rebinding but could not finish it because he lost his job after the king's death in 1490. This interruption of the rebinding process can be detected in the Gregory of Nazianzus codex (above no. 4). However, it is also possible that the Lysias volume was purchased without binding. Both options can explain the surprising fact that Lucas Coronensis bound even the easily readable parchment leaves of the sumptuous mid-fifteenth-century copy of the Speeches of the Attic orator Lysias (ff. 104–129) in complete disorder.

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[49] The insertion of the central double leaf (ff. 402–404: 404 is written on f. 403^{v}) could have easily taken place in Buda.

[50] Valturio's work entitled *De re militari* was available in two copies in the Corvinian library (Modena, Bibl. Estense Univ. Lat. 447 and Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Ms. R 28m). See the item description by Á. W. SALGÓ and M. RICCI in P. FARBAKY – E. SPEKNER et alii (ed.), Matthias Corvinus, the King, Tradition and Renewal at the Hungarian Royal Court, 1458–1490, Exhibition Catalogue. Budapest 2008, 300–301. In 1595, Iustus Lipsius wrote in one of his letters that there had been some discussion of the war machines of classical antiquity in the royal court of Matthias Corvinus. Justus LIPSIUS, Opera omnia, vol. II. Wesel, 1676, 755, epist. XXI. I am grateful to L. VESZPRÉMI for calling my attention to these data ['A magyar katonai gondolkodás első nyomai a Mohács (1526) előtti latin nyelvű forrásokban' (Traces of military thinking in Latin sources from Hungary before 1526), in: P. ÁCS, A magyar katonai gondolkodás története (History of military thinking in Hungary). Budapest 1995, 11–22]. See also the other volumes on war machines that were available in the Corvinian library, such as the volume of Vegetius and Taccola's codex in Paris (*Bibliothèque nationale*, Par. lat. 7239). Since the latter was brought from Istanbul to Paris, some scholars believe that this codex also originates from the Corvinian library. The military work in the possession of Orbán Nagylucsei (Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cod. Lat. 444) is also worth mentioning here.

[51] The reconstructed sequence of Lysias' leaves (the numbers refer to the leaves of the Mynas codex) is as follows: quinion 1: 104 + lost + 118 + 119 + 120/123 + 124 + 125 + lost + 113; quinion 2: 114 + 115 + 116 + 117 + lost/lost + 126 + 127 + 128 + 129; 5 quinions are missing; quinion 8: 105 + 106 + 107 + 108 + 121 / 122 + 109 + 110 + 111 + 112; 3 quinions are missing. The gaps in the Lysias text are: between f. 104 and f. 105: Lysias, *Or*. 1. 12–22: (f. 104^{v}) ἡ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὔκ ἤθελεν ... (f. 118^{r}) ποίησεν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγένοντο...; between f. 125 and f. 113 with Lysias, *Or*. 2. 32–44: (f. 125^{v}) ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐ δυνήσονται… (f. 113^{r}) ὕστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων…; a bifolium between f. 117 and f. 126 with Lysias, *Or*. 3. 17–40: (f. 117^{v}) μόνος βαδίζων ἐντυγχάνω, δεινὸν δὲ… (f. 126^{r}) ἡμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους… (f. 129^{v}) ἀλλ' ὅ τι ψεῦδος περὶ αὐτῶν μηνύσαντες…, (the blank space here is to be explained with the loss of two leaves in Pal. gr. 88, 5 quinions between f. 129 and f. 105 with Lysias, *Or*. 5. 5 – 19. 35) (f. 105^{r}) πάντες ἐπίστασθε Κόνωνα μὲν ἄρχοντα…; 3 quinions following f. 112 with Lysias, *Or*. 22. 8 – 34. 11: (f. 112^{v}) αὐτοὺς ὀβολῷ μόνον πωλεῖν up to the end of Lysias' Speeches. There are catchwords on ff. 113^{v}, 129^{v}, 112^{v}.

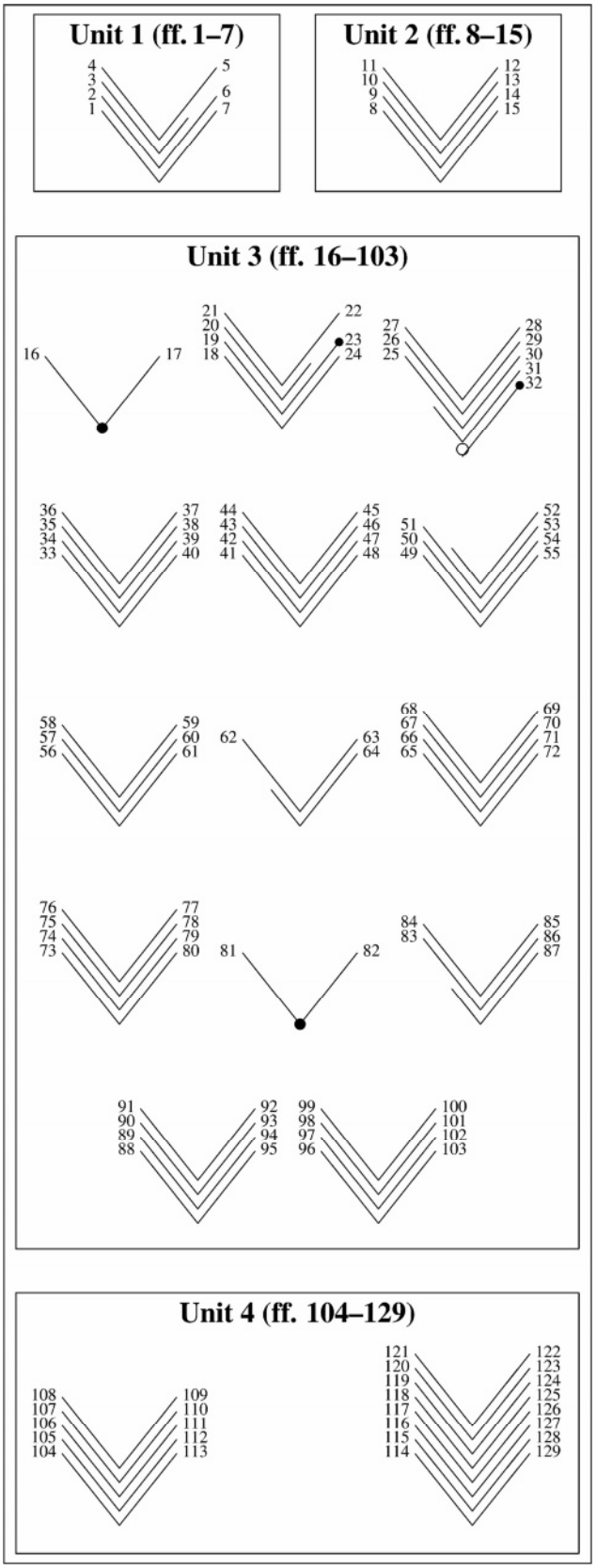
Unit 1 (ff. 1–7)
Unit 2 (ff. 8–15)
Unit 3 (ff. 16–103)
Unit 4 (ff. 104–129)

