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Byzantine and Humanist Greek Manuscripts in Buda before 1526

The Limits of Studying the Greek Corvinas

My study seeks to explain the contradiction between the humanists' enthusiastic remarks on the Greek Corvinian manuscripts and the relatively poor evidence that the experts of medieval Hungarian book culture have found in this field. In my survey, I will use the material remains of the Greek codices, which have not been analysed so far in the context of the Corvinian library. Examining the Greek codices in this context, necessary to explain the contradiction, requires an approach that carefully combines the methods of Greek palaeography, codicology, philology and those applied to study the Latin stock of this royal book collection. Because of the complexity that a careful combination of these approaches requires, my study intends to open questions, possibly paving a path to solutions, rather than to offer definite answers.

Producing the main difficulty in the study of the Greek manuscripts that were used in Hungary before 1526, the books have not stayed in the place where they were either produced or used in Hungary. This unfortunate circumstance, often producing immense hurdles for students of the medieval Hungarian book culture, makes every book – regardless of its present location – which was either produced or used in Hungary in the Middle Ages (conventionally before 1526) valuable source for analysing medieval culture of Hungary. Thus, strenuous research, intricate scholarly methods, and unpredictable luck are necessary to identify the Greek books that were used in Hungary, and to decipher the way how they are connected with the country. The majority of these codices are interpreted as parts of the famous Corvinian Library of King Matthias (1458–1490) although their relation to the Corvinian Library is often debatable. When I speak about Hungarian provenance of a Greek manuscript I will emphasise that it was used in Hungary, not produced, thus it should be treated as a part of medieval Hungarian culture.

It was due to internal wars and especially to the Turkish occupation of Hungary after the battle of Mohács in 1526, to the continuous wars in its territory afterwards, and to the reformation that the material evidence of the medieval book culture of Hungary, including the Greek codices, had already dispersed in labyrinthine ways to a vast number of libraries all around the world when Hungarian scholars started

to identify the volumes of Hungarian provenance and develop an accumulative list of these books including the Corvinas.¹ Because of dominance of the western Latin learning in medieval Hungarian book culture, the Greek volumes did not receive much attention from the scholars focusing on the books in Latin, Hungarian, and German in various contexts. Nevertheless, they have been recorded as accidental items among the Latin volumes.

The production of the Greek codices and mostly their circulation took place independently from the Latin ones and even today scholars investigate both groups separately. These independent features also characterise the Greek codices that have been associated with the Corvinian Library and thus may justify a separate treatment of the Greek items from the Latin ones. E.g., the acquisition and the integration of the Greek codices in the Corvinian Library seem to have been primarily different from the Latin codices. As far as it is possible to know, none of the Corvinian manuscripts in Greek contains the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus, which indicate that none of them was commissioned directly for the royal collection nor was illuminated accordingly.² They all seem, in contrast, to have been accidentally added to the royal collection.³ There are three extant old Greek codices (see below) that were integrated into the renaissance royal library by a leather blind-tooled binding distinctive for the Corvinian volumes.⁴ This integration should have taken place relatively late in 1480s simultaneously with the integrative process of the Latin volumes⁵ and seems to have left a high number of Greek codices in the royal library in their original binding (or unbound). Of the three codices, however, there are only two Greek codices that preserve their Corvina bindings. This is the only

¹ See bibliography and a profound summary for early research of the Corvinas in CSAPODI, 1973: p. 99 --107, ZOLNAI-FITZ, 194; MIKÓ, 2002b; FÖLDESI, 2008. See the various lists of Corvinian manuscripts in WEINBERGER, 1908; HEVESY, 1923: p. 59--93; FÖGEL, 1927; CSAPODI, 1973: p. 111--465; CSAPODI - CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: p. 33--70, CSAPODI - CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1988--1994.

² The title of the Greek codex (Vienna, ÖNB Cod. phil. gr. 2, f. 1r) 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 so Greek codices with arms were available in Neopolitan context. ALEXANDER, 1994: p. 126--127.

³ The integration of a codex in the royal library without the arms of the king does not only seem characteristic exclusively for the Greek codices. E.g., the Victorinus corvina (National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 370) received a leather blind-tooled Corvinian binding without Matthias's coat of arms.

⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De caerimoniis*: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. I 17, see the photocopy of the binding in CSAPODI - CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 88. Chrysostom: homilies on Matthew's gospel: Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 4; see the photocopy of the binding in CSAPODI - CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 221.

⁵ On the integration of the Latin volumes by homogenous blind stamped leather bindings with gilt chased edges, as well as with silk- and velvet bindings when Taddeo Ugoletto was the librarian of the Corvinian Library, see MIKÓ, 2002a: p. 404; ZSUPAN, 2008: p. 71.

common feature shared by both the Latin and Greek codices but necessarily do not give the final number of Greek manuscripts in Matthias's library.

Scholars from Weinberger (1908) to Csaba Csapodi (1973) applied various other indicators to include more and more Greek items in their lists of authentic Corvinas because they deciphered early witnesses testifying to a considerable number of Greek manuscripts in Buda before 1526. Already under King Matthias's reign (1458–1490), quite a few humanist witnesses including humanist scholars residing in the royal court of Buda such as Antonio Bonfini (1427–1502),⁶ Taddeo Ugoletto (1488–1513),⁷ Bartolomeo della Fonte (1445–1513),⁸ Johannes Rosemperger⁹ agree that a remarkable number of Greek codices were available in the royal court in addition to the Latin volumes. The list may be expanded with several other testimonies of other people who were in close contact with the Buda court.¹⁰ The richest source on Greek codices in Buda, however, originates from a circle of Viennoise humanist scholars,¹¹ either learning or teaching at Vienna University, some of whom stayed longer in Buda under the reign of Kings Vladislav II (1490–1516) and Louis II (1516–1526)

⁶ In 1487 in Matthias's court, Taddeo Ugoletto, the royal librarian supplied Antonio Bonfini with a Greek codex which was the basis of his translation of Philostratus' *Heroica, Vitae sophistarum, Icones, and Epistulae*. This manuscript seems to have been lost. On Bonfini's translations, see BOLONYAI, 2008; and Gábor BOLONYAI: *Orpheus' Sweat Antonio Bonfini as Translator of Hermogenes and Philostratus*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-latini Budapestiensis 2006: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-latin Studies* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, before publication).

⁷ On Taddeo Ugoletto, see RIZZI, 1953: p. 79--85.

⁸ Bartolomeo della Fonte spent long time in Buda in 1489–1490. I quote here from one of his letters (II. 12) he sent from Florence to King Matthias after he returned here from Buda on 16 September (XVI cal. Octobris) 1489: *Studiosi quidem et boni viri et artium recentissimarum percupididi bibliothecae istius fama ad tuum nomen celebrandum una mecum scriptis perpetuis convertuntur. Quae adeo quaedam excitavit insignes viros, ut apud nos Laurentius Medices nobilem Graecam et Latinam paret bibliothecam*. DANELONI, 2008: p. 76.

⁹ He was the copyist hired by Konrad Celtis XY copied Ptolemy's Geography (now in Vienna, Österreichische Staatsbibliothek, hist. gr. 1) in 1482 in Buda as on f. 1r of a codex (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. B. 45) says:

οὐ φίλοαἰῆῖννηῶ ῶΑξεσινοῶ δουλῶ ποητηῶ Κοηραδα Κελτιῶ Γερμανοῦ γεγραφα εῶν εῶτει ,αυβ^τ (1482). In Buda inferioris Pannoniae.

¹⁰ Other humanists also praised the Greek collection of the Library. Naldo Naldi (1436–1513) wrote his panegyric on Matthias' library in Florence partially based on the data provided by the King Matthias' royal librarian Taddeo Ugoletto. PAJORIN, 2004: p. 1. The single manuscript of this work is preserved in Toruń, R. Fol. 21.107. See its compiled edition in NALDIUS, 1737.

