

THE YALE UNIVERSITY MANUSCRIPTS OF ANDREAS DARMARIUS

The manuscripts of Andreas Darmarius can be found today all over Europe¹ and more recently in this Continent at Yale University as part of the Ziskind Collection². The life and work of this Greek scribe of the Renaissance has been already established³, and so it will not be necessary to enter here into the details of his career. Suffice it to say that in his venture to the West he followed essentially the same steps as most of his compatriots who lived by their pen. His Greek he learned in Sparta from Dorotheus, a priest from Nauplion. We presume that after the completion of his studies Darmarius decided to leave Peloponnesus in order to seek his fortune in the West. The exact time of his arrival in Italy is not known, but as early as 1560 he was living in Padua⁴, and in October of the same year he settled in Venice⁵. On the basis of his surviving correspondence and his dated manuscripts his subsequent activities can be followed with certainty.

In 1562 he established his workshop in Trent, where the Council was still in session⁶. Obviously the large gathering there was for Darma-

1. M. Vogel - V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p. 16-17. C. G. Patrinelis, «*Ελληνες Κωδικογράφοι τῶν Χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως*», *EMA* 8/9, 1958-1959, 75-79; P. Canart, «Scribes grecs de la Renaissance», *Scriptorium* 17, 1963, 56-82.

2. This collection is the gift of the Jacob Ziskind Charitable Trust established by the bequest of the late Jacob Ziskind, a textile industrialist. For a brief description of this collection, see B. M. W. Knox, «The Ziskind Collection of Greek Manuscripts», *The Yale University Library Gazette* 32, 1957, 39ff; also W. H. Bond, ed., *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York 1962, p. 44-47.

3. For the latest examination of Darmarius' career see Otto Kresten, *Der Schreiber Andreas Darmarios. Eine kodikologisch-paläographische Studie*, Diss., Vienna 1967; *Id.*, «Der Schreiber und Handschriftenhändler Andreas Darmarios, Eine biographische Skizze», *Mariahilfer Gymnasium, Jahresbericht 1967/1968*, p. 6-11.

4. MS. Coisl. 163, f. 144.

5. Hardt, *Catal. Cod. Manusc. Monac.*, Cod. graec. 197.

6. During the council of Trent, Darmarius also copied Balsamon's «Commentary on the Canons», MS. Esc. Σ-1-2, dated 11 May 1562.

rius a guarantee of good business. During the Council he made the acquaintance of Antonius Augustinus, the erudite bishop of Lerida (later archbishop of Tarragone), who afterwards became one of his most generous patrons¹. In 1563, at the invitation of Antonius Augustinus, Darmarius went to Spain where he stayed for several months copying a large number of manuscripts for the bishop and his learned friends².

Although his total stay in Spain was not very long³, his output of manuscripts during his sojourn there is quite impressive. Fifteen of his manuscripts, either copied during this period or purchased and brought by him from Venice, are now part of the Ziskind Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University. It should be noted that these fifteen manuscripts formerly belonged to the Cathedral Library of the Santa Iglesia del Pilar, Saragossa, Spain⁴. Of these, eight were copied by Darmarius himself (MSS. 35, 50, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 301); three by one of his helpers, possibly Antonius Calosynas⁵, (MSS. 208, 270, 271). The remaining four (MSS. 32, 288, 289, and 290) may well have been brought to Spain from Italy by Darmarius himself:

1. MS. 208 (Pilar 416).

Paper, 34 × 23cm, 65ff.: Πτολεμαίου, Ἀρμονικὰ = *Harmonicorum Libri III*, ed. I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, Göteborg 1930.

2. MS. 268 (Pilar 1826).

Paper, 20 × 15cm, 143ff.: Ἐρηνίου φιλοσόφου ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὰ Μεταφυσικὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους, A. Mai, *Classic. auctor. e Vaticanis cod. edit.* IX, Rome 1837, p. 513-593.

3. MS. 269 (Pilar 2027).

Paper, 29 × 20cm, 172ff.: 1^r - 3^v: Βίος Ὀππιανοῦ. 5^r-113^r: Τζέτζου, Σχόλια εἰς τὰ Ὀππιανοῦ Ἀλιεντικά ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς σπουδέοις (sic), U. C. Bus-

1. C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial*, Paris 1880, p.280-289.

2. In Spain through the help of his patron Darmarius encountered various notables among whom were Martin Perez de Ayala, Diego de Covarrubias (both of whom he had already met at Trent), Alvar Gomez de Castro and Jerome Zurita, who was the one to introduce him to the court of Phillip II.

