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Codex Parisinus graecus 1741 and the Case of Niketas Skoutariotes*

with one figure

Abstract: Codex Parisinus gr. 1741 is among the most ancient and significant manuscripts containing works by Aristotle alongside texts of various rhetoricians. Based on one of the two extant ownership entries, it has been established that by the late thirteenth century the manuscript had become the property of the renowned bibliophile Theodore Skoutariotes, having been gifted to him by his close friend, Manuel Angelos. The other entry indicates that at one point, it also belonged to a certain Niketas Skoutariotes, traditionally assumed to be a relative of Theodore's. This article posits the justifiable hypothesis that this person should instead be identified as the grammarian Niketas Skoutariotes, active in the last third of the twelfth century, who possibly at a later stage in his career obtained a teaching position at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. The paper concludes with a comprehensive list of all the hitherto known works of Niketas Skoutariotes.

Keywords: Niketas Skoutariotes; Aristotle; Codex Parisinus graecus 1741; Greek Palaeography; Greek Codicology; Textual Transmission; Byzantine Reception of Ancient Greek Rhetoric Theory; Byzantine Education; Twelfth Century

The study of *codices vetustissimi* and *vetusti*—usually the earliest manuscripts available in the textual tradition of ancient Greek literature, aside of course from papyri[1]—holds immense significance and is well-recognized and highly valued by scholars, who still rely heavily on these manuscripts as the foundational starting point for editions of any ancient literary work. This reliance is evident in the history of the texts of Homer, the three major tragedians and Aristophanes, Herodotus and Thucydides, Demosthenes, as well as the *œuvres* of Plato and Aristotle, to name only a few examples, whose earliest textual witnesses date back to the ninth or tenth centuries[2]. These manuscripts were produced in Constantinople during the "Macedonian renaissance", an era marked by the rediscov-

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[1] It is worth noting here that the publication of literary and paraliterary papyri has increased rapidly over the course of the last few decades. In fact, the widespread appearance and use of digital tools and resources—such as the Advanced Paryrological Information System (APIS), the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) and Mertens–Pack[3], the catalogue created by the Centre de Documentation de Papyrologie Littéraire (CEDOPAL)—has greatly facilitated and made the study of these texts even more promising for the future, see for instance the discussion by T. Renner, Papyrology and Ancient Literature. In: The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, ed. R. S. Bagnall. Oxford 2009, 282–302, and P. van Minnen, The Future of Papyrology, *ibid.* 644–660; see also A. Papathomas, Eisagōgē stēn Papyrologia. Athens [3]2016, 758–766.

[2] See for instance M. L. West, Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad. Munich – Leipzig 2001, 139–140 and N. G. Wilson, Herodotea: Studies on the Text of Herodotus. Oxford 2015, xiv. See also A. Dain, La transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète. *DOP* 8 (1954) 31–47 (repr. in: Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung, ed. D. Harlfinger. Darmstadt 1980, 206–224), but especially A. Diller, Notes on Greek Codices of the tenth Century. *TAPA* 78 (1947) 184–88, and A. Diller, The Age of some early Greek Classical Manuscripts. In: Serta Turyniana, Studies in Greek Literature and Paleography in honor of Alexander Turyn, ed. J. L. Heller. Urbana – Chicago – London 1974, 514–524 (both repr. Idem, Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition. Amsterdam 1983, nos. 31 and 32 respectively). Additionally, N. G. Wilson, Books and Readers in Byzantium. In: Byzantine Books and Bookmen, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium 1971. Washington D.C. 1975, 1–15; J. Irigoin, Centres de copie et bibliothèques, *ibid.* 17–27; C. Mango, The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A. D. 750–850, *ibid.* 29–45. Some interesting statistics regarding the distribution of the surviving Greek manuscripts per century from the fourth century onwards can now be consulted in F. Ronconi – Str. Papaioannou, Book Culture. In: The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature, ed. Str. Papaioannou. Oxford 2021, 44–75, at 49–51.

ery of this ancient heritage, when texts deemed worthy to become "κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί", a possession for all time, were transliterated from old and timeworn uncial codices into minuscule characters. This process was often commissioned by scholars with sophisticated literary interests, such as Photius (*PmbZ* I, 6253; II 26667), the bibliophile Arethas of Caesarea (*PmbZ* II, 20554), the emperors Leo VI the Wise (*PmbZ* II, 24311) and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*PmbZ* II, 23735), and others who belonged to such a *milieu*[3]. But if the ninth and tenth centuries were crucial for the revival of interest in ancient literature and, more importantly, for the meticulous collection and copying of texts, it was mostly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that a serious effort to study and assimilate all this wealth began[4]. Especially in the twelfth century, the ample patronage provided by the imperial or aristocratic circles fostered the formation of many scholarly groups, the literary *theatra*, where pieces of literature, ancient or contemporary and composed *ad hoc*, were read and became topics of discussion[5]. Also, the educational system was well organized, with many teachers of higher learning being renowned scholars, who delved deep into the wealth of ancient Greek literature and often collected, exchanged, copied or annotated books themselves, as exemplified by Eustathios of Thessalonica[6]. Moreover, the libraries of Constantinople, particularly the imperial and the patriarchal, abounded in precious, centuries-old manuscripts[7]. Throughout this process, numer-

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[3] The seminal study of P. LEMERLE, O prōtos Byzantinos oumanismos. Sēmeiōseis kai paratērēseis gia tēn ekpaideusē kai tēn paideia sto Byzantio apo tis arches ōs ton 10o aiōna (Greek translation by M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, with additions by the author). Athens 1981 remains irreplaceable for this period and its scholars. See also N. G. WILSON, Scholars of Byzantium. London [2]1996, 79–147, as well as L. D. REYNOLDS – N. D. WILSON, Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature. Oxford [4]2013, 58–67. Moreover, see the posthumous publication of A. KAZHDAN, A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000), ed. by Ch. ANGELIDI. Athens 2006, 53–90, 133–183. Many important contributions can now be found in the recent volume edited by B. FLUSIN & J.-C. CHEYNET, Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin & des Cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle (= *TM* 21/2). Paris 2017. A very helpful overview is provided by C. N. CONSTANTINIDĒS, Ē symbolē tou Byzantiou stē diasōsē tēs archaias ellēnikēs grammateias. Ioannina 1995, 21–35. For the procedure of the transliteration see the monograph of F. RONCONI, La traslitterazione dei testi greci, una ricerca tra paleografia e filologia (*Quaderni della Revista di Bizantinistica* 7). Spoleto 2003. It is worth noting that the existence of a "reading group" around Photius, and another mentioned by Arethas at the beginning of the tenth century, has long been considered doubtful, if not straightforwardly denied by eminent scholars, such as WILSON, Books and readers 14–15. However, evidence to the contrary regarding Photius' circle has been brought forward by L. CANFORA, Il 'reading circle' intorno a Fozio. *Byz* 68 (1998) 222–223; IDEM, Le 'cercle des lecteurs' autour de Photius: une source contemporaine. *REB* 56 (1998) 269–273; Ó. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ, Literary Circles in Byzantine Iconoclasm. Patrons, Politics and Saints. Cambridge 2020, 355–390.

[4] A. P. KAZHDAN – A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1985, 136. Nevertheless, it should be stated that the connection of the scholars of the previous centuries with antique culture may have been deeper than previously acknowledged, as recently suggested by S. EFTHYMIADIS, Le 'premier classicisme byzantin': mythes grecs et réminiscences païennes chez Photios, Léon VI le Sage et Aréthas de Césarée. In: Pour l'amour de Byzance. Hommage a Paolo Odorico, ed. Ch. GASTGEBER – C. MESSIS – D. I. MUREŞAN – F. RONCONI (*Eastern and Central European Studies* 3). Frankfurt am Main 2013, 99–114, esp. 113–114.

[5] On this matter a good starting point is the article of M. MULLETT, Aristocracy and Patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople. In: The Byzantine aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries, ed. M. ANGOLD (*BAR, International Series* 221). Oxford 1984, 173–201. See also P. MARCINIAK, Byzantine *Theatron* – A Place of Performance? In: Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter/Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, ed. M. GRÜNBART (*Millennium–Studien/Millennium Studies* 13). Berlin – New York 2007, 277–285.

[6] For the educational system in this period see the collected studies of R. BROWNING, Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education. London 1977; P. MAGDALINO, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180. Cambridge 1993, 323–412; A. KALDELLIS, Classical Scholarship in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. In: Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics, ed. C. BARBER – D. JENKINS. Leiden 2009, 1–43; see also now I. NESSERĒS, Ē paideia stēn Konstantinoupolē kata ton 12o aiōna. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2 vols., Univ. of Ioannina 2014 (esp. for Eustathios see I, 91–104 and II, 162–187, no. 67).

[7] For the byzantine libraries in general, see primarily S. K. PADOVER, Byzantine Libraries. In: The Medieval Library, ed. J. W. THOMPSON. New York [2]1957, 310–329 and N. G. WILSON, The Libraries of the Byzantine World. *GRBS* 8 (1967) 53–80 (repr. with addenda and corrigenda in: Griechische Kodikologie, ed. HARLFINGER, 276–309 = Le biblioteche del mondo bizantino [Italian translation, further revised and updated], in: Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale, ed. G. CAVALLO. Rome – Bari 1988, 79–111; N. G. WILSON, Libraries. In: Oxford Handbook for Byzantine Studies, part 3, ed. E. JEFFREYS – J. HALDON

ous new manuscripts were carefully copied from older exemplars, preserving many sound or even valuable readings[8]. At the same time, many *codices vetustissimi* or even *antiquiores*—i.e. majuscule manuscripts dating from before the ninth century—either of biblical or secular content, were studied and found their way into the possession of prominent scholars of the period[9]. In this historical context, the present paper proposes a new hermeneutic approach regarding a point in the history of one of the most important codices from this era, cod. Par. gr. 1741. Specifically, it is suggested that this manuscript was once in the possession of Niketas Skoutariotes, a vaguely known teacher of the twelfth century, before it eventually found its way to the library of a more famous scholar, Theodore Skoutariotes, at the end of the thirteenth.

