

Constantinus Lascaris Anthologicus An epigrammatic collection in *Homerum* in the *Matritensis* 4629 (Mt)¹

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ABSTRACT

Our paper aims to take a closer look at a collection of epigrams extracted from the *Planudean*, one of the several epigrammatic collections that, as far as we know, have not yet received the independent and particular attention we think it deserves. They are 26 epigrams on Homer and his two main poems copied in *Matr.* 4629 (ff. 177v-180r = **Mt**), twelve of them once again copied in *Matr.* 4562 (ff. 110r-111r = **M**), whose possible manuscript sources are to be investigated, as well as the possible connections to the *editio princeps* of the *Planudea* (1494).

Keywords: *Greek Anthology, Planudean Anthology, Constantinus Lascaris, Homer, manuscripts.*

RESUMEN

Nuestro trabajo intenta realizar un estudio más detallado de una colección de epigramas de la *Antología Planudea* que, por lo que sabemos, no ha recibido todavía la atención que, creemos, merece. Se trata de 26 epigramas sobre Homero y sus dos poemas, copiados en el *Matr.* 4629 (ff. 177v-180r = **Mt**), de los cuales 12 aparecen también copiados en el *Matr.* 4562 (ff. 110r-111r = **M**). Se plantearán posibilidades en cuanto a sus fuentes manuscritas, así como sus posibles relaciones con la *editio princeps* de la *Planudea* (1494).

Palabras clave: *Antología Griega, Antología de Planudes (Planudea), Constantino Láscaris, Homero, manuscritos.*

During the last decades the reinterpretation of the sources of the *Planudean Anthology*, especially by the examination of its *syllogae minores* copied in several *recentiores* manuscripts, as well as the study of their relations to larger manuscript sources has been a subject to which many pages were devoted. Having its systematic start with the classical work of R. Aubreton 1968 — who later reviewed and amplified his own

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conclusions (idem, 1980) — the issue remarkably developed by the increment of the critical apparatus in the last volume (the tenth) of the *Greek Anthology* published in the French Budé collection². Even if these manuscripts may not be extremely important as for the epigrams' textual establishment, they are very effectual testimonies when it comes to study the *Anthology's* textual dissemination and knowledge during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the time when most of these manuscripts are likely to have been copied.

Constantine Lascaris (Constantinople, 1434 – Messina, post 1501) is well known for the elaboration of anthologies of both Greek poetry and prose, something that must also have been very useful in preparing the lectures he delivered. This issue was studied by T. Martínez Manzano (1998: 183 sqq.) in a chapter that summarizes the textual components of the Lascarian manuscripts that constitute what the author calls the humanist's encyclopaedical work. Lascaris collected a large number of epigrams mainly from the *Planudean* (e.g. *Matr.* 4562, ff. 101r-136r³; *Matr.* 4621, ff. 128r-129r, 130v; *Matr.* 4635, ff. 112r-113v), but also inscriptions (e.g. *Matr.* 4635, ff. 133-135v) and sentences from several Greek authors, the last ones extracted mainly from Diogenes Laertius (e.g. *Matr.* 4621, ff. 101-112). Lastly, we must take into consideration the alphabetically ordered collection of proverbs extracted from the *Suda*, which can be read at the *Matr.* 7211 (ff. 249-252).

Our paper aims to take a closer look at a collection of epigrams extracted from the *Planudean*, one of the several epigrammatic collections that, as far as we know, has not yet received the independent and particular attention we think it deserves. They are 26 epigrams on Homer and his two main poems copied in *Matr.* 4629 (ff. 177v-180 = **Mt**⁴), twelve of them once again copied in *Matr.* 4562 (ff. 110r-111r = **M**⁵), whose possible manuscript sources shall be investigated by means of comparison with other manuscripts and the *editio princeps* of the *Planudean* (Florence, 1494). Once this is done, we shall try to include the folia of the two Spanish manuscripts in the *stemma codicum* of the *Planudean*, at least on a proximity level, reinforcing the need for their considera-

² Jean Irigoin, Francesca Maltomini, Pierre Laurens, *Anthologie Grecque - Livre X. Première Partie*. Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2011.