3. Darmarius was in Spain in 1573-1574, 1578, 1579, 1580 and 1587; Graux, *op. cit.*, 295.

4. M. Richard, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs*, *Supplement I*, Paris 1964, p. 54; Patrinelis, *loc. cit.*

5. Graux, *op. cit.*, 289; Vogel - Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, p.37-8; Patrinelis, *op. cit.*, 90.

semaker, *Scholia ad Theocritum*, F. Dübner, Paris 1849, p. 260-369. 115^r - 172^r: Παράφρασις εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὀππιανοῦ Κνηγητικά, O. Tüselmann in *Abh. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. philol.-hist. Kl., Neue Folge* IV 1 (1900).

4. MS. 270 (Pilar 621, pt. 1).

Paper, 19 × 14cm, 417ff.: Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Πορφυρίου εἰς τὰ Ἀρμονικά Πτολεμαίου, ed. I. Düring, Göteborg, Arss., 1932; F. Boll, *Jahrb. f. kl. Philol.*, Suppl. 21 (1894).

5. MS. 271 (Pilar 621, pt. 2).

Paper, 19 × 15cm, 216ff.: Ἀριστείδου τοῦ Κοϊντιλιανοῦ, Περὶ Μουσικῆς, A. Jahn, *Aristides Quintilianus: De musica*, Berlin 1882.

6. MS. 272 (Pilar 2934).

Paper, 20 × 15cm. 84ff.: 1^r- 48^v: Νικομάχου Γερρασινοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ, Ἀρμονικῆς ἐγχειρίδιον, K. Jan, *Musici scriptores graeci*, Leipzig 1895, p. 237-265. 49^r - 84^v: Γαυδεντίου φιλοσόφου, Ἀρμονικῆς εἰσαγωγή, K. Jan, *op. cit.*, 317-356.

7. MS. 273 (Pilar 1587).

Paper, 30 × 20cm, 118ff.: 1^r- 52^v: Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἀσμάτων ὑπὸ διαφόρων συλλεγὲν ὑπὸ Πολυχρονίου διακόνου καὶ μοναχοῦ τῆς μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, J. Meursius, *Eusebii, Polychroni, Pselli in Canticum Cantorum expositiones*, Leyden 1617, p. 75-272. 53^r- 64^v: Πολυχρονίου διακόνου τῆς μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μοναχοῦ, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστήν, M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien - und Prediger - Catenen*, Wien 1902, p. 139-166.

8. MS. 274 (Pilar 1230).

Paper, 30 × 20cm, 184ff.: Προκοπίου Χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ, Εἰς τὰ ἄσματα τῶν ἀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή, PG 87, 2: 1545-1754.

9. MS. 288 (Pilar 1732).

Paper, 23 × 17cm, 92ff.: 1^r- 15^r: Ὁριγένους εἰς τὴν τῶν Βασιλειῶν πρώτην, PG 12: 1012-1028. 15^r- 78^r: Τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐσταθίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀντιοχείας κατὰ Ὁριγένους διαγνωστικὸς εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου θεώρημα, PG 18: 623-673. 78^v-86^r: Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νύσσης ἐπιστολὴ διὰ τὴν ἐγγαστριμύθον, PG 45: 108-113. 86^r-92^v: Αὐτοκράτορος Ζήνωνος πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν παραιτητικὸς, PG 86: 2620-2626.

10. MS. 289 (Pilar 2659).

Paper, 21 × 15cm, 63ff.: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, T. Gaisford, *Poetae minores graeci* III, Oxford 1820.

11. MS. 290 (Pilar 1236).

Paper, 21 × 15cm, 108ff.: Μιχαήλου πρεσβυτέρου συγγέλου (sic) τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκλογαὶ προφητειῶν ἀριθήλως τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προαναφωνοῦσαι¹.

12. MS. 301 (Pilar 220).

Paper, 21 × 15cm, 190ff.: Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θεῶν κανόνων. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πανσεβάστου σεβαστοῦ καὶ νομοφύλακος καὶ κριτοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀρμενοπούλου, PG 150: 45-168. 12^rff.: Ἐξάβιβλος, G. E. Heimbach, Leipzig 1851. 165^v-169^r: θέσπισμα τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου περὶ τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, Fabricius-Harles, IV, 699. 169^v-174^r: Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου Πατριάρχου κῦρ Φιλοθέου ἀνατροπὴ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἀναθεματισμῶν, PG 119: 895-900. 174^r-192^v: Νόμοι γεωργικοὶ κατ'ἐκλογὴν βιβλίου τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, W. Ashburner, *JHS* 30 (1910) 85-108; 32 (1912) 68-95; repr. in J. and P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum* II, Athens 1931, p. 65-71.