Johannes Capellanus says in a letter sent to the famous editor in Venice, Aldus Manutius (Buda, 1502): *Scripti iam pridem ad te... cum nominibus quorundam librorum Graecorum qui multi sunt in bibliotheca, quam magnificentissimus rex Mathias olim construxerat*. (Analecta nova, p. 106). CSAPODI, 1973: p. 24, n. 54.

¹¹ FÖLDESI (2002) wrote on how Viennoise humanists collected Corvinas in Buda. On these humanists and their network, see GRÖSSING, 1968 and 1983.

such as Johannes Lange (1503–1567)¹² or occasionally visited the Hungarian royal court such as Johannes Grepner,¹³ Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529),¹⁴ Sigmund von Herberstein (1486–1556),¹⁵ Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (1500–1539)¹⁶ and took along a number of Greek codices in the company of the Latin items.¹⁷ From the frequent correspondences of these people, it appears that they all circulated information of scholarly interest within this circle, which makes their testimonies rather trustful sources on the Greek stock of the royal library in Buda. Although this remarkable number of envoys who visited the royal library from 1510s up to 1526 give a detailed account on a impressive number of Greek manuscripts, their enthusiasm seems to have been stirred up not only by the impact of the valuable

¹² Johannes Lange, besides being in close contact with the group of Viennoise humanists, is directly connected with two Greek codices, interpreted later as authentic Corvinas. His information on the codices is Buda should be taken seriously since he possessed a teacher's position as "Informator" of the royal chapel of Buda under Louis II. See *ADB* 17, p. 638–639. Johannes Lange possessed the Greek manuscript (Wroclaw, University Library, R. 492) that has his entry saying that he took this codex from the remains of King Matthias's Library, see on flyleaf VIIIr: *Hunc libellum Io: Langus consequutus est ex reliquiis Bibliothecae Matthiae Coruini regis Pannoniae regnante Ludouico Wladislai filio Pannoniae et Boiemiae rege: anno Domini 1524. Vtinam aliquis ex posteris Langi exoriatur qui tali libello cum aliquo fructu uti possit.* It was the same Johannes Lange who translated Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos' *Church History* published by Oporinus (Basel, 1551). The source codex of this edition is the single extant manuscript of this work (ÖNB hist. gr. 8).

¹³ Johannes Grepner visited the royal library in Buda in 1513 with Joachim Vadian, Georg Collimitius (Tanstetter), and Joachim Egellius. ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, 1913: 201–203, 213.

¹⁴ Cuspinianus visited Buda in 1513. *De consulibus Romanorum commentarii* (Oporinus, Basel, 1553), p. 528: *Budae in bibliotheca regia, dum illic oratorem Caes. Maximiliani apud Vladislaum regem agerem, mirae vetustatis Procopium graecum reperi, quem mihi rex mutuo dedit: in quo, cum conferrem cum latino, multa desse observavi. Tam lacer et mancus venit ad manus interpretis, quod et crebro lamentatur.* Id. p. 569: *Sic numper cum oratorem agerem Caesaris Maximiliani ad Hungariae regem Vladislaum, Diodori Siculi, Procopi et Iohannis monachi historias, hactenus Latinitate non donatas et nostris incognitas e tenebris erui, ut Latinos adirent, ac multa quae nos fugerunt edocerent.* (cf. WEINBERGER 1908, p. 64–65). On Johannes Monachus: Cupinianus' letters, No. 18, 19, 20, 22, 29, 31, 33, p. 39–45, 59–60, 67–68, 70–72. On Diodorus Siculus, see ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN 1948, p. 220, n. 1–3. On Cuspinianus and his library see ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, 1948 and 1959.

¹⁵ Ulrich von Hutten, wrote in a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer that Sigmund von Herberstein in the Winter of 1517 when he was going to Moscow as an envoy of the emperor, he stopped in Buda and studied the geography of "Scythia" and the river Volga from ÖNB hist. gr. 1. See in REICKE, 1940: p. 420 in letter No. 561 (Augsburg, 25 October 1518).

¹⁶ Johannes Alexander Brassicanus visited Buda in November 1525 as a companion of Wilhelm Eberstein, legate of Holy Roman Emperor. Less than one year later in 1526, Suleiman II destroyed the library. CSAPODI, 1961. Brassicanus recalls his memories a couple of years later in the preface of his edition of Salvianus (Basel, 1530), bishop of Marseille whose text (*De vero iudicio et providentia Dei*) the Viennoise scholar took from the royal library of Buda (Now in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Cod. 826).

¹⁷ Johannes Fabri (1478–1541), later bishop of Vienna (1530–1541) bought the libraries of the two main collectors of the Corvinian Library, Cuspinianus and Brassicanus. LHOTSKY, 1959: p. 71–81. When Fabri died in 1541, he bequeathed his books to the Nicolaus College. The register of these books has been preserved in Vienna, Universitätsarchiv, Cod. R 44.2.

manuscripts they saw but also by personal interests. The latter is especially valid for Brassicanus' description, who probably wanted to raise the value of the manuscripts in his possession.¹⁸

The third group of witnesses has been transmitted in the prefaces of editions. It is this type of evidence that informs the interested scholar that Heliodorus,¹⁹

¹⁸ The richest source of the Greek manuscripts available in Buda in 1525 is preserved in Brassicanus' introduction to Salvianus' *De vero iudicio et providentia Dei* published in Basel, 1530. The account that is usually interpreted in the context of the Corvinian Library may be divided into two parts. The first, published in its entire length by HORVÁTH (1998: p. 173) in the context of the lost Hyperides codex, describes Brassicanus' experience in 1525 November in Buda. The other part describes codices that Brassicanus wants to publish. Since two items of the latter list seem to originate from Buda (Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr 140 and suppl. gr. 30), the whole list should be analysed in the context of Greek codices originating from Buda. However, in other cases their Hungarian relevance cannot be approved nor denied. These items occur in CSAPODI's (1973) list as lost items but few of them can be identified. For this reason, I quote this passage (MADERUS, 1702: p. 151--153) with the identifications three of which (ÖNB med. gr. 46; suppl. gr. 18, 50) contribute to the volumes identified by CSAPODI, 1973.

Nunc Salvianum [ÖNB Cod. Lat. 826, published in Basel, 1530] *tuum accipe, princeps optime tuum inquam, tibi tuoque felicissimo nomini inscriptum: quem si tibi, ut jure 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 genesin conciones XIV. Gregorii Nysseni in genesin enarrationes, Basilii Magni hexaëmeron integrum, & longe copiosius, quam ab Argyropylo, vel ab Eustachio ad Syncleticam Germanam in linguam latinam conversum sit, Nazianzeni ac Basilii multa nunquam adhuc visa vel edita? Philonis* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 50 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 505–501 as lost items] *libri tres peri? touq bißou mvsew, & eiusdem alter, qui inscribitur, bißow politikouq oÄper eösti? peri? Ivsh?f: ad haec liber, cui titulus est, peri? aöretoqn hätoi aöndreifßaw kai? euösebeifßaw, kai? filanjropifßaw kai? metanoißaw, &c. 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: felicitem autem multo, si & alia graeca, quae ad meliorem artium cognitionem attinent, tibi nominatim anscripta, nuncupataque involgavero: hoc est, Procli, Joan. Philoponi, cognomento grammatici, ac Manuelis Moschopuli commentarios in Hesiodum* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 18 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 432 as lost item], *ad haec in Oppiani Halieutica commentarios utilissimos* [ÖNB phil. gr. 135 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 459], *Jamblichum Chalcidensem philosophum de rebus Pythagoricis* [London, British Museum, Addit. MS. 21 165 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 347], *eiusdem protrepticis orationes, Diodorum Siculum in historiis* [ÖNB suppl. gr. 30, published in Basel, 1539, = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 225], *non illis quidem, quas Poggius latinas fecit* [Bologna, 1472], *arithmeticam & geometricam Nicomachi: Heronis Alexandrini librum peri? belopoiifßaw* [ÖNB phil. gr. 140 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 320], *& graeci auctoris innominati libros vere aureos XX. De re rustica* [Cassianus Bassus, ÖNB med. gr. 46, published in Basel, 1539 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 790 as lost item]: *ac alia praeterea multa, quae nunc commemorare nolo, ne videar librariae meae suppellectilis, forte non ita condemnendae, catalogum contexere.*