CODEX PARISINUS GRAECUS 1741

Parisinus graecus 1741 (*olim* Medic.–Reg. 3269; *Diktyon* 51367) (*siglum* A in the editions of the works of Aristotle, P in the edition of other works; hereinafter P) is one of the most ancient and important manuscripts containing works of Aristotle[10]. A full description would be redundant, as

– R. CORMACK. Oxford 2008, 820–825. See also now I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, Byzantine Libraries: The Public and the Private. In: Libraries in the Manuscript Age, ed. N. DE CASTILLA – F. DÉROCHE – M. FRIEDRICH (*Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 29), Berlin – Boston 2023, 183–208. For the Imperial and Patriarchal libraries specifically, see the study by K. A. MANAPHĒS, Ai en Konstantinoupolei bibliothēkai, Autokratorikai kai Patriarchikē, kai peri tōn en autais cheirographōn mechri tēs Aloseōs (1453) (*Athēna. Seira diatribōn kai meletēmatōn* 14). Athens 1972. For monastic libraries, see O. VOLK, Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München. Munich 1955. Additionally, see N. X. ELEOPOULOS, Ē bibliothēkē kai to bibliographikon ergastērion tēs monēs tōn Stoudiou. Athens 1967, and H. D. KAKOULIDĒS, Ē bibliothēkē tēs monēs Prodromou-Petras stēn Konstantinoupolē (pl. 1–5). *Hell* 21 (1968) 3–39.

8 A notable example of is that of cod. Laur. Plut. 31,10 (*Diktyon* 16241; Euripides, Sophocles), copied by the prolific scribe Ioannikios, who we propose can be identified with the known schedographer and friend of Theodore Prodromos, see NESSERIS, Paideia I, 139–157 and II, 256–263, no. 90. For the significance of the Laurentian manuscript's readings see P. FINGLASS, Laurentianus 31.10 and the text of Sophocles. *Classical Quarterly* 58.2 (2008) 441–451; also, D. MASTRONARDE, *Preliminary studies on the Scholia to Euripides*. Berkeley, 2017, 30, 35, 63, 107, 162–63. Equally remarkable is cod. Ambros. C 222 inf. (gr. 886; *Diktyon* 42485; Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Hesiod, Pindar, Theocritus etc.), for which see C. M. MAZZUCCHI, Ambrosianus C 222 inf. (Graecus 886): il codice e suo autore. *Aevum* 77 (2003) 263–275, 78 (2004) 411–440; also, IDEM, Venetus A e Ambr. B 114 Sup. Due codici del medesimo copista e la loro storia. *Aevum* 86 (2012) 417–456, esp. 427 n. 61 for the identification of the scribe and possessor of the manuscript as a civil servant working for the σεκρέτον τῆς θαλάσσης, i.e. department of the sea, who wrote a document for the monastery of St. John the Theologian in Patmos in 1195.

9 See the examples mentioned below on p. 326–327.

10 A. WARTELLE has identified approximately 2283 manuscripts containing works of the Stagirite and/or commentaries on these works, see his Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs. Contribution a l'histoire du texte d'Aristote. Paris 1963 (for P see 97, no. 1322); see also the additions of G. ROCHEFORT in a review in *REG* 78 (1965) 427–429. This already enormous number was increased to 2773 by the additions of D. HARLFINGER and J. WIESNER. Die griechischen Handschriften des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentatoren. *Script* 18 (1964) 238–257 and R. D. ARGYROPOULOS – I. CARAS, Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs. Contribution à l'histoire du texte d'Aristote, Supplément. Paris 1980. Apart from P, other important Aristotelian manuscripts are: Laur. Plut. 81,11 (*Diktyon* 16748; 9th c., *Ethica Nicomachea* and *Magna Moralia*), Ambros. L 093 sup. (gr. 490; *Diktyon* 42962; 9th c., *Organon*), Vat. Urb. 35 (*Diktyon* 66502; 9th/10th c. *Organon*), Vat. Barb. gr. 87 (*Diktyon* 64635; 10th c., *Organon*), Marc. gr. Z 201 (coll. 780; *Diktyon* 69672; a. 954, *Organon*, copied by Ephraim), Oxon. Corp. Christi 108 (*Diktyon* 48635; early 9th c., zoological treatises), Par. gr. 1853 (*Diktyon* 51479; 10th c., *Physica*, *Metaphysica*, *Meteorologica*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Ethica Nicomachea*, *Magna Moralia* etc.), see D. HARLFINGER – D. REINSCH, Die Aristotelica des Parisinus gr. 1741. Zur Überlieferung von Poetik, Rhetorik, Physiognomik, De signis, De ventorum situ. *Philologus* 114 (1970) 28–50, here 28. See also D. HARLFINGER, Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift *Peri atomōn grammōn*. Ein kodikologisch-kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Klärung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse im Corpus Aristotelicum. Amsterdam 1971, esp. 63–85 and P. MORAUX – D. HARLFINGER – D. REINSCH – J. WIESNER, Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles, Erster Band: Alexandrien – London. London, Berlin 1976. It is important to note here that Oxon. Corp. Christi 108 and Par. gr. 1853 were annotated in the twelfth century, a topic which has been elaborately discussed recently by P. GOLITSIS, Trois annotations de manuscrits aristotéliciens au XIIe siècle: les Parisini gr. 1901 et 1853 et l'Oxoniensis Corporis Christi 108. In: Storia di scrittura e altre storie, ed. D. BIANCONI (*Bollettino dei Classici, Supplementa* 29). Rome 2014, 33–52, esp. 38–50.

the manuscript has already been described many times in the past, with the most careful and detailed codicological and paleographical analysis hitherto being that by Harlfinger and Reinsch, which appeared in 1970[11]. Therefore, it will suffice to briefly repeat here its basic characteristics. P is an exceptional manuscript[12] dated to the mid-tenth century[13], copied on parchment in a form of the so-called *bouletée* script[14] by four different scribes (A: 1r–37r, 40r–199r, 246r–293v; B: ff. 200v–245v, 294r–298v; C: 38r–39v; D: 200r, 299r–301v)[15]. Moreover, on the basis of various errors in the process of transliteration, Irigoin has demonstrated that it was copied from an uncial exemplar[16]. Although the manuscript originally consisted of 331 folios (see f. 298v: φύλλα τριακόσια τριάκοντα εν +), it currently numbers only 301 due to the loss of five gatherings initially located between folios 199 and 200[17]. This missing section apparently contained two pseudo-Aristotelian treatises, namely the *Physiognomonica* (cod. Φυσιογνωμονικά) and the *De signis/De ventorum situ* (cod. Σημεῖα περὶ εὐδείας καὶ χειμώνων καὶ ἀνέμων), as well as the *Characters* of Theophrastus[18], as indicated by the *pinax* on f. 301v. As a result, in its present state, P preserves

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[11] The first description of P was by François Sevin, at the time *garde de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (1737–1741), who revised information collected by Ch. du Fresne Du Cange, J.-B. Cotelier, and J. Bovin. It appeared in the catalogue prepared by him, but completed and seen through to press by his assistant and immediate successor Anicet Melot (1741–1759), see Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae, II. Paris 1740, 395. This description has hardly ever been mentioned with regard to the history of P and, although of no intrinsic value for the modern reader, since it is brief we reproduce it here: "MDCCXLI. | Codex membranaceus, quo continentur:| 1.º *Dionysii* Halicarnassei ars rhetorica. | 2.º *Menandri* Rhetoris, de divisione | causarum in genere demonstrativo tractatus, | in duas partes divisus, quarum secunda Me|nandri quoque nomen præfert. | 3.º *Aristidis* de civili et simplici oratione | libri duo, cum scholiis quibusdam margi-|nalibus. | 4.º *Dionysii* Halicarnassei epistola ad | Ammæum, de iis quae Thucydidi propria | sunt. Accedunt brevia quædam scholia. | 5.º *Alexander*, de figuris sententiarum | atque elocutionis. Accedunt scholia. | 6.º *Aristotelis* de rhetorica libri tres, cum | quibusdam scholiis. | 7.º Eiusdem poëtica. 8.º *Dionysius* Halicarnasseus, de verbo-|rum compositione. 9.º *Demetrius* Phalereus, de elocutione. 10.º *Apsinis* art rhetorica. 11.º *Minuciani*, vel, ut aliis placet, Nica-|goræ opusculum de argumentorum sedibus. 12.º *Maximus* Sophista de objectionibus insolubilibus. 13.º Anonymus, de communione & differentia statuum. Incipit ἰδὼν στοχασμοῦ. 14.º *Nicetas* Scutariotes, quòd veteres | scriptores potissimùm sint legendi; opuscu-|lum manu recentiore scriptum. | Is codex ineunte sæculo undecimo exara-|tus videtur". One of the first serious attempts to date P, distinguish its various hands, give the contents with accuracy and sketch its history was made by H. SCHENKL, Zur Kritik der Schrift des Demetrios *peri hermēneias*. *WSt* 4 (1882) 55–76, esp. 55–61, followed later by L. COHN, Handschriftliches zu Dionys von Halikarnass. *Philologus* 49 (1890) 390–399, esp. 395–399. The monumental catalogue by H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale, II. Ancien fonds grec: Droit, Histoire, Sciences. Paris 1888, 133 was published at around the same time, but a much more extensive description of P, along with a reproduction of 31 plates, can be found in his short essay La Poétique d'Aristote, Manuscrit 1741 Fonds Grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris 1891, vii–xvi; cf. IDEM, Fac-similés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs en onciale et en minuscule de la Bibliothèque nationale du IVe au XIIe siècle. Paris 1892, 13 and pl. xxxvii. Also influential is the notable study by E. LOBEL, The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics (*Supplement to the Biographical Society's Transactions* 9). Oxford 1933, 6–7.

[12] For the exceptional character of P and the possibility it was commissioned by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, see Th. CONLEY, Aristotle's Rhetoric in Byzantium. *Rhetorica* 8.1 (1990) 29–44, here at 34–35.

[13] Diller's opinion was that P could be assigned to the first half or even the first third of the tenth century (see A. DILLER, The age (as note 2) 519), while Jacob opted for a date near the middle of the same century, see A. JACOB, La minuscule grecque penchée et l'âge du Parisinus grec 1741, in: Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Châtelain par ses élèves et ses amis, 15 avril 1910. Paris 1910, 52–56. Jacob's dating was later confirmed by Harlfinger and Reinsch (Die Aristotelica 31–32).