Fig. 5

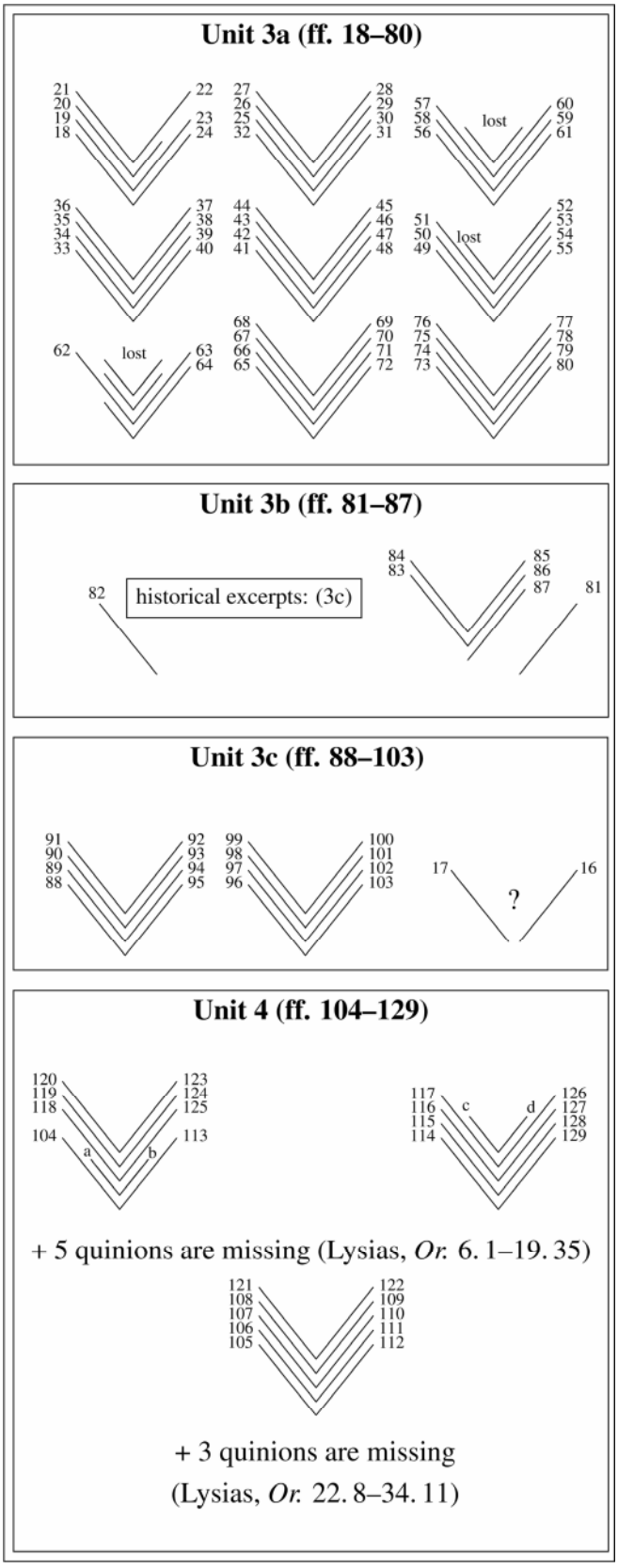
Unit 3a (ff. 18–80)
lost
lost
lost
Unit 3b (ff. 81–87)
historical excerpts: (3c)
Unit 3c (ff. 88–103)
?
Unit 4 (ff. 104–129)
+ 5 quinions are missing (Lysias, Or. 6. 1–19. 35)
+ 3 quinions are missing
(Lysias, Or. 22. 8–34. 11)

Fig. 6

SOSOWER suggests the following argument for the idea that the original codex of the Mynas codex's Lysias fragments once belonged to the Italian humanist Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459)[52]. The inventory of his library contains a reference to a Lysias (no. 67. *Item orationes Lisiae, in cartis membranis, sine albis*)[53]. Since Lysias was not translated into Latin until the sixteenth century, the item had to be a Greek parchment manuscript. Besides the Lysias fragments of the Mynas codex, SOSOWER could not find any other codex that fits the description: it is a parchment copy, old enough so that it could have belonged to G. Aurispa, and its exact mid-fifteenth-century affiliation is unknown, unlike all the other Lysias parchment copies of the same period. In addition, SOSOWER identifies the archetype of the Lysias fragments. They originate from Vat. gr. 1366, which was a paper copy made by Joannes Thettalus Scutariotes in 1453 from the single extant complete Lysias manuscript, Pal. gr. 88. This manuscript was owned by the Florentine politician and humanist Palla Strozzi (ca. 1373–1462), who was in exile in Padua at that time. Vat. gr. 1366 seems to have been designed as a reliable sample copy that faithfully reproduced the most complete Lysias corpus (Pal. gr. 88). The archetype was bound in 11 quinions and a binion, a constitution of gatherings that the reconstruction of the Lysias fragments of the Mynas codex manifests (the 3 quinions in **fig. 6**). In addition to the Mynas codex, there are only two parchment codices made from the same archetype (Vat. gr. 1366)[54]. Moreover, the number of the other fifteenth-century parchment copies is relatively small[55]. In view of this shortage of parchment copies, therefore, the former Lysias codex of the fragments preserved in the Mynas codex should be considered a deluxe copy, something which is also reflected in its large margins (written space of 188 × 110 mm to a page of 275 × 203 mm; 24–25 lines to a page).

THE TENTH-CENTURY MILITARY COLLECTION

The disorder in the tenth-century part of the Mynas codex also seems to have been created partially in Buda. Interestingly enough, in both cases (between ff. 16–17 and ff. 81–82) when the binder Lucas Coronensis mended narrow parchment strips with a thirteenth-century Latin theological treatise on them (**pl. 2**/**1** inner margin)[56], he managed to change the sequence of the leaves by mistake (the instalments are marked by small black circles in **fig. 5**). At the same time, he incorrectly mounted f. 32 to the quire of ff. 25–31. Therefore, he must have received – according to these mistakes – at least these 6 leaves also as separate. Although it disagrees with SCHÖNE's reconstruction[57], this hypothesis can explain several contradictions in the codex.

The different ruling of the parchment and the unidentical number of lines on the pages demonstrate that the leaves occupy the wrong position in SCHÖNE's reconstruction. Both the artillery texts and the historical excerpts were copied on parchment leaves with 34 ruled lines to a page, while the Philostratus and Aristodemus fragments were copied on parchment without ruling[58]. Since both the military manuals and the historical excerpts on sieges were copied on parchment with the same ruling type in very close scripts, they seem to belong together (**pl. 2**/**1**–**2**). Thus, it seems reasonable to locate 3c (ff. 16–17, 88–103) after 3a (ff.

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[52] M. L. SOSOWER, Palatinus Graecus 88 and the Manuscript Tradition of Lysias (henceforth: SOSOWER, Lysias). Amsterdam 1987, 48–50, 54–55.

[53] A. FRANCESCHINI. Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca (*Medioevo e umanesimo* 25). Padua 1976, 72.

[54] One of them, copied by J. Thettalus Scutariotes, (Vat. gr. 66: IV leaves with table of contents + 11 quinions) belonged to Joannes Argyropulus, and was sold to Bartolomeus Manfredus, custodian of the Vatican Library from 1481–84. The other one, also copied by Scutartiotes (now Moscow, University Library, gr. 3, 10 quinions and 3 quaternions), belonged to Cardinal Domenigo Grimani's library in the late 15th century. SOSOWER, Lysias 51–53.

[55] Urb. gr. 131 later belonged to the library of Frederigo da Montefeltro; Venice, Marc. gr. 522 (colloc. 317) was copied for Cardinal Bessarion in 1464–68; and the codex Marcianus Appendicis VIII.1 (coll. 1159) was copied in Florence between 1492–3. SOSOWER, Lysias 38–39, 56–57, 67–68.

[56] The parchment strips contain a Latin theological treatise written in the thirteenth-century Gothic cursive minuscule characteristic of the University of Paris. See the text between f. 15 and f. 16: *mirabantur eius clementiam et dignitatem Augustinus bonum admirabatur non malum suspicabatur* ... There are two more instalments that were glued to support the torn outer margin of the codex (f. 23^{v} and f. 32^{v}).

[57] SCHÖNE, *Mynascodex*, 442.

[58] See f. 83^{v}, the front of the Aristodemus text, has 36, while f. 81, the beginning of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, as well as ff. 84–87 have 39 lines to a page.

18–80, 82). It is probable that part 3b (ff. 83–87, 81) was added to the end of the military collection (**pl. 2**/**3**–**4**). If this hypothesis is correct, 3b (ff. 83–87, 81) was originally located at the back of the tenth-century codex. Thus these two sets of excerpts, (1) the arbitrarily copied passages of Aristodemus which retell Greek military history of the 5th century BC, and (2) the excerpts from the life of Apollonius which speak of his vegetarian diet and extraordinary lifestyle, which are close in content to short recipes copied on f. 83^{r} (**pl. 2**/**3**), should have concluded the former tenth-century codex. By this analogy, it is not necessary to assume that ff. 16–17 once belonged together. It is highly probable that more leaves were available in the 15th century than now of part 3c (ff. 16–17, 88–103) with the historical excerpts.

I will now attempt to establish the composition of the tenth-century core of the Mynas codex and reconstruct how some of its bifolia had been intermingled before arriving at Buda.