¹⁹ Heliodorus' Greek text was published first by Opsopoeus, Basel, 1531: *Devenit ad me servatus ex ista clade Ungarica, qua serenissimi quondam regis Matthiae Corvini bibliotheca omnium instructissima superioribus annis a barbarie asiatica uastata est. Hunc cum aliis nonnullis miles quidam plane gregarius et ab omnibus tam graecorum, quam latinorum disciplinis abhorentissimus iam apud nos tinctorem agens, tum uero illustrissimum principem Casimirum Marchionem Brandenburgensem laudibus memorie (died in Buda 21 September 1527) comitatus in Ungariam*

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus,²⁰ Diodorus Siculus,²¹ the letters²² of Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great were published in the 16th century first from a Greek codex originating from Matthias's library.²³ The printing house of Vincent Opsopoeus in Basel played a major role in publishing these Greek texts and their Latin translations. For this reason, the presence of a distinctive number of Greek manuscripts in Buda cannot be denied.

Of the Greek codices, these sources inform the scholar on their different relations with Buda, the royal court or Hungary often several decades after Matthias's death, which necessitates that no more should be expected behind these testimonies than what they say. In addition to the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century witnesses and editorial prefaces, the library catalogues from the 16th century on carefully recorded the origin from King Matthias's Library as a sign of the value of the codices. Unfortunately, it is difficult to control their reason of this attribution especially in the Greek items that were rarely furnished with distinctive Corvinian characteristics. In some cases, however, possessor exlibris glued onto the insides of the wooden boards, pastedowns, or flyleaves and some entries in the codex indicate that the very piece originates from Buda.²⁴ Csapodi believes, although impossible to

forte fortuna non sine mente reor, sine numine diuum sustulit, quia auro exornatus nonnihil adhuc spendescebat, ne scilicet tam bonus author et uisus et lectus paucissimis interiret. CSAPODI 1973, No. 539, pp. 329–30. Stanislaus Warszewiczki's Latin translation was published in Basel, 1552:

²⁰ See the preface of the translation of Johannes Lange, edited by Oporinus (Basel, 1551): *Quum ante annos multos ex Budensi regia bibl. Quam Mathias Corvinus Pannonorum rex pulcherrimam graec. Et lat. Libris lectissimis refertam instituit, surreptus diu in privati hominis bonis fuisset et postea per milites Turcicos in miserabili casu et direptione Pannoniae inter reliquam praedam Constantinopolim deportatus in foro ibidem scrutario venisset, perquam commode accidit, ut a Christiano eoque studioso homine emptus postliminio in eandem Pannoniam sit reversus; ubi tandem in dominium praeclari et eruditi viri Georgii Logi concessit.*

²¹ Basel, 1539: *reliquias ab Jano Pannonio quondam Quinqueecclesiensi episcopo ab interitu vindicatas ac deinceps ab eruditissimo viro Joanne Alexandro Brassicano ... nobis per Joannem Petreium communicatas et nunc tandem a me transcriptas edimus.* Opsopoeus' letter to Camerarius, 1536: *Habeo iam sub manibus quinque libros Diodori Siculi Graece scriptos quondam in Italia episcopo Quinqueecclesiensi, nempe 16, 17, 18, et 20, quos ego mihi et tibi et omnibus studiosis describo. Quidam me vertendos misit, sed tamen laborem properare nolo, itaque clanculum transcribo.*

²² Preface of letters of Gregory of Nazianzus edited by Opsopoeus (Hagenau, 1528): *Cum nuper inspiciendum mihi obtulisset ex bibliotheca tua... Georgius Lentius codicem epistolarem Basilii et Gregorii, quem ob litterarum caractere, tum ob vetustatem vehementer videre cupiebam. Est mihi, ut coniecturam facienti visum est ante ducentos aut ampliores annos descriptus, inque regis Ungariae Bibliothecam repositus.* The codex belonged to the Pirckheimer library. I will discuss this codex later.

²³ István Szamosközi's *Ars historica* contains a list of books from Matthias's library that were later edited in print. In addition to the known Greek authors, the work of Stephanus Geographus, probably identical with Stephanus Byzantinus, cannot be identified. See BALÁZS – MONOK, 1986. See the edition of the entire text in BALÁZS – MONOK – TAR, 1992: p. 56.

²⁴ ÖNB suppl. gr. 51, f. 1r by the hand of Johannes Alxeander Brassicanus: *Budae in Pannoniis, anno nato Iesu MDXXV, Mensis novembris die XXVIII.* See also Johannes Lange's entry in

prove, that Peter Lambeck (1628–1680) (Viskolcz, 2008), the imperial librarian in Vienna based the Corvinian attribution of numerous Greek codices on such data that have been lost after the mass rebinding project of most codices in Vienna Court Library under Gerard van Swieten in the middle of the 18th century.

Despite these data, the specialists of the Corvinian Library speak about fifteen or – with the strictest criticism – only about two Greek Corvinas, those preserving their Corvina Bindings. The reason, as also the main difficulty in discussing Greek Corvinian manuscripts, can be explained with the differences of various methodological approaches. Because of the unclear scholarly viewpoints between two extremities, it is quite unclear what makes a manuscript or an incunabulum “Corvina”. According to the most accumulative view, all the books that had been accumulated into the “royal library” of Buda from Matthias’s reign up to 1526 may be treated as if belonging to the Bibliotheca Corviniana established by the Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). This was the basis of compiling the most profound repertory of books in the context of the royal library by Csaba CSAPODI (1973).²⁵ He added all items that has been or may be viewed as Corvinian and at the end of the book (p. 486–489) he gave a list of the codices he accepted as authentic Corvinas. Finally, Csapodi modified his list of authentic Corvinas (1990) that contains fifteen extant Greek codices.

1. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, A1 (earlier MS 1226) (Xenophon: Cyrupaedia)
2. Leipzig, Univ., Rep. I. n. 17. (Constantine VII: De caerimoniis)
3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (=BSB), Cod. Graec. 157. (Polybius, Herodianus, Heliodorus)
4. Munich, BSB, Cod. Graec. 449. (Porphyrius: Vita Plotini; Plotinus: Enneades)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 741 (Iohannes Chrysostomus: Homilies to the Letters to Corinthians)
6. Uppsala, University Library, Cod. Graec. 28. (Miscellanea)
7. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (=ÖNB), hist. gr. 1. (Ptolemaeus: Geographia)
8. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 8. (Nikephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos)
9. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 16. (Zonaras)
10. Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 289. (Greek poets and tragedists)

Wrocław, University Library, R. 492, VIIIr (quoted above). On the exlibris of Viennoise humanists, see ANKWICZ-KLEEHOVEN, 1919.

²⁵ CSAPODI’s (1973) most extensive database ever made on the Corvinian manuscripts has the disadvantage that the list of works is based on the authors’ name instead of the volumes. This principle of the repertory necessarily multiplies the number of volumes that contained more than one author.

11. Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 1. (Iohannes Chrysostomus: Homilies to Matthew)
12. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 4. (Iohannes Chrysostomus: Homilies to Matthew)
13. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 30. (Diodorus Siculus)
14. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 51. (Xenophon: Cyrupaedia)
15. Wrocław, University Library, R. 492. [Horologion, Menologion, Contacia, Triparia (1452-74)]

The richly illustrated publications distributing Csapodi's final list did not leave space for satisfactory background data which made the list of these Greek codices "authentic" points of references without providing control of their "authenticity". Thus, scholarly studies still use this selection with credit but without control.²⁶ To handle this problem, a minimalist view had been formulated that intends to exclude all items that did not belong to the renaissance library of King Matthias either were commissioned by him in order to furnish his library.²⁷ This view has the advantage of creating a stable frame of discourse for a large group of volumes but, at the same time, excludes a smaller but significant group of items that were available in the royal library without being incorporated in the princely renaissance library. With this approach, only two Greek Corvinas can be viewed as authentic pieces of Matthias' renaissance library.

Whichever viewpoint between the two extremities is concerned, one has to face contradictions and problems. By applying either viewpoint respectively, any of the lists can be modified both with removal and addition of items. Let us start with the strict list of the two authentic Corvinas. I will discuss the possibilities of the expansion of this list afterwards following Csapodi's path.

The results of the codicological analysis of three Byzantine manuscripts that were rebound in Hungary for the Corvinian Library may show the attitude to Greek manuscripts and the possible functions for which they were incorporated in the renaissance royal library in 1480s. Two codices still preserve the dark red blind stamped gilded leather binding with arms (with quartered Hungarian-Bohemian

²⁶ See the paper with the title "I manoscritti greci di Mattia Corvino" at the conference "Mathias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'État moderne" in Paris 15-17 November, 2007. TRISTANO, 2008 (in preparation), use an expanded version of Csapodi's 1990 selection with few items from his 1973 list when discussing the Greek Library of Matthias Corvinus. She accepts Csapodi's data and does not seem to handle the internal contradictions in them. In addition, I heard several papers referring to the fifteen Greek Corvinian manuscripts in various conferences.

²⁷ See Edit Madas's list differentiating the list of CSAPODI (1973) and CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI (1990), which will be published in the proceedings of the conference "Mathias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'État moderne" in Paris 15-17 November, 2007.

shield of King Matthias) and have several characteristics in common. Their bindings are similar to the typical Corvinian bindings with the coat of arms of Matthias Corvinus in the centre.²⁸ However, there is a major difference between the Latin codices and the two Greek ones. The titles of the Greek codices in Latin majuscules appear at the bottom of the upper cover (Leipzig: 'De caerimoniis' [DE CIVI]LIBUS INSTITUTIONIBUS; Chrysostom: ÖNB suppl. gr. 4: CHRYSOSTOMUS SUPER EVĀGELIA), while the titles of the Latin codices, including the Latin translations of Greek texts, appear at the top of the lower cover. This difference indicates that the Greek codices with this type of binding were stored separately from the Latin ones. I do not want to speculate on how this hypothesis implies a much higher number of Greek codices in the same type of Corvinian blind stamped leather binding. Nevertheless, the gilt edge of the Greek Chrysostom (ÖNB suppl. gr. 4) shows the identical chased ornament with the Leipzig Greek Corvina and another Byzantine codex in Vienna (ÖNB hist. gr. 16).²⁹

ÖNB hist. gr. 16 is a parchment codex (315×235 mm) that contains an early fourteenth-century copy of the Chronicle of the early twelfth-century Byzantine historian, Zonaras. According to several letters, Emperor Maximilian acquired this manuscript in 1513 from the royal collection in Buda through his humanist, Johannes Cuspinianus who used this Byzantine text in his various works. The identical motive on the chased gilt edge of this codex that remained untouched, when the codex was rebound in 1754, suggests that the Zonaras codex had a similar type of Corvinian binding with its fellow codices (ÖNB suppl. gr. 4 and the Leipzig Corvina).³⁰ This hypothesis is supported by the Hugo Blotius' catalogue from 1576, saying (f. 81r) E 1550: *manuscripta in charta pergamena et extrinsecus deauratus* (Menhardt, 1957: 98). The analysis of the double series of flyleaves in the codex (see fig. 1) also strengthens this hypothesis. The paper ff. I–III and ff. 480–482 were installed in the codex in 1754. However, there is another series of flyleaves of good quality fifteenth-century parchment (ff. IV–V and f. 479) that seem to have been inserted by the binder of Corvinian codices in Buda, f. IV (285×225mm) was glued onto the upper wooden board as pastedown. The well visible identical motives of the chased gilt edges of this codex with those Greek codices with the two blind

²⁸ On this type of binding, see ROZSONDAI, 1998, 2008a and 2008b.

²⁹ "There is a frame made of single stamps (little circles and some kind of interlaced border, a few of the circles show traces of gilding). Within this frame there is another frame made by engraved lines, and the space between the lines is filled with gilded stamps: roundabout an alignment with little blossoms with 5 petals, and in addition in the edges in a triangular space an elaborate ornament-stamp: some kind of bouquet with blooms and leaved twigs." I acknowledge Dr. Christoph Mackert's help in checking and describing the edge of the manuscript for me.

³⁰ A certain Aleander saw this codex (ÖNB hist. gr. 16) among the books of Johannes Fabri, Bishop of Vienna in 1538-ban together with the 'De caerimoniis' (Leipzig, University Library, Rep. I. 17). WEINBERGER, 1908: p. 32--33.

stamped leather Corvina bindings and the fact that the edges of the codex were trimmed off in 3–4 mm by the binder also corroborate my hypothesis. However, it cannot be said now why the codex was rebound in 1754.³¹

The other Greek manuscript with an extant Corvinian binding is the single tenth-century copy of the 'De caerimoniis' compiled for Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (Leipzig, University Library, Rep. I. 17: 325×235 mm).³² This manuscript originates from the tenth-century imperial scriptorium and was housed in the imperial library of Constantinople under the reign of Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963–9) – according to the experts in Byzantine palaeography and codicology (Irigoin, 1959: 177–181). Besides two palimpsest fragments that belong to another tenth-century manuscript (Featherstone, Grusková, Kresten, 2005), this Leipzig copy preserved the most important collection of the texts on the court of Constantinople and its artistic and topographical characteristics. For these reasons, the Leipzig Corvina contains a central text for Byzantine scholarship and its content has become a subject of countless studies. Nevertheless, this manuscript also shows some traces of the intervention by the Corvina bookbinder. The whole codex consists of regular quaternions with some losses (see fig. 2). Although the internal losses (between folium 41 and 42 and folium 216 and 217) cannot be attributed to the bookbinder, the loss of the damaged leaves of the formerly first (cf. the mirror print of the leaf glued onto the upper wooden board as pastedown and the first flyleaf with the humanist foliation No. 5) and last quires (ff. 262–265) seems to have happened in Buda in 1480s as the humanist foliation of the flyleaf (No. 5) indicates. A bifolium, now preceding the first quire of the codex, comes from the centre of the former first quire which contained the table of contents of Book 1 as the traces can be seen both as a mirror print on the upper binding board and on the scraped flyleaf (formerly 5, now I). Since the flyleaf contained the end of the content of Book one as it comes from the content of the codex, the whole text might have been written from f. 2* to f. 5* of the former first quire. Thus, the first three leaves were certainly removed in Buda in 1480s and the central bifolium of the formerly first quire was reused as a flyleaf. The same procedure can be observed at the end of the codex where the text terminates in the middle of the chapter and the quire. Two texts (Physiologus and Life of Alexander) that appear in the table of contents of the Book 2 of "De caerimoniis" might have been removed before the codex arrived to Hungary. The smooth parchment glued onto the lower wooden board as pastedown indicates that a good quality parchment was inserted perhaps at the front and certainly at the back of the codex as it happened to the Zonaras and the Chrysostom

³¹ The upper cover contains the inscription: at the top: E. A. B. C. V., and at the bottom: 17 G(erardus) L(iber) B(aron) V(an) S(wieten) B(ibliothecarius) 54.