[14] N. KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, From Pre-bouletée to Bouletée: Scribe Epiphanios and Codices Mosq. Synod. gr. 103 and Vat. gr. 90. In: The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon, In: The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon. Three Hundred Years of Studies on Greek Handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography, Madrid – Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008, ed. A. BRAVO GARCIA – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN (*Bibliologia* 31A–B). Turnhout 2010. I, 55–66, here 63.

[15] HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 33–34.

[16] J. IRIGOIN, Un cas particulier de copie: la translittération. In: Lire et écrire à Byzance, ed. B. MONDRAIN (*Monographies* 19). Paris 2006, 19–24, esp. 23.

[17] Cohn, Handschriftliches 399.

[18] HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 30. For the *Physiognomonica* (Φυσιογνωμονικά, ed. BEKKER, 805a1–814b8), see also the edition of R. FÖRSTER, Scriptores Physiognomonici, I: Physiognomica Pseudoaristotelis, Graece et Latine, Adamantii cum epitomis Graece, Polemonis e recensione Georgii Hoffmanni Arabice e Latine continens. Stuttgart, Leipzig 1994 (ed. stereotypa ed. primae 1893), 4–90; German translation and commentary by S. VOGT, Aristoteles, Werke in deutscher Übersetzung 18/6, Opuscula VI: Physiognomonica. Berlin 1999; Engl. translation by T. LOVEDAY and E. S. FORSTER in J. BARNES

seventeen works, primarily focused on rhetorical theory[19]. Here follows a detailed list of the manuscript's contents, updated with reference to the latest authoritative critical edition:

1. (ff. 1r–37r) Pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. H. USENER – L. RADERMACHER, Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant, VI. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanonum Teubneriana), Stuttgart – Leipzig 1899 (repr. 1997), 255–387; ed. and Engl. translation W. H. RACE, Menander Rhetor – [Dionysius of Halicarnassus] Ars Rhetorica (*Loeb Classical Library* 539). Cambridge, Mass. – London 2019, 368–447 (only ch. 1–7).
2. (ff. 38r–71v) Menander, *De genere demostrativo*[20], ed. D. A. RUSSELL – N. G. WILSON, Menander Rhetor. Oxford 1981, 2–214.6 (breaks off incomplete in the manuscript); ed. and Engl. translation RACE, Menander Rhetor – [Dionysius of Halicarnassus] Ars Rhetorica, 20–357.
3. (ff. 50r–51v) Alexander Rhetor <filius Numenii>, *De initio rhetorico*, ed. L. SPENGEL, Rhetores Graeci, III. Lipsiae 1856, 1–6; ed. F. G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ, Alejandro Rétor, *De materiis rhetoricis*: nueva edición crítica. In: *Manuscritos griegos en España y su contexto europeo/Greek Manuscripts in Spain and their European Context*, ed. F. G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ. Madrid 2016, 143–158, at 151–158.
4. (ff. 72r–102v) Pseudo-Aelius Aristides, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. M. PATILLON, Pseudo-Aelius Aristide, Arts rhétoriques, Tomes I–II. Paris 2002, 102–166 and 102–154 respectively.
5. (ff. 102v–106r), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydidis epistula ad Ammaeum*, ed. USENER – RADERMACHER, Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant, V. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanonum Teubneriana), Stuttgart – Leipzig 1899 (repr. 1997), 421–438; ed. G. AUJAC, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Opuscules rhétoriques, Tome IV: Thucydide, Seconde lettre à Ammée. Paris 1991, 130–144[21].
6. (ff. 106v–115v), Alexander Rhetor <filius Numenii>, *De figuris rhetoricis*, ed. C. WALZ, Rhetores Graeci, VIII. Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1835, 421–486; ed. SPENGEL, Rhetores Graeci III 9–40; A. JAEWON, Alexandri de figuris sententiarum et verborum. Unpubl. doctoral thesis. Göttingen 2004, 1–78; G. NASTASI, Il De figuris di Alessandro e di Ps.-Alessandro. Introduzione, testo critico e traduzione. Unpubl. doctoral thesis. Università degli Studi di Messina 2020, 6–162.

(ed.), The Complete Works of Aristotle, The Revised Oxford Translation, I (*Bollingen Series* 71.2). Princeton [6]1995 (repr. with corrections) 1237–1250. Regarding the *De ventorum situ* (ed. BEKKER, 973a1–973b26), it was long considered to be an extract from the treatise *De Signis*, probably on the authority of Sir D. ROSS, Aristotle. London, New York 1995[6], 11; see also the edition of V. ROSE, Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus. Lipsiae 1863, 246–254 (fr. 231–235). However, the *De signis* is actually a work of Theophrastus of Eresus, see the latest critical edition of the work with an English translation and commentary by D. SIDER and C. W. BRUNSCHÖN, Theophrastus of Eresus, On Weather Signs. Leiden – Boston 2007, esp. 4–5 and 40–43, where the relationship between the *De Signis* and the *De ventorum situ* is discussed in detail (an edition and Engl. translation of the latter work is provided by V. D'AVELLA in the same volume, pp. 221–225). As for the *Characters*, see the excellent edition of J. DIGGLE, Theophrastus, Characters (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries* 41). Cambridge 2004.

[19] H. RABE, Rhetoren-Corpora. *Rheinisches Museum* 67 (1912), 321–357, esp. 337–343; Th. CONLEY, Byzantine Teaching on Figures and Tropes: An Introduction. *Rhetorica* 4 (1986), 335–374, esp. 345.

[20] For this work see also F. G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ, The Logos Basilikos of Menander Rhetor. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* N.S. 8 (2013), 371–385; F. G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ, Notes on the Sources of the Aldine Edition of Menander Rhetor. *WSt* 130 (2017), 171–182. B. MURUZÁBAL RODRÍGUEZ, Para una neuva edición crítica de Menandro Retor. In: Manuscritos griegos en España y su contexto europeo/Greek Manuscripts in Spain and their European Context, ed. F. G. HERNÁNDEZ MUÑOZ. Madrid 2016, 279–292.

[21] For the textual tradition of this treatise, see A. PALLA, Un testimone trascurato della Seconda lettera ad Ammeo di Dionigi di Alicarnasso. *NRh* 13 (2016), 33–44; EADEM, La seconda Epistula ad Ammeo di Dionigi di Alicarnasso. Studi sulla tradizione manoscritta (*Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte* 36). Wiesbaden 2023, esp. 19–22 for P.

The marginal notes on ff. 106v and 112r have also been edited by A. JAEWON, Anonymi Christiani Tractatus de Figuris Sententiarum et Verborum (Nota Marginalis in Paris. 1741). *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 54.1 (2011), 89–113, at 102–113[22].

7. (ff. 115v–119v), <Phoibammon>, *De figuris*, ed. SPENGEL, Rhetores Graeci III 43–56.
8. (ff. 120r–184r), Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, ed. M. DUFOUR – A. WARTELLE, Aristote, Rhétorique, I–III. Paris [2]1960–1972; ed. R. KASSEL, Aristotelis ars rhetorica. Berlin – New York 1976, 3–197[23].
9. (ff. 184r–199r), Aristotle, *Poetica*, ed. R. KASSEL, Aristotelis de arte poetica liber. Oxford 1965, 3–49; ed. L. TARÁN – D. GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics, Editio maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries (*Mnemosyne Supplements* 338). Leiden – Boston 2012, 165–219.
10. (ff. 200r–225r), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum*, ed. USENER – RADERMACHER, Dionysii Halicarnasei VI, 3–143; ed. G. AUJAC, Denys d'Halicarnasse, Opuscules rhétoriques, Tome III: La composition stylistique. Paris 1981, 58–195.
11. (ff. 226r–245v), Pseudo-Demetrius Phalereus, *De elocutione*, ed. P. CHIRON, Démétrios, Du Style. Paris 1993, 1–84.
12. (ff. 246r–287r), Apsines, *Ars rhetorica*, ed. M. PATILLON, Apsinès, Art Rhétorique – Problèmes à faux-semblant. Paris 2001, 1–111; M. R. DILTS – G. A. KENNEDY, Two Greek Rhetorical Treatises from the Roman Empire. Introduction, text and translation of the arts of rhetoric attributed to Anonymous Seguerianus and to Apsines of Gadara (*Mnemosyne Supplements* 168). Leiden, New York, Köln 1997, 75–239

    For the section of a treatise of Longinus that is transmitted as an interpolation within the treatise of Apsines (in P ff. 271v–277v) see also M. PATILLON – L. BRISSON, Longin, Fragments, Art Rhétorique – Rufus, Art Rhétorique. Paris 2001, 189–208.
13. (ff. 287r–290r), Apsines, *De problematis figuratis*, ed. PATILLON, Apsinès 112–121.
14. (ff. 290r–293v), Minucianus or Nicagoras, *De argumentis*, ed. SPENGEL, Rhetores Graeci, I. Lipsiae 1853, 415–424.
15. (ff. 294r–297v), Maximus, *De obiectionibus insolubilibus*, ed. H. RABE, Prolegomenon Sylloge. (*Rhetores Graeci* 14). Leipzig 1931, 427–447; M. PATILLON, *Corpus Rhetoricum*, tome V: *Pseudo- Hermogène, La méthode de l'habilité – Maxime, Les objections irréfutables – Anonyme, Méthode des discours d'adresse*. Paris 2014, 104–122.
16. (ff. 297v–298v), Anonymus, *De communione et differentia statuum*, ed. C. WALZ, Rhetores Graeci, VII. Stuttgart 1833, 27–32; H. RABE, *Prolegomenon Sylloge*. [*Rhetores Graeci* XIV]. Leipzig 1931, 221.5–227.23.
17. (ff. 299r–301r), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De veteribus scriptoribus censura* (= *De imitatione* fr. 6), ed. USENER – RADERMACHER, Dionysii Halicarnasei VI, 202–214; ed. G. AUJAC, *Denys d'Halicarnasse, Opuscules rhétoriques, Tome V: L'imitation (Fragments, Épitomé), Première lettre à Ammée, Lettre à Pompée Géminos, Dinarque.* Paris 1992, 31–40.

