

# For a Pre-history and Post-history of the *Corpus Leidense* With a List of the Manuscripts of *De natura deorum*

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**Abstract** The present article examines the *Corpus Leidense*, the group of eight Ciceronian treatises among which the *De natura deorum* was also transmitted, focusing on its archetype. The second and longer section contains the first complete list of the 174 identified manuscripts of *De natura deorum*, with 57 new items added to the 117 already listed by Pease in 1955. The items have been divided into three groups: the first contains the *antiquiores*, with minimal information; the second contains the remaining witnesses listed by Pease, on which additional data are reported; the third group presents the manuscripts that do not appear in any previous list.

**Keywords** Cicero. Corpus Leidense. De natura deorum. Recensio. Manuscripts. Otto Plasberg.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 The *Corpus Leidense*. – 3 The *recentiores*. – 3.1 Group 1 (13) – 3.2 Group 2 (104) – 3.3 Group 3 (57) – 4 Some Notes on the Arrangement of Book 2 in the *Recentiores*.



#### Peer review

Submitted	2022-03-31
Accepted	2022-06-09
Published	2022-12-23

#### Open access

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**Citation** Bailo, A.; Malaspina, E. (2022). "For a Pre-history and Post-history of the *Corpus Leidense*. With a List of the Manuscripts of *De natura deorum*". *Lexis*, 40 (n.s.), 2, 467-526.

## 1 Introduction

Philologists have laboriously worked on the complex manuscript tradition of *De natura deorum*, in particular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>: beginning with the first modern *recensio* of C. Halm and J.B. Mayor, continuing with O. Dieckhoff's research and the standard editions of O. Plasberg and W. Ax,<sup>1</sup> philological scholarship reached its pinnacle hitherto thanks to the commentary by A.S. Pease. Later important contributions have been made by C. Auvray-Assayas, even if her unique stance is controversial, so that much still remains to be done in order to publish an up-to-date critical edition.<sup>2</sup>

In this contribution we will address neither the core editing problems related to the principal manuscripts **BAVH** (for which we present here for simplicity the traditional view, as shown in the stemma of *nat. deor.* below)<sup>3</sup> nor the unavoidable question of the disorder in

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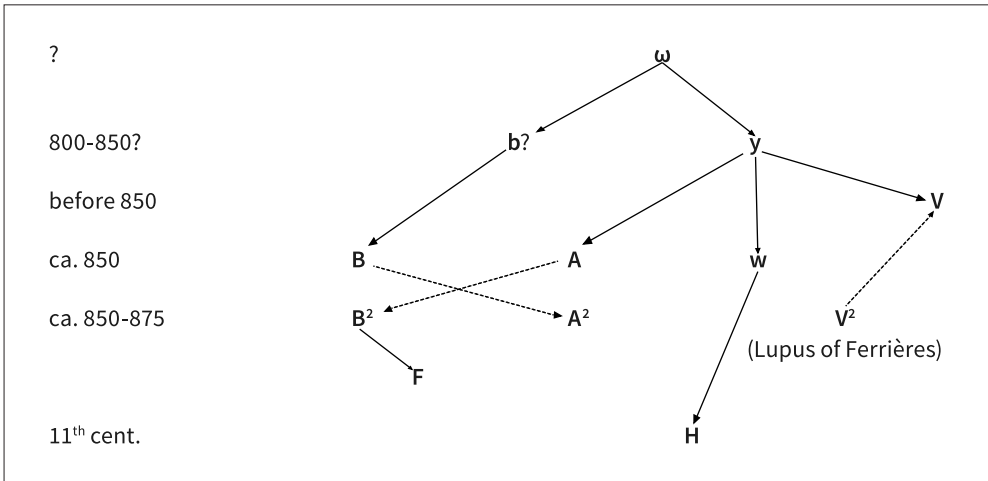
\* These pages, written under the direction of E. Malaspina, are the result of a close collaboration between the two authors. In particular, §§ 1 and 2 are by E. Malaspina, while the list of manuscripts (§§ 3-4 and "Appendix") is the shortened outcome of Sister Bailo's still unpublished MA thesis (Turin University 2017) revised by E. Malaspina. We warmly thank Michael D. Reeve for his invaluable expertise and his usual generosity; Terence Hunt for his careful reading and his precious corrections; the two anonymous readers of *Lexis* for their suggestions; Dr. Matteo Stefani (Turin), who helped us collate the typewritten cards of *IRHT* in Paris; Prof. Giancarlo Abbamonte (Naples), Marco Buonocore (Vatican City), Marianna Di Geronimo (Rimini), Francesca Gallori (Florence), Katarzyna Marciniak (Warsaw), Elisa Nervi (S. Daniele del Friuli), Marjeta Perinova (Olomouc), Cristina Pepe (Naples), Brigitte Pfeil-Amann (Kassel), Veronica Revello (Turin) and David Speranzi (Florence) for their bibliographical help. Nevertheless, inconsistencies and gaps in our text are quite possible: for these, the two authors are the only culprits. Mr. Sebastian De Angelis has corrected the English text (§§ 1-2): we are deeply grateful to him.