³ This *syloga* is studied in the recent paper of F. Maltomini (2011), which only came to light in the first days of 2014. We thank the author for having let us read her work still before its publication, as well as for all the availability shown to us by reading and reviewing previous versions of our study.

⁴ R. Aubreton, who does not mention the manuscript in his classic work on the transmission of the *Greek Anthology* (1968), makes later on (1980, repr. 2002: 10) a point on it, along with **M**, in the introduction to his own edition of the *Planudea* for the Collection Budé. At this moment, he comments both manuscripts as part of the so-called group of “manuscrits secondaires” (idem: 9-10), and only in relation to the 13 epigrams on Homer (infra, n.^{os} 12-24 = *AP* 16.292-304). Although the variants attested in **Mt** are not collected in the critical apparatus of the edition, only indicating the position of the epigrams in that manuscript, Aubreton seems to look already at these codices as having some potential relevance: “ces divers recueils ne réunissent qu'un très petit nombre des épigrammes de l'*Anthologie de Planude* et, hormis les deux *Matritenses*, rien ne permet de conclure à une liaison quelconque avec les recueils auxquelles recoururent Planude et, avant lui, les traditions du *Palatinus*” (idem, p. 10).

⁵ Sigla according to R. Aubreton 1980.

tion in future editions of the *Greek Anthology*⁶. For now, let us look at the material and codicological aspects of **Mt**, as well as the epigrammatic components it collects.

1. THE *MATR.* 4629: A PERSONAL NOTEBOOK?

The *Matr.* 4629 (Olim N-67), held at the National Library of Spain, is a codex entirely copied by Constantine Lascaris, according to G. de Andrés (1987: 154) partially in Milan and partially in Messina, between 1470-1480. In this last period and geographical area, at a first insight, are to be placed the copy of the folia that present the epigrams that are about to be studied. These folia use paper of lesser quality, something that is not meaningless in it, as we shall see later. We also know that Lascaris (or someone else after his death) gave the codex to the Messina Cathedral, some time before 1494, and that it thereafter became property of the Uceda Duque until 1690, before being integrated at the collection of the National Library of Spain, in 1712, where it remains until this day and where I was able to examine it.

Juan de Iriarte (1769) must have been the one who entitled the manuscript *Collectanea ad Grammaticam, Philologiam, Ethicam, Fabulam, Historiam pertinentia praecipue uero Annotationes in Homeri, Hesiodi, Aristofanis, Theocritii et Arati Vitas et Poemata excerpta ex variis auctoribus*, a title that can make us suspect that already Iriarte, in the eighteenth century, must have understood the pedagogical outset of the Lascarian anthology. The same outset that T. Martínez Manzano⁷ considered, in a paper on the Aristophanic *scholia* copied in the same manuscript (ff. 21v-22v), arguing for the many features of the codex as indicating something like a notebook (“las características paleográficas y codicológicas del códice hacen suponer que se trataba de un cuaderno de trabajo cuya información utilizaba nuestro erudito para la preparación de sus clases y para uso personal”). It is actually coherent to think at Lascaris organizing a notebook with personal annotations on Greek literature, easy to come back to when preparing a class, for instance, organized as it was by authors⁸. In fact, by the confrontation with other manuscripts of his, one can confirm Lascaris’ preference for the organization of both thematic and authorial anthologies⁹. **M**, when collecting 498 epigrams at the ff.

⁶ For instance, the German edition of H. Beckby (vol. 1, 1957: 83) considers **M** as copied “aus der *Planudea*”, but later only includes it in the apparatus indirectly, from the partial readings and commentaries of J. Iriarte 1769 (**Ir**). On the critical use of **M** (and only **M**) see F. Maltomini 2011: 1-2 and n. 1.

⁷ T. Martínez Manzano 1998c: 579-582.

⁸ In spite of the personal use that the manuscript must have known, its quality was not deeply compromised, and we can actually see in it the main characteristics of some of Lascaris’ best manuscripts. The only true exception lies in the folia 11r-12r, where there are indeed many corrections, additions and other marks, in different ink and times, more coincident to the style of an everyday notebook.