All three military collections, parallel to the Mynas codex, contained a work on defensive strategies, called *Anonymi de obsidione toleranda*[59], dated to the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (sole reign: 945–959). These codices, which show similarities in structure to Par. suppl. gr. 607, demonstrate that historical texts and artillery manuals were combined in the tenth century during the sole reign of Constantine VII (**fig. 7**).

works	**1**	2	3	4
Athenaeus, *De machinis*	18r–24v, 32r–v, 25r–v	(2a) 1r–7v	95r–101r	(4b) 56–62
Biton, *De constructione machinarum*	25v–31v	(2a) 8r–14r	101v–105v	(4b) 62–68
Hero, *De mensura Chiroballistae*	56r–v, 58r–v, 57r–v	(2a) 14v–16v	105–118?	(4b) 68-71?
Apollodorus, *Poliorcetica*	60r–v, 59r–v, 61r–v, 33r–45v	(2a) 28r–45r	118r–137v	(4b) 79–92
Hero, *Belopoeica*	46r–55v			(4b) 71–79
Philo, *De telorum constructione*	—	(2a) 49r–66v	138v–165v	(4a) 63r–63v (4b) 92–125
Sextus Iulius Africanus	—	(2a) 82r–111v	—	(4a) 63v–90v
De obsidione toleranda	excerpts	(2a) 111v–131r	176v–188v	(4a) 90v–106r
Leo VI, *Militares constitutiones*	—	(2a) 162–257	189r–233v	(4a) 130v–214v, 106v–114r
Nikephoros Phokas, *De velitatione bellica*	—	(2a) 281r–308v		(4a) 235r–240v

1 = **Par. suppl. gr. 607**
2 = Escorial Υ.III.11 (2a) with Neapolitanus III-C-26 (Neap. 284) (2b)
3 = Vat. gr. 1164
4 = Barberinianus 276 (4a) with Par. gr. 2442 (4b)

Fig. 7

This comparison shows that the Mynas codex belongs to this family of codices, and, subsequent to f. 82, it may also have contained other works copied in the tenth century. DAIN established the following relationship among these codices (see **fig. 8**). DAIN's reconstruction, based on the textual evidence of the artillery

[59] The text was edited by H. VAN DEN BERG, Anonymus de obsidione toleranda. Leyden 1947. See the three manuscripts: Vat. gr. 1164, ff. 111^{v}–131^{r}; Barberinianus 276, ff. 90^{v}–106^{r}; Escorial Y.III.11, ff, 111^{v}–131^{r}.

manuals, does not differ much from that established by SCHÖNE, who claimed that cod. Escorial Y.III.11 was copied from cod. Vat. gr. 1164.

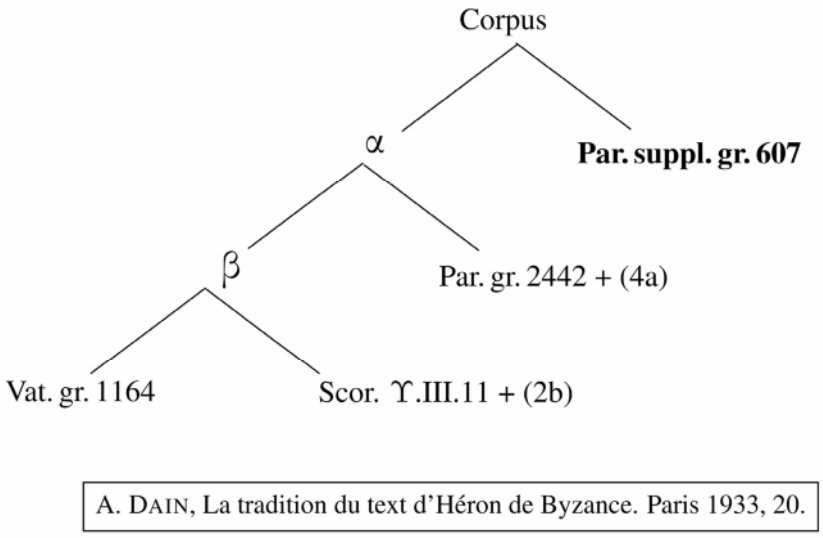

Fig. 8

From this comparison the significance of cod. Barberinianus 276 and Par. gr. 2442, which once constituted a single codex, and of Par. suppl. gr. 607, is apparent. A handful of artillery manuals (Athenaeus' *De machinis*, Bito's *De constructione machinarum*, Hero's *De mensura Chiroballistae*, Apollodorus' *Poliorcetica*, the same Hero's *Belopoeica*, and perhaps also Philo's *De telorum constructione*) seem to constitute a corpus transmitted from antiquity. The respective supplement to the same cluster with the Anonymous' work *On the sieges*, on the one hand, and with the historical excerpts in the Mynas Codex, on the other, offers valuable material for contextualizing the influence of Constantine VII's excerpting project, which manifested itself in the *Excerpta Constantiniana* and its reception at the imperial court[60].

The dissemination of these artillery manuals seems to have been connected to the imperial court, especially in the second and third quarters of the 10th century, i.e. during the joint and sole reigns of Emperors Constantine VII, that of his son Romanos II (959–963), and the subsequent reign of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969). Corroborating this hypothesis is the fact that in the military manuscripts parallel to the Mynas codex, there are works commissioned or compiled by emperors (Leo VI's *Tactica* and Nicephorus II Phocas' *De velitatione bellica*, which seems to be a later addition to the collection). Nevertheless, it would go beyond the scope of this study to discuss the connection between the historical excerpts of the Mynas codex and the famous Constantinian excerpts[61]. In addition to the date of the script, there is a strong argument for locating the central core of the Mynas codex was compiled in Constantinople, in the mid-tenth century, and placing its origin in the close circle of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The methodology of excerpting the historians on sieges in part 3c is identical to that of the Constantinian excerpts, and the coherent thematic omissions in part (3c) fit couple of the 53 Constantinian subject matters. The owner of this tenth-century military collection could have easily been a general who had access to the manuscripts pro-

[60] A. NÉMETH, The Imperial Systematisation of the Past in Constantinople: Constantine VII and His *Historical Excerpts* (forthcoming in the volume *The Encyclopaedia from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, to be published by Cambridge University Press).

[61] DÜBNER suggested that these fragments may have belonged to the Constantinian Excerpts. F. DÜBNER, Sur un manuscrit grec contenant des extraits d'historiens. *Journal general de l'Instr. Publique* 32, no. 49 (21–I–1863) 479–480. Foucault, Les stratégistes 347–349. See the refusal of this hypothesis by J. IRIGOIN. Les manuscripts d'historiens grecs et byzantins à 32 lignes, in: Studia codicologica. Mélanges Marcel Richard (ed. K. TREU). Berlin 1977, 240.

duced on imperial commission. The palaeographical characteristics of its former last part (3b), copied after the preceding two clusters (3a and 3c), help to date this composition.

Part 3b (ff. 81, 83–87) contains extracts from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and Aristodemus. These were copied by the same hand, which differs from both the hand of the artillery manuals and that of the excerpts on the sieges of various towns (**pl. 2/1–4**). On f. 83^{r} some recipes were added by a hand very similar to the one that copied the passages taken from the writings of Aristodemus and Philostratus (**pl. 2/3**). The script of ff. 81–87 seems old enough to be dated to the early tenth century; some parallel hands still allow for a dating to the middle of the tenth century. The closest parallel hand to it is in Par. gr. 781[62]. This manuscript was copied under the joint reign of emperors Romanos I and Constantine VII in 939. If the hypothesis that this was the last addition to the codex is correct, the artillery manuals and the excerpts on the sieges should have been copied before. Thus, the tenth-century composition in the Mynas codex seems to be contemporaneous with Emperor Constantine VII. The extracts from Philostratus' and Apollonius' works are disordered in the quire, and not only because the leaves were intermingled later (see the codicological structure in **fig. 5** and **6**). The immediate interruption of Aristodemus' text on f. 87^{v}, as well as Philostratus' excerpts on f. 81^{v}, demonstrates that in each case the narrative continued on a lost leaf. This concludes what can be said about the Byzantine history of the tenth-century composite codex – the core of the Mynas codex.

DEMETRIUS TRIBOLES AND THE MILITARY COLLECTION

Attempts to reconstruct the Byzantine history of the military collection, the core of the Mynas codex, and its journey from Byzantium to Italy would lead us into the realm of speculation. The confusion of the leaves of the central part (3a) seems to originate partially from its Byzantine use, coming from the shared codicological and scribal errors of the Mynas codex and its fifteenth-century apograph (see below). SCHÖNE suggested that the tenth-century core of the manuscript belonged to Giovanni Aurispa (1376–1459), who brought 238 codices – including an Athenaeus volume – from Byzantium to Venice[63]. Aurispa wrote to Ambrogio Traversari several times (1424–1430) that he possessed the engineer Athenaeus' work περὶ μηχανημάτων, an old volume with illustrations. He offered this volume in exchange for old Latin codices. Since his bequest list does not contain this item, he must have sent it away or sold it before his death. However, his main argument that the Mynas codex is the only codex containing Athenaeus' work as the first one cannot be maintained. One parallel of the Mynas codex, an eleventh-century codex (Escorial Y.III.11), also preserves Athenaeus in the very first place, with a very similar collection of war machine constructions, so it can also be a candidate for Aurispa's codex[64]. Nor can it be excluded that Aurispa's copy has been lost. Sabadini – perhaps without knowing about the other codices – identified Aurispa's Athenaeus volume with Vat. gr. 1164, one of the three military collections parallel to the Mynas codex. His identification, however, does not seem to be correct because Athenaeus is in the middle of the codex (ff. 95^{r}–101^{r}) so that Aurispa could hardly label this manuscript as an Athenaeus volume.