**1** Halm 1861; Mayor 1880; Dieckhoff 1894; Plasberg 1911, *editio maior*; Ax 1933, *editio minor*. Plasberg's *maior* included a reduced number of works, compared with his initial intentions, since volume 3, containing *div.* and *fat.*, was never published (see Ax 1933, xiv-xv; Schmidt 1974, 54-5). This is particularly regrettable because Plasberg was planning to write the complete preface to the *corpus* only in this last volume 3: the reasons for many of his choices remain implicit also for *nat. deor.*

**2** Auvray-Assayas 1997; 1999; 2013; 2016a; 2016b; 2018; 2019: see *infra* fnn. 3 and 4. From a philological point of view, the lack of critical editions of *nat. deor.* in recent decades does not imply a lack of philological interest in the treatises that share the same tradition with *nat. deor.* A series of relevant studies and critical editions has provided a new framework (see *infra* fn. 31), where it will perhaps be necessary to locate the *nat. deor.*: see Badali 1968; Giomini 1975; Di Maria 1994; Reinhardt 2003; Powell 2006 and Reinhardt 2022. Even more useful from our point of view have been two substantial books on the manuscript tradition of *De legibus*, Schmidt 1974, and of the *Academici libri*, Hunt 1998. In our opinion, the first is not only a masterpiece, but also a model to be imitated (as is the second) for similar cases: see Malaspina 2014; 2018a and 2019. Maso 2007 is merely a summary.

**3** The view, summarized by Rouse 1983a, is based on the dating of the manuscripts established by Bischoff 1961, 59 and most recently reaffirmed by Malaspina 2018a, 1970-74 and 2020, according to which all manuscripts descend from a single archetype, with the first branch constituted by **B** and the other by **AVH**, issuing from a lost

which book 2 of *nat. deor.* has been transmitted,<sup>4</sup> but rather we aim at outlining what preceded and what followed **BAVH**.



sub-archetype **y** – we leave aside the unresolved problem of the mutual relations of the three branches, whether they all derive in parallel from **y** (this is the majority opinion) or whether there are some *interpositi*: the evidence from the individual treatises of the *CL* differs; see Malaspina 2020, § 1 and *infra* fnn. 20, 28; **FKPMDNTGO**, copied from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> cent., are the first *vetustiores* descending in different ways from **BAVH**. For the manuscript *sigla* see *infra* § 3: apart from the thirteen *vetustiores*, easily recognizable thanks to their alphabetic *siglum* (see *infra* § 3.1), for ease of reference all the other witnesses are always preceded in this article by a number in square brackets, which refers to the alphabetical list in the *Appendix*. There are nevertheless some voices opposed to the traditional view: after Schramm 1890 – already rejected by Beeson 1945, 215-16 and by Schmidt 1974, 112-14 – Zelzer 2001, 198-200, 206-7 sees in **F** and **H** descendants of a late-antique branch (at home in Cassino for **H**) independent of the older Carolingian manuscripts. Partly following Zelzer 2001, 212, Auvray-Assayas 2013, 2016a, 2016b and 2018 also supports the existence of this branch issuing from an (anthological) source (“K et F sont deux témoins indépendants d’une tradition dont on trouve également trace dans certaines corrections apportées à A et B”, Auvray-Assayas 2018, 332), a point untenable for **K** at least in *fat.*, *parad.*, *leg.*, *top.*, *De oratore* and *Luc.*: see respectively Bayer 1963, 103; 106; Badalì 1968, 28-9; Schmidt 1974, 140-52; Reinhardt 2002; Renting (2011; see *infra* fn. 30) and C. Senore in Malaspina 2014, 593-5. Malaspina 2020, § 4 has nevertheless recently discovered faint traces of an independent tradition for *Luc.* in some marginal *variae lectiones* of **V**.

