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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA'S *STROMATA* IN THE EARLY 16TH CENTURY

SUMMARY

This article examines the citations from Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* prior to the *editio princeps* by Piero Vettori (1550) and provides new data on the relationship between that edition and the manuscripts that have preserved this work for future generations.

KEY WORDS

Clement of Alexandria – *Stromata* – 16th century – manuscripts

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During the Middle Ages, Clement of Alexandria (*circa* 150-215) was but a name¹, and in the case of the *Stromata*, no manuscript was available in the West until 1492, when Janus Lascaris (*circa* 1445-1535) returned from his second voyage to Greece searching for Greek codices on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici. From this trip he brought back to Florence, among many other volumes², the oldest surviving record of this work, the manuscript Florence, BML Plut. 5, 3 (henceforth referred to as “L”)³.

¹ See Knauber 1970, I, 304-305; Wagner 1971, 211-213; Backus, 355; and Fallica 2017, 32-37.

² He claimed he had acquired two hundred volumes for the Medici library, eighty of which were previously unknown (see Fryde 1983, 170-172, 182, and 185-187; Gentile 1994¹, 177-194; and Wilson 2017, 112).

³ His notebook is preserved in Città del Vaticano BAV gr. 1412 (see Muller 1884, 333-412). For Lascaris' travels in search of manuscripts, see Gentile 1994¹, 177-194.

According to a letter Lascaris wrote from Constantinople in the summer of 1491 to his teacher Demetrius Chalkondyles (1423-1511)⁴, the Athenian Greek émigré and first editor of Homer, he purchased it from the Greek teacher and copyist Demetrius Castrenus⁵, along with a copy of the *Etymologicum magnum*⁶ and Heliodorus' *Ethiopica*⁷, although Castrenus showed some reluctance to part with these manuscripts:

ἔλαβον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καστρινουῦ τό τε Μέγα Ἑτυμολογικόν, καὶ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου τὰ Αἰθιοπικά, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Στρωματεῖς τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ματὰ μυρίων ὅσων δωήσεων, καὶ παρ' ἐκόντος, κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν⁸, ἀέκοντι θυμῷ⁹.

As for the *Stromata*, Lascaris was keen to obtain a copy as he included this work, together with the *Paedagogus*, among the manuscripts he most wished to acquire (both appear in his list of *desiderata* in his travelogue¹⁰). Furthermore, L

⁴ See Geanakoplos 1962, *passim*; and Wilson 2017, 109-112.

⁵ Throughout the years 1458-1466 he is documented in Milan, where he taught Greek from 1462 onwards. Later he moved to Constantinople (see Riemann 1879, 121-125). This copyist has been identified by David Speranzi as the so-called Anonymous ου-π (see Speranzi 2015, 108 n. 2, and 125; and 2016, 97).

⁶ This copy may be Florence, BML Plut. 57, 3 (Piccolomini 1874¹, 409), although it is not certain that it belonged to the Medici Library (Fryde 1996, II, 785).

⁷ Piccolomini states that this manuscript could be Florence, BML Plut. 70, 36 (Piccolomini 1874¹, 409). However, there is a more suitable candidate, Paris, BNF gr. 2905, which belonged to Lascaris' library and was used by Poliziano for his *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, Florentiae 1489 (see Colonna 1938, XIX-XX; and Fryde 1996, II, 554).

⁸ See Hom. *Il.* 4, 43: καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ δῶκα ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ.

⁹ See Piccolomini 1874¹, 409; and 419; Pontani 1992, 379-381; Fryde 1996, I, 71, Gentile-Speranzi 2018, 35 n. 85 y 36, n. 93; and 2019, 5.

¹⁰ Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. Gr. 1412, f. 10: Κλήμεντος Ἀλεξανδρέως ὑποτυπώσεις. Στρωματεῖς. καὶ παιδαγωγὸς (see Müller 1884, 370 [11]). Lascaris also found the manuscript Florence, BML Plut. 5, 24, mentioned at Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. Gr. 1412, f. 55v: Κλήμεντος Στρωματέως προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἑλληνας τοῦ αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγὸς α' β' γ' (it was acquired in Corfu [Müller 1884, 389], and it is mentioned in Fabio Vigili da Spoleto's inventory [n. 36], drawn up between 1508 and 1510, while the Medici library was in Rome [Fryde, 187; Jackson 1998, 107]); and in Candia (Crete) he bought an unidentified

appears as “Clementis stromatis libri VIII” in the so-called “Hannover list”, which includes the works that Lascaris brought to Florence after his trip to Greece, while the *Paedagogus* appears as “Clementis pedagogus libri III”¹¹. Moreover, it seems that L was catalogued as manuscript n° 266 in the Medici family’s private library, as indicated in ff. 1, and 388¹².

All trace of L was then lost, as it is not cited in any of the later catalogues of the Medici Library’s Greek manuscripts or Lascaris’ own private library¹³. Nothing is known of this copy until Piero Vettori (1499-1585), who taught Greek at the *Studio fiorentino* from 1537 until 1584, found it in the Medici Library and supposedly used it to publish the *Stromata* for the first time in his Κλήμεντος Ἀλεξανδρέως τὰ εὕρισκόμενα ἅπαντα [Florentiae], apud Laurentium Torrentinum, 1550 (henceforth referred to as “Vi”¹⁴). This was

manuscript of the *Paedagogus* (see Piccolomini 1874¹, 413-414). It is possible that in Corfu he also saw Modena, BiblEst. α. S. 5. 9 (olim III D 7 [Puntoni 126]), with the *Paedagogus*, the *Protrepticus* and the *hymni* (see Markesinis 2000, 302-306; Jackson 2003, 137; and Giacomelli 2020, 99).