No colophon has been preserved, and consequently, we lack any evidence regarding the circumstances under which the manuscript was copied, for instance its commissioner, or other pertinent details such as its production cost. However, the two extant ownership entries allow us to trace its later history. The one in f. 301v, composed in three dodecasyllables and in

[22] For a formerly unpublished chapter of this work, transmitted solely by cod. Marc. gr. Z 512 (coll. 678; *Diktyon* 69983; end of 13th c.) see G. BALLAIRA, Una figura inedita del περὶ σχημάτων di Alessandro di Numenio e le sue affinità con Quintiliano (Inst. 8, 6, 67–76). *Rheinisches Museum* 119 (1976), 324–328.

[23] For the extensive manuscript tradition of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, see R. KASSEL, Der Text der aristotelischen Rhetorik. Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe. Berlin – New York 1971, esp. 21–25 for P.

monocondylic script, reveals that P was in the possession of the renowned scholar Theodore Skoutariotes, who received it as a gift from his devoted friend, Manuel Angelos[24]:

+ δόσις μανουὴλ ἀγγέλου πιστοῦ φίλου +
+ σκουταριώτου λευΐτου θεοδώρου +
+ δῶρον ποθεινόν, ἐκ μανουὴλ ἀγγέλου +[25].
"Gift of Manuel Angelos, loyal friend
[book] of the levite (i.e. deacon) Theodore Skoutariotes
a desirable gift, from Manuel Angelos."

The other, much briefer note on the top margin of f. 299r, reading: + τοῦ σκουταριώτου νικήτα +[26] (**fig. 1**), had long been a source of confusion and misinterpretation. Already in the seventeenth century, Leo Allatius mistook the *ex-libris* of Niketas for the title of the work spanning folia 299r–301r, thus crediting him erroneously with the authorship of what is actually only a fragment of Dionysius of Halicarnassus's *De imitatione* (see no. 17 *supra*)[27]. Despite this error, it is significant for the history of P to note here that the manuscript was apparently known to Allatius, whether through autopsy or, more likely, via transcriptions made by his fellow scholars and correspondents in Paris[28]. Philippe Labbe, a contemporary of Allatius, was

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[24] HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 34, and pl. IV. TARÁN – GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics 130. C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries (1204– ca.1310) (*Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus* 11). Nicosia 1982, 139 and n. 34. Theodore Skoutariotes was the possessor of seven other manuscripts: cod. Marc. gr. Z 450 (coll. 652; *Diktyon* 69921; 10th c., *Bibliotheca* of Photius), Marc. gr. Z 407 (coll. 1032; *Diktyon* 69878; 14th c., *Synopsis Chronikē*, a chronicle usually attributed to Skoutariotes), Par. gr. 1234 (*Diktyon* 50841; 13th c., works of Michael and Niketas Choniates), Oxon. Cromwell 19 (*Diktyon* 47809; 11th c., works of John Chrysostom) and Vat. gr. 636 (*Diktyon* 67267; 13th c., the commentary of Euthymius Zygabenus of the Epistles of Paul), Athon. Koutloumousiou 15 (*Diktyon* 26040; 11th c., works of Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom) and Athon. Dionysiou 588μ (*Diktyon* 20556; 10th/11th c., Tetraeuangelon), see R. TOCCI, Bemerkungen zur Hand des Theodoros Skoutariotes. *BZ* 99 (2006) 127–144, at 128 and also F. D'AIUTO, Note ai manoscritti del Menologio Imperiale, I. Un monogramma nel Menologio di Mosca. *RSBN* N.S. 39 (2002) (= Giornata di studio in ricordo di Enrica Follieri [Roma, 31 maggio 2002]), 189–228, esp. 215–222; IDEM, Un nuovo manoscritto miniato appartenuto a Manuele Angelo: l'Athous Dionys. 588μ. In: L'officina dello Sguardo, Scritti in onore di Maria Andaloro, ed. G. BORDI – I. CARLETTINI – M. L. FOBELLI – M. R. MENNA – P. POGLIANI. Rome 2014. I, 397–410.

[25] For this book epigram see: <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/6674> (accessed: 27.11.2024).

[26] Tarán's transcription σκουταριότου is evidently a misprint, see TARÁN – GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics 131.

[27] Writes Allatius: «Nec non Nicetas scutariota, cuius rhetorica legitur Parisiis in bibliotheca regis Gallorum. P. Ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐντυγχάνειν συγγράμμασι. Pusillum admodum opus; quas vero vires habeat, dicent quibus illud evolvere contigerit», see his *Diatriba de Nicetarum scriptis* edited for the first time in A. MAI, Novae Patrum Bibliothecae tomus sextus, continens in parte I. Sancti Athanasii epistolas festales syriace et latine cum chronico et fragmentis aliis et in parte II. Leonis Allatii tres grandes dissertationes: De Nicetis, de Philonibus et de Theodoris cum ipsius Allatii vita et plurimis aliorum opusculis ac tabulis xi, pars secunda. Rome 1853, 25 (Note: Each section – *pars prima*, *pars secunda* – preserves its own distinct pagination within the volume). For Leo Allatius see K. HARTNUP, 'On the Beliefs of the Greeks'. Leo Allatios and Popular Orthodoxy (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 54). Leiden – Boston 2004; TH. J.-M. CERBU, Leone Allacci (1588–1669). The Fortunes of an Early Byzantinist. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Harvard University 1986.

[28] His circle included prestigious scholars of the time, such as Jaques Goar, Jean Morin, and Gabriel Naudé, see HARTNUP, On the Beliefs 61. Naudé served as the librarian of Cardinal Richelieu and later of his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, whose famous library he set up. Given his easy access to the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, it is highly probable that Naudé was the one who provided the relevant information about P to Allatius, or ensured that it reached him. For Naudé, see his biography by J. A. CLARKE, Gabriel Naudé, 1600–1653. Hamden (Connecticut) 1970, esp. 46, 50, 53 for his interactions with and views on Allatius; P. O. KRISTELER, Between the Italian Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as an Editor. *Renaissance Quarterly* 32.1 (1979) 41–72, esp. 45. See also now X. RINCEL. Les collectionneurs français de manuscrits grecs du Moyen Age à la Révolution française. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université Paris sciences et lettres 2022, 756–776.

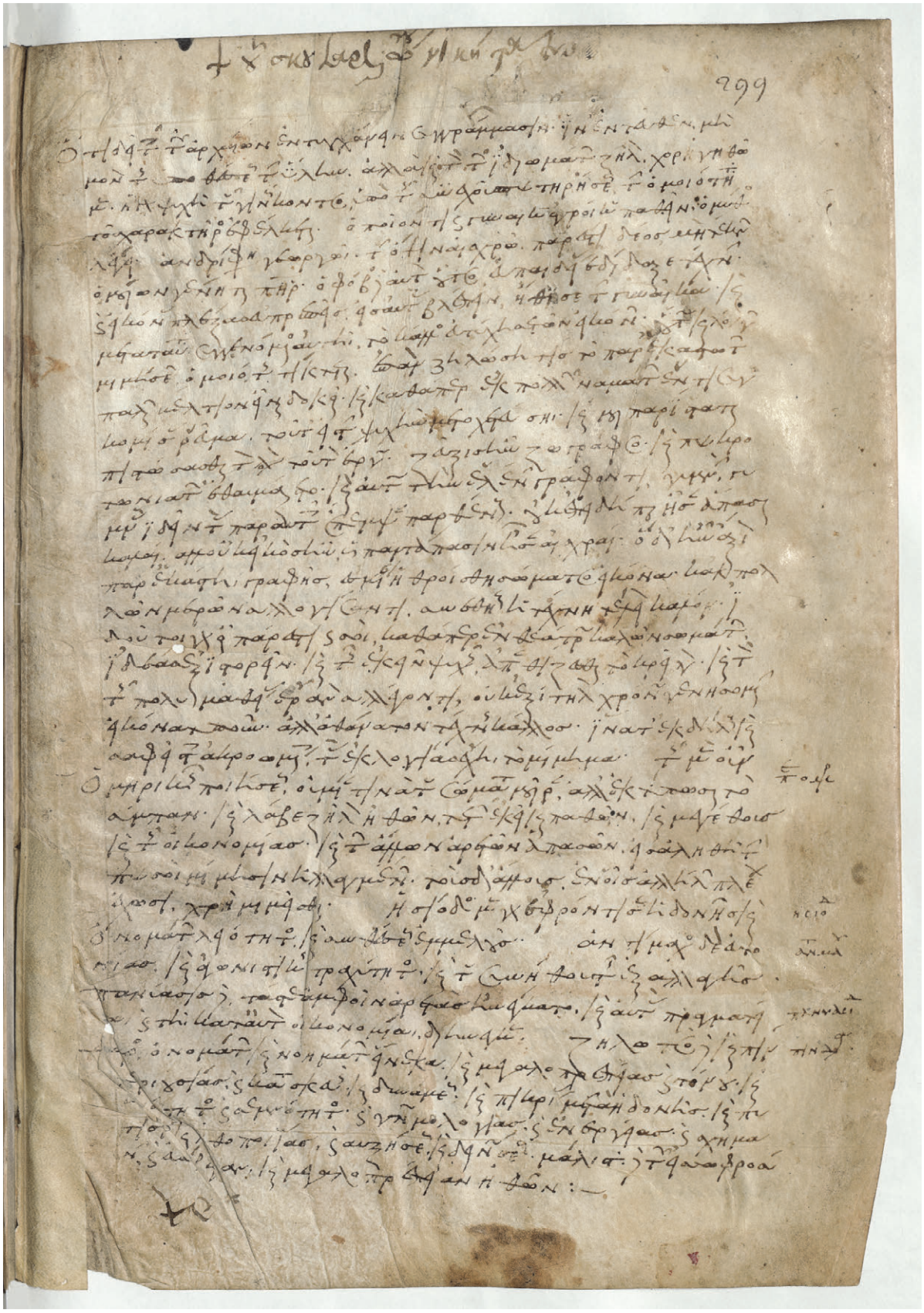

Figure 1: Cod. Par. gr. 1741, f. 299r: The *ex libris* of Niketas Skoutariotes in the upper margin (actual size: 235 × 167 mm) (© Bibliothèque nationale de France)

also familiar with P and made a fleeting reference to the *Ars rhetorica* of Niketas Skoutariotes[29]. The same applies to Fabricius, who fell victim to the same misinterpretation[30], as did Sevin in the first systematic, printed catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in Paris[31]. This view was also accepted not much later by Bandini in his own catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in Florence[32].