13. MS. 32 Yale Medical Library (Pilar 562).

Paper, 29 × 20cm, 47ff.: Ρούφου Ἐφεσίου περὶ πάντων φανερῶν τε καὶ ἀφανῶν μορίων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, βιβλίον ἰατρικόν, C. Daremberg-C. E. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse*, Paris 1879.

14. MS. 35 Yale Medical Library (Pilar 327).

Paper, 27 × 19cm, 155ff.: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀχμέθ υἱοῦ Ἀβραμιαίου τοῦ Βιχάλετ, Προοίμιον, book III of Ibn al Jazzar's Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος², ed. St. Bernard, Amsterdam 1749; C. Daremberg, *Archives des missions scientifiques* II, Paris 1851, p. 490-527.

15. MS. 50 Yale Medical Library (Pilar 1427).

Paper, 27 × 19cm, 94ff.: Δαμασκίου φιλοσόφου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ προγνωστικὸν τοῦ Ἰπποκράτους, A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* V, Rome 1841.

Darmarius' attributions of authorship have often been suspected as false, especially in the case of Tzetzes. The so-called Tzetzes *Scholia* on the *Halieutica* of Oppian, for instance, have been thus considered, even though the charge of erroneous ascription as R. Browning has convin-

1. This treatise, however, is not included among the works of Michael Syncellus; see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche u. theolog. Lit.*, Munich 1959, p. 503-505; K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.*, Munich 1897, p. 166ff. 568ff.

2. The translation of the «Traveller's Provision» is commonly attributed to the *protosekretarios* Constantine of Rhegion, also known by the name of Synesios. See Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 614.

cingly argued in this case cannot be justifiably levelled against him¹. Yet, the same would not be true for the «*paraphrasis*» on the *Cynegetica* of Oppian, which Darmarius also attributed to Tzetzes. Browning has argued that this attribution is false, since the text of the «paraphrasis» is commonly assigned to Eutecnius². The «*paraphrasis*» copied by Darmarius occurs in Lond. Royal MS. 16DXII, fols. 157-214^v, under the title «Παράφρασις εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὀππιανοῦ Κυνηγετικά ὑπὸ Τζέτζου», and in Yale MS. 269 (Pilar 2027). To prove his point Browning maintained that in the Yale manuscript Darmarius did not attribute the «*paraphrasis*» to Tzetzes, although in the London manuscript and in a yet another manuscript, Cod. Ambros. J. 30, Darmarius specifically did so. It is noteworthy, however, that in the conclusion of the *Cynegetica* of the Yale manuscript Darmarius has stated as in the above two mentioned manuscripts of his that the «*paraphrasis*» is the work of Tzetzes: ὑπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Δαρμαρίου τοῦ Ἐπιδαυρίου υἱοῦ Γεωργίου πέρας εἴληφεν ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος τῆς τοῦ Τζέτζου παραφράσεως ἐν τοῖς κυνηγετικοῖς Ὀππιανοῦ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἀφ' Ἰαννουαρίου ἱζ' ἐν Σαλαμαντίνῃ πόλει τῆς Ἰσπανίας.

Be that as it may, the attribution of texts to authors whose works were in demand was always a temptation for copyists and as it is well known Darmarius was no exception to the rule³. In the sixteenth century erroneous ascriptions found an easy market, and for a scribe who lived by his pen the temptation was too great to resist. Nevertheless, Darmarius' works, now found scattered all over Europe and lastly in this Continent at Yale, are still highly valued, especially since we have to depend on him for certain manuscript traditions that would have otherwise remained completely unknown to us⁴.

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1. R. Browning, «The so-called Tzetzes scholia on Philostratus and Andreas Darmarius», *Classical Quarterly* 5, 1955, 195-200.

2. The authorship of Eutecnius, however, an otherwise obscure author, is far from being certain. Cod. Vindob. philol. gr. 14, saec. XVI, ascribes the authorship of the text to Eutecnius, but the name was obviously added by a later scribe. On the other hand, Cod. Laurent. 31,3, written in 1287, has been transmitted as an anonymous work.

3. A. Diller, «Two Greek forgeries of the XVIth century», *Amer. Journ. of Philol.* 57, 1936, 124-129, n. 226; Otto Kresten, «Andreas Darmarios und die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Pseudo-Julius Polydeukes», *JÖB* 18, 1969, 137-165.

4. For example, «*De officiis*» in most manuscripts has been transmitted as an anonymous work, except for the manuscripts of Darmarius where it is entitled τοῦ σοφωτάτου κουροπαλάτου or τοῦ Κουροπαλάτου. See Venice, Bibl. Naz. S. Marco, app. gr. VII 15. - G. Codinus, *De officiis*, in Mioni, *Bibl. divi Marci*, II, p. 29.