The earliest date and place when the tenth-century core of the Mynas codex can be attested to is from 1469–70 in Rome, where some of its artillery manuals were copied by Demetrius Triboles in a codex which is now in Vienna (ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140)[65]. WESCHER's hypothesis[66] that ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140 was copied par-

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[62] Par. gr. 781 contains Chrysostom, copied by Stylianos (ruling type II, 4b). M. L. AGATI, La minuscula "bouletée". Vatican City 1992, I, 280–281. See also K. and S. LAKE, Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200, vol. 4. Boston 1935, no. 137. There are some other parallels without precise date in AGATI, Bouletée, vol. 2, tab. 16a–b (Patmiacus 24), tab. 34 (Par. gr. 763), tab. 73 (Par. gr. 139), tab. 110 (Escorial Ψ.III.18), tab. 117 (Patmiacus 13), tab. 184 (Moscow, Syn. gr. 284), and tab. 185 (Oxford, Bodleian, Barocc. 174).

[63] See SCHÖNE, Mynascodex, 445, n. 2; ROZSONDAI, Lucas Coronensis 524. See the letters in R. SABBADINI, Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa. Roma 1931, letter nos. VIII, XXIII, LII, LIII, LIIII, LV, on p. 13, 51, 67, 69, 70, 72.

[64] Francisco Maturancio donated this codex to the Monastery of San Pietro de Perusa; later Hurtando da Mendoza obtained the manuscript. Its history before Francisco Maturancio is unknown: cf. G. DE ANDRÉS, Catalolgo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial II. Madrid 1965, 157–159.

[65] I am indebted to Ernst GAMILLSCHEG45 for identifying the scribe as Demetrios Triboles. See his activity in Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten (RGK) 1A n^{o}103 and in A. OLEROFF, Démétrius Trivolis, copiste et bibliophile' (hereafter: OLEROFF, Dé-

tially from the Mynas codex was confirmed by both a codicological analysis and the comparison of the texts of both manuscripts. ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140 not only contains all the figures of the Mynas codex but also repeats its irregularities, which resulted from the disordered succession of its bifolia at several points[67]. One particular point assures us of the direct connection between the two: Hero's work *On the construction of cheiroballista* appears in the wrong sequence in Par. suppl. gr. 607 (the correct sequence would be ff. 56, 58, 57). Although the text was transmitted unfinished and terminates on f. 57, the fifteenth-century copy terminates on f. 63^{r} –not at the real end of the work but on f. 58^{v}, just as the Mynas codex does, and leaves the remaining part of its quire blank.

Interestingly enough, it is the very same codex (Vienna, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140) that also occurs among the works listed in the famous letter J. A. Brassicanus attached as a preface to the edition (Basel, 1530) of Salvianus' work (*De vero iudicio et providentia Dei*), often quoted in the context of the Corvinian Library: […] *Heronis Alexandrini περὶ βελοποιΐας…* Cod. phil. gr. 140 preserves J. A. Brassicanus' ex libris (f. III^{r}); thus, this seems to be the manuscript Brassicanus was thinking of in the preface. Although there is no evidence – besides the Diodorus codex (Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 30) – that other items from his list belonged to the Bibliotheca Corviniana, such an origin can also not be excluded[68]. In addition to the artillery manuals, cod. Phil. gr. 140 contains some astronomic works and tables of the Neo-Platonist philosopher Gemistus Pletho (1355–1452/54), who was a teacher of the later Cardinal Bessarion (1403? –1472)[69]. Gemistus Pletho promoted Plato's teachings against Aristotle while giving lectures during the council in Florence, which was a major event in shaping the intellectual horizon of the Italian Renaissance. The scribe of the codex, Demetrius

métrius Trivolis). *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 260–263. The codex is described with some incorrect details (watermark, quires) in Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 1. Codices Historici, Codices Philosophici et Philologici (ed. H. HUNGER and alii) (hereafter: HUNGER 1). Wien 1961, 245–246.

66 WESCHER, Poliorcétique XXXV–XXXVI.

67 Hero: *De dioptra*: Par. suppl. gr. 607, ff. 62–80 = ÖNB Phil. gr. 140, ff. 31^{r}–59^{r}; Hero: *De constructione et mensura chiroballistae*: Par. suppl. gr. 607, ff. 56–58 (the correct sequence of the ff. 56, 58, 57) = ÖNB phil. gr. 140, ff. 59^{v}–63^{r}. This case assures the direct connection without any doubt: the text ends with the same word both in Par. suppl. gr. 607, f. 58^{v} and ÖNB phil. gr. 140, f. 63^{r} (δὲ ἀπαλλήλλων δὲ δακτύλους ΒΣ). At the end of the quire in ÖNB phil. gr. 140, the scribe left 4 folia blank. Hero: *Belopoeica*: Par. suppl. gr. 607, ff. 46^{r}–55^{v} = ÖNB phil. gr. 140, ff. 64^{r}–77^{r}.

68 The following manuscripts can be identified from Brassicanus' list (the identifications are in brackets in the preface cited from the Salvianus edition [Basel, 1530, ff. B_{ii}^{v}– B_{iii}^{v}]): *Nunc Salvianum* [ÖNB Cod. Lat. 826; Basel, 1530] *tuum accipe, princeps optime, tuum inquam tibi tuoque felicissimo nomini inscriptum: quem si tibi, uti iure optimo meretur, placuisse intellexero, curabo quanta fide potero, ut & alia, quae adhuc in Bibliotheca nostra sunt innumera, & praecipue graeca, nempe Chrysostomi diversa in sanctos encomia, Origenis librorum Epitome per Gregorium theologum & Basilium Magnum digesta, Severiani Gabalorum Episcopi in Genesim conciones XIIII. Gregorii Nysseni in Genesim enarrationes,* [Péter Tóth suggested an insecure identification with ÖNB theol. gr. 278] *Basilii Magni hexaëmeron integrum, & longe copiosius quamque vel ab Argyropylo, vel ab Eustachio ad Syncleticam Germanam in linguam latinam conversum sit, Nazianzeni ac Basilii multa nunquam adhuc visa vel edita, Philonis libri tres περὶ τοῦ βίου μωσέως, & eiusdem alter, qui inscribitur, βίος πολιτηκοῦ ὅπερ ἐστι περὶ Ιωσήφ: ad haec liber eiusdem, cui titulus est, περὶ ἀρετῶν ἤτοι ἀνδρείας καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ φιλανθροπίας καὶ μετανοίας &c.* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 50 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 500–501 as lost possible Corvinas] *sub tui nominis auspicio ad communem omnium utilitatem in lucem veniant. Felicem te profecto, tua si bona noris: hoc est, si videas tuo favore ac beneficio tantum commodorum ad studiosos atque doctos omnes promanasse: feliciorem autem multo, si & alia graeca, quae ad meliorum artium cognitionem attinent, tibi nominatim inscripta, nuncupataque invulgavero: hoc est, Procli, Io<annis> Philoponi, cognomento grammatici, ac Manuelis Moschopuli commentarios in Hesiodum* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 18 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 432, as a lost possible Corvina], *ad haec in Opiani halieutica commentarios utiliss<imos>* [ÖNB phil. gr. 135 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 459]. *Iamblichum Chalcidensem philosophum in rebus Pythagoricis* [London, British Library, Addit. MS. 21 165 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 347], *eiusdem protrepticas orationes, Diodorum Siculum in historiis* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 30; Basel, 1539, = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 225], *non illis quidem, quas Poggius latinas fecit* [Bologna, 1472] *Arithmeticam & Geometricam Nicomachi, Heronis Alexandrini librum περὶ βελοποιίας* [ÖNB phil. gr. 140 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 320], *& Graeci autoris innominati libros vere aureos XX. de re rustica* [Cassianus Bassus, ÖNB med. gr. 46; Basel, 1539 = CSAPODI, *Stock*, no. 790 as a lost possible Corvina]: *ac alia praeterea multa, quae nunc commemorare nolo, ne videar librariae meae supellectilis, forte non ita condemnendae, catalogum contexere.*
In addition to the Diodorus codex (ÖNB, suppl. gr. 30) and the phil. gr. 140 discussed in the article, none of the items of this list have any signs of a relation to the Corvinian library.

69 The final three written pages of the codex (ff. 95^{r}–96^{r}) give a list of Assyrian and Persian kings, the Ptolemies, as well as the Roman and Byzantine emperors until Michael Palaeologus.

Triboles, was Pletho's compatriot since he refers to his Spartan origin (ancient Sparta is near Mistra, where they both were active), and belonged to Bessarion's Neo-Platonist circle.