The misconception was eventually dispelled in the following centuries and Dionysius of Halicarnassus was properly recognized as the author of the fragment as the manuscript became the subject of detailed studies, either in its own right or within the broader framework of the investigation of the manuscript tradition of the texts it transmits. Nevertheless, the question regarding the identification of Niketas Skoutariotes has never been answered. On the contrary, it has either been passed over silently or has been the source of some speculation. For example, Schenkl has nothing to say on the matter, and in fact he seems to confuse Niketas and Theodore Skoutariotes[33]. Similarly, Rabe ignores this issue altogether, even though he dedicated a good six pages to the manuscript[34], while Omont, despite his otherwise meticulous description, avoids any mention of Niketas other than a parsimonious reference[35]. In general, it has been the *communis opinio*—owing obviously to the shared surname of the two possessors of P—that Niketas was most probably a relative or descendant of Theodore and somehow received the manuscript as a gift or inherited it from him[36]. In addition, the recording of the manuscript's number of folios in the lower margin of f. 298v (see *supra*), possibly by a thirteenth century hand, and the rather dirty state of folio 299 suggest that the last segment of P as it currently stands (i.e. ff. 299–301) was originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript. According to Harlfinger and Reinsch, these facts shed some light on the condition of P prior to the thirteenth century and offer insight into why Niketas Skoutariotes placed his ownership entry on this specific folio[37].

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[29] P. LABBÉ, Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum sive specimen antiquarum lectionum latinarum et graecarum. Paris 1653, 109: "Nicetae Scutariotae de Arte Rhetorica, in codice Regio 1762, in quo Rhetorica Apsinis, Menandri, Minutiani (sic), vel … Nicagorae, Alexandri, & aliorum".

[30] J. A. FABRICIUS in a similar fashion writes: "Nicetas Scutariota, cuius homiliae III. MSS. in bibl. Vindobonensi teste Lambecio V. pag. 190. Sed alius est Theodorus Scutariota de cuius scholiis ad Nicetae Choniatae thesaurum supra dicere me memini. Nicetae Scutariotae Epistola & de Arte Rhetorica MSS. in Bibl. Regis Christianissimi", see his Bibliotheca Graeca, VI. Hamburg 1726, 433. This information was enriched by Harles in the later updated edition of the work, see J. A. FABRICIUS – G. C. HARLES, Bibliotheca Graeca sive Notitia Scriptorum Veterum Graecorum, VII. Hamburg 1801, 755: "In catal. codd. Paris. in cod. MDCCXLI nr. 14 citatur Nicetas Scutariotes, quod veteres scriptores potissimum sind legendi. In cod. Laur. Med. VII. nr. 43. Plut. 55 est titulus tantum Σχίδας (sic) etc. scheda, continens varia poëmata seu sensa domini Scutariotae, et primus versus, v. Bandin. de codd. gr. II. p. 266. De epistolis v. quoque Fabr. supra Vol. I. p. 703. *Harl*.".

[31] For Sevin's catalogue see above n. 11. See also L. DELISLE, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale..., I. Paris 1868, 413–414; A. DAIN, Le catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 4 (1947) 77–81, at 77.

[32] A. M. BANDINI, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Medicae Laurenzianae. Florence 1768 (repr. Leipzig 1961), 266, who cites Fabricius as his source.

[33] SCHENKL, Zur Kritik 61. More precisely, in a rather problematic passage he refers to Niketas (instead of Theodore) Skoutariotes as the receiver of the manuscript from his friend Michael Angelos (in lieu of the correct Manuel). It appears that MURATORE may also have been somewhat confused as he mentions a certain Nikephoros Skoutariotes (instead of Niketas) as possessor of the manuscript alongside Theodore Skoutariotes, see D. MURATORE, La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi, I–II. Alessandria 2009, esp. II, 151.

[34] RABE, Rhetoren-Corpora (see n. 19) 337–363.

[35] OMONT, La Poetique xiv: "Cet autre ex-libris est aussi tracé dans la marge supérieure du fol. 299".

[36] COHN, Handschriftliches 399 n. 9. HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 35. TARÁN – GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics 131. M. LOSACCO, Niceforo Gregora lettore di Fozio. In: Storia di scrittura e altre storie, ed. D. BIANCONI (*Bollettino dei Classici, Supplementa* 29). Rome 2014, 53–100, at 56. NASTASI, Il De figuris (see above p. 321) xxv.

[37] In all likelihood, the manuscript remained unbound until at least the fifteenth century, see HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 35. TARAN – GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics 131.

The conclusions of these diligent palaeographers are, undoubtedly, most reliable; however, one topic requires further consideration. While we cannot dismiss out of hand the hypothesis that the Niketas Skoutariotes who placed the *ex libris* on f. 299r was a descendant rather than an ancestor of Theodore, there is actually no compelling reason to assume this is the case. Therefore, it is proposed here that the possessor of P could reasonably be identified with the relatively unknown teacher active in Constantinople during the Comnenian era.

Several factors can be adduced to support this plausible conjecture. Firstly, though an *argumentum ex silentio*, there is no concrete reference whatsoever for the existence of a Niketas Skoutariotes during the Palaeologan period, apart from questionable identifications based solely on the flimsy and untenable premise that the possessor of P was a descendant of Theodore[38]. In stark contrast, the *floruit* of the aforementioned teacher can be set firmly in the second third of the twelfth century[39]. An alternative line of reasoning might involve the existence of two individuals with the same name, one of them being the twelfth-century teacher and the other a near-contemporary or descendant of Theodore Skoutariotes, into whose hands P eventually came to pass. However, such a supposition would undoubtedly introduce unnecessary complications, as it raises more questions than it provides answers—such as the identity of this unattested relative of the bibliophile bishop of Cyzicus, the circumstances that condemned him to virtual obscurity, whether this hypothetical Niketas was a scholar, and if so, to which scholarly circles of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century he might have belonged. If we dismiss this latter hypothesis altogether, as per the principle of Ockham's razor, the attribution of the *ex libris* of P to the twelfth-century teacher appears quite rational.

Moreover, beyond these prosopographical considerations, this attribution aligns with the broader cultural environment and the intellectual trends of the period, which exhibited an increased awareness of literary treasures of the past. Other teachers and scholars, more or less contemporary with Niketas Skoutariotes, such as John Tzetzes, Niketas Choniates and Ioannes Kamateros, left traces of their scholarly activities in old books[40]. Valuable manuscripts, such as cod. Laur. Plut. 70,3 (*Diktyon* 16568; 10th c., Herodotus) and Heidelb. Pal. gr. 252 (*Diktyon* 32467; 9th/10th c., Thucydides), the second of which transmits ostensibly autograph scholia of John Tzetzes[41], can certainly be mentioned here. Apart from the Palatinus, the hand of Tzetzes

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[38] See PLP, no. 26186 ("Skutariotes, 2. H. 13. Jh., Adressat d. Γρηγόριος II. Κύπριος … Identisch mit Σκουταριώτης Νικήτας?"); no. 26199 ("Skutariotes, κυρός, Schriftsteller – 15 Jh. od. früher … Identisch mit Σκουταριώτης Θεόδωρος od. Mit Σκουταριώτης Νικήτας?"); no. 26214 ("Skutariotes Niketas, Schriftsteller – E.13./A.14. Jh., Verwandter d. Σκουταριώτης Θεόδωρος … Identisch mit * Σκουταριώτης, Schriftsteller, 15 Jh. od. früher?"). In fact, no. 26214 has no place in PLP, since we propose that he has to be dated to the twelfth century, and the same applies to no. 26199, which refers only to the same person. V. LAURENT, Bulletin critique: Catalogue de manuscrits grecs et textes byzantines. *EO* 27 (1928) 440–475, here 444, follows a different approach identifying Niketas Skoutariotes with Nikolaos Skoutariotes, who is mentioned in the list of books registered in cod. Vat. gr. 207 (*Diktyon* 66838; 13th c.), f. VIIr by its owner (perhaps Michael Eskammatismenos), maintaining that Niketas was undoubtedly the monastic name of Nikolaos. For an analysis of this note see CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education 139. On this manuscript see also P. CANART, A propos du Vaticanus graecus 207. Le recueil scientifique d'un érudit constantinopolitain du XIIIe siècle et l'emploi du papier "à zig-zag" dans la capitale byzantine. *Illinois Classical Studies* 7.2 (1982) 271–298 (repr. IDEM, Études de paléographie et de codicologie, reproduites avec la collaboration de M. L. AGATI et M. D'AGOSTINO [*StT* 451], II. Vatican 2008, 759–786). Nikolaos Skoutariotes was ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς καταστάσεως in 1277, see CANART, Vaticanus Graecus 207, 282 (repr. 770).

[39] See *infra*, 329–330.

[40] For the social aspects of this kind of activity, see Ch. GASTGEBER, A New Methodological Approach to Classical Literature in Byzantium: Prosopographic Palaeography. In: Ē Proslēpsē tēs Archaiotētas sto Byzantio, kyriōs kata tous Palaiologeious Chronous (Praktika Diethnous Synedriou, Spartē 3–5 Noembriou 2012), ed. G. XANTHAKĒ-KARAMANOU. Athens 2014, 141–174, at 144.