³² I could not see this codex in original. I used a facsimile and the description by FEATHERSTONE, 2002 and 2004.

codices. The intervention of the bookbinder can be explained, as we saw before, with the purpose of furnishing an old Greek manuscript with nice aesthetic appearance. The loss of few damaged leaves of a unique text was not considered to be an obstacle.

Perhaps the third codex is the most interesting as far as the Corvinian Library is concerned. ÖNB suppl. gr. 4 (340×250 mm) contains an eleventh-century copy of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew's Gospel*. Both the formerly first quire (ff. 3–5) and the initial of the Chrysostom text (f. 6: formerly 2nd quire) are damaged, worn and truncated (see fig. 3). The same applies to the last leaves of the former codex. For these reasons, this old manuscript required some interventions to gain a more attractive appearance for representative purposes. For this goal, the edges were trimmed off in 3–4 mm, and one bifolium with similar Greek writing and of good state of preservation was added at the beginning (ff. 1–2) and at the end of the manuscript (ff. 332–333) (see fig. 3). As it comes from the content of these fragments,³³ these bifolia originate from another eleventh-century codex that contained the life of the Greek Monk, Saint Ioannicus (†846) from an extensive collection of saints lives, a Byzantine menologion. The feast of Saint Ioannicus was celebrated on 4th November, so these leaves come from the third volume of a formerly 10 volume collection (Høgel, 2002: 184). These eleventh-century bifolia come from an early copy of this collection that was accomplished at the beginning of the 11th century.

The Greek foliation of the gatherings of the Greek Chrysostom Corvina at the right upper corner of the first recto folio of each quire does not include the first and the last bifolia nor does the three worn pages with the table of content (ff. 3–5),³⁴ added to the codex in the 11th century. At the same time, the Arabic numbers by a late fifteenth-century hand at the same location also include the first (ff. 1–2) and the last bifolium (ff. 332–333) as well as the table of contents (ff. 3–5) preceding

³³ See f. 1ra incipit: συγγε]νοῦμενω εἰπι? τη?ν φιῶλην = PG 116, 44A line 6, f. 1vb explicit:

οἰ γε και? υ,στερον εἰχηβη? καςα? και? περι? = PG 116, 45A line 13; on f. 332ra:

καταπλαγεῦντεω = PG 116, 48 B2, f. 332vb explicit:

οὔφιν οὔτιν τινα φοινικοειδη? μεῦγιστον εἰκ ταυῦτηω υἰπο[φαιῦνομενον] = PG 116, 49 B5, f.

333ra incipit: [υἰπο]φαιῦνομενον ιῶδα?ν = PG 116, 49 B5, f. 333vb explicit:

εὔστρεφον και? ο,παω = PG 116, 52 B8,

f. 2ra incipit: δραῦσαω τᾶθι τε τουθ ηῦζουω = PG 116, 53 B8, f. 2bv explicit:

τουθ κληθσιν ειῶω αυῶτο?ν μετα[βαιῦνουσαν] = PG 116, 56 B8.

³⁴ The ff. 3–5 in Chrysostom's codex (ÖNB Suppl. gr. 4), which contains the table of content of the manuscript and two epigrams that also appear in other eleventh-century codices with Chrysostom's homilies (e.g. Athens, National library, Cod. 2553, f. 1v), is in a bad state of preservation in contrary with the bifolium preceding these damaged leaves. That is why it is very likely that the bifolia were inserted in Buda. It is quite unlikely that a Greek binder inserted leaves with irrelevant content just to improve the aesthetic appearance of the codex.

Chrysostom's text (ff. 6–331).³⁵ Thus, the Arabic numeration can be attributed to the same Corvina binder who prepared the other typical gilt leather Corvinian bindings. According to the studies by Marianne Rozsondai, the spelling of the titles (e.g. Senofonte in National Széchényi Library Cod. Lat. 422) demonstrates that he might have been an Italian master who worked in Matthias's court in Buda in 1480s. As it comes from the difference between the Arabic and Greek quire-numbers and the location of the binder's workshop, the addition of these bifolia took place in Buda for aesthetic purpose. This act required an available fragment of an eleventh-century menologion volume. The possible insertion of the other bifolia of the same quire may help identifying other Greek Corvinian manuscript(s) even if they have been rebound later and lost other characteristics of their relation with Hungary. In addition to the menologion fragments, an unruled parchment bifolium of excellent quality of Italian origin is inserted at the end of the codex, the second leaf of which seems to have been glued onto the lower wooden board. It is very likely that the same flyleaf was also used at the beginning of the codex that has been lost since then.

Let us go further to decipher what manuscripts were collected in the royal court without being embedded in the renaissance princely library by new royal bindings. The material proof of such codices is the traces of the eleventh-century menologion fragments inserted in ÖNB cod. suppl. gr. 4, as we see before. Now, on the basis of some evidence, there are some Greek manuscripts with a binding predating 1480 that were certainly used in the royal court in Buda.

First, the humanist Greek codex of Ptolemy's Geography (Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 1) was copied in 1482 in Buda by Johannes Rosenperger under the nickname Athesinus, the scribe of the Vienna humanist, Conrad Celtis (see above). This codex has a Florentine blind stamped leather binding, made before the codex had arrived at Buda, and was later not supplied with Matthias' coat of arms. This Ptolemy seems

³⁵ The Greek numbers are often not visible because 3–4 mm was trimmed off when the codex was rebound in Buda together with these numbers. However, it is well visible on few pages in the upper right corner of the recto side of first leaf each gathering: f. 30r = δ (4), f. 88r = ια (11), f. 208r = κς (26), f. 224r = κ[η] (28), f. 296r = λ[ζ] (37), f. 304r = λ[η] (38), f. 320r = ι (40). The Greek numeration does not include ff. 3–5. which contain the table of contents of the codex, which was put after finishing the body of the text. These leaves have the same ruling type as the leaves containing Chrysostom's text and the content of the codex is copied by the same scribe who copied Chrysostom's text.

The Arabic numbers in the upper right corner of the recto side of first leaf each gathering is to be attributed to the Corvinian bookbinder (f. 1r=1, f. 3r=2, f. 6r=3, f. 14r=4, f. 22r=5, f. 30r=6, f. 39r=7, f. 48r=8, f. 56r=9, f. 64r=10, f. 72r=11, f. 80r=12, f. 88r=13, f. 96r=14, f. 104r=15, f. 112r=16, f. 120r=17, f. 128r=18, f. 136r=19 crossed out by the hand of the later foliation, f. 144r=20, f. 152r=21, f. 160r=22, f. 168r=23, f. 177r=number is missing, f. 184r=25, f. 192r=26, f. 200r=27, f. 208=28, f. 216r=29, f. 224r=30, f. 232r=31, f. 240r=32, f. 248r=33, f. 256r=34, f. 264r=35, f. 272r=36, f. 280r=37, f. 288r=38, f. 296r=39, f. 304r=40, f. 312r=41, f. 320r=42, f. 328r=43, f. 330r=44.

to have been a distinctive piece of the princely renaissance library because of the richly illuminated maps at the end of the codex. Second, the dictionary of Janus Pannonius (Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 45) with a simple blind stamped leather binding seems to have been at the disposition of Matthias's Royal librarian, Taddeo Ugoletto in 1480s as Gábor Bolonyai demonstrated it.³⁶ Ugoletto copied extensive Greek-Latin word lists from this codex to his printed edition of Crastonus Greek-Latin dictionary (Vicenza, 1483: Vienna, ÖNB Ink. X. E. 9). This volume may also hide unique pieces of evidence for the use of some other Greek volumes in Buda under Matthias's reign that have not been identified so far. Interestingly enough, both of these Greek manuscripts preserved their non Corvina bindings to be dated before their arrival to Matthias's court. In addition to these two codices, there are other four from Csapodi's broader selection that also preserve their bindings predating 1480s.³⁷ For this reason, it seems to be unlikely that the paper codices and the majority of the Greek parchment ones, associated by the librarians of the Vienna Court Library with the Corvinian Library, ever had Corvinian binding as Csapodi and other scholars have argued. In the contrary, even under Matthias's reign, some of them certainly remained in their original binding. Besides these data, Antonio Bonfini's Philostratus-translations made from a Greek codex that Taddeo Ugoletto gave to the translator also argue for other Greek codices.³⁸

At this point, the scholar has to face immense difficulties. It is extremely laborious, if possible at all, to relate the codices of admittedly Corvinian origin to the age of King Matthias because – as I mentioned before – the criteria for assigning Corvinian provenance to Greek manuscripts are insecure. I will demonstrate two points of uncertainty with one example in each case.