The date and location of the Viennese copy is based on the watermark, which is similar to a special type of horn that is found in two manuscripts copied in Rome in 1470 and 1471[70]. The two Greek manuscripts D. HARLFINGER refers to for this type of watermark were copied in Rome in 1471 by Joannes Rhosus[71], a scribe who copied Polybius (Vat. Urb. gr. 101) from the Munich Polybius (cod. gr. 157), viewed by the majority of scholars as a genuine Corvina, somewhere between 1455 and 1474 in Italy[72]. Demetrius Triboles, the scribe of the ÖNB, Phil. gr. 140, was an active copyist in Rome in 1467–1472, as his Planudean Anthology (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. 621, copied in 1472)[73] and Cracow Homer (Odysseia, *Jagellonean Library*, Rks. 543)[74] demonstrate. He copied the Cracow Homer in Rome in 1469 for himself, as his note says: ἔργον καὶ κτῆμα Δημητρίου Τριβώλη τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου. Nothing is known about what happened to this codex until it appeared in the Cracow university library in 1570[75]. He copied several other manuscripts in Rome – also for Bessarion – until the death of his patron in 1472.

HENRY, a monographer on the text tradition of Plotinus' *Enneades*, wrote that the binding of this codex originates from the same workshop as that of Triboles' copy of Plotinus' *Enneades*, now in Munich, cod. gr. 449. D. Triboles copied the Munich Plotinus (ff. 14^{r}–262^{v}) jointly with another scribe, Michael Lygizus (ff. 1^{r}–13^{v}: Porphyry's Life of Plotinus) in Gortyna, Crete in 1465[76]. The majority of scholars accept that this codex is an authentic Corvina[77]. OLEROFF noted that while Triboles left notes of ownership in the codices copied for himself[78], he did not do so in the manuscripts he copied for other people. According to this observation, Demetrius Triboles copied the Escorial Plato (Corfu, 1462)[79], the Munich Plotinus (Gortyna, Crete, 1465), the Cracow Homer (Rome, 1469), the Planudean Anthology (Rome, 1472)[80], and Dioscorides' Medical work[81] (Corfu, 1481) for himself, and was a book collector, as Janus Laskaris' list from 1491 demonstrates[82]. This practice can be seen in another copy of Plotinus' *Enneades* he made for Bessarion, which was done on paper sheets showing watermarks identical to those of the Munich copy (Venice, Biblioteca Mar-

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[70] Ch. M. BRIQUET, Les Filigranes, Dictionnaire historique des Marques du Papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. Leipzig 1923, n° 7834; D. and J. HARLFINGER, Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften (hereafter: HARLFINGER, Wasserzeichen). Berlin 1980, Horn 25.

[71] HARLFINGER, Wasserzeichen, Horn 25; Joannes Rhosus: RGK 1A No 178, RGK 2A No 237. The two manuscripts are Par. gr. 1910 and Laurent., Plut. 55,9.

[72] J. Rhosus signed Vat. Urb. gr. 101 but did not give the date. MOORE, Polybius 15–16, dates it between 1455 and 1474 for two reasons: (1) Rhosus began his activity in 1455, (2) the Vat. Urb. gr. 101, f. 1^{r} contains the coat of Arms of "Fredericus comes Feltrensis", who became the Duke of Urbino in 1474. See the conjunctive errors of the manuscripts in MOORE, Polybius 26–27.

[73] See its description in E. MIONI, Codices Graeci Manuscripti (Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum). Roma 1985, II, 549–554 (hereafter: MIONI, Codices).

[74] E. GOLLOB, Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften in Österreich außerhalb Wiens mit 11 Tafeln (*Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akedemie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Philologisch-Historische Klasse 146). Wien 1903, 19.

[75] Another note of the codex says: *M. Stanislaus Cirzephius maior college pro bibliotheca eiusdem collegii legavit 1570*.

[76] Demetrius Triboles copied a possessor's note on f. 127^{v}: ἡ βίβλος ἥδε ἐγράφη διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς Δημητρί(ου) Τριβώλ(ου) Πελοποννη|σίου ἐκ Σπάρτης διατριβόντος ἐν πόλει Κρήτης Γορτύνῃ μετὰ | τὴν τῆς ἐμῆς πατρίδος ἅλωσιν ἐν ἔτει ,ςϡογ΄.

[77] CSAPODI (Stock, no. 543; and CSAPODI–GÁRDONYI, Bibliotheca Corviniana, no. 111) and the majority of scholars consider cod. 449 to be an authentic Corvina. Hajdú, on the other hand, does not accept the authenticity of the information on the Munich Plotinus' Corvinian provenance. Nevertheless, according to her detailed summary of the debate over the issue (HAJDÚ, Provenienzgeschichte, 45–50), the information on Schegkius obtaining the Plotinus codex, which originated in King Matthias' library, from Emperor Ferdinand comes from the old Schegkius (through Martin Crusius) and is to be dated before 1564, a rather early date.

[78] OLEROFF, Démétrius Trivolis 261.

[79] Escorial, Ψ.I.1, cf. OLEROFF, Démétrius Trivolis 260.

[80] Velence, Marciana, cod. gr. 621, f. 66: τοῦτο τὸ κάλλιστον βιβλίον ἐστὶν ἔργον χειρῶν καὶ κτῆμα Δημητρίου Τριβωλήτου σπαρτιάτου. Ἐγράφη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν ἐμῆς πατρίδος ἅλωσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἔτει ,ςϡπ. MIONI, Codices 549.

[81] Par. gr. 2182, cf. OLEROFF, Démétrius Trivolis 260.

[82] See the list of Demetrius Triboles' library made by J. Lascaris in 1491, in: K. K. MÜLLER, Neue Mitteilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884) 394–396. Sp. LAMBROS, Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰώνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. *Neos Ellenomnemon* 4 (1907) 316–325.

ziana, 240, without D. Triboles' signature but with Bessarion's note of ownership on f. V^{v})[83]. This copy of the *Enneades* demonstrates that Triboles kept some of his copies with him for a while before giving them to someone else, because he is likely to have given his Plotinus to Bessarion only in Rome, several years after copying it in Crete. Since both the Munich Plotinus (1465) and the Cracow Homer (1469) seem to have bindings prepared in the same workshop[84], it indicates that D. Triboles took both of his Plotinus codices with him from Crete to Rome.

This Byzantine type of binding, according to the Cracow Homer copied in Rome in 1469, should have been made in Italy (Florence or Venice)[85]. Although the suggestion that this type of binding indicates a commission by Matthias Corvinus is untenable, it was the basis of the Corvinian attribution of two other codices. Thus, HENRY and DENISSOFF proposed the idea that the Cracow Homer was sold to Matthias Corvinus[86]. And FISCHER suggested in 1878 that Munich cod. gr. 490[87], a codex originating in the same Neo-Platonic context as Demetrios Triboles' other copies, is linked to the Corvinian Library. This connection, however, cannot be proven on the basis of the binding.

The Mynas codex and its copy – Vienna, phil. gr. 140 – fit the Neo-Platonic context, with the mathematical and geographical character of its artillery manuals copied by Demetrius Triboles together with Pletho's astronomic work and tables. Since the Viennese copy is not signed, we can assume that D. Triboles perhaps did not want to keep it, which does not imply, however, that he sent it to someone else immediately after copying it, as the example of Bessarion's Plotinus demonstrates. Unfortunately, its binding cannot help in contextualizing its later history. It was rebound with the majority of the codices in the Viennese Hofbibliothek in the mid-18th century (van Swieten). Another copy by Demetrius Triboles should be mentioned in this context: Vienna, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 5, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, not signed by the scribe[88]. This codex was acquired by Augerius Busbecq, Emperor Ferdinand's ambassador in Constantinople in the 1550s[89]. It is impossible to prove that the Mynas codex and its copy drifted together with some of D. Triboles' own codices from Italy to Hungary. However, all the coincidences listed above support the idea that after Demetrius Triboles' activity in Rome and the death of his patron, Cardinal Bessarion (1472), some of his own copies and other codices used in his Neo-Platonic circle were sold, later forming a group that moved together, probably also to Hungary.

THE JOURNEY OF THE MYNAS CODEX FROM BUDA TO THE HOLY MOUNTAIN

Finally, I will attempt to suggest another solution to explain how the Mynas codex left Buda. There is a note of ownership on f. Iv (Γαβριὴλ ἐλέου θεοῦ θεσσαλονίκης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος καὶ ἔξαρχος πάσης Θετταλίας, **pl. 3**/**3**)[90] which has escaped the attention of scholars so far and which helps to connect Mount Athos and Buda. At the end of the 16th century, the Mynas codex was in the possession of Gabriel, Archbishop of

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[83] P. HENRY, Études plotiniennes, vol. 2. Les manuscrits des Ennéades (hereafter: HENRY, Ennéades). Bruxelles 1948, 214–224. K. HAJDÚ, Mit glüchlicher Hand errettet? Zur Provenienzgeschichte der griechischen Corvinen in München, in: *Supplementum Corvinianum* I. Budapest 2008, 41, A. 56, 61 (henceforth: HAJDÚ, Provenienzgeschichte).

[84] HENRY, Ennéades 210–211.