[41] M. J. LUZZATTO, Leggere i classici nella biblioteca imperiale: note tzetziane su antichi codici. *Quaderni di storia* 48 (1998) 69–86; EADEM, Tzetzes lettore di Tucidide. Note autografe sul Codice Heidelberg Palatino Greco 252 (*Paradosis* 1). Bari 1999; EADEM, Note inedite di Giovanni Tzetzes e restauro di antichi codici alla fine del XIII secolo: Il problema del Laur. 70,3

has also been recognized lately in the interlinear and marginal scholia in another manuscript, namely cod. Leiden Voss. gr. Q 1 (*Diktyon* 38108). The latter was traditionally dated to the thirteenth century, but is now believed to have been copied in the twelfth century and revised by Tzetzes in the 1180s[42]. Additionally, cod. Vat. gr. 130 (*Diktyon* 66761; 10th c., Diodorus Siculus) was read and annotated in 1203 by the historian Niketas Choniates[43]. Prof. Mazzucchi's research has also highlighted some other very notable examples, such as Vat. gr. 2125 (*Diktyon* 68755; 6th c., Old Testament, also known as *codex Marchalianus*), Patm. 33 (*Diktyon* 54277; a. 941, Gregory of Nazianzus), Par. gr. 2934 (*Diktyon* 52573; 10th c., Demosthenes)[44], which bear interlinear and marginal annotations by the hand of John Kamateros, *maistor of the rhetors* and later patriarch of Constantinople (1198–1206)[45]. In a similar fashion, Niketas Skoutariotes could have very well left his mark in P while exploring the ancient Greek literary heritage.

Furthermore, there is an additional reason why the twelfth century provides an fitting backdrop for the association of the Komnenian scholar with the manuscript. Not only was this period marked by the practice of preserving and closely engaging with the heritage of the past, but it also witnessed a remarkable resurgence in rhetorical scholarship specifically. This heightened interest earned the Komnenian period its rightful reputation as the golden era of rhetoric in Byzantium[46]. A notable example of this intellectual fervor is cod. Parisinus graecus 1874

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di Erodoto. In: I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V colloquio internazionale di paleografi greca, Cremona 4–10 ottobre 1998, ed. G. PRATO. Florence 2000, 633–654 and 5 tav. For a detailed analysis of these two sets of scholia see now J. BÉRTOLA, Tzetzes' verse scholia on Thucydides and Herodotus: A survey with new evidence from Laur. Plut. 70,3. In: Tzetzikai Ereunai, ed. E. E. PRODI (*Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica, Studi Online* 4). Bologna 2022, 335–357.

42 Nigel Wilson was the first to draw attention to the fact that the manuscript's attribution to the Palaeologan period was problematic, redating it to the late twelfth century, see N. G. WILSON, Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period. In: La paléographie grecque et byzantine: actes du colloque international, Paris, 21 – 25 Oct. 1974, ed. J. BOMPAIRE – J. IRIGOIN – J. GLÉNISSON (*Colloques internationaux du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique* 559). Paris 1977, 221–239, at 238. For the identification of Tzetzes' handwriting and a detailed analysis of these scholia see A. PIZZONE, Self-authorization and Strategies of Autography in John Tzetzes: The *Logismoi* Rediscovered. *GRBS* 60 (2020) 652–690, esp. 654–655.

43 C. M. MAZZUCCHI, Leggere i classici durante la catastrofe (Costantinopoli, maggio – agosto 1203): le note marginali al Diodoro Siculo Vaticano gr. 130. *Aevum* 68 (1994) 165–218; 69 (1995) 200–58, esp. 254–58 for the arguments which favour the identification of the annotator with Nicetas. See also now A. SIMPSON, From the Workshop of Niketas Choniates: The Authority of Tradition and Literary Mimesis. In: Authority in Byzantium, ed. P. ARMSTRONG (*Publications for the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London* 14). Farnham, Burlington 2013, 259–68, esp. 264–65.

44 C. M. MAZZUCCHI, Per la storia medievale dei codici biblici B e Q, del Demostene Par. gr. 2934, del Dione Cassio Vat. gr. 1288 e dell' Ilias Picta Ambrosiana. In: The Legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon. ed. A. BRAVO GARCIA – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN (as in n. 14). I, 133–41 and II, 745–749, pl. 1–3. For other manuscripts annotated by him, see C. M. MAZZUCCHI, L'ex libris di Giovanni Camatero e versi inediti di Tzetzes nel codice Ambrosiano M 66 Sup. *Aevum* 93 (2019) 441–448 and especially now M. FINCATI, Codici della biblioteca di Giovanni Camatero. *NRh* 18 (2021), 237–289 (tavv. 1–20), who has identified all in all 28 codices annotated by Kamateros (but see now F. ACERBI – D. BIANCONI, Il *Codex Vaticanus* a Bisanzio. Vicende e figure di una storia millenaria (*StT* 556). Vatican 2022, 29–30, where caution is advised regarding some of these identifications).

45 For John Kamateros, see PBW (2016) Ioannes 20, http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Ioannes/20/ (accessed: 20.07.2024). Also, Ch. GASTGEBER, Das unexpedierte (zweite) Schreiben des Patriarchen Ioannes X. Kamateros von Konstantinopel an Papst Innozenz III. In: Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica I. Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatik und Paläographie, ed. Ch. GASTGEBER – O. KRESTEN (*Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse* 392, *VB* 19). Vienna 2010, 135–161. For his teaching activities see now NESSERĒS, Paideia I, 201–203 and II, 272–75, no. 95.

46 See for instance M. LOUKAKI, Tymbōrychoi kai skyleutes nekrōn. Oi apopseis tou Nikolaou Kataphlōron gia tē rhetorikē kai tous rētores stēn Konstantinoupolē tou 12ou aiōna. *Symm* 14 (2001) 143–166, here 143. This characterization is perhaps justified even by a cursory glance at the volume and quality of output of the formal rhetoric of the period, which has fortunately been preserved in a few rhetorical miscellanies. The most significant of these is cod. Escur. Y-II-10 (gr. 265; *Diktyon* 15478) dated between the last two decades of the twelfth and the first two of the thirteenth century, see N. G. WILSON, Three Byzantine Scribes. *GRBS* 14.2 (1973) 223–228, esp. 227–228.

(*Diktyon* 51500; Apsines, *De problematibus figuratis* and *Ars rhetorica*; Minucianus, *De argumentis*; Menander Rhetor, *De genere demostrativo*)[47], the second most important manuscript in the textual tradition of some of the same works on rhetorical theory as P. Although Patillon's investigation of the relationship between the two manuscripts has conclusively shown that it constitutes an independent witness to the text of Apsines and has no connection with P[48], its existence nonetheless reflects the prevailing intellectual trends in twelfth-century Constantinople. The same is also true for the aforementioned cod. Leiden Voss. gr. Q 1[49], which transmits works of Hermogenes of Tarsus and Aphthonius of Antioch, perhaps the two most influential rhetorical theorists of antiquity after Aristotle. More importantly, this interest was not limited to texts expounding on rhetoric theory alone but extended to a closer reading of the corpus of some of the most significant ancient rhetors. This is highlighted not only by the case of cod. Par. gr. 2934[50], but also by cod. Heidelb. Pal. gr. 88 (*Diktyon* 32459), one of the oldest surviving textual witnesses of the orations of Lysias and certainly the most complete, which was copied at the beginning of the twelfth century in Constantinople and was possibly utilized by Gregory Pardos and John Tzetzes[51].

To further develop this argument, there is an additional dimension that transcends a purely theoretical interest in rhetoric and connects with a more creative and performative function. The nuance is that it would, of course, be only logical for a teacher operating at the level of higher education to have access to—or, ideally, possess—a valuable manuscript like P and engage in close reading of the numerous important works on rhetorical theory it transmits. Indeed, such access would have been deemed nearly essential, as the teaching of rhetoric—a key component of the *trivium*[52]—would naturally require frequent interaction with these indispensable texts. But more than this, if the hypothesis that Niketas Skoutariotes ever held the post of a scriptural teacher (see *infra*) holds any water, these works would undoubtedly also have facilitated the composition of his own speeches and homilies, which were customarily delivered in the presence of the emperor and/or the patriarch[53], as well as his exegetical pieces and other writings[54].

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[47] The manuscript is commonly dated to the thirteenth century, but Nigel Wilson reassigned it to the first decades of the twelfth, see RUSSELL – WILSON, Menander Rhetor xliii. This dating was accepted by M. PATILLON, Apsinès. Art Rhétorique – Problèmes à faux semblants. Paris 2001, ciii.

[48] PATILLON, Apsinès, cvi.

[49] For a detailed description of its contents, see K. A. DE MEYIER, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti, VI: Codices Vossiani Graeci et Miscellanei. Leiden 1955, 91–93. See also A. PIZZONE, Self-authorization (see n. 42) 654–658; EADEM, Tzetzes and the *prokatastasis*: A tale of people, manuscripts, and performances. In: Tzetzikai Ereunai, ed. E. E. PRODI (*Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica, Studi Online* 4). Bologna 2022, 19–73, esp. 21, 51.

[50] Apart from MAZZUCCHI, Per la storia medievale (see n. 44), also important are the contributions in: Demosthenica Libris Manu Scriptis Tradita, Studien zur Textüberlieferung des Corpus Demosthenicum, Internationales Symposium in Wien, 22.–24. September 2011, ed. J. GRUSKOVÁ and H. BANNERT (*Wiener Studien, Beiheft* 36). Vienna 2014.

[51] M. L. SOSOWER, Palatinus Graecus 88 and the Manuscript Tradition of Lysias. Amsterdam 1987, 3, 7–13. For an appraisal of the activities of Tzetzes and Pardos, see PIZZONE, Tzetzes and the *prokatastasis* 63–68. For the reception of other rhetoricians of antiquity by 12th-century scholars, see also NESSERĒS, Paideia I, 83, 129 n. 50, 175, 187, 260–261, 264–265, 267.

[52] For the teaching of the *trivium* in the twelfth century see NESSERĒS, Paideia I, 225–272, and esp. 251–265 for rhetoric.

[53] It has been aptly pointed out by Paul Magdalino that the three scriptural teachers (of the Psalter, the Epistles and the Gospel) could in fact act as public orators should the instance occur, similarly to the *maistor of the rhētors*, and address speeches to the emperor, cf. the oration (διδασκαλία) of the oecumenical teacher (i.e. teacher of the Gospel) and otherwise unattested Schizenus on the birth of the same Alexius II in 1169, see P. MAGDALINO, The reform edict of 1107. In: Alexios I Komnenos, I: Papers, ed. M. MULLETT – D. SMYTHE (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 4.1). Belfast 1996, 199–218, esp. 213–214. See also NESSERĒS, Paideia 29–36.