First, the Hungarian use of a Greek codex – which is easier to be established – often does not imply a Corvinian provenance. In some Greek codices on Csapodi's list who also composed the list of manuscripts of Hungarian provenance before 1526 (Csapodi – Csapodiné Gárdonyi, 1988-1994), it is more appropriate to speak about Hungarian provenance than Corvinian one. E.g., Corvinian provenance of the paper ms Vienna (ÖNB, phil. gr. 289: Hesiod, Euripides, Sophocles, Theocritus) is based on two data. First, Thomas Bakócz, the archbishop of Esztergom (1497–1521) left a possessor's note in the manuscript (191r: *Thomae Car[dina]lis Strig[oni]i*). Second, it

³⁶ See BOLONYAI's article in this volume.

³⁷ I managed to see five of these six codices in original. I acknowledge the cooperation of the colleges in ÖNB and British Library. Simple blind stamped leather binding: Xenophon: *Cyropaedia* (Suppl. gr. 51), a Florentine blind leather binding: *Plutarch's lives* (ÖNB suppl. gr. 11); a Byzantine blind stamped leather binding (Munich, BSB, Cod. gr. 449); blind stamped leather binding with chased gilt edge: *Iamblichus* (London, BL, Add. 21165).

³⁸ BOLONYAI, 2008; and Gábor BOLONYAI: *Orpheus' Sweat Antonio Bonfini as Translator of Hermogenes and Philostratus*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-latini Budapestiensis 2006: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, before publication).

was Osier Ghiselin de Busbecq, the ambassador of Emperor Ferdinand I, who purchased this Greek manuscript in Constantinople in 1550s among many others to establish the basis of the rich Greek collection of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna. From these two data, I think it is not necessary to suppose that the Turkish emperor, Suleiman I the Magnificent brought this manuscript from Buda to Constantinople in 1526 from the royal library, defined as the Corvinian Library, just to provide connection between Esztergom and Constantinople. Although, there is not any trustful information about the book collection of archbishop Bakócz (Csapodi, 1983: 59-66), it is equally possible that this manuscript left Esztergom only during or after the Turkish occupation of the archbishopric seat in 1543. Anyhow, it is impossible for chronological reasons that this codex was embedded in the library of Matthias Corvinus.

In addition, it happens in scholarly literature that sultan Suleiman I is credited with the transportation of manuscripts from Hungary to Turkish territories, which often seems oversimplification and it is easy to argue against it in some cases. E.g., an interesting parchment codex unifying four former Greek codices either their fragments was bound in Buda by Lucas Coronensis in 1510s (Par. suppl. gr. 607). First, it was argued that it belonged to the Corvinian Library. Later, Marianne Rozsondai convincingly demonstrated that the binding took place in an independent context. However, no one has managed to explain how the codex could move from Buda to Vatopedi Monastery of Mt Athos where Mynas Minoide discovered the codex and took it along to Paris in 1843 (Omont, 1916: 390-391, 403). The unlikely conjecture that Suleiman I transported the codex from Buda, still ubiquitous in handbooks, is refuted by the possessor note of the bishop of Thessalonike from the 16th century on f. Iv (Gabrihl eöleou jeou jessalonikhw aörxiepiskopow kai eöcarxow pashw Jessaliaw).³⁹ Either Turkish soldiers or an orthodox monk in Transylvania could easier take this codex to Thessaloniki or to the Holy Mountain. It seems likely that the Balkan Peninsula absorbed several Greek codices that are difficult to trace now.

Another problem can be observed concerning the Hungarian provenance of some items. E.g., there is not any evidence that the large size paper codex (Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 1.) has ever been to Hungary. The single argument of Corvinian provenance is Peter Lambeck's note in the second half of the 17th century (1r: *Ex bibliotheca Budensi Regis Hungariae Matthiae Corvini*).⁴⁰ He based his attribution probably on the chased gilt edge of the codex the motive of which, as far as I know, never appears on any of the authentic Corvinian codices. In other cases, when Lambeck and his later colleagues, NESSEL (1690) and KOLLÁR (1766-82) wrote the same information in the manuscript-catalogues of the Hofbibliothek instead of the

³⁹ I acknowledge Prof. Ernst Gamillscheg's help in reading this note.

⁴⁰ Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 1, 1r: *Ex bibliotheca Budensi Regis Hungariae Matthiae Corvini*.

manuscripts themselves, Csapodi assigned these items to the list of non genuine Corvinian pieces. This paper codex was copied in Italy around 1500 – as it comes from the watermark (Briquet 13884, Rome 1501) – ten years after Matthias’s death and purchased by Johannes Sambucus (IIIv) in Naples in 1562/3. This codex (Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 1.) was rebound in the mid-18th century as Sambucus’s other Greek codices that have been associated with the Corvinian Library by LAMBECK (1665–1669) (ÖNB phil. gr. 1, 29, and theol. gr. 219) (Gerstinger, 1926: 317-318, 349). A librarian’s later notes should be treated carefully and not with the same weight as the notes by early 16th century hands who marked the manuscripts in Buda.

How one can solve this methodological problem? My suggestion is, following Csapodi’s method, to observe a larger selection, namely all Greek codices that are attested to have been used in Hungary before 1526. This larger selection necessarily includes the smaller group of Greek codices that were available in Buda under King Matthias’s reign although without giving a clue to identify this smaller group. With this change of inquiry, one can even expand Csapodi’s list of Greek “Corvinas” with items that do not occur even in his broadest selection. I give two examples.

An Oxford Greek codex (Corpus Christi College 284) contains the letters of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus as well as other patristic texts.⁴¹ Quite recently, this codex was identified convincingly with the source of the edition princeps of the letters of the Greek church fathers (Hagenau, 1528).⁴² The preface of this edition says that the source codex originates from Buda (see above). The provenance of the codex is known from the letters of Willibald Pirckheimer who possessed this codex. It was taken from the Buda Royal Library by Jacobus Bannissius and then it went to the possession of Willibald Pirckheimer through Joannes Stabius.⁴³ Pirckheimer lent the manuscript to Opsopoeus, the editor of the letters of Basil the great and Gregory of Nazianzus. The source on the acquisition of the codex, however, does not mention that the codex was taken from Buda. Because both pieces of information refer to the same codex, it is difficult to find the origin of the information on the origin from the Hungarian royal library. I find the dismantling of the royal collection in 1526 that

⁴¹ See its description, in COXE, 1852: p. 152–153.

⁴² Carmelo Crimi identified a fourteenth-century paper codex (Oxford, Corpus Christi 284) as the source manuscript of the *editio princeps* of the letters of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus (Hagenau, 1528). CRIMI 2006 and PALLA 2006. This identification is valid for three lost items in CSAPODI’S list (1973: No. 107, 306, 307).

⁴³ On the acquisition of the codex, see Willibald Pirckheimer’s letter to Klara Pirckheimer (29 December 1515): *Cum ... mihi ... Jacobus Bannissius, Caesare maiestatis a consiliis et secretis, decanus Tridentinus dignissimus, codicem pervetustum, qui e miseranda Graecia elapsus captivitatis iugum evaserat, per communem amicum Joannem Stabium, imperialem historiographum et mathematicum insignem, ad me misisset egoque levi transcurso illum delibassem, sorte quadam in beatissimi patris Nili, episcopi et martiris Christi, sententiosa incidi dicta*. The text is quoted from REICKE, 1956: vol. 2. No. 377, p. 596–598.

seems to have raised the credit of manuscripts originating from Buda that is why it is not mentioned before but is emphasised two years after the event.