⁹ F. Maltomini (2011: 311) says that such a trend would be frequent, almost a century later, giving the example of the first collection of Callimachus’ epigrams performed by Nicodemo Frischin in 1571 (published in 1577). Closer to the time of the scribe is the work of Poliziano on the *Planudea* during 1472-1473, which culminated in a personal manuscript anthology organized by themes (Vat. Gr. 1373). See F. Maltomini (2011: 312 and n. 48) and E. Mioni, “L’*Antologia planudea* di Angelo Poliziano”, in *Medioevo e Rinascimento veneto, con altri studi in onore di Lino Lazzarini*, vol. 50. Padua, 1979: 541-555.

101r-136r¹⁰, is surely the most complete example of this tendency, where, as E. Mioni (1979: 549) puts it, “trovano maggiore risonanza [i] motivi della storia e del mito, soprattutto la poesia che esalta i poeti, gli eroi e gli magni dell’antichità”.

2. LASCARIS IN HOMERUM (Mt 177v-180r)

We must now take a closer look at the section that Iriarte entitled *In Homerum*, at the end of which the scribe copied the aforementioned 26 epigrams extracted from the *Planudea*. It begins with a series of personal *annotationes in Batrachomyomachiam*¹¹ (ff. 93r-95v), followed by the fourth and fifth *Lives* of Homer¹² (ff. 96-97), an *argumentum Iliadis*¹³ (f. 97), more personal *annotationes in I-XIII Iliadis* (ff. 98r-132v), commentaries from Eusthatius on the *Iliad* (ff. 133-147), some Lascarian *annotationes in Odysseam* (ff. 149-177), and finally the epigrams that interest us the most (ff. 177v-180r), preceded by the scribe’s *kephalaion* Ἐπιγράμματα εἰς Ὅμηρον.

The epigrams were copied with the verses divided into the lines of the folium — something that does not happen in the entire codex¹⁴ —, in careful handwriting and with the titles and the initials of each poem in red. Nevertheless one may notice some oscillation in the presentation of the *lemmata*, which are placed both at the centre and *in margine*, in the last case in a smaller and abbreviated writing (sometimes identifying no more than the epigram’s supposed author). In the aforementioned folia we find the components presented in **Table 1**¹⁵:

[1]	7.1	Pl. III ^a 22.1 f. 39r	f. 177v	ff. 110r-v
[2]	7.2	Pl. III ^a 22.2 f. 39r	f. 177v	f. 110v
[3]	7.3	Pl. III ^a 22.3 f. 39r	f. 177v	f. 110v
[4]	7.4	Pl. III ^a 22.4 f. 39r	f. 177v	f. 110v
[5]	7.5	Pl. III ^a 22.5 f. 39r	f. 178r	f. 110v
[6]	7.6	Pl. III ^a 22.6 f. 39v	f. 178r	f. 111r
[7]	7.7	Pl. III ^a 22.7 f. 39v	f. 178r	f. 111r
[8]	9.192	Pl. I ^a 65.3 f. 15v	f. 178r	f. 110r
[9]	9.448	Pl. I ^a 65.4 f. 15v	f. 178r	
[10]	9.575	Pl. I ^a 65.5 f. 15v	ff. 178r-v	f. 110r
[11]	9.455	Pl. I ^a 65.6 f. 15v	f. 178v	f. 110r

¹⁰ For a wider overview of the epigrammatic components of **M** at the mentioned folia see F. Maltomini 2011: 314-316.

¹¹ Ed. J. Iriarte (1769: 237).

¹² Ed. Th. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera V*. Oxford (1965: 245-250).

¹³ Ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca III*. Oxford (1837: 99, lin. 25-31).

¹⁴ Epigrams *AP* 7.3, 7, 6 and 4 reoccur, in a more careless hand and with no line separation, at f. 21r. On these four components we found no meaningful variants that merit being worked on. Finally, we also disregard *AP* 16.92 copied at f. 13v, an epigram with no relation to Homer or his works.