¹¹ See Hannover, KB XLII 1845, f. 111: “Auctores Graeci, quos impensis Laurentii Medicis Lascaris ex Peloponneso in Italiam nuper advexit” (see Vogel 1854, 160; Gentili 1994³, 147; Jackson 1998, 90 and 107).

¹² Thanks are due to the librarian Silvia Scipioni for checking the original, as the digital copy omits f. 388v

(<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOHZSjfl1A4r7GxMCEj#/oro/785> [visited 10/07/2021]). Furthermore, Florence, BML Plut. 5, 24 was catalogued as n° 276 (ff. 1, and 242) (see Jackson 1998, 107). For the meaning of this double numeration, see Gentile 1994², 121.

¹³ This is not the only manuscript brought by Lascaris from Greece which is missing from the 1495 inventory. This is also the case with, for example, Paris, BNF gr. 1962 (see Whittaker 1977, 241, who described this omission as “a perhaps insoluble mystery”), and Florence, BML Plut. 74, 7 (Fryde 1983, 198-199). According to Fryde 1971, 64, n. 33, L is mentioned in the 1495 inventory, but Jackson has disputed this inclusion, adding that it is also absent from Vigili’s catalogue (Jackson 1998, 107).

¹⁴ I have used a copy held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma available online (shelfmark 68-14-F.2).

affirmed by Vettori himself in the dedication to his patron and friend, Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-1555), who in fact instigated this edition¹⁵:

Nam Stromatum (ita enim VIII libri ab ipso ob uarietatem lectionis uocantur) unicum tantum illud exemplar habuimus, quod in Medicea bibliotheca custoditur¹⁶.

Only one year after the publication of the *editio princeps*, the French theologian and humanist Gentian Hervet (1499-1584) published the first Latin translation in the same printing house, entitled *Clementis Alexandrini omnia quae quidem extant opera*, Florentiae: Laur. Torrentinus Ducalis typographus excudebat, 1551, a translation that has often been reprinted, either on its own or as part of a bilingual edition¹⁷. As a natural consequence, from that point on references to Clement of Alexandria increased significantly¹⁸.

A paradigmatic case is that of the Aragonese humanist Miguel Servet (*circa* 1510-1553), who in his *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem*, [Hagenau: Johann

¹⁵ Stählin 1905, XLII, and Cardinali 2018, 67-68. For *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* he used Modena, BiblEst. α. S. 5. 9; for *Paedagogus* also Florence, BML Plut. 5, 24, and for *Protrepticus* perhaps also Munich, BSB gr. 97 (see Stählin 1905, XVII, and XXIV; Marcovich 2002, x; Giacomelli 2020, 95-118). For the relationship between Vettori and Cardinal Cervini, who was especially interested in publishing unedited Greek texts of the Church Fathers, and often insisted that Vettori edit Clement of Alexandria's works, see Vettori 1582, 163; Mouren 2004, 433-463, esp. 442; and 447 n. 70; 2009, 56-57; and Sachet 2020, *passim*. For Cervini's life, see Quaranta 2010.

¹⁶ Vi, p. 4.

¹⁷ Fallica 2017, 52-55. For Hervet, see Maillard 1999, I, 185-176; Mouren 2004, 450-451; and Sachet 2020, 151-155.

¹⁸ Knauber 1970, 305-308; Wagner 1971, 213-216; and Backus 2010, 355-359. It is interesting to remember that possession of one of Clement of Alexandria's manuscripts (Paris, BNF suppl. Gr. 254 [22] [see Omont 1885, 22]; he also owned Paris, BNF suppl. Gr. 250 [178] [see Omont 1885, 599; and Cataldi Palau 1986, 49]) has been mentioned as one of the reasons behind the fall from grace of the French prelate and diplomat, Guillaume Pellicier (*circa* 1490-1567) in 1551, branded as a heretic (see Cataldi Palau 2011, 3, and 41 n. 21).

Setzer], 1531, f. 52v regretted not having had access to the Alexandrian's works with these words:

Similiter testimonium Clementis alterius Alexandrini et Dionysii Alexandrini episcopi, quorum scripta similiter et omnium aliorum, qui ante Arrianum schisma scripserunt, utinam uidissem¹⁹.

Nevertheless, a mere two years after Vi's appearance this same humanist quotes Clement of Alexandria no fewer than three times in his work *Christianismi Restitutio* (s. l., 1553), although, as Roland H. Bainton noted, these citations are not documented in a manuscript predating Vi, which is preserved in the National Library of Paris, BNF lat. 18,212, since it probably corresponds to a first version of this work prior to 1546²⁰.