**4** It is common knowledge that 2,86-156 is placed after 2,15/16, as a result of the reversal of two quires, however with marked and odd differences, at the points of junction, between the oldest version, represented by **B**, and **y**, relics of different layers of correction in the common archetype: see *infra* fnn. 16, 26; § 4; and Dieckhoff 1894, 16-17; Clark 1918, 349-50; Ax 1933, vii-viii; Schmidt 1974, 72-5; 101; Zelzer 2001, 189-90; 194-6. For a different interpretation see Auvray-Assayas 1997; 1999; 2016b, who maintains that the order of book 2 as it is in the manuscripts is basically correct and that no reversal of quires intervened.

For the first task we shall examine the nature of the so-called *corpus Leidense* (henceforward *CL*), the group of eight Ciceronian treatises among which *nat. deor.* was transmitted (§ 2);<sup>5</sup> for the second we present the first complete list of the 174 identified manuscripts of *nat. deor.*, with 57 new items added to the 117 already listed by Pease (§ 3).<sup>6</sup>

## 2 The *Corpus Leidense*

Viewing the *CL* as a whole is unavoidable for the study of each treatise – indeed, it can be said that it is the most important perspective. However, it is also a straitjacket, when the *CL* is wrongly understood as a constant of the manuscript tradition and not as a cross-section. To make a comparison, one must visualize the treatises of the *CL* rather like a family of converging straight lines: they come together from different directions and meet in a single point – the *CL* – after which they distance themselves from each other once again. There is a certain analogy in this respect with Seneca's *Dialogi*: some independent treatises – certainly with an independent conception, publication, and distribution in their author's time, and also probably with an independent tradition in the following centuries – were gathered without an apparent order in a (late-antique?) manuscript which is the lost source of all the extant ones. After this brief episode, however, the Medieval copying activities let the precarious integrity of the *corpus* fade away once again, so that the *recentior* tradition of each treatise is different and matches only partly with the others.

Similarly, the single treatises of the *CL* were transmitted independently as long as they were copied in detached papyrus rolls; only the adoption of (parchment) *codices* allowed scribes to produce longer units by progressive agglomeration of single rolls – for example by joining firstly the three books of *nat. deor.* or of *leg.* and only then whole treatises together, a process that needed much time.<sup>7</sup>

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5 *Nat. deor., div., Tim., fat., top., parad., Luc., leg.* in the order of **A**;  
*Nat. deor., div., fat., top., parad., Luc., leg.* 1-2, (*fat.*), *Tim.*, (*fat.*), (*nat. deor.* 1), *leg.* 2-3 in **B**;  
*Nat. deor., div., Tim., fat., parad., Luc., leg.* in the order of **V** (last quires missing);  
*Nat. deor., div., leg.* in the order of **H**.

See Malaspina 2019a, 42-3 and *infra* fnn. 10; 24. Only *top.* is additionally transmitted by another source: see Reinhardt 2003, 73-111.

6 Pease 1955, 62-81. Auvray-Assayas 2019 lists 101 items (82 already known to Pease) and *Mirabile* (<http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/de-natura-deorum-title/16524>) only 31 (23 already known to Pease).

7 Zelzer 2001, 201. For an instructive parallel see the manuscript pre-history of Seneca's *Letters* in Spallone 1995 and Malaspina 2018b, 79-82: here the process was completed only in the 10<sup>th</sup> cent., with the oldest manuscript containing the whole *corpus* of *epp.* 1-124 (**Q**, Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, B.II.6).

We cannot even say that this common phenomenon<sup>8</sup> – the accumulation of several books into greater units – had already been completed when the archetype (the lost ‘father’ of the *CL*),  $\omega$ ,<sup>9</sup> was copied: the confusion and mixing of passages, which in **B** appear out of the blue at the wrong place, even in mid page in another treatise,<sup>10</sup> are only evidence that its exemplar already combined all the elements of the *CL*.