[54] The intrinsic connection of ancient Greek rhetorical theory and the Byzantine homily has been expertly explored by V. VALIAVITCHARSKA, Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium: The Sound of Persuasion. Cambridge 2013, 56–89. For a

This bustling intellectual activity came to an unexpected, abrupt halt with the cataclysmic events of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, when the rich libraries of the capital were plundered and their books dispersed. During the period of the exile in Nicaea and after the return to Constantinople in 1261, a conscientious effort was made to locate and preserve not only the works of antiquity but also those of the immediate past[55]. Renowned scholars engaged in higher levels of education—such as Nikephoros Blemmydes, who even undertook travels to various regions of the western parts of the former Empire[56]—painstakingly sought out these precious manuscripts in order to prepare copies and editions of classical or post-classical texts as a way to recover, among other intellectual interests, the ancient rhetorical tradition[57]. It is perhaps within this context that Manuel Angelos, a noted book-collector himself, somehow came across P, and seeing that it was earlier in the possession of the Skoutariotes family presented it to his friend and well-known bibliophile Theodore. Regarding the later history of the manuscript, it is known to have been in Constantinople during the first half of the fifteenth century. Later, it became a prized possession of Cardinal Bessarion, before finding its way to the library of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi; eventually, through a succession of owners, it came to reside to the Royal Library in Paris[58].

NIKETAS SKOUTARIOTES AND HIS WORKS

Turning now to Niketas Skoutariotes, the information available about him can be characterized as scanty at best. It is likely that he belonged to the Constantinopolitan family whose members pursued careers in both civil and ecclesiastical administration during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as evidenced primarily by sigillographic data[59]. As far as his chronology is con-

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thorough study of Byzantine homiletics see Th. ANTONOPOULOU, Byzantinē Omilētikē. Syngrapheis kai Keimena. Athens [2]2015.

[55] Cod. Oxon. Barocci 131 (*Diktyon* 47418), produced in Nicaea and preserving a good number of pieces of Komnenian literature, constitutes perhaps the most illustrative example of this initiative, see N. G. WILSON, The Date and Origin of MS Barocci 131. *BZ* 59 (1966) 305–306· IDEM, A Byzantine Miscellany: MS. Barocci 131 described. *JÖB* 27 (1978) 157–179.

[56] CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education 13, 144–145. Another avid book-collector of this period was Theodosios IV Princeps, see C. N. CONSTANTINIDĒS, O bibliophilos patriarchēs Antiocheias Theodosios IV Prinkips (1275/;–1283). *Epetēris Kentrou Epistēmonikon Ereunōn Kyprou* 11 (1981–1982) 371–384; P. ANDRIST, *Genovensis gr. 30*, Un manuscript d'Ephraim dans la bibliothèque de Théodose IV Princeps? *Script* 52 (1998) 12–36; V. CUOMO, Athos Dionysiou 180 + Paris, Suppl. gr. 495: Un nuovo manoscritto di Teodosio Principe. *BZ* 98 (2005), 23–34; A. CATALDI PALAU, Ancora sui manoscritti di Teodosio IV *Princeps*, Il codice di Genova, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Urbani 17. *BZ* 98 (2005), 69–71 (repr. EADEM, Studies in Greek Manuscripts, I. Spoleto 2008, 183–186).

[57] For the pursuit and acquisition of manuscripts containing the works of ancient rhetoricians in the early Palaeologan period see C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, Teachers and students of rhetoric in the late Byzantine period. In: Rhetoric in Byzantium, Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001, ed. E. JEFFREYS. Aldershot, Burlington, 2003, 39–53, at 46–47; IDEM, The Scholars and Their Books in the Late Thirteenth Century. In: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress/Akten, II. Teil, 4. Teilband: Wien, 4. – 9. Oktober 1981 (= *JÖB* 32/4), ed. H. HUNGER. Vienna 1981, 12–21. George of Cyprus, one of the most eminent scholars of this period, made considerable efforts to prepare editions of Aelius Aristides, see CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education 146–147. Maximos Planoudes also worked in the same direction, see L. QUATTROCELLI, Maxime Planude éditeur d'Aelius Aristide. *REG* 122 (2009) 145–162.

[58] HARLFINGER – REINSCH, Die Aristotelica 34–36. A. DILLER, Notes on the History of Some Manuscripts of Aristotle. In: Studia codicologica, ed. K. TREU (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 124). Berlin 1977, 147–150, esp. 147–148. TARÁN – GUTAS, Aristotle, Poetics 131–132. See now also MURATORE, La biblioteca (see n. 32) I, xvi, 82 n. 116, 192 n. 22, 280 n. 33, 284 and II, 148, 150–51, 414, 458, 512, 540, 604–605, 700, 798; D. SPERANZI, «De' libri che furono di Teodoro»: una mano, due pratiche e una biblioteca scomparsa. *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 23 (2012), 319–354, esp. 322.

[59] The name itself is likely to indicate the origin of the family in the small town of Skoutarion (Σκουτάριον)—an alternative name for Chrysopolis (Χρυσόπολις/Χρυσούπολις)—in the vicinity of Chalcedon in Bithynia, see K. BELKE, Bithynien und

cerned, on the basis of his surviving admonitory verses addressed to the porphyrogenitus emperor Alexios II Komnenos (1180–1183), as Robert Browning has shown[60], Niketas can be confidently situated in the last third of the twelfth century. His schedographical compositions indicate that he was a grammarian, with six extant *schedē* (σχέδη) in total attributed to him in the known schedographic collections, although the attribution of two of them (nos. 5 and 6, see below) remains ambiguous[61]. Moreover, an unknown schedos of his (no. 7) is contained within a previously unnoticed small schedographic corpus. In addition to his schedographic output[62], Niketas Skoutariotes is more frequently associated with a small number of homilies that bear his name in some manuscripts, as noted already from the time of Fabricius[63]. More specifically, seven homilies in total attributed to him are preserved in the following three manuscripts:

1. cod. Messanensis 162 (*Diktyon* 40823; ca. 1380, homiliary)[64], ff. 8r–14v, 68r–73v (?), 80v–87v (?), 99v–115r (?): Hom. I.42, I.44, I.7, I.8, I.10;

Hellespont (*TIB* 13). Vienna 2020, 504–510. For the family before 1204 and the activities of its known members, see A. P. KAZHDAN – S. RONCHEY, L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine dell XII secolo. Palermo 1997, 209, 228, 232, 253, 285, 312, 326, 340; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden, Teil 1.: Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My (*WBS* 28.1). Vienna 2011, 530 (no. 1210); J.–C. CHEYNET – T. GÖKYILDIRIM – V. BULGURLU, Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul. Istanbul 2012, 520 (no. 5.241).

60 R. BROWNING, O Markianos ellēnikos kōdikas XI.31 kai ē byzantinē schedographia. *Parnassos* 15 (1973) 506–519, at 515–516 = Il codice Marciano Gr. XI.31 e la schedografia bizantina. In: Miscellanea Marciana di Studi. Padua 1976, 21–34 (repr. IDEM, Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education. London 1977, no. XVI).

61 According to scholarly consensus, these two schedē are probably works of Theodore Prodromos, see below. For an updated catalogue of the schedē of Theodore Prodromos see now NESSERĒS, Paideia II, 444–447.

62 In earlier times the various schedographic compilations were not always recognized as exercises in grammar intended for use at school, but were rather considered as epistles, or in other cases as *sententiae breves*, see for instance Labbé, Nova Bibliotheca 101, who refers to «Nicetae Scutariotae epistulae, in codice Regio 594» (= cod. Par. gr. 2556, see H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale, III. Ancien fonds grec: Belles Letters – Coislin – Supplément – Paris et Départements. Paris 1888, 4; its former shelf marks, which can both be seen side by side on the top margin of f. 1r, were 594 and 3250 according to the inventories of 1622 and 1682, see H. OMONT, Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale, II. Paris 1909, 67 and III. Paris 1910, 327 respectively). Additionally, Spyridon Lambros also classified the *schedē* of Basil Pediaditēs and Niketas Peribleptēnos as letters, see his Epistolai Peribleptēnou kai Basileiou Kerkyras. *NE* 16 (1922), 119. See also the remarks of Harles mentioned above in n. 27. For more on schedography see I. VASSIS, Tōn neon philologōn palaismata. Ē syllogē schedōn tou kōdika *Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 92*. *Hell* 52 (2002) 37–68. F. NOUSIA, Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period (*StT* 505). Vatican 2016, 49–92. See also NESSERĒS, Paideia I, 229–234 and all the entries for the schedographers listed in the prosopographic catalogue in vol. II. See also J. J. KEANEY, More Byzantine Schoolmen. *Byz* 63 (1993) 455–459, here 457.

63 For Fabricius, see above n. 30. See also the remarks by BROWNING, O Markianos ellēnikos kōdikas XI.31 p. 515. It is important to note, however, that Browning's reference to cod. Vind. Theol. gr. 263 (*Diktyon* 71930; 15th c., works of Anastasius Sinaita, Palladius, John Chrysostomus, ps.-Eusebius of Alexandreia, Ephraim the Syrian and John Damascenus) has to be corrected to cod. Vind. Theol. gr. 61 (for which see below). The erudite scholar's confusion evidently arose due to the fact that the old shelf mark of cod. Vind. Theol. gr. 61 was 263, see H. HUNGER, Codices Vindobonenses Graeci: Signaturenkonkordanz der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Vienna 1953, 16.

64 A. MANCINI, Codices graeci monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris. Messina 1907, 219–229; it must be noted that Mancini does not always indicate exactly on which folio each of the homilies ends, hence the question mark within round brackets in the text above. G. ROSSI TAIBBI, Sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'omiliario di Filagato da Cerami (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Quaderni* 1). Palermo 1965, 66; IDEM, Filagato da Cerami, Omelie per i vangeli domenicali e le feste di tutto l'anno, I: Omelie per le feste fisse (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi e Monumenti, Testi* 11). Palermo 1969, xxxv; M. T. RODRIQUEZ, Manoscritti cartacei del fondo del S. Salvatore. *RSBN* 43 (2006) 177–259, at 177 n. 2, 187–191, 197, 235, 247–248; EADEM, Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci del fondo del SS. Salvatore di Messina (*Testi e Studi Bizantino-Neoellenici* 12). Rome 2012, 125. The traditional dating of the manuscript to the year 1342 by MANCINI, Codices graeci monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris. Messina 1907, 229 ("fortasse anni 1342") has now been disputed on the basis of the watermarks and moved a few decades later, to the 1380s, see RODRIGUEZ, Manoscritti cartacei 187–191.