The German theologian and humanist Georg Witzel (1501-1573) was also unable to gain access to this work. In a letter dated 1534, he wrote: "Utinam exorirentur Stromateae Clementis, breviter quicquid est κρόνιον. Tineae pascuntur libris, quibus homines pasci debebamus"²¹. Five years later Witzel still could not access Clement's works:

Frustra deploramus non inveniri posse quaesitum Clementis Alexandrini librum de Canonibus Ecclesiasticis²² [...] Nominare passim licet Clementis Alexand. Magistri κατηχήσεων, cuius et supra mentionem feci, libros Stromaton, Hypotyseon, item Paedagogiae: at in Bibliothecam referre, relatos evolvere, revolutos ad utilitatem Christianismi convertere non licet²³.

¹⁹ Alcalá 2004, II-1, 248; II-2, 693. See Bainton 2012, 31.

²⁰ See Alcalá 2006, V, XXV. These citations, absent from the Paris manuscript, are printed in italics by Alcalá 2006, V, 239-240 and 380-381 (*Rest.* I, IV y II, I). Clement of Alexandria is mentioned in *Rest.* I, II, I (p. 93), and I, II, XIII (p. 138). See Bainton 1931, 373 n. 3; 1951, 3-4; and Fallica 2017, 56.

²¹ Witzel 1537, IV, 1, f. Qq 2^v. See Knauber 1970, 305 n. 102.

²² This work, quoted in Antiquity by Eusebius (*HE* VI 13, 3), Hieronymus (*De uir. Illus.* 38), and Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 111), is missing today. Only a fragment has been preserved (see Stählin 1909, LIII-LIV, 218-219 [fr. 36]; Quasten 1963, II, 18).

²³ Witzel 1539, A iii^v -A iii^v (see Knauber 1970, 305 n. 102).

Moreover, between 1516 and 1536, when he passed away, Erasmus of Rotterdam, in close collaboration with the Basel printer Ambrosius Frobenius, and at times in co-publication with other great scholars, edited the works and complete works of more than twelve Church Fathers, but he failed to publish a single text by Clement, most probably because of the difficulty in finding a suitable manuscript²⁴.

Before the publication of Vi, Clement of Alexandria was mentioned by Cardinal Bessarion in his *In calumniatorem Platonis*, written around 1459 and printed ten years later, in his attempt to show the convergence between Plato and the Church Fathers²⁵, but the first scholar known for certain to have consulted the manuscript of the *Stromata* brought by Lascaris in 1492 is Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494). Poliziano had already mentioned this work in 1489 as a basis for justifying the use of variety in his *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (Florentiae 1489 [IGI 7959]), along with Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae* and the *Historias*, Elianus' *Variae historiae* and Aristoxenus' *Elementa harmonica*. However, the *Stromata* was so unknown before the arrival of the *codex unicus* that its author is mistaken for Pope Clement I of Rome, being mentioned as *Clementis quidem romani pontifici apostolique uiri*. This mistake was noted by the author and corrected in the *Corrigenda* or *Emendationes* which he sent to those friends who had previously received copies of the work and which have survived in a few bound copies²⁶. This mistake was partially rectified in the Aldine Press (1498), which

²⁴ See den Boeft 1997, II, 539–572; and Visser 2011, 9.

²⁵ See Hankins 1992, 123.

²⁶ See Poliziano 1489, A1 – A1^v [op. I, 458–459]; and Fryde 1996, I, 146 y 170 n. 341. The *Emendationes* correct the text in *Clementis quidem Alexandrini commentaria* (see Dick-Cottrell 2020, I, 499). For the copies that include the *Emendationes*, see Perosa 1955, 42–43 n^o 42–43. See also Dane 2000, 12–22. Access to Katayama 1982 was not available to the author.

presented *Clementis quidem alexandrini pontifici apostolique uiri*, a text later reprinted in the 1533 Basel and 1536 Lyon editions²⁷.

However, it is in Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda* that citations from the *Stromata* increase significantly, showing that he had had access to L²⁸. While this work was not published until 1972²⁹, it was written around 1493-1494 after L's arrival in Florence. The Alexandrian is mentioned three times³⁰, and cited four times, on one occasion in Latin translation³¹.

Moreover, Poliziano mentions the *Stromata* in his collection of epistles which had already been completed by the 23rd of May, 1494, although they remained unpublished until the Aldine edition of his *Opera omnia* in 1498 (ff. a iii-t viii^v)³².

²⁷ See Ruberto 1884, 216, 234-238; Guest 2007, 16 (see also Fryde 1996, I, 146; Dyck-Cottrell 2020, I, 499).

²⁸ For Poliziano using the manuscripts brought to Florence by Lascaris, see Fryde 1996, I, 72-73; and 102, and for Poliziano starting to quote the works of the Church Fathers after 1489, see Perosa 1981, 42; Fryde 1996, I, 143 n. 320; and 146.

²⁹ See Branca-Pastore Stocchi 1972, published later as editio minor in Branca-Pastore Stocchi 1978.

³⁰ See 10, 22: "Fuere autem libri quoque illi obscurissimi... sicuti docet Alexandrinus Clemens, doctissimus ille Origenis praeceptor, in Stromateo quinto..." [*Strom.* 5, 8, 50]; 35, 24 [*in margine* and in Capital letters]: "Quare de Nicaeo pycta apud Pausaniam et Clementem"; 57, 1: "unde ait Clemens Alexandrinus in 4^o [*sic*] Stromateo poetam Euphorionem..." [*Strom.* 5, 8, 50].