By counting the number of pages and lines in the parts corresponding to the reversed quires of **B** (in the same way as Lachmann did with Lucretius),<sup>11</sup> it has been thought possible to reconstruct  $\omega$ , but the complex stichometric analysis proposed by A.C. Clark has been radically scaled down by P.L. Schmidt,<sup>12</sup> who more cautiously limits the possible reconstruction to the *mise en page* of  $\omega$  (one column, with 52-5 lines on average and 51-6 as maximum range). It remains nevertheless possible that  $\omega$  was in disorder during the Carolingian era, culminating in the branch represented only by the younger **B**:<sup>13</sup> indeed, since **V** is dated to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>14</sup> the sub-archetype **y** must predate **B** by at least some years. To complicate the situation, however, the quire reversal in *nat. deor.* book 2 has been explained by an evolution from **B** to **y**, as we have seen:<sup>15</sup> the only way to solve the apparent chronological inconsistency is to assume (at least for *nat. deor.*) an *interpositus* (**b**), copy of  $\omega$ , exemplar of **B** and prior to **y**. In this very complicated context, it is impossible to define with certainty why the disorder is limited to *nat. deor.* book 2 in **y**, while the chaos is quite ubiquitous in the older **b**, with reversals both major (of quires) and minor (of leaves).<sup>16</sup>

**8** The analogy between the *CL* and Seneca’s *Dialogi* stops here, however, since the latter are still regarded and edited, whether rightly or wrongly, as a block: the title *Dialogi* matches Quintilian 10.1.128-9 and is at least preserved by the oldest manuscript (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 90 inf., 11<sup>th</sup> century), where it derives from the archetype. On the other hand, *Corpus Leidense/Leidener Corpus/Leyden Corpus* is a formula known only in the jargon of philologists and used at least from Pease 1921, 33, onwards; see also Rouse 1983a, 125 (“frequent designation”) and Auvray-Assayas 2016b, 47.

**9** As in Schmidt 1974 and Powell 2006; **Q** is the siglum used by Pease 1955, 84.

**10** This happens for *nat. deor.* and *div.; parad. and Luc.; leg. and fat.; fat., nat. deor.* and *leg.*: see Bayer 1963, 104; Schmidt 1974, 30-1; Giomini 1975, xxiii-xxiv; Zelzer 2001, 184 and Maso 2007, 6 for a detailed list. The reversal of quires in book 2 of *nat. deor.* (see *supra* fn. 4) has a less disruptive effect, being internal to a single treatise.

**11** See Timpanaro 1981, 68-9.

**12** Clark 1918, 334-63 and Schmidt 1974, 103 fn. 7; see also Müller 1864, 129-35 (presence of corrections, supplements, variants, double readings, interpolations and glosses in the margins of  $\omega$ ), Maso 2007, 11 and Malaspina 2020, § 4.

**13** Dated around 850 by Bischoff 1961, 59: see *supra* fn. 3; Schmidt 1974, 30.

**14** Rouse 1983, 126; more details in Malaspina 2020, fnn. 25; 26; 27.

**15** See *supra* fn. 4.

**16** See *supra* fn. 10 and *infra* § 4. We must stress that the reconstruction of the reversal in *nat. deor.* book 2 is highly speculative and that sharp criticism has been voiced

Theoretically, disorder of quires and/or leaves in copies could mean both that the archetype,  $\omega$ , was very old and damaged, with loss of bookbinding and wrong rearrangement of the unbound parts, or that it was so new that the copying intervened when the exemplar still consisted of a series of not yet bound and not yet ordered quires, before the final bookbinding. In our case, however, the whole copying operation of the *CL* did not take place in one *scriptorium* and at one time: this makes it unlikely that  $\omega$  remained not bound (*i.e.* in a transient state) for a long time. Therefore, philologists agree that  $\omega$  had been once bound, but that it was seriously damaged and consequently unbound.<sup>17</sup> This fact leads to the illusory inference that  $\omega$  was very old, corresponding to a typical late-antique capital or uncial manuscript, such as we are accustomed to see in the tradition of Terence or Vergil, for instance.<sup>18</sup> However, this abstract assumption clashes with a known fact, *i.e.* the absence in the *CL* of *errores disiunctivi* resulting from majuscule scripts, in comparison with an enormous number of minuscule errors (already detected in the 19<sup>th</sup> cent.), which demonstrate that  $\omega$  was written in some variety of minuscule.<sup>19</sup> The exclusion of a late-antique capital or uncial archetype