The other example is to emphasise the existence of the silent evidence narrating on Greek codices that stayed in the royal library in Buda for a short while. In comparison with other codices with established reference points, the material resemblances sometimes appear more than pure coincidence. In these cases, the coincidence of identical scribes, watermarks, possessors may argue without saying a word on Matthias's library. E.g., a paper codex (Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 32) containing Theophrastus' *De naturis plantarum* was copied by the same scribe (Thettalus Scutariotes) on a paper with identical watermarks (Briquet 6650: Florence 1442-1447) and was owned by the same J. Alexander Brassicanus with an other Greek codex that went from Janus Pannonius' library to Buda (ÖNB suppl. gr. 30) and from there to Brassicanus Hunger, 1961-94, vol. 4.: 63-64). On this basis, this codex might also have belonged to Janus Pannonius' library and then to the royal library in Buda.

If one tries to differentiate the items on the lists of the Greek manuscripts of stable evidence on their use in Hungary, one can find the following results. If all the items are selected which went through Hungarian possessors before 1526 until they arrived at their final locations one can have at least ca. 19 extant Greek items at the present stage of the scholarship. Statistically, 11-16 of these manuscripts are Byzantine copies dated from the tenth to mid-fifteenth centuries and were not produced in humanist Italy.

1. Budapest, University Library, Cod. Graec. 1 (Evangelistarium) 11th c, parchment⁴⁴
2. Erlangen, Univ., A 1 (Xenophon: Cyrupaedia) 10th c, parchment⁴⁵
3. Leipzig, Univ., Rep. I. n. 17. (Constantine VII: *De caerimoniis*) 10th c, parchment (Featherstone, 2002)
4. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 284 (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus) early 14th c, paper
- 5-7. Paris, BN, suppl. gr. 607 (besides the 15th c. fragments, 3 Byzantine units) 10th-13th c, parchment⁴⁶
8. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 8. (Nikephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos) early 14th c, parchment⁴⁷

⁴⁴ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 818; CSAPODI, 1974: p. 33. The codex belonged to Janus Pannonius who received it from Péter Garázda who took it from Italy. Its later fate is unknown until it was acquired by the University library at the beginning of the 19th century.

⁴⁵ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 702; CSAPODI - CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 60; CSAPODI, 1974: p. 33--34. This manuscript is to be dated to the 10th century. THURN, 1976.

⁴⁶ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 886; SCHÖNE, 1898; ROZSONDAI, 1997. The four independent parts were unified in 1510s in Buda. Thus, this codex should be treated as four items each part of which may have independent way of acquisition.

9. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 16. (Zonaras) early 14th c, parchment⁴⁸
10. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 4. (Chrysostomus: Homilies to Matthew) 11th c, parchment⁴⁹
11. Wroclaw, Univ., R. 492. [Horologion, Menologion, Contacia, Triparia (for years 1452–74)]⁵⁰

[With less stable evidence for Hungarian use]

12. Munich, BSB, Cod. Graec. 157 (Polybius, Herodianus, Heliodorus) 15th c, paper⁵¹
13. Uppsala, Univ., Cod. Graec. 28. (Byzantine letter-collection), 14th c, paper, 2 vols⁵²
14. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 50 (Philo, De vita Mosis) 11th c, parchment⁵³
15. Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 154 (gospels, catenae), illuminated, mid-11th c., parchment⁵⁴
16. Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 337 (gospels), 13th c, parchment⁵⁵

and another 8–16 are humanist codices copied in Italy for humanist readership.

1. Copenhagen, Royal Library, Fabricianus 78, 4^o (Manuel Moschopoulos: Erotemata, Grammatica)⁵⁶
2. Munich, BSB, Cod. Graec. 449 (Porphyrius: Vita Plotini; Plotinus: Enneades) 15th c, Demetrios Triboles, paper⁵⁷
3. Paris, BN, suppl. gr. 607 (besides 3 Byzantine unites, fragments of a humanist codex: Lysias) 15th c. parchment
4. Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 1. (Ptolemaeus: Geographia) 1454 Florence, Thettalus Scutariotes, parchment⁵⁸

⁴⁷ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 455; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 198.

⁴⁸ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 708; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 199.

⁴⁹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 173; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 202.

⁵⁰ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 842; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 214.

⁵¹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 539; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 110; HAJDÚ, 2008.

⁵² CSAPODI, 1973: No. 885 as a lost item; KARLSSON, 1981; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 155–156.

⁵³ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 505–501 as lost items. Cf. Brassicanus' Salvianus edition.

⁵⁴ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 817.

⁵⁵ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 816.

⁵⁶ I acknowledge Christian Gastgeber's help who called my attention to Brassicanus' note in this codex (1r): *Liber est Joannis Alexandri Brassicani / philosophi ac jure consulti / Ann 1525 / die / 4 / decembris / BUDAÉ*. SCHARTAU, 1994: p. 409–410 and tab. xxxiii. See a similar note in Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 51, f. Ir: *Liber est Joanni Alexandri / Brassicani philosophi ac jure consulti. // Bude in pannonijs anni è / nato Jesu. M.D.XXXV. / Mensis noembris die xxiiiio*.

⁵⁷ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 543; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 111; HAJDÚ, 2008.

⁵⁸ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 554; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 197; HARLFINGER, 1990.

5. Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 289 (Greek classical poetry and tragedy) 15th c, paper⁵⁹
6. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 30. (Diodorus Siculus) 1442, Florence, J. Thettalus Scutariotes, paper⁶⁰
7. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 45. (Greek-Latin dictionary of Ianus Pannonius), paper⁶¹
8. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 51. (Xenophon: Cyropaedia) early 15th c, parchment⁶²

[With less stable evidence for Hungarian use]

9. London, BL Addit. Ms 21 165 (Iamblichus: On Pythagoras) 15th c, parchment, J. Thettalus Scutariotes⁶³
10. Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 135 (Oppianus: Halieutica, Cynegetica) 15th c, parchment⁶⁴
11. Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 140 (military engineering) 1470 Rome, Demetrios Triboles, paper⁶⁵
12. Vienna, ÖNB med. gr. 46. Cassianus Bassus, Geoponica, paper⁶⁶
13. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 11 (Plutarchus, Vitae parallelae) 15th c, Florence, parchment⁶⁷
14. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 18 (Hesiodus, Opera et dies; Theocritus), mid 15th c, parchment⁶⁸
15. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 32 (Theophrastus, De naturis plantarum), 15th c, J. Thettalus Scutariotes, paper
16. Vienna, ÖNB theol. Gr. 1 (Chrysostomus: Homilies to Matthew), ca. 1500, paper⁶⁹

⁵⁹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 321; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 200.

⁶⁰ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 225; CSAPODI, 1974: p. 37; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 203.

⁶¹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 1013; CSAPODI, 1974: p. 35--36. KAPITÁNYFY, 1991.

⁶² CSAPODI, 1973: No. 703; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 204.

⁶³ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 347.

⁶⁴ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 459.

⁶⁵ Cf. Brassicanus' Salvianus edition. CSAPODI, 1973: No. 320. This manuscript was copied in 1470 Rome by Demetrios Triboles from a part of Paris. suppl. gr. 607 that was bound in Buda in 1510s as WESCHER (1867: p. xxxv) argues. I acknowledge Prof. Ernst Gamillscheg the identification of the scribe.

⁶⁶ Cf. Brassicanus' Salvianus edition. This manuscript was published in Basel, 1539 = CSAPODI, 1973: No. 790 as a lost item.

⁶⁷ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 524.