³¹ 27, 5-6: "Fuit enim Amoebeus insignis citharoedus, quem ait Clemens Alexandrinus in tertio Stromateo etiam a sponsa abstinuisse. Verba ipsa Clementis ita sunt: καὶ Ἀμοιβεὺς δὲ ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς νεόγαμος ὧν ἀπείχετο τῆς νύμφης" [*Strom.* 3, 6, 50]; and 16: "Haec eo diximus ut quod ait Clemens, Amoebea citharoedum etiam sponsae concubitu abstinuisse, non sine causa dictum nosceretur" [Latin translation of the previous quotation]; 43, 6: "Citat et Clemens Alexandrinus Sapientiam Salomonis in his uerbis: Μηδὲ συμβολὰς ποίει μετ' αὐτῆς ἐν οἴνῳ" [Paed. 2, 7, 54, 1]; 47, 13: "Sextus Empiricus... et Clemens Alexandrinus in 4^o Stromateo sententiae eius uersus ex Euripide citant..." [*Strom.* 3. 15, 2]. See Fryde 1996, I, 146-147, II, 730.

³² It is mentioned three times in *Ep.* VIII 15, op. I 237: "Sed illa multo magis, quae mihi abs te de auctore Stromateon Clemente obiiciebantur", "Quod autem ad

Furthermore, according to Walter H. Wagner³³, “Antonio Cappelum, fourteenth century Venetian patriarch, quoted from the *Stromateis*”, and “the city of Naples boasted a codex containing the *Paedagogus*, a *Hymn to Christ* (...), and excerpts from the *Stromateis*”. These references could belong to a later period, however, as they may allude to Antonio Cappello, a Venetian nobleman who lived between 1494 and 1565 and whose library held a manuscript with excerpts from the *Paedagogus* and the *Stromata* mentioned in Bernardus de Montfaucon’s inventory³⁴, and to the manuscript Naples, BN II A 14, which is usually dated to the 16th century³⁵.

There is a hitherto unnoticed textual quotation from the *Stromata* in the scholia on the *Planudean Anthology*, written by Marcus Musurus when he was teaching Greek epigrams at the University of Padua around the academic year 1505-1506³⁶. Reference should be made to the scholium on *AP* 11.42.6 (Crinagoras), where Musurus cited without acknowledgement Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.4.38.2-4, one of the few accounts of the *Stromata*’s reception before the publication of Vi.

‘Clementem’ attinet, artificis librarii uitium non auctoris est” (a reference to the mistake, mentioned supra, present in the preface of the first edition), and “Ipsos (= Eusebius and Ieronimus) enim et legimus graeco et excerptimus octo Alexandrini Clementis libros, qui Στρωματεῖς appellantur” (Poliziano 1498, f. l ii y l ii^v; 1536, 248 y 249. See Fryde 1996, I, 146; II, 730); and once in *Ep.* XI, 6; op. I, 321 as examples of the use of the extremely rare verb διαπυτίζειν: “verbum enim διαπυτίζειν etiam apud Alexandrinum Clementem qui Stromateus dictus invenitur” (Poliziano 1498, f. O vi; 1536, 336). Cf. Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2.26.1: διαπυτίζοντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν ἄκρατον φιλοτησίας ὀνόματι. Before it is testified only at *Arched.* 3.12 (*apud* Ath. 7.42): ‘διαπυτιοῦς’ οἶνον δὲ τοιοῦτον χαμαί. Véase LSJ s. u. διαπυτίζω. See Ruberto, 238-239 n. 8). See del Lungo 1867, 85; and Dyck 2020, viii.

³³ Wagner 1971, 213.

³⁴ Montfaucon 1739, I, 480

³⁵ Cirillo 1826, I, 38-41; Pierleoni 1962, I, 67-68, Pernot 1979, 474-475; and Mioni 1992, I.1, 54-55.

³⁶ For Musurus’ lessons in Padua, see Geanakoplos 1962, 133; Sicherl 1978, 87-10; Ferreri 2014, 47-52; and 430-447.

AP 11.42.6 is an epigram in which Crinagoras encourages a friend, who is not named, to abandon his sedentary life and go to Attica to attend the mysteries of Demeter in Eleusis, predicting that thereafter he will enjoy a carefree life while among the living and that his soul will be lighter upon his death:

Εἰ καί σοι ἔδραϊος ἀεὶ βίος οὐδὲ θάλασσαν
 ἔπλωσ χερσαίας τ' οὐκ ἐπάτησας ὁδούς,
 ἔμπης Κεκροπίης ἐπιβήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκείνας
 Δήμητρος μεγάλης νύκτας ἴδῃς ἱερῶν,
 τῶν ἅπο κὰν ζωοῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεῖτ' ἂν ἵκηαι (5)
 ἐς πλεόνων, ἔξεις θυμὸν ἐλαφρότερον³⁷.