2. cod. Athen. (*olim* Constantinopol.) Metochion Panagiou Taphou 456 (*Diktyon* 6853; mid-fifteenth c.)[65], ff. 227v–239r: Hom. I.13;
3. cod. Vind. theol. gr. 61 (*Diktyon* 71728; a. 1507)[66], ff. 169v–189v: Hom. I.13, I.18.

The manner of attribution across these manuscripts is not uniform, leading to variations in phrasing. For example, in the first instance in the Messanensis we encounter the more elaborate formulation «Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τοῦ κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Λουκᾶν ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, ποίημα κυροῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Σκοταριώτου (sic)», i.e. Beginning, with God, of the interpretation of the holy Gospel according to the divine Luke, a work by master Niketas Skoutariotes, while the simpler form of attribution «Τοῦ Σκοταριώτου» appears in the later instances. However, the other two manuscripts display consistency, as the phrase «Ἑρμηνεία Νικήτα τοῦ Σκουταριώτου», i.e. Interpretation of Niketas Skoutariotes, is uniformly implemented. This lack of standardization, coupled with the fact that in the Vindobonensis one of the homilies (ff. 179v–189v) bears no title and the attribution to Niketas Skoutariotes is only made in the pinax (Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ Σκουταριώτου κεφ[άλαιον] νθ΄ [= ch. 59])[67], adds to the complexity of the matter. The issue of their authorship is already a particularly thorny subject, since in most manuscripts the homilies are primarily ascribed to either John Xiphilinos or John Agapetos[68], falling under the Type I homiliary, according to Ehrhard's classification. Even though these attributions are in all likelihood erroneous, they can perhaps still be perceived as an echo of the possibility that Niketas composed an exegesis at some point in his career, presumably in the capacity of a scriptural teacher, i.e. teacher of the Gospel (διδάσκαλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου) in the framework of the so-called "Patriarchal School"[69]. If he ever held such a post indeed, then it was most likely under these circumstances that he addressed his verses to the young emperor Alexios II during an official ceremony. Below we present a comprehensive and detailed catalogue of all the works of Niketas Skoutariotes known to date.

I. Schedē

1. Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92 (*Diktyon* 65825; 13th c., schedography manual), ff. 183v–184v: "Τοῦ κυροῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Σκουταριώτου", inc.: Μόλις ποτὲ καὶ σὺν χρόνῳ μακρῷ. Schedos referring to the Assumption of Virgin Mary, see Vassis, Ton neōn philologōn palaismata (see n. 62), no. 126.
2. Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 212r–213r: "Τοῦ Σκουταριώτου", inc.: [Ε]ὐφημησάτω μὲν ὁ λόγος ὦ παρθένε. Schedos praising the Virgin Mary, see Vassis, Ton neōn philologōn palaismata, no. 167.
3. Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 238r–239v: "Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου κυροῦ Νικήτα τοῦ

[65] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ierosolymitikē Bibliothēkē, V. St. Petersburg 1915, 26–27; F. Halkin, Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes (*Subsidia hagiographica* 66). Bruxelles 1983, 174–175.

[66] J. Bick, Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften (*Museion. Veröffentlichungen aus der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Abhandlungen* 1). Vienna – Prague – Leipzig 1920, 83 (no. 74); H. Hunger – O. Kresten, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 3/1: Codices Theologici 1–100 (*Museion. Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* N. F. 4, 1, 3/1). Vienna 1976, 110–115.

[67] This information is only mentioned by A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, Erster Teil: Die Überlieferung, Bd. III, 1. Leipzig 1939, 565.

[68] See Ehrhard, Überlieferung 556, 564–565, 653–654. For a new, convincing proposal on the identification of John Xiphilinos see now M. Kruse, The Epitomator Ioannes Xiphilinos and the Eleventh-Century Xiphilinoi. *JÖB* 69 (2019) 257–274.

[69] For the character and function of the "Patriarchal School" as well as the duties of the teachers see Nesserēs, Paideia I, 17–53, where all the relevant discussion and the earlier bibliography can be found.

Σκουταριώτου", inc.: [Ἅ]σω, σ' ὦ φιλότης περ, εἰ κροτήσω τὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος γενέθλια. Schedos referring the Nativity of Jesus Christ (it is accompanied by grammatical comments in the margins), see VASSIS, Ton neōn philologōn palaismata, no. 211.

4. Cod. Par. gr. 2556 (*Diktyon* 52188; 13th c., grammar and schedography manual), ff. 82v–83r: "Τοῦ κυροῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Σκουταριώτου ἐναγώνιον τῶν χωρικῶν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πρῶτος η΄, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος θ΄"[70], inc.: Καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοις μὲν σ' ἐπολόγε θαύματι δεξιοῦμαι, σοφώτατε Ὅμηρε. This schedos is an allegorical interpretation of Homeric verses relating to certain disputes of the students with their teacher, see POLEMĒS, Problēmata tēs byzantinēs schedographias. *Hell* 45 (1995) 277–302: 278, no. 7.
5. Cod. Mon. gr. 201 (*Diktyon* 44647; 13th c., miscellany), ff. 140v–141v: "Τοῦ Σκουταριώτου κυροῦ Νικήτα" = cod. Laur. Plut. 55,7 (*Diktyon* 16328; 14th c., miscellany), ff. 354v–355r: "Σχέδος περιέχον διάφορα νοήματα τοῦ Σκουταριώτου κυροῦ Νικήτα" = cod. Par. gr. 2556, ff. 84v–86r: «Τοῦ Προδρόμου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου" = cod. Laur. Plut. 5,10 (*Diktyon* 15958; 14th c., poetical miscellany), ff. 237r–239v (*sans titre*), inc.: Κινεῖ με πρὸς παραινέσεις ἄνθρωπε, ed. by POLEMĒS, Problēmata 297–302, text no. 4. See also W. HÖRANDNER, Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte (*WBS* 11). Vienna 1974, 63, no. 201. Cf. I. VASSIS, Graeca sunt, non leguntur. Zu den schedographischen Spielereien des Theodoros Prodromos. *BZ* 86/87 (1993/94) 1–19, here 5, no. 18.
6. Cod. Mon. gr. 201, f. 186r–v: "Τοῦ Σκουταριώτου κυροῦ Νικήτα" = cod. Par. gr. 2556, f. 86r–v: "Τοῦ Προδρόμου" = cod. Laur. Conv. Soppr. 627, ff. 234v–237r (sans titre), inc.: Οὐχ οὕτω τίς ἂν, ἤρα, διφᾶ γ' ὡς. See VASSIS, Graeca sunt, non leguntur 5, no. 19.
7. Cod. Laur. Plut. 71,32 (*Diktyon* 16626; 14th c., varia philosophica etc.), f. 278r: "Τοῦ Σκουταριώτου", inc.: [Τ]ὸ δ' ἄννῃ ὀνείδη ἀποφλήσω παῖδες. The schedos refers to the conception of St. Anna[71].

II) VERSES

1. Cod. Laurent. conv. soppr. 627 (*Diktyon* 15899; 13th c., miscellany), f. 21v: "Στίχοι τοῦ Σκουταριώτου πρὸς τὸν πορφυρογέννητον [scil. Ἀλέξιον Β΄ Κομνηνόν]", inc.: Ἀλλ' ὦ βασιλεῦ τριπλοπορφυρογενές, ed. BROWNING, O Markianos ellēnikos kōdikas XI.31, 515–516 (20 dodecasyllables).

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[70] Another schedos in cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 92, ff. 171r–v, bears a similarly enigmatic title, which reads as follows: "Τοῦ νυνὶ ἁγιοτεσσαρακοντίτου μαΐστορος κυροῦ Χριστοδούλου τοῦ Ἁγιοευπλίτου, ἐναγώνιον τῶν χωρικῶν, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πρῶτος πέντε, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ς΄".

[71] This schedos is found in the small schedographic collection of the florentine manuscript which includes, *inter alia*, several entirely unknown schedē, some of them untitled and others attributed to known teachers, such as the monk Ioannikios and Basil Pediaditēs; for the edition of the latter see I. NESSERĒS, To agnōsto schedos tou Basileiou Pediaditou ston kōd. *Laur. Plut. 71,32*. In: Dekato Diethnes Panionio Synedrio, Kerkyra, 30 Apriliou –4 Maiou 2014, ed. T. PYLARINOS – P. TZIVARA (= *Kerkyraika Chronika*, II ser., 8 [2015]), 562–565. A detailed description of this manuscript and the schedographic collection it contains will be given in a forthcoming publication.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, cod. Parisinus graecus 1741 is a valuable manuscript serving as a crucial link in the textual tradition of the works it contains. It bridges the phases of transliteration in the tenth century, when it was produced, and the late Byzantine period, when it became both a valued possession and the common ancestor of many later manuscripts. It also provided the sound basis upon which Renaissance scholars realized their early editions[72]. With the present contribution we propose the justifiable conjecture that the owner of the manuscript, Niketas Skoutariotes, should be identified with the twelfth-century teacher whose works are catalogued in detail here, rather than with a descendant of Theodore Skoutariotes. In this way, a missing link in the history of the manuscript is brought to light, contributing to our broader understanding not only of the availability of books in the twelfth century and the pursuits of that era's scholars, but also of the way they engaged with and preserved their cultural heritage.

[72] G. AUJAC, Recherches sur la tradition du περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων de Denys d'Halicarnasse. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 4 (1974) 1–44, here 17.

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FIGURE

Figure 1: Cod. Par. gr. 1741, f. 299r: The *ex libris* of Niketas Skoutariotes in the upper margin (actual size: 235 × 167 mm) (© Bibliothèque nationale de France).