[85] É. DENISSOFF, Maxime le Grec et l'Occident, Contribution a l'histoire de la pensée religieuse et philosophique de Michel Trivolis (henceforth: DENISSOFF, Maxime le Grec). Paris–Louvain 1943, 127; HENRY, Ennéades 211.

[86] On the basis of HENRY, Ennéades 211, DENISSOFF (Maxime le Grec 127, n. 1) explicitly attributes cod. Cracow 543 to the Corvinian Library.

[87] See its description in I. HARDT, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae, 5. Cod. CCCCLXXIII–DLXXX. München 1812, 71–142. C. W. MÜLLER, Eine spätbyzantinische Redaktion des pseudoplatonischen Dialogs ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ. *Würzburger Jahrbuch für die Altertumswissenschaft* NF 5 (1979) 237–251. See the idea of the Corvinian origin of the binding and its refusal in HAJDÚ, Provenienzgeschichte 43–44. The debate is based on L. FISCHER, König Matthias Corvinus und seine Bibliothek. Vortrag gehalten im Vereine „Mittelschule" in Wien, am 23. März 1878 [...]. Wien 1878, 27.

[88] HUNGER 1, 139 and RGK 1A No 103.

[89] There is a Greek codex from the Royal Library of Buda, later in the possession of Tamás Bakócz, Archbishop of Esztergom, which was taken to Constantinople, then acquired by Busbecq, and finally brought to the Vienna Hofbibliothek. HUNGER 1, 387–388; CSAPODI, Stock, no. 371.

[90] I am obliged to E. GAMILLSCHEG, who helped in reading this note, which is rather difficult to decipher.

Thessalonica (1593–1596)[91] and Exarchos of all Thessalia, who became patriarch of Constantinople for 6 months (Gabriel I, 1596). The direct Turkish channel from Buda to Constantinople in 1526 or 1541, and then to Mount Athos, as ROZSONDAI suggests, cannot be excluded but seems less plausible[92]. A. HOBSON[93], on the other hand, proposed another answer. It could have been Michael Cantacuzenus, the rich Greek entrepreneur and collector known also as Şeytanoğlu (son of Satan), who bought the manuscript. His possessions were confiscated and sold by auction after 1578, when he was executed on the order of the sultan[94]. Some of his books, according to HOBSON, could have been bought by the Vatopedi Monastery. However, it does not seem necessary to suppose a journey between Buda and Thessalonica via Constantinople and then to Mount Athos. There is a third possibility, perhaps more likely than the previous suggestions. It could also have been through Transylvania that the Mynas codex reached archbishop Gabriel already in the 16th century and later the Vatopedi Monastery. In the 16th century, Transylvania and Walachia had strong connections with the monasteries of the Holy Mountain and Northern Greece. I would refer to the example of Martin Haczy or Haczius, provost of Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania), a titular bishop of Citrium who is linked to both the Corvinian Library and the the monastic binding shop in which Lucas Coronensis was employed.

Haczy managed to acquire one of the most superb Greek manuscripts of the Corvinian Library: the humanist deluxe codex of Ptolemy, copied in the hands of Joannes Thettalus Scutariotes in Florence in 1454 and furnished with rich map illustrations[95]. This manuscript is attested to have been in Buda already in 1482 when – under the adopted name Athesinos[96] – Johannes Rosenperger copied it for the Viennese humanist Conrad Celtes[97]. This codex has a Florentine blind-stamped leather binding, made before the codex arrived in Buda. Despite the fact that it was later not embellished with Matthias' coat of arms, the codex was still a distinctive piece of the princely renaissance library because of the richly illuminated maps at its end. Humanist envoys admired this codex and frequently mention it in their letters[98]. The last date when this Ptolemy was mentioned as being in Buda is April 1518. Ulrich von Hutten writes to Willibald Pirckheimer (Augsburg, 25 October 1518)[99] that the envoy Sigmund von Herberstein managed to consult the Ptolemy codex in Buda during his journey to Moscow in the previous winter. Sigmund von Herberstein mentions in his autobiography that he visited Buda in April 1518, while travelling to Moscow through Hungary[100]. He studied the geography of Russia and discovered that the name of the river Volga differs from that of the Latin translation (Rha). In the Viennese Ptolemy, the name of the river Volga coincides with the form Herberstein saw (ÖNB, Hist. gr. 1, f. 49^{v}, 79^{v}–80^{r}: ῥὰς ποταμὸς). After 1518, this Ptolemy was acquired by Marton Haczy/Haczius (see above), as his possessorial note demonstrates in the Viennese Ptolemy (ÖNB, Hist. gr. 1, f. 1^{v}): *Martini Haczij p(re)p(osit)i minorum Waradiensium & suorum*. However, the codex is attested to in 1576 in Hugo

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[91] L. PETIT, Les Évèques de Thessalonique. *Échos d'Orient* 5 (1901–1902) 153–154.

[92] ROZSONDAI, Lucas Coronensis 525–526.

[93] I would like to express my gratitude to M. ROZSONDAI for providing me with HOBSON's letter (5 January, 1998).

[94] F. BRAUDEL, The Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. London 1973, vol. II, 696. On Michael Cantacuzenus' book collection, see S. RUNCIMAN, The Great Church in Captivity. Cambridge 1968, 197.

[95] See its description in J. HERMANN, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich VI. Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der italienischen Renaissance, 3. Mittelitalien: Toskana, Umbrien, Rom. Leipzig 1932, No 11, p. 19–21, plate IV; HUNGER 1, 1; E. GAMILLSCHEG – B. MERSICH, Matthias Corvinus und die Bildung der Renaissance. Wien 1994, no. 29, 69–70.

[96] RGK 1A No 157.

[97] This copy is now preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, 40 (Seld. B 45). On f. 1^{r} the scribe wrote: ὁ Ἰοαννης Ἀθεσινος δουλος ποιητης Κονραδα Κελτις Γερμανου γεγραφα ἐν ἐτει ,αυπβ. *In Buda inferioris Pannoniae*. At the end of the text (f. 176^{v}, lower margin), he copied the colophon of the Viennese Ptolemy verbatim (ÖNB, hist. gr. 1, f. 98^{v}). See its description in H. O. COXE, *Bodleian Library, Quarto Catalogues*, I. Greek manuscripts. Oxford 1853, 603; see also its reprinted and corrected edition (Oxford 1969). On Celtis' correspondence concerning this codex, see CSAPODI, Stock, no. 554.

[98] See the examples referred to in CSAPODI, Stock, no. 554.

[99] Ulrich von Hutten, Epistola vitae suae rationem exponens, to Pirckheimer (Augusburg, 25 October 1518), in: Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel, ed. D. WUTTKE. München 1989, no. 561, 400–425, especially 420, l. 714–716.

[100] Sigmund VON HERBERSTEIN, Selbstbiographie, 1486–1553, in: Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen, Abteilung 1, Scriptores 1. Vienna 1855, 133–134.

Blotius' catalogue of the Viennese Hofbibliothek (Y 5540)[101], where it has been preserved until now. M. Haczy seems to have acquired this Ptolemy manuscript from the collection of Ferenc Perényi, bishop of Várad, who was in contact with Coelio Calcagnini, who obtained the Ptolemy volume in Buda in 1519[102].

Martin Haczy/Haczius also possessed an early print (Basel, 1519), which was bound in the same Buda monastic workshop as the Mynas codex[103]. As regards the number of identical stamps, this volume is the closest parallel to the binding of the Mynas codex (7 of 11 stamps). There is another volume from this bookbindery that had an owner in Várad, namely Nicolaus de Homorod, bishop of Nagyvárad, where Martin Haczy was provost of the Franciscans[104]. Of the eight volumes identified by ROZSONDAI in addition to the Mynas codex, six seem to have been linked to Transylvania. Besides the two Várad connections, two more bindings made in the Buda monastic workshop are now kept in the Teleki-Bolyai Library in Marosvásárhely (today Târgu-Mures, Romania), and two in Csíksomlyó, a Franciscan convent (near Miercurea Ciuc, Romania)[105]. It cannot be excluded, however, that they were later brought to Transylvania.

CONCLUSION: THE MYNAS CODEX AND THE ROYAL LIBRARY IN BUDA

The heterogeneous and random composition of the Mynas codex implies a commissioner who brought numerous and various Greek manuscripts and commissioned the binder to bind them. Thus, we can assume that there was a single commissioner who collected the four separate units of the Mynas codex (see above), probably from the same place. The most probable location where such a remarkable store of Greek manuscripts and fragments were available and could provide material for the Mynas codex seems to be the royal place of Buda. Regardless of how this place is labelled according to the varying viewpoints, it is here that envoys such as Johannes Cuspinianus, Johannes Gremper and J. Alexander Brassicanus consulted Greek manuscripts in 1510 and 1520.