In the last line, in reference to the world of the dead where the pilgrim goes after his death, the poet uses the expression ἐς πλεόνων, a euphemism already found in Arist. *Eccl.* 1073: παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων (see schol. *a. l.*: παρὰ τῶν νεκρῶν); Polyb. 8.28.7: μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων; *AP* 7.317.2 (Callimachus): ὑμέων γὰρ πλείονες εἰν Ἀΐδῃ; 731.6 (Leonidas): κῆς πλεόνων ἦλθε μετοικεσίην, and Paus. 1.43.3: μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων³⁸. In the left margin Musurus wrote a note clearly inspired by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.4.38.2-4:

Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.4.38.2-4³⁹

Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν ὁ Μακεδὼν δέκα λαβὼν
 Ἰνδῶν γυμνοσοφιστὰς τοὺς δοκοῦντας
 ἀρίστους εἶναι καὶ βραχυλογωτάτους
 προβλήματα αὐτοῖς προὔθηκε, τὸν μὴ
 ἀποκρινόμενον εὐστόχως ἀνελεῖν ἀπειλήσας,
 ἓνα <δὲ> τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτῶν ἐπικρίνειν
 κελεύσας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐξετασθεὶς,
 πότερον οἶεται τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι πλείονας
 ἢ τοὺς τεθνεώτας, τοὺς ζῶντας ἔφη

Scholium on *AP* 11.42.6 (Crinagoras)⁴⁰

ἐς πλεόνων] τῶν τεθνεώτων. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ
 τελευτήσαντες ὀνομάζονται. ὅθεν φασὶν
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα λαβόντα
 τοὺς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν
 δοκοῦντας ἀρίστους, προβλήματα αὐτοῖς
 προτεθῆκεναι, τὸν μὴ ἀποκρινόμενον
 εὐθέως ἀνελεῖν ἀπειλήσαντα,
 ὥν τὸ πρῶτον
 εἶναι, πότερον τοὺς ζῶντας οἶονται πλείους,
 ἢ τοὺς τεθνεώτας, τοὺς ζῶντας εἰπεῖν·

³⁷ Quoted from Beckby 1958, III, 566.

³⁸ See Gow-Page 1965, II, 203; and 1968, II, 246.

³⁹ From Stählin 1906, 450.

⁴⁰ Lascaris 1494, Γ vii, Wechel 1600, 56. Text printed from Musurus' incunable (Città del Vaticano, BAV INC III 87).

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνεώτας.

οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνεώτας.

This is a very well-known episode, in which Clement tells of an imaginary meeting between Alexander the Great and ten people chosen from a group of wise men from India called gymnosophisten⁴¹. In his note Musurus modified the syntax of the episode, making it dependent on an impersonal φασὶν, and omitted several allusions, such as the mention of the number of wise men chosen (δέκα), the decision to choose the most direct and concise (βραχυλογωτάτους⁴²), and the appointment of the older wise men to decide if the questions were answered correctly (ἓνα <δὲ> τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτῶν ἐπικρίνειν). Even so, the direct relationship between the two texts is evident, especially at the very end where the wording is the same.

As for the source of this quotation, although the possibility that he used a manuscript with excerpta or a copy since lost cannot be ruled out, it is most probable that Musurus quoted from L. During his sojourn in Italy he had easy access to the Florentine manuscript on more than one occasion, as he arrived in

⁴¹ Among other sources, this meeting is found in P. Berol. 13044; *Anecdota Graeca* I 145–146 (Boissonade), Ps.-Callisthenes (Alexander Romance Recension β) 3.5–6, and the Metz Epitome 78–84. See Hamilton 2002², 179, Wilcken 1923, 149–183; Bosman 2010, 175–192; Szalc 2011, 7–24. For the reception of this account, see Pfister 1941, 143–169. Clement of Alexandria seems to follow Plu. *Alex.* 46.1–3: Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπείσαντας ἀποστῆναι καὶ κακὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔθηνεν αὐτοῖς ἄπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινάμενον πρῶτον, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους· ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπικρίνειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πότερον οἶεται τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι πλείονας ἢ τοὺς τεθνηκότας, ἔφη τοὺς ζῶντας· οὐ[κέτι] γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνηκότας (see Stählin 1906, 450; Bosman 2010, 179). For the mentions of the gymnosophisten by Renaissance writers, see Calero Calero 2012, 349–354.

⁴² A very rare superlative found only in Apol. Phil. *Epist.* 80.2; and Philostr. *Her.* 28.4, and 29.6, and in later authors (Stobaeus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Joannes Rh., Michael Psellos and Proclus).

Florence at the age of only seventeen, accompanying Lascaris on the same trip from which the manuscript was brought to Florence in 1492. This was recalled some years later, in January 1519, by the *cubilarius apostolicus* of Pope Leo X (1475-1521), Livio Guidolotti, d'Urbino, in the dedication to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the future Pope Clement VII, that precedes the Latin translation manuscript of a selection of Lucianus' *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* (Vat. Lat. 5802, f. 7⁴³):

Quo nuntio (= Lorenzo de' Medici's death) ille (= Lascaris) animo perculsus consternatusque "vere" inquit "Graecia, dii deaeque omnes sunt tibi irati", atque relictis caeteris pueris unum dumtaxat, Musurum scilicet –sic enim Venetiis ex eo, dum illi in graecis operam darem, accepi – secum in Italiam aduexit.⁴⁴