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by Zelzer 2001, 194-6. To explain the overall disorder in **B**, one can imagine that it was generated not in  $\omega$ , but only in **b**, if it remained not bound after being copied. And note that the alternation of the copyists in **A** and the different marks for the quires led Schmidt 1974, 35 to argue, persuasively, that **A** was copied in parallel in two halves, then joined together. This means that **y** was also unbound. There is also the theoretical possibility of ascribing the disorder to  $\omega$ : formerly *turbatus*, when **b** was copied, it could have been restored for the copying of **y**. This is the opinion maintained by Bayer 1963, 104-5; 111, which is unconvincing, however, in our opinion, in three specific points at least: 1. the reason why Bayer discards the chronological precedence of the more correct version of **y** is inconsistent and leads to a vicious circle: "es muß aber doch eingewendet werden, daß es bei der Wertschätzung, die  $\Omega$  sichtlich genoß, nicht recht wahrscheinlich ist, daß er schon nach verhältnismäßig wenigen Jahren der Verwahrlosung anheimfiel" (Bayer 1963, 105); 2. the Medieval scholar who supposedly corrected  $\omega$  was clever enough to detect the inversions that we see in **B**, even those corresponding to a few paragraphs, but did not notice the macroscopic inversion of quires in *nat. deor.* book 2, even if the copyist of **A** was clearly aware that something was wrong in his exemplar; 3. Bayer's dating (**AV** 900, **B** 925, **B<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>V<sup>2</sup>** 975) is totally wrong, but allows him to set the correction of  $\omega$  in the heart of the Carolingian renaissance (850-900), when we can presume that scholars of the calibre of Lupus would have been able to reassess correctly the page/quire order. Similar competences are harder to find in the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent., to which we should assign the supposed correction of  $\omega$ .

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt 1974, 100-7.

<sup>18</sup> See Timpanaro 1981, 112-13.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. Schwenke 1890, 4, 347; Dieckhoff 1894, 7; Clark 1918, 324; Plasberg 1922, xxiv; Badali 1968, 16-17; Zelzer 1981, 224-31; Riccio Coletti 1994, 7; Zelzer 2001, 185; Powell 2006, xxxiv. Schmidt 1974, 101-7 does not detect in *De legibus* singular and distinctive capital errors of **B** vs. **y** or vice versa; rarer errors of this type are common to the whole tradition and had therefore occurred in some phase previous to  $\omega$ : see Timpanaro 1981, 111; 114-15 for the crucial methodological postulate concerning the detection of the script of the archetype ( $\omega$  in our case) or of the pre-archetype(s): "1) se ciascuno degli apografi di un codice perduto  $\alpha$  presenta errori suoi propri dovuti a fraim-

leads in turn to two different, but not contradictory solutions: either  $\omega$  was still a late-antique manuscript, written in minuscule, or it was a much later product of (pre)-Caroline learned activity at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century or in the early part of the 9<sup>th</sup>. Both options are rarely documented only at first glance: actually, for many other traditions it is possible to hypothesise such non-majuscule prehistories.<sup>20</sup>

Can we go any further? What was the fate of the *CL* before the minuscule archetype  $\omega$ ? From this point backwards it is highly probable that the transmission had not been unitary, but rather independent for each treatise, as we have already said. Schmidt himself provides a very clever and cogent suggestion, when he sees in the *CL* the agglutination of two distinct sections:<sup>21</sup> one seems like a portion of an edition in chronological order of the complete *Philosophica Ciceronis*, relating to the years 45 BC (*nat. deor.*, *Tim.*, but not *fn.*, *Acad.*, *Tusc.*) and 44 BC (*div.*, *fat.*, but not *sen.*, *am.*, *off.*), while the other (*top.*, *parad.*, *Luc.*, *leg.*) is an unidentifiable “Anreihung von Extravagantes, von sonst nicht eingeordneten oder nicht einzuordnenden Schriften, oder gleichfalls eine ältere Sammlung von zumeist nicht offiziell publizierten Werken”.<sup>22</sup> The hypothesis is seductive, although some

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tendimento di un dato tipo di scrittura, quello era il tipo di scrittura del codice  $\alpha$ ; 2) se gli apografi di  $\alpha$  presentano errori comuni dovuti a fraintendimento di un dato tipo di scrittura, quello era il tipo di scrittura non di  $\alpha$ , ma del modello da cui, direttamente o indirettamente,  $\alpha$  fu copiato” (111). On the other hand, Pease 1955, 55 fn. 9 remained convinced by and committed to the traditional idea of an exemplar of *nat. deor.* in rustic capital (hesitating between a dating before or after S. Augustine). See also Di Maria 1994, xiv and *infra* fn. 26 for the question of possible inferences from a single treatise to the whole *CL*.