¹⁵ From left to right the table presents my own numeration of the epigrams, their traditional numeration in the *Greek Anthology*, their localization in the Planudean autograph and, finally, their place at **Mt** and **M**.

[12]	16.292	Pl. IV ^a 29.1 f. 56r	f. 178v	
[13]	16.293	Pl. IV ^a 29.2 f. 56r	f. 178v	
[14]	16.294	Pl. IV ^a 29.3 f. 56r	f. 178v	
[15]	16.295	Pl. IV ^a 29.4 f. 56r	ff. 178v-179r	
[16]	16.296	Pl. IV ^a 29.5 f. 56r	f. 179r	
[17]	16.297	Pl. IV ^a 29.6 f. 56r	f. 179r	
[18]	16.298	Pl. IV ^a 29.7 f. 56v	f. 179r	
[19]	16.299	Pl. IV ^a 29.8 f. 56v	f. 179r	
[20]	16.300	Pl. IV ^a 29.9 f. 56v	ff. 179r-v	
[21]	16.301	Pl. IV ^a 29.10 f. 56v	f. 179v	
[22]	16.302	Pl. IV ^a 29.11 f. 56v	f. 179v	
[23]	16.303	Pl. IV ^a 29.12 f. 56v	f. 179v	
[24]	16.304	Pl. IV ^a 29.13 f. 56v	f. 179v	
[25]	9.24	Pl. Ia 65.1 f. 15v	f. 179v	f. 110r
[26]	9.97	Pl. Ia 65.2 f. 15v	ff. 179v-180r	f. 110r

Lascaris' main source must actually have been the *Planudea*¹⁶, since all the epigrams are also collected in the autograph of Planudes (Marcianus gr. 481), besides being copied in the same order in four smaller groups, the responsibility of which we ascribe to the scribe (1-7; 8-11; 12-24; 25-26). One must only notice the final position given to *AP* 9.24 (25) and 9.97 (26), which in the Planudean autograph came right after *AP* 9.192 (8). Besides the possible implications of this with regard to the material sources of our two Lascarian manuscripts, i.e., being possible that the scribe found such a sequence in any other manuscript, we prefer to believe that he left these epigrams to the end so that he could give a wider mystic atmosphere to his Homeric collection. In fact, 9.24 (ascribed to Leonidas) compares the blind poet from Chios to the paths of the sun and the other celestial bodies, his works being, as stars in the sky, a wonder both visible and inspiring to mortals; in a similar way, 9.97 (ascribed to Alcaeus) remembers Homer's works by means of events and characters from the Fall of Troy — Andromache's lament, the city in ruins, Aias or Hector —, ending with the suggestion of the universality and great valour of "the poet whom not one country honours as its own, but all the lands of two continents" (ὄν οὐ μίᾳ πατρὶς ἀοιδὸν/ κοσμεῖται, γαίης δ' ἀμφοτέρης κλίματα.: 9.97.5-6). Such an organization of the epigrams constitutes, among the other Lascarian manuscripts, a notable example of this scribe's preferences for the elaboration of thematic *sylogae*, something he shared with other contemporary scholars and would become a commonplace during the next century¹⁷.

¹⁶ This assumption may look redundant since the *Planudean Anthology* was the only one known at that time, mainly after his autograph at the Marc. Gr. 481. In fact, the so-called *Palatine Anthology*, with a larger number of components, would only be known in 1606, when Saumaise discovered the *Codex Palatinus* 23 at the Palatine Library in Heidelberg. Nevertheless, it is known that Lascaris copied epigrams, also included in the *Anthology*, from other ancient sources such as Diogenes Laertius or the *Scholia* from Tzetzes to his own *Carmina Iliaca* (ff. 115v-119v, 120r-v ou 125r-130v of **M**).

¹⁷ See note 9.

As for the *lemmata* we find in **Mt**, they also reveal the connections with the *Planudea*. Being mostly the same, the differences between Planudes' autograph and the Lascarian manuscript — which do not merit specification — seem to be the scribe's responsibility, mainly in obeying space limitations that result in the reduction of some of them and the elimination of others.