Furthermore, Musurus remained in Florence until the fall of the Medici in 1494⁴⁵, standing out for his oratory and insight among the other young Greeks who were part of Lascaris' circle, according to the much later testimony of Girolamo Negri (circa 1494-1577/1580) in a eulogy delivered in Padua in February, 1552:

Mussurus vero cretensis acer in dicendo et peracutus fuit, qui, iam tum adolescens a Ioanne Lascaris graeco homine imprimis nobili et erudito in Italiam ad Laurentium Medicem adductus, in florentissima illa florentina academia tantum profecerat, ut inter primos extiterit qui graecas litteras apud nos propemodum extinctas in lucem revocarint.⁴⁶

Moreover, it is also known that, after the fall of the Medici on 9th November, 1494, a great number of manuscripts were dispersed. Most of these were taken by Lascaris himself, who in 1495 moved to the court of Charles VIII in

⁴³ See Kristeller 1963-1997, II, 335b; and VI, 322b.

⁴⁴ From Pagliaroli 2004, 221-222.

⁴⁵ Speranzi 2013, 98.

⁴⁶ Negri 1553, 4 (reproduced at Sadoletus 1767, 132) (quoted by the author from Pagliaroli 2004, 229).

Paris⁴⁷. The Medicean codices were reclaimed by the Florentine library in a letter but Lascaris never returned them, although some copies were returned by other humanists to whom he had loaned them⁴⁸. If the *Stromata* manuscript was among those that remained in Lascaris' possession, Musurus could easily have accessed it at the time of writing the scholia on the *Planudean Anthology* around 1506, for while he was teaching in Padua, Lascaris was residing in Venice as ambassador of the King of France, Louis XII, a position he held between September 1504 and January 1509⁴⁹.

Apart from L, there is only one manuscript containing the complete *Stromata*, Paris, BNF suppl. Gr. 250 (henceforth referred to as "P")⁵⁰. This copy is actually an apograph of L⁵¹, but it could not have been used by Musurus when he was composing the scholia on the *Planudean Anthology*, since the handwriting reveals that it was later copied around the middle of the century by Camillo Zanetti, also known as Camillus Venetus (b. first half of 1500s- d. after 1587). Zanetti was active in Venice, Rome, Padua and Madrid in the second half of the

⁴⁷ See Fryde 1996, I, *passim*.

⁴⁸ See Piccolomini 1874², 120-121; Müller 1884, 349-350; and Fryde 1983, 209.

⁴⁹ See Delaruelle 1926, 95-111; Antonio Tovar 1990, 212-213.

⁵⁰ This manuscript, which is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525095491/f92.item.zoom> (visited 30/09/2021), belonged to the ambassador of France in Venice, Guillaume Pellicier, (*circa* 1490 – 1568), and before 1651 had entered the Clermont library in Paris, which was part of the Jesuit College (it has a crossed *exlibris* on f. 1: "Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu."). For the vicissitude of the library, see Cataldi Palau 1986, 32-53; Sosower 1990, 95-102; and 1992, 132-133.

⁵¹ Stählin 1905, XXXIX. Bernard de Montfaucon collated this manuscript for J. Potter (Potter 1757, I, XIII; and II, 1025-1035). Moreover, P was copied after L was corrected by two unidentified hands (L¹, and L²) (Stählin 1906, IX) (see, for instance, 1.1.17 ἀντερει L² P : ἀνταιρει L ; 1.18.174 φόβον L¹ P : νόμον ὁ φόβος L ; 1.21.126 χριστός L¹ P : χρηστός L ; 1.23.151 ὁμότητα L¹ P : ὁμότητα L ; 1.23.152 ἐτύμως L² P : ἀτοίμως L ; 1.23.153 τῇ ἰουδαίᾳ L¹ P : τῆς ἰουδαίας L ; 1.23.173 ἐξελήσωσιν L¹ P : ἐξέλωσιν L ; 2.1.3 διαδιδράσκει L¹ P : διαδράσκει L ; 2.2.10 βασιλείδην L¹ P : βασιλίδην L ; 2.6.30 τῇ L¹ P : τὴν L ; 2.7.34 ἥδε L¹ P : δὲ L ; 2.15.71 σεαυτόν L¹ P : ἑαυτόν L ; 2.16.77 τόπου L¹ P : τρόπου L).

16th century. His manuscripts, including this one, usually had a *mise en page* of 30 lines and vertical *reclamantes*, short and perpendicular to the writing on the verso of the last folium of each fascicule (see plate 1). There was also a decoration at the beginning of most of the books, consisting of an undulating line with small arches above and below each wave. The line has a small three-leaf clover at either end, on the left pointing downwards and on the right pointing upwards, or sometimes both pointing upwards (see, for instance, ff. 114, 152 and 232; and plate 4)⁵².