**20** For *leg.*, Schmidt 1974, 101-7 maintains that  $\omega$  was in *scriptio continua* in (pre)-Caroline minuscule. A possible objection to this solution is of a chronological kind (see Zelzer 2001, 204-5): the copying of a complex and learned classical *corpus* like the *CL* makes more sense at a date closer to the full Carolingian renaissance; however, the existence of **b**, *interpositus* between  $\omega$  and **B** at least for *nat. deor.* (see *supra* fn. 16), and of **z**, *interpositus* between **y** and **V** at least for *Luc.* (see Malaspina 2018a, 1982-83 and *infra* fn. 28), projects the production of **y** and, consequently, of  $\omega$  further back, in the first decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Examples and discussion of late-antique minuscule (pre) archetypes in Timpanaro 1981, 117-18 (“i più antichi manoscritti letterari di età repubblicana o imperiale non erano somiglianti ai Virgilio Palatino o Mediceo, ma erano volumina di scrittura corsiveggiante, minuscola o ricca di aspetti minuscoli”, 118), Zelzer 2001, 206-7 (who strongly supports the view that minuscule errors in the *CL* derive from “die spätantike Umschrift alter Papyrusrollen”, 207), and Malaspina 2005, 117-26.

**21** Schmidt 1974, 100-1, followed by Zelzer 2001, 188-9. Cf. also Auvray-Assayas 2016b, 47 fn. 16: “the collection does not correspond to the retrospective bibliography given by Cicero in *Diu. 2* nor to any grouping of works found in the early reception of Cicero”.

**22** Schmidt 1974, 101. We are indebted to Terence Hunt for his consideration that manuscripts of odd works are likely to have been written for individual scholars, who lacked those works, and that encyclopaedic codices were written for institutions and wealthy owners, who wanted them for their own collections. Moreover, it is impossible to say why only a part of the philosophical production of the years 45-44 BC is present in the chronological portion of the *CL*. As a matter of fact, the availability of the corre-

points are perplexing: it is above all *Tim.* that does not fit well into the proposal, not only and not so much because the exact chronological order should be *Tim.*, *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *fat.*, nor because the sequence of the *CL* omits both *Tusc.* (between *Tim.* and *nat. deor.*) and *Cato* before *div.*;<sup>23</sup> nor even because the position of *Tim.* is unstable in **BAV**.<sup>24</sup> Above all, *Tim.* differs from *nat. deor.*, *div.* and *fat.* because it is a posthumously published text, to be associated rather with the 'Extravagantes' *top.*, *parad.*, *Luc.*, *leg.* Lastly, *Tim.* shares the lacunose nature of its text with *fat.* and *leg.* – whatever position one takes on the authorial or historical-textual cause of these shortcomings.<sup>25</sup>

Even if it were shown that Schmidt's reconstruction is wrong, the pre-history of  $\omega$  would remain not unitary: with this, we are coming back to the initial parallel with a family of converging straight lines, with the result that any inference about nature, chronology, quality and script of the pre-archetype of a single treatise should remain restricted to the treatise for which evidence has been gathered.<sup>26</sup>

In our opinion, this simple principle of caution about the pre-archetype(s) should bring researchers of the *CL* to an inversion of the burden of proof even in the case of the archetype  $\omega$  itself and its first copies **BAVH** etc. As a matter of fact, hitherto the rule of

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sponding manuscripts in North-East France during the 9<sup>th</sup> century – or their absence, as it is the case for *fin.* and *Acad.*, so far as we know – is not a cogent point, because we have no clues, neither to locate  $\omega$  in North-East France like its copies nor to say where the *CL* was eventually assembled.

**23** Such a criticism “verlangt von antiken oder spätantiken Editionen eine größere sachliche Konsequenz als sie die modernen aufbringen” (Schmidt 1974, 100 fn. 1).

**24** See *supra* fn. 5 (**H** does not transmit *Tim.*).

**25** See also Zelzer 2001, 196 for doubts about the provenance of *top.* from the same source as the other treatises because of its rhetorical rather than philosophical genre. Auvray-Assayas 2016b, 53, without quoting Schmidt's proposal, sees the *CL* as a unitary group of unfinished [sic] treatises: “As it stands, the transmitted text is in the process of being modified to fit into the projected completion of three works on physics, the series *De natura deorum*, *De diuinatione*, *De fato* to which must be added the dialogue conceived as a discussion starting from Plato's *Timaeus*. [...] *De natura deorum* is head of a 'corpus' which contains works that are all incomplete with the remarkable exception of *De diuinatione* [...]. This 'corpus' transmitted by Carolingian witnesses is what is left from Cicero's 'workshop': a collection of unfinished works put together after Cicero's death, the only access to the protohistory of the text, the history of a creative and intellectual ongoing process very rarely documented”.