The adventurous history of the Mynas codex, which encompasses the tenth-century Byzantine imperial court, the Neo-Platonic circle of Bessarion in Italy, possible connections with the Corvinian Library in Buda, and finally its mysterious journey to Northern Greece, Mount Athos and then to Paris, demonstrate the broad intellectual horizon of Matthias' Library. This intellectual breadth is reflected in the selection of the Greek manuscripts and the extremely wide geographical and intellectual spectrum that absorbed the Greek volumes after the dispersion of the library. The fragmentary state of its various pieces testifies to the conditions that the Greek codices faced in Hungary at the turn of the 16th century. The interest of several learned humanists who had a profound knowledge of Greek and were active in Hungary (Ianus Pannonius, Péter Garázda, Antonio Bonfini, and Taddeo Ugoleto), does not seem to have been shared by the majority of their fellows. This lack of interest probably caused a significant loss of Greek (but not Latin) codices, as the Lysias fragments of the Mynas codex exemplify. If some humanist visitors had not recognized their value and managed to acquire some of them, an even larger number of Greek works collected in the Hungarian royal library would have perished forever.

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[101] *Ptolomaei Geographia graece elegantissime in membrana descripta maximi folii forma, una cum tabulis geographicis*, quoted from MENHARDT, Handschriftenverzeichnis 83.

[102] CSAPODI, Stock, no. 554.

[103] ROZSONDAI identified the other bindings of the Buda monastic binding shop, including that of Hacky's volume (Lucas Coronensis 517–518). Library of the Calvinist College of Sárospatak, S 481, 2° with his note of ownership (b_3^r: *Haczii p(rae)p(osi)ti et suorum*). This volume contains Jodocus Clichtoveus, Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum. Basel: Johannes Frobenius 1519 = VD 16: C4194.

[104] Episcopal Library in Székesfehérvár, shelf number Ant. 102 (2°). It also contains an edition from Froben's printing house (Homiliae hoc est conciones populares, Basel 1516). His possessor note says: *Liber Nicolai de Homorod Episcopi Varadiensis 1522*. The reference is taken from ROZSONDAI, *Lucas Coronensis* 517–518.

[105] I have taken the identifications from ROZSONDAI, *Lucas Coronensis* 516–518.

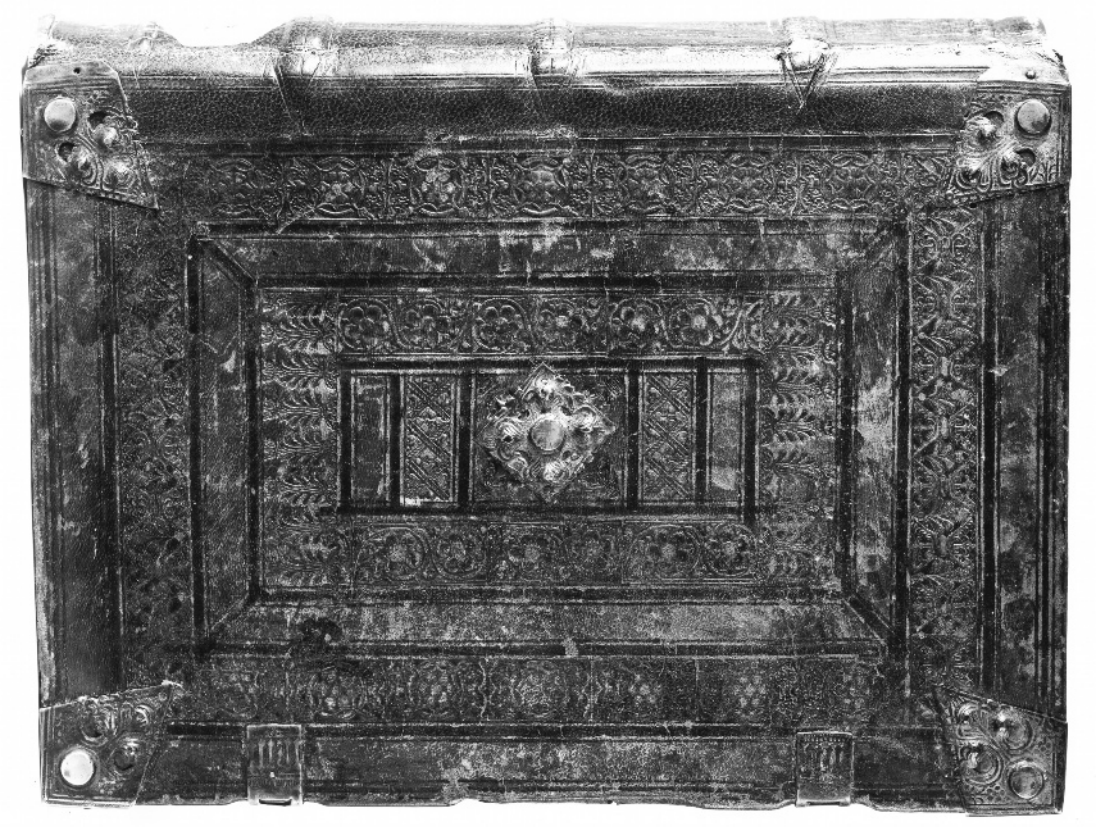


Plate 1/1
Paris, BnF , suppl. gr. 607, f. 21^{v} (ram tortoise, 275 × 203 mm)

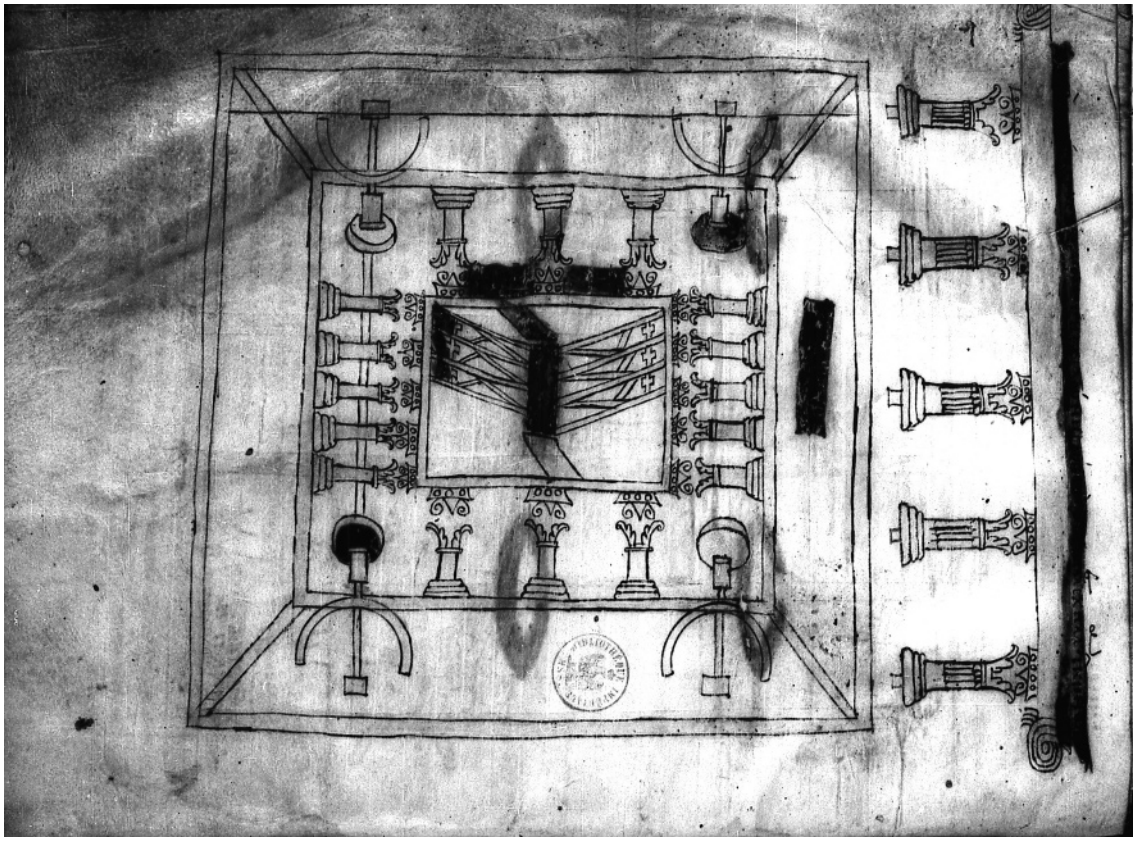
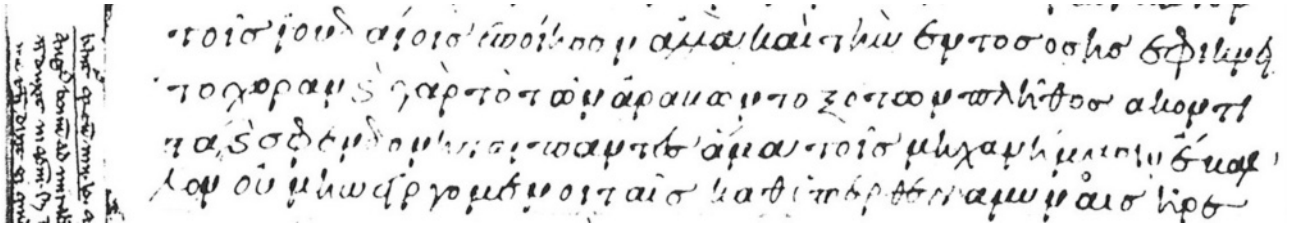
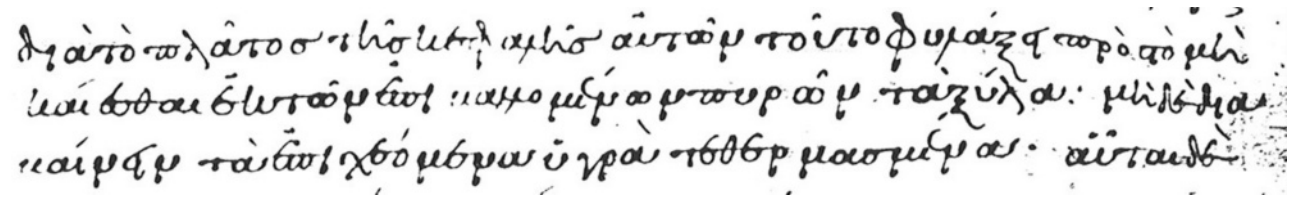
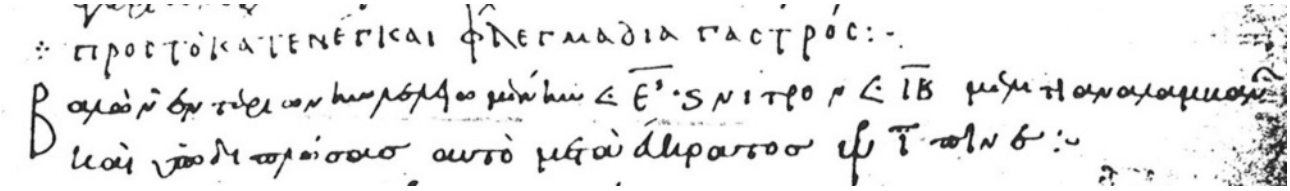