Nevertheless, until now it has not been highlighted that P could well be the printer's copy or *Druckvorlage* of Vi, since it contains numerous notes for the printer, such as marks in red ink where the page should end, sometimes accompanied by subsequent Arabic numbers or Vi's page number, ink stains from the printer's fingers⁵³, metrical notes in Latin relating to poetic citations that seem to be indications for the printer, and corrections (C^p) to the text that appear later reproduced in Vi. Examples of this include (see plates 2, and 3):

- 1.3.22 ἀναφαίνον L P : ἀναφαίνονται ται C^p *supra lineam* Vi
- 1.4.25 ἀρχαίτου L P : Μαρχαίτου C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.21.108 παντὸς L P : Πανὸς C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.21.132 ἄμφραος L P : Ἀμφιάραος C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.21.134 ἀμίδαι L P : Ἰαμίδαι C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.1.134 μόμψος L P : μόψος C^p *in marg.* : Μόψος Vi
- 1.21.135 ἔφορος L P : ἔφορος C^p *in marg.* : Ἔφορος Vi
- 1.21.135 νέπωπα L P : νέπωτα C^p *in marg.* : Νέπωτα Vi
- 1.21.140 βάρους L P : βαρβάρους C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.21.144 σαρακοντρία L P : τεσσαράκοντα τρία C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 1.26.172 σοφία L P : σοφίας C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.9.45 βαθυ[] L P : βαθυμὸν C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.20.105 ἐτοιμολογοῦντα L P : ἐτυμολογοῦντα C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.20.116 σπονδαῖσι L P : σποδός εἰμι* C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.21.130 ἐπιθυμίαν L P : εὐθυμίαν C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.21.130 ἀννίκαινοι L P : Ἀννικέριτοι C^p *in marg.* Vi
- 2.22.137 ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ L P : ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ C^p *in marg.* Vi

⁵² The handwriting has similar paleographical features to that of Madrid, BNE gr. 4715, attributed by a colophon to Camillo Zanetti and dated 1552 (f. 476) (see especially Derenzini 1988, 19-43; Gamillscheg 1981-1997, I, 119-121 (212), II, 119 (299), III, 134-135 (351); Gaspari 2008, I, 350-351; 2010, 233, and 236-237, and Sosower 2010, I, 220, and 228).

⁵³ See, for instance, f. 11v; and 43v.

- 4.9.71 τρόπον L P : τόπον C^p *in marg.* Vi
 4.19.121 ἐπικληθέντες L P : ἐπικληθέντος C^p *in marg.* Vi
 5.1.4 τῶν L P : τὸν C^p *in marg.* Vi
 5.6.27 τόπον L P : τύπον C^p *in marg.* Vi
 5.8.49 δεῖ L P : δεῖν C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.1.1 Θεοθεβεῖ L P : Θεοθεβῆ C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.2.4 αὐτὸ L P : αὐτῷ C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.2.5 φεύγοντα L P : φεύγοντα *deleuit* C^p : [φεύγοντα] Vi
 6.3.29 ἀριστεών L P : Ἀρισταῖον C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.3.32 ἔτη L P : ἔτι C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.5.40 ἐλούρους L P : αἰλούρους C^p *in marg.* Vi
 6.6.47 παντὶ L P : πάντῃ C^p *in marg.* Vi

In fact, most of the readings attributed by Otto Stählin to Vi should now be attributed to C^p.⁵⁴

Even the differences in the titles of some of the books between the Florentine manuscript and the *editio princeps* can be seen in corrections made by P's proofreader. This is the case at the beginning of the last three books (see plate 4):

- 6.1.1-2 στρωματεὺς ἔκτος ὁ καὶ ζῆτα L P : Κλήμεντος Στρωματέων τῶν εἰς ὀκτὼ λόγος ἔκτος C^p Vi
 7.1.1-2 στρωματέων ἑβδομος ὁ καὶ ζῆτα L P : στρωματέων εἰς ὀκτὼ ὁ ἑβδομος C^p Vi
 8.1.1-2 στρωματεὺς ὄγδοος L P : Κλήμεντος Αλεξανδρέως Στρωματέων λόγος ὄγδοος C^p Vi

⁵⁴ Even some of the notes seem to come from Vettori himself, since they appear signed with the abbreviation Vict. (see, for example, f. 32^v; 37 [plate 5]; 156^v; and 160). P is not a copy corrected using V as an aid, as there are numerous coincidences between L and P which differ from Vi. See, for instance, 1.10.53 ὑμῶν Vi : ἡμῶν L P; 1.14.61 ἐκφέρεται Vi : ἐμφέρεται L P; 1.21.125 κατακλυσμῷ Vi : κατακλεισμῷ L P · τῶν L P : τὸ Vi; 1.23.159 χρωμένοις Vi : χρώμενοι L P; 2.15.67 φάγεσθε L P : φάγεσθαι Vi; 3.1.3 προστριβέσθωσαν L P : προστριβέσθω Vi; 4.4.21 καὶ L P : τὴν Vi; 5.1.1 ἐπιγνώμεν L P : προγνώμεν Vi; 7.12.73 γὰρ L P : μὲν Vi; 7.16.104 ἡμῶν L P : ἡμῖν Vi; 8.1.1 οἷς L P : οὖς Vi.