**26** As regards the script, for instance, potential evidence of, say, late-antique *b-d* switches (see Zelzer 1981, 224-31 and *supra* fn. 19) in *leg.* does not automatically mean that the pre-archetype of other treatises too (let alone the *CL* as a whole) had been written in a *panse-à-droite* minuscule. The same applies at least to some lacunae (see e.g. Bayer 1963, 104 for *fat.*: “der Textverlust zwischen §§ 45 und 46 schon durch die Schreibvorlage des Archetypus verursacht war und nicht erst durch Verstümmelung von  $\Omega$  entstanden ist”). Unacceptable, on the other hand, is the assumption of Zelzer 2001, 189, that the reversal of quires in *nat. deor.* (see *supra* fn. 4) is “auch auf spätantike Rollenvertauschung beziehbar”: this reversal begins in the middle of a book, while (papyrus) rolls, unlike quires, correspond to book(s).



procedure has been for the majority of scholars that any stemmatic evidence inferred from the study of one treatise should automatically count for the whole *CL* in the absence of contrary evidence.<sup>27</sup> In our opinion, on the contrary, this kind of proof should remain restricted to the treatise about which proof has been presented, in the absence of positive evidence in favour of extending its validity.<sup>28</sup> We do not mean that the general stemmatic outline with one archetype **ω** and two branches **B** against **y** deserves to be called into question, as some maintain,<sup>29</sup> but that the internal reconstruction of **y**, the existence of *interpositi* and the diffusion of any single treatise could have followed different paths, with a succession of episodes of (partial) independence from and (partial) coincidence with the other treatises. Particularly voluminous *corpora* like the *CL* could be the result (and therefore still carry more or less evident signs) of a juxtaposition of smaller and distinct textual units and partial models: the case of **F**, copy of **B** for *nat. deor.* and *div.* and copy of **A** for the rest of the *CL*, demonstrates that such splicing can be found already in the first copying phase that we can recover with certainty:<sup>30</sup> we cannot see why this *modus operandi* should not have been common even before the *CL* and in the *CL*, when it was the rule after it, in the *recentiores*.

### 3 The *recentiores*

This is all we can grasp about the pre-history of the *CL*. On the other hand, what we have called ‘post-history’ in our title, *i.e.* the development of the *recentior* tradition after the *CL*, is for now known in detail only in the case of *leg.*, thanks to the book by P.L. Schmidt already cited, and it is known in more general terms for

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<sup>27</sup> Bibliography in Malaspina 2020 fn. 8.

<sup>28</sup> To give only one example, in Malaspina 2018a it has been shown that, for *Luc.*, **A** and **V** are not twins, as generally supposed, but that **V** is a twin of a lost **z**, which is actually the exemplar of **V** (see *supra* fn. 20). This has been possible thanks to the collation of a later copy of **z**, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, R.I.2, which, however, alone in the *CL* includes *Luc.* with these features. Should we automatically add **z** to the *stemmata* of each component of the *CL* in the absence of evidence in favour of this? Certainly not: a change of exemplar only for one treatise is always possible. See Malaspina 2020, § 1 and, with good observations, Zelzer 2001, 188.

<sup>29</sup> See *supra* fn. 3.

<sup>30</sup> See also Renting 2011, who convincingly maintains that the excerpts of *De oratore* in **K** issue partly from the extant Avranches, 238 (**A**) and partly from a lost copy of it (**α**). Similar in the tradition of Livy is the fate of Firenze, BML, Plut. 63.20 (Corbie, ca. 875), copy of the Puteanus throughout book 23 and copy of a copy of it from book 24 (cf. Briscoe 2016, 6).