3. THE SOURCES OF **Mt** (AND **M**) FOR THE EPIGRAMS IN *HOMERUM*

Most of the discussions on the manuscript sources of Lascaris' epigrammatic collections have focused on the aforementioned folia 101-136 of **M**, since that is actually the larger example of our scribe's anthological work on Greek poetry. Besides this trend of analysis, F. Maltomini (2008: 139-153) has studied in detail the epigrams copied by Lascaris at the ff. 112r-113v of the *Matr.* 4635 (**Ma**), a codex inscribed in the *Sylloga* H of the Planudean transmission that, as many others, is very hard to date¹⁸. Therefore, and as far as we are able to ascertain, these were the only two manuscripts that received a detailed and independent study, if we only consider the epigrammatic tradition.

Working on the textual transmission of **M**, both T. Martínez Manzano (1994: 137) and F. Matomini (2011: 302-303), following the suggestion of P. Waltz (1929, repr. 2002: lvii), came to agree that Constantine Lascaris (the scribe) could have used different preliminary manuscripts or even incunabula of the first edition of the *Planudea* prior to 1494, the official date of the *editio* prepared by Janus Lascaris (the editor) in Florence, or even the *editio* itself. In order to demonstrate that, F. Maltomini (2011: 303) offers examples of versions shared by **M** and the *editio princeps*, both significant mistakes and corrections that, being already present in the manuscript, were accepted after the first edition by most of the editors. Therefore, even if the scribe had not used directly and only the *editio princeps* — and, in fact, we can only be sure that the folia 101r onwards of **M** were copied after 1464 and in Messina, the date Lascaris himself informs on the end of fol. 100v (κτῆμα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Λασκάρεως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκγραφέν ἀξιδ') —, that does not preclude any connection with the Florentine edition of Janus Lascaris from 1494 that has already been concluded by the scholars. We only know that Lascaris must have moved to Messina in 1466, so that the last folia of **M** can in fact date from any year thereafter, until the also uncertain date of his death, in the same city, probably not after 1501¹⁹. On the other hand, the recently published paper of F. Maltomini provides strong evidences of the direct dependence of at least part of the epigrammatic folia of **M** on the *editio princeps*, the strongest of which may well be the coincidence of some lacunae in **M** with page breaks found in

¹⁸ In spite of the absence of any inscribed date, J. M. Fernández Pomar (1966: 230) has come to conclude that the writing style and the ink used, among other material characteristics, show that the first 115 folia were finished in Milan (where Lascaris lived between 1458 and 1465), while the last ones (ff. 118-155) must be a later addition from his time in Messina (post 1466). Being so, it is possible that all the manuscripts (**M**, **Mt** and **Ma**) have close dates of elaboration, even if **Ma** is to be placed, according to F. Maltomini (2008: 142 ff.), in a different branch of the transmission of the *Planudea*. See *infra*.

¹⁹ On the last years of Lascaris' career and life see T. Martínez Manzano (1998: 3-20).

that *editio*. Therefore, even if the chronological data do not suit, and if we are indeed to assume a date prior to 1494 to both the Lascarian manuscripts we are looking at, the aforementioned use of incunabula²⁰ of the *editio princeps* may indeed be a plausible explanation. That would of course stand against Gregorio de Andres 1987's relative date of **Mt**, and could probably be supported by a more complete analysis of the manuscript's material composition.

Either way, the path followed by F. Maltomini (2011 [2014]) in search of the manuscript sources of **M** deserves to be followed once again in relation to the small Homeric collection of **Mt**. That is why we shall now confront the Lascarian edition of 1494 (from now on identified as **Lasc.**) with the version of the 26 epigrams copied by Lascaris the scribe in **Mt**. Later, we will also put side-by-side **Mt** and **M**, both copied by Lascaris, since the last codex, as said before, copies twelve of the 26 aforementioned epigrams, namely 9.24 [25], 9.97 [26], 9.192 [8], 9.575 [10], 9.455 [11], 7.1-7.7 [1-7].