Moreover, P and Vi share common readings not found in L, for instance⁵⁵:

- 1.1.15: αἱρέσεων L : αἱρέσεως P Vi
- 1.10.48 μέλει L : λέγει P Vi
- 1.16.79 μετὰ L : μὲν P Vi
- 2.1.2 σωφρονισθέντες L : σωφρονηθέντες P Vi
- 2.4.15 εἶδεν L : οἶδεν P Vi
- 3.2.11 οὐ L : ὅ P Vi
- 4.12.88 γενέσει L : γενέσθαι P Vi
- 5.6.35 ναὶ μὴν L : καὶ μὴν P Vi
- 5.8.49 μάρπτε L : μάρπτες P Vi
- 5.8.49 ζβυχθηδὸν L : ζυνχθηδὸν P Vi
- 5.14.127 ἀνθρώπους L : οὐρανούς P Vi
- 6.2.24 ἄρα L : ἄρα καὶ P Vi
- 6.15.124 λαλοῦντές L : λεγοῦντές P Vi
- 7.3.19 ἀπάσης L : πάσης P Vi
- 7.13.82 ἐμβλέψης L : ἐμβλέψη P Vi
- 7.14.88 ὅπως τι οὖν L : ὅπως τις οὖν P Vi

It can be inferred that, as was customary when planning a new edition⁵⁶, in all likelihood not long before the middle of the century the copyist Camillo Zanetti undertook to provide a legible copy of the *Stromata* for the printer, using as an antigraph the unique manuscript L, preserved then as it is now in the Medici Library in Florence⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ In all instances, the readings from Vi have later been adopted erroneously by Dindorf (see Stählin 1906, X-XII).

⁵⁶ For this process, see Woudhuysen 2003, 109-115, Sicherl 1997, *passim*, and Hellinga 2014, 37-155.

⁵⁷ It is known that circa 1546 this copyist was in Florence transcribing manuscripts Oxford, BBodl. Auct. E. 1. 11 from Florence, BML San Marco 496 (see Hobson 1975, 33-36, Graux 1982, 255), and ff. 148-165 of the manuscript Madrid, BNE gr. 4755, with Libanius' discourse 48, from Florence, BML San Marco 308 (Foerster 1927, IX, 148-149; de Andrés 1986, 347-348; d'Alessio 2020, 187-188). In addition, from a letter sent by Donato Giannotti from Rome to Vettori, in which Giannotti informs him that the humanist Constantino Rhalles was going to tell him if such a manuscript existed in Cardinal Ridolfi's library, it is known that as early as 1448 Vettori was looking for a manuscript with Clement's works (see Ridolfi-Roth 1932, 129, n° LXXXIV; Muratore 2009, I, 64-65 n. 29). For the process of editing a Greek text by Vettori and his circle, see Mouren 2009, 53-71.

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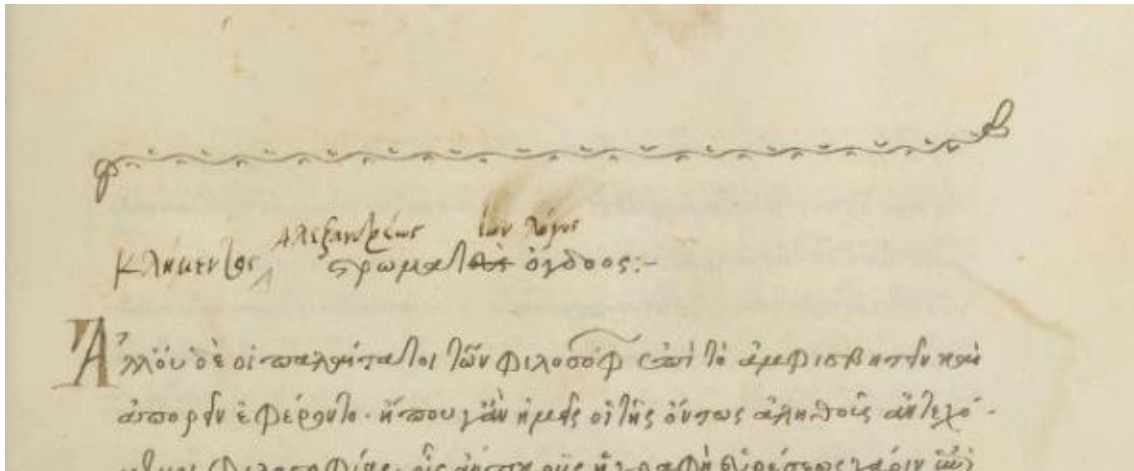
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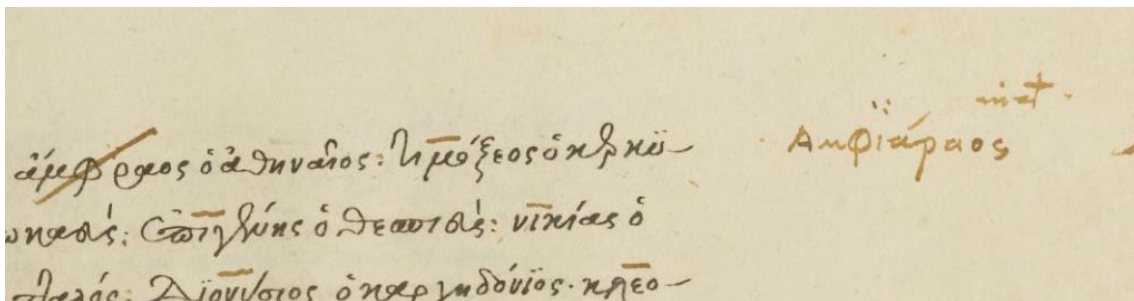
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Plates



4. Paris, BNF suppl. Gr. 250, f. 270



5. Paris, BNF suppl. Gr. 250, f. 37