⁶⁸ Cf. Brassicanus' Salvianus edition. CSAPODI, 1973: No. 432 as a lost item.

⁶⁹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 174; CSAPODI – CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI, 1990: No. 201.

I do not want to enter the various speculations on the lost Greek Corvinian codices. These data come from Brassicanus' double list,⁷⁰ from Johannes Cuspinianus' descriptions,⁷¹ and contain the Greek manuscripts serving a basis of translations made in Hungary,⁷² as well as the Greek manuscripts Angelo Poliziano sent to Hungary in 1489.⁷³ A note in one of Brassicanus' Greek codices of possible Hungarian provenance seems to give a sort of evidence that might be significantly expanded if Brassicanus' books, incunabula, and early prints are identified and analysed from the viewpoint. Brassicanus says that he saw Simplicius' commentary on Iamblichus' books in Buda.⁷⁴

As far as the Hungarian relevance of the Greek items is concerned, besides the Corvinian relevance, Hungarian humanists appear as possessors: e.g. Janus Pannonius (Csapodi, 1974), Péter Garázda (Kovács, 1957; Soltész, 1958), and Thomas Bakócz (see above), and Johannes Vitéz of Zredna.⁷⁵ From the sequence of later possessors, it is possible to know that the majority of these manuscripts were kept in Buda for a certain period at the beginning of the 16th century probably in the Jagellonian royal collection. My suggestion is to carefully examine the bases of various attributions of any Hungarian relevance and to avoid accumulative lists of Greek Corvinian codices until achieving satisfactory results from careful analyses of the various aspects in each case.

Interestingly enough, none of these codices was commissioned in Italy for Matthias's library but all seem to have been collected by humanists who knew Greek and were interested not exclusively in classical Greek literature.⁷⁶ Brassicanus's often quoted conjecture that codices come directly from Greece and former Byzantium cannot be approved.⁷⁷ He certainly could distinguish the old

⁷⁰ See WILSON's (1975: p. 100--101) scepticism concerning this list. HORVÁTH (1998: p. 165--167) argues for assigning more credibility to Brassicanus. CSAPODI, 1973: No. 13, 72, 171, 238, 306, 310, 311, 341.

⁷¹ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 547 (Procopius). The other two authors he mentions (Diodorus Siculus and Ioannes Monachus) are extant. Vienna, ÖNB suppl. gr. 30 and hist. gr. 16.

⁷² CSAPODI, 1973: No. 504.

⁷³ CSAPODI, 1973: No. 235, 384, 430.

⁷⁴ Brassicanus refers to a Greek codex in a probable Greek Corvina (London, BL Addit. Ms 21 165, f. 1r). CSAPODI, 1973: No. 603. The text runs as follows: Simplicius illos quatuor Iamblichi libros commentariis illustravit. Nam in bibliotheca Vaticana rhome collocata fuerunt, ut ex multis viris iuxta doctis ac integris accepimus, not Bude vidimus cum hac suscriptione: Su_mpli_kiβου ποβknow ouWtow, ðlaβmblixē dvqtor eÖavn iälaji nikhβjeiw aöill' uÖpo? svqn eÖpeβvn.

⁷⁵ CSAPODINÉ GÁRDONYI 1984, p. 107 and 147--148: ÖNB suppl. Gr. 51 and London, BL Add 21165, their relevance to Vitéz is uncertain.

⁷⁶ On Janus Pannonius' Greek codices collected in Italy, see DILLER 1961 and CSAPODI 1974.

⁷⁷ Brassicanus says in his preface to Salvianus edition: *Tantum erat hic antiquorum, graecorum simul & hebraicorum voluminum, quae Matthias ille rex capta jam Constantinopoli, eversisque multis aliis amplissimis Graeciae urbibus, ex media Graecia inaeestimandis sumtibus coëmerat, ac tamquam*

codices from the recent Italian copies. I think the high number of old copied convinced him to make judgement on the Greek-Byzantine provenance rather than other sources. It seems more likely that even the old Byzantine codices come through Italy to Hungary.⁷⁸ However, other directions seem also probable. Orthodox monasteries in the territory of Medieval Hungary and the Balkan (e.g. in Zonaras-codex, ff. 262r and 477v: Cyrillic alphabet appears three times) should be included as a territory of acquisition. From contemporary analogies, it seems to be more likely that the majority of these Greek codices, especially the paper ones belonged to private collections and they were not incorporated into the magnificent collection of lavishly illuminated parchment codices, mostly copied for the royal library. Nevertheless, the same humanists from Vienna managed to acquire the illuminated Latin Corvinas in the company of some humanist Greek paper codices, which suggests that they were housed in the Jagellonian royal collection in 1510 and 1520s, and probably even before as it was shown.

The outcome of my study can be concluded as follows. First, I demonstrated that the majority of the “Greek Corvinas” are retraceable not before the Jagellonian period. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that some of them were incorporated in the Jagellonian royal library only after Matthias’s death, when the number of people with profound Greek knowledge who appreciated them was increasing. This fact, however, does not decrease the value of these codices. In the contrary, they often show more traces of how they were used in Hungary as it was demonstrated through few examples. Because of the late integration of Latin and Greek codices in the princely renaissance library, the remarkable number of Greek codices that are attested to have been Buda but not integrated in the renaissance library necessarily make the scholar confront with the similar cases of the Latin manuscripts that escapes the focus of scholars in the splendour of lavishly illuminated codices. Second, by differentiating the Greek codices interpreted as Corvinas, although with limits, I tried to create subgroups that may even be expanded with carefully established methods. These directions may significantly modify Csapodi’s lists as far as the Greek items are concerned. The most innovative suggestions come from

mancipia ex barbarorum catastis atque compedibus receperat. The text is quoted from MADERUS, 1702: p. 149.

The codex (Munich, BSB cod. Gr. 157) that was taken from Constantinople after its fall (f. 169r: hÖ bißblow höneßxjh eök thqw konstantinoupoßlevw meta? th?n aÄlvsin taußthw) and is considered as a Corvinian manuscript coming directly from Constantinople to Buda arrived through Italy. Vat. Urb. Gr. 101 was copied from it in between 1455 and 1474 by Johannes Rhosus to Frederick, later Duke of Urbino (see his arms on f. 1r). MOORE 1965, p. 15-16, 31.

⁷⁸ The 10th-century Erlangen Xenophon (DILLER, 1961: p. 320), Ianus Pannonius’ 11th-century Evangelistarium (CSAPODI, 1974: p. 33), Constantinus Porphyrogenitus’ 10th-century *De caerimoniis* (see the arabic foliation 5 on 1r, which was made before its rebinding) seem all to come from Italy to Hungary.

the analysis of the material evidence. On the one hand, the traces of some Greek codices that were collected and possibly used in Hungary can be detected in extant codices (e.g. ÖBN suppl. gr. 4 or Par. suppl. gr. 607 to be explained in a later study). On the other, the material resemblances may be used as silent evidence (e.g., ÖBN suppl. gr. 32). These new findings may shed light on a richer stock of Greek codices and fragments in the shadow of the splendid renaissance library in Buda. Finally, the bookbinder of Corvinian codices changed the damaged state of preservation of some large and old Greek codices usable for representative purposes for a more beautiful appearance with exceptional care, consciousness, and accuracy. These codices might be identified even if they were rebound later as I show in the Zonaras codex. From the fifteenth-century Italy, Csapodi found only few Greek items on any book list of the libraries of sovereigns e.g. in Sforza-, Este-, and Frederico de Montefeltro's collections except for the Vatican Library which was rich in Greek codices even at its foundation (Csapodi, 1973: 26-29). In this context, the few Greek codices with Corvinian bindings, and the many more in the background, demonstrate an innovative approach in Matthias's humanist royal collection to the Greek codices.

List of Abbreviations

PG = *Patrologiae cursus completes, Series Graeca*, 161 vols, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. 1857-1866.

ADB = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie

ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

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