At some points, the *lectiones* of **Mt** are very close to those from **Lasc.**, where both differ from the version of the autograph of Planudes, as shown in **Table 2**:

[1] 7.1 (v. 3) Νηρηίδες Lasc. Mt: Νηρηίδες cett. (v. 4) νέκυν Lasc. Mt: νέκυν cett.

[3] 7.3 (v. 1) ἱεράν Lasc. Mt: ἱερὴν cett.

[5] 7.5 (v. 6) πᾶσιν Lasc. Mt: πασιὶν cett.

[8] 9.192 (v. 1) τίνος Lasc. Mt: τίνες cett.

[10] 9.575 (v. 3) ἀροτήσιμον Lasc. Mt: ἀρυτήσιμον cett.

[15] 16.295 (v. 6) Κεκροπίων Lasc. Mt: Κεκροπιδῶν cett. (v. 8) φέρη Mt Lasc.: φέροι cett.

[16] 16.296 (v. 4) μητέρα Lasc. Mt: ματέρα cett. (v. 5) Φοίβου Lasc. Mt et cett.: Φοίβος Plan.

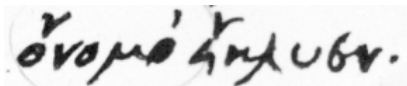
[19] 16.299 (v. 5) ἦ ῥα Lasc. Mt et cett.: ἦρα Plan.

[20] 16.300 (v. 3) γὰρ om. Lasc. Mt

[23] 16.303 (v. 4) ὄνομ' ἔκλυεν Lasc. Mt^c

[24] 16.304 (v. 2) ἀφήκας Lasc. Mt et cett.: ἐφήκας Plan.

Even if some of the examples provided are no more than a matter of pronunciation or shifting to equivalent forms (eg. 7.1.3, 7.2.1, 16.296.4) — something a Constantinopolitan born Greek speaker like Lascaris, with a perfect knowledge of ancient Greek, would do all the time —, others are in fact corrections or changes into different but still correct forms (eg. 16.295.6, 8; 16.304.2), and those are the ones that make the connections between **Mt** and **Lasc.** very strong. Moreover, the example of 16.306.4 (ὄνομ' ἔκλυεν Lasc. Mt^c) deserves closer attention. This is how Lascaris writes it down:



Rather than a later correction, it seems that the scribe corrected the elision at the very moment of writing (there seems to be no variation of ink), by noticing that the textual

²⁰ The use of incunabula by Constantine Lascaris, in this case on the translation of Plutarch, is attested by T. Martínez Manzano 1998b.

source(s) he had in front of him had a different (yet preferable) version of the form he automatically was writing (ὄνομα ἔκλυεν). If we are probably never to know if he did work with the *editio princeps* or with any manuscript preparatory copy of it (or, at least, a codex from the same branch of the transmission), a coincidence such as this could not be left unnoticed.

A comparison in terms of the punctuation of both **Mt** and **Lasc.** — normally something useless — could also sustain some conclusions on their proximity. In fact, at some points, the manuscript and the *editio princeps* agree on punctuating differently from others (**Table 3**):

- (1) [1] 7.1 (v. 1) ὕφηνάμενοι Mt Lasc.: ὕφηνάμενοι cett. (v. 3) ἐχρίσαντο Mt Lasc.: ἐχρίσαντο cett.
- (2) [2] 7.2 (v. 6) βίαν. Lasc. Mt: βίαν cett.
- (3) [8] 9.192 (v. 3) Ἀχιλλέος. Lasc. Mt: Ἀχιλλέος cett. (v. 5) Ὀδυσσεός. Lasc. Mt: Ὀδυσσεός cett.
- (4) [15] 16.295 (v. 8) πέμψαν. Lasc. Mt: πέμψαν cett.
- (5) [26] 9.97 (v. 2) ἐρειπομένην. Lasc. Mt: ἐρειπομένην cett.