Plate 1/2
Paris, BnF , suppl. gr. 607, upper cover (288 × 205 mm)







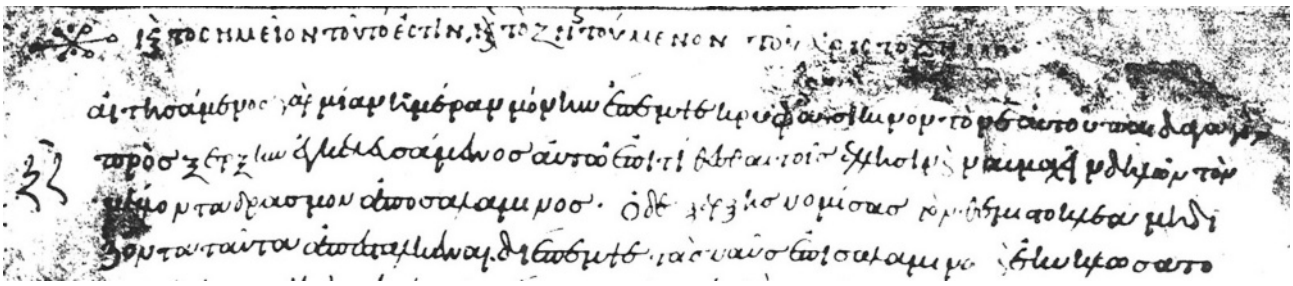


Plate 2/1–4
(details from part 3 of Paris, BnF , suppl. gr. 607, downwards)
1: f. 16^{r} (3c, text width: 145/150 mm),
2: f. 59^{r} (3a, text width: 150 mm),
3: f. 83^{r},
4: f. 83^{v} (3b, text width: 170/175 mm)

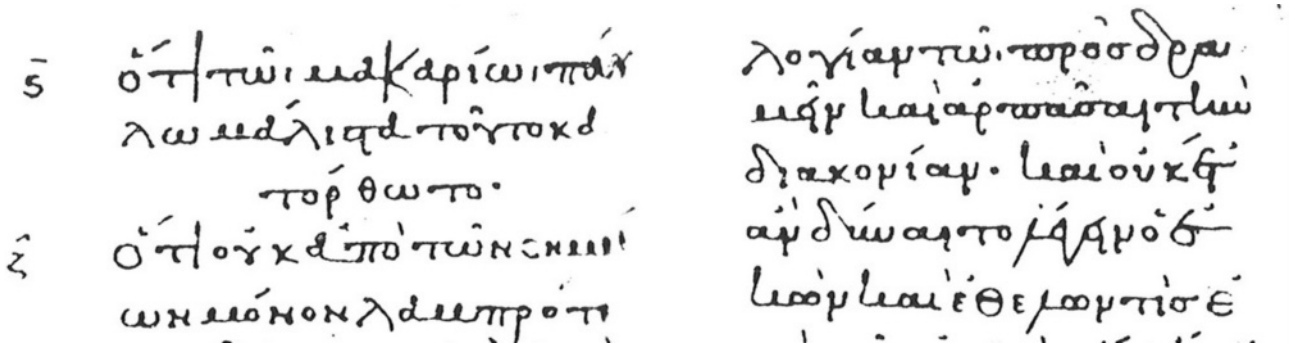


Plate 3/1
Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 607, f. 8^{v} (detail, column width: 60/65 mm)

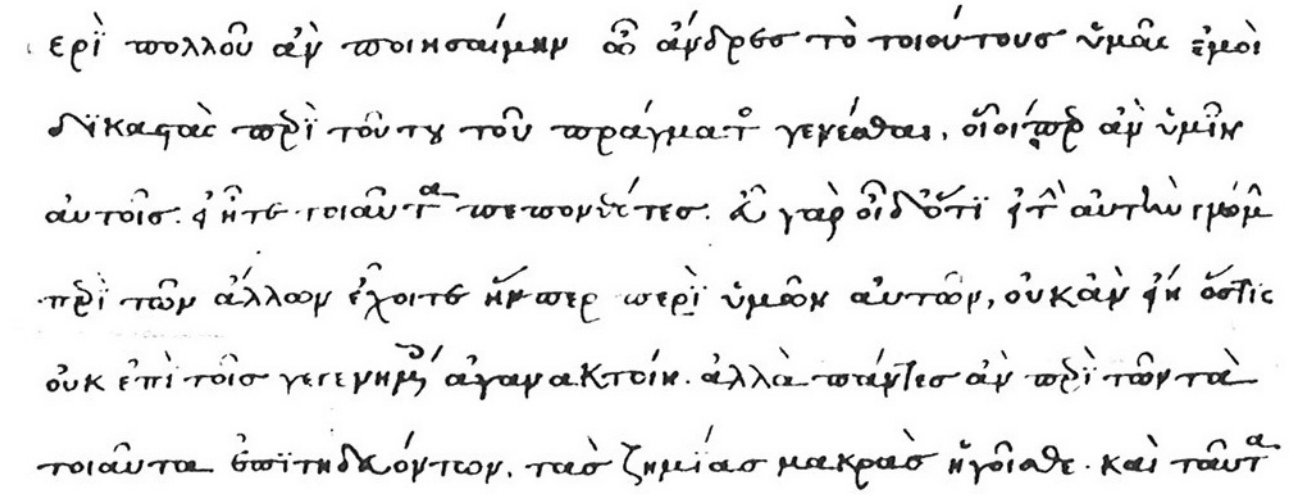


Plate 3/2
Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 607, f. 104^{r} (detail, text width: 110 mm)

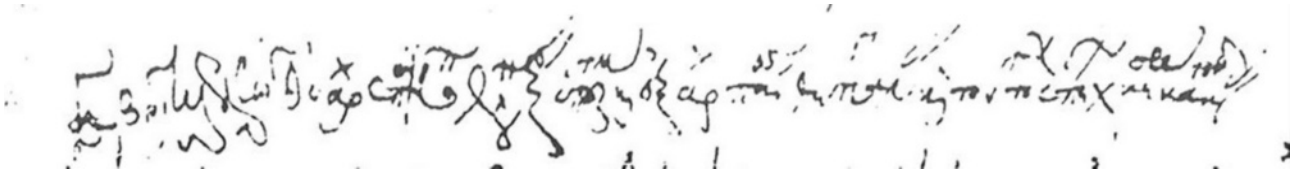


Plate 3/3
Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 607, f. I^{v}: Gabriel's note of ownership