Obviously, **Mt** and **Lasc.** differ in several points, which theoretically could mean that the scribe (1) was working with more than one manuscript or even with incubula of the *editio princeps*, on which he might have performed some kind of critical work (something that those who work upon his manuscripts are already used to) or (2) that he simply made some changes and corrections when copying the poems. In **Table 4** we gathered a group of ten *loci critici* where **Mt** and **Lasc.** have different solutions:

- (1) [5] 7.5 (v. 3) Σαλαμίνιος Mt (= P.): Σαλαμίνιος Lasc. et cett.
- (2) [8] 9.192 (v. 6) **χηρείης Mt: χηρείος Lasc. et cett.**
- (3) [12] 16.292 (v. 3) ψυχᾶ Mt: ψυχῇ Lasc. et cett. (v. 6) Δαρδανίδων Mt: (4) Δαρδανιδῶν cett.: Δαρδανίων Lasc.
- (4) [13] 16.293 (v. 2) Λαρτίδαο Mt: Λαρτιάδαο Lasc. et cett.
- (5) [14] 16.294 (v. 4) ἔλιπε Mt: ἔλιπεν Lasc. et cett.
- (6) [15] 16.295 (v. 4) Λαρτίδαο Mt: Λαρτιάδαο Lasc. et cett.
- (7) [16] 16.296 (v. 1) **τιθηνήτειρα Mt: τιθηνήτειραν Lasc. et cett.**
- (8) [20] 16.300 (v. 1) **εἰς Mt: ἐξ Lasc. et cett.**
- (9) [22] 16.302 (v. 1) ἐπαύξατο Mt: ἐπαύσατο Lasc. et cett.
- (10) [26] 9.97 (v. 3) **στεφάνης Mt: στεφάνη Lasc. et cett.**

The examination hitherto performed led us into the conclusion that **Mt** shows an important number of readings, corrections to the Planudean autograph that would — coincidentally or not — be later included in **Lasc.** and, in this way, soon became part of the *consensus* of these texts. As for the provided examples where **Mt** and **Lasc.** differ, most of them are, once again, questions of pronunciation (such as changes η/ι) or shifting to an equivalent form (eg. 16.294.4: ἔλιπε Mt: ἔλιπεν Lasc. et cett.), not implying for themselves the use of different sources. Still, one cannot make any undeniable assumptions of direct relations between the manuscript and the *editio* since

there are indeed several different readings and, no less important, we have a very limited knowledge on the date of **Mt**, as well as of the possible personal and professional contacts between the scribe and the editor.

If indeed the copy of the epigrams of **Mt** is to be placed during the years 1470-1480, that would automatically exclude the hypothesis of a direct and exclusive copy from the *editio princeps*; furthermore, the unsafe dating of the folia in **M** where some of these epigrams are copied — which, as we have seen before, can only be dated after 1466 —, as well as the known use of incunabula by Constantine Lascaris, all of these arguments are still insufficient to provide us with any certain material relation. The next table intends to present a group of *loci critici* from the twelve epigrams copied in both **Mt** and **M** side-to-side to its printed version in the *editio princeps* of 1494 (**Lasc.**), looking for conclusions on the closer relation of one of the first two with that edition. Once again, punctuation is taken under consideration (**Table 5**):

	Mt (c. 1470-1480)	M (post 1466)	Lasc. (1494)
(1) 7.1.1	Ὅμηρον	Ὅμηρον·	Ὅμηρον
(2) 7.1.2	ὕφηνάμενοι	ὕφηνάμενοι·	ὕφηνάμενοι
(3) 7.1.4	νέκυν	νέκυν	νέκυν
(4) 7.1.5	υἰέα	υἰέα·	υἰέα·
(5) 7.2.1	πειθῶ	πειθῶ·	πειθῶ·
(6)	στόμα	στόμα·	στόμα·
(7) 7.2.4	ἱερόν·	ἱερόν	ἱερόν·
(8) 7.2.10	γαμέταν·	γαμέταν	γαμέταν
(9) 7.3.1	καλύπτει	καλύπτει·	καλύπτει
(10) 7.5.3	ἔσομαι	ἔξομαι	ἔσομαι
(11)	σαλαμήνιος	σαλαμίνιος	Σαλαμίνιος
(12) 9.97.3	στεφάνης	στέφανη	στέφανη
(13) 9.192.6	χηρείης	χηρείεις	χηρείους
(14)	πηνελόπας	πηνελόπης	Πηνελόπας
(15) 9.575.6	γηραλέων	γηραλέον	γηραλέων

As only four of the provided *loci critici* evince important differences between **Mt** and **M** (numbers 10, 12, 13 and 15), which the scribe must probably have introduced by himself, there seems to be no remaining doubts of the palaeographic relation between **M** and **Mt**, and it is correct to assume that, at some point, the epigrammatic selections in both manuscripts must derive from the same sources, as the result of Lascaris' intensive and attentive critical work. Nevertheless, we must note an undeniable example that proves how the scribe, when working on one of the manuscripts, made use of the other one: indeed, both manuscripts present a correction of the line 3 of *AP* 7.2 by adding an entire word that is actually necessary for the preservation of the metre and the very semantic understanding of the poem (ἄδ' ἔλαχον νασίτις ἴου σπιλάς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῃ). Nevertheless, one cannot judge how far one of the manuscripts precedes or is later than the other.

As can be seen in the table, **Mt** also presents seven coincidences with **Lasc.**, a very close number to the eight *loci* that relate **M** to the same edition. One explanation would be that the scribe had corrected in one manuscript some points later on used by the editor, but this is actually a two-way possibility, since, as we have seen, the dates are very uncertain. It would be possible to imagine that Lascaris, after the huge work of copying and studying the *Planudea* in **M**, somehow needed to write down a small collection of Homeric epigrams for his personal or professional use, thus copying once again and still in a very critical way the twelve components of **M** (most of them from book III of the *Planudea*, only numbers [8], [10] and [11] from the first) and adding to them all the group of the fourth book (numbers [12] to [24]) and number [9] (9.448); and that the result of such work were the epigrams of the folia 177v-180r of **Mt**. That would imply the assumption of Lascaris performing critical and philological work even upon his more personal and less careful papers, which, once again, is not hard to suppose at all.

Nevertheless, when taking in consideration the larger number of epigrams copied in **M** — a total of 498 different components — we could easily conceive the opposite, that the scribe would have first copied the epigrams of **Mt** and later used them — as well as others, which he might have already copied in other personal manuscripts — for the composition of the epigrammatic folia of **M**, undeniably his most important and palaeographically careful epigrammatic codex. I actually prefer this last hypothesis, for two main reasons: (1) it is harder to attribute to **Mt** a date posterior to **M**, if indeed the relative dating of the implied folia is correct (between 1470 and 1480, in Messina), but also if F. Maltomini (2011) is right — as it seems — when consistently arguing for a direct connection between **M** and the *editio princeps*; (2) if we only look back at Tables 4 and 5 of this paper, we will see at least five examples in which **Mt** attests a reading which is grammatically unacceptable, different from the Lascarian edition and from most of the modern ones (Table 4: 2, 7, 8 and 10; Table 5: 12 and 13). In a way, this indicates the less accurate state of correction of **Mt** when compared to **M**, thus suggesting for the first manuscript a previous date of elaboration.

Moreover, I stand for the inclusion of both **M** and **Mt** in the same branch of the transmission which culminated with the *editio princeps*, with this supporting — with arguments came from the readings in **Mt** that we hope having been able to provide — the already mentioned hypothesis of P. Waltz (1929), T. Martínez Manzano (1994, 1998) and F. Maltomini (2011)²¹.

If, on one hand, a closer material relation of **Mt** with the *editio princeps* of the *Planudea* still requires more secure data, on the other hand the arguments on the connections between some of the Lascarian manuscripts and probable incunabula of such *editio* keep coming out. Therefore, Lascaris the scribe, as for his anthological and textual work on the *Planudean*, must be placed in the group of those scholars that performed a true critical work on the texts they copied, moreover in a time when the press was already starting its massive work over the classical texts.

²¹ Arguments already used by H. Stadtmüller, *Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Plunudea*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1894: lxiv).

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