*top.*, *parad.* and *Luc.*, as we have indicated.<sup>31</sup> On these treatises and even more on the first set in the *CL*, *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *Tim.* and *fat.*, work is still to be done, by way of cataloguing and collating all extant witnesses.<sup>32</sup>

The following list is the outcome of a complete overhaul of the last available ones, produced by A.S. Pease over 60 years ago.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, to limit the length of an already cumbersome paper, any piece of information already known is not reported here in a complete way, while new items will receive more attention. To facilitate use, the data have been divided into three groups: the first contains the *antiquiores* already present with their *sigla* in Ax 1933: of these, **VBAFPMHDNTGOK**, only the stemmatic position and bibliography are offered. The second contains the remaining witnesses listed by Pease, on which additional information is reported. The third group presents the manuscripts that do not appear in any previous list for *nat. deor.*: as we have already said, it has been possible to find 57 items unknown to Pease. We also report any *siglum* used by the editors of other treatises and restrict the codicological description in favour of stemmatic information, if available for *nat. deor.* or for other Ciceronian texts, even if outside the *CL*.

Within each group, further distinction will be made between items that contain the whole treatise, others with an incomplete text or only excerpts, and finally two commentaries. The chart at the end will merge and sum up the lists in alphabetical order.

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**31** See *supra* fn. 2: Schmidt 1974 for *leg.*; Di Maria 1994, XXIX-XLIV for *top.*; Badali 1968, 27-58 for *parad.*; Malaspina 2014; 2018a; 2019; Senore 2017 for *Luc.*

**32** See Malaspina 2019b, 51 fn. 55 “sulla scarsa fattibilità e necessità di collazioni complete, tanto più con opere di grandi dimensioni e tramandate da numerosi testimoni”: what we need for the *CL* is not a meticulous collation of every item, but a complete – although concise – survey, following the existing precedents (see *supra* fn. 31). Only in a real digital critical edition could one envisage collating and reporting every (significant) reading of every *recentior*: see Malaspina 2019b, 42-50. For many centuries after the Carolingian renaissance it is difficult to find manuscripts with the same ambitions as the *CL*: see Zelzer 2001, 197-8 (“die Überlieferung nur jeweils nach einzelnen Schriften, nicht nach dem ganzen Corpus zu beurteilen ist”) and Malaspina 2019b, 42-3.

**33** See *supra* fn. 6. Thanks to the digital catalogues of many libraries we have found new information and corrected some wrong signatures, even if it is not possible to explain here all our objections to Pease’s list (see also *infra* fn. 36). We highlight only that Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 14 inf. was wrongly listed by him (69), followed by Bayer 1963, 100, since it does not contain *nat. deor.*, but *inv.*, *rhet.*, *de orat.*, *top.*, *Phil.*, *s. Scip.* and *ep.*: it was probably confused with its companion E 15 inf. ([102.] **Ambr2**). El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, Q.I.21 (in Pease 1955, 68) and Paris, BNF, Lat. 2243 (in Pease 1955, 90) are also wrong shelfmarks for *nat. deor.* In the same way, not even the typewritten cards of the *IRHT* in Paris (see *supra* fn. \*) are exempt from errors: Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, 5 (A.14), for instance, is a mistaken shelfmark for [143.] Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, 11 (A.14).

### 3.1 Group 1 (13)

#### Complete Copies (In Chronological Order) (12)

**[170.] V - Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 189 (olim 208)**

*CL* (*nat. deor.* 40v-82v) without *top.*, *leg.*; 800-850, France. Corrected by Lupus of Ferrières and his school around 850-860, according to Plasberg **V** is a twin of **A** for the whole *CL*; however, new evidence (Malaspina 2018) speaks in favour of the existence of an *interpositus* between the exemplar of **A** and **V** at least for *Luc*. **AV** belong to a branch of the same family as **PHD**. **V** is also the ancestor of **N** and **O**.

Schwenke 1890, 4, 349; Ax 1933, vi; Pease 1955, 63; Bayer 1963, 100; Badalì 1968, 10-12; Schmidt 1974, 47-53; Giomini 1975, xx-i; Munk Olsen 1982, 311; Rouse 1983a, 126; Pellegrin 1988; Auvray-Assayas 1997, 90; Ricciardi 2005, 62; Malaspina 2018, 1982-3; *IRHT*.

**[86.] A - Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus Lat. F. 84**

*CL* complete (*nat. deor.* 1r-36v); ca. 850, France. Corrected by 'Hadoard' and his school at Corbie around 850 (**A2B2**), **A** is closely related to **V**.

Schwenke 1890, 4, 348; Ax 1933, vi; Pease 1955, 63-4; Bayer 1963, 99; Badalì 1968, 8-10; Schmidt 1974, 34-7; Giomini 1975, xvii-xx; Munk Olsen 1982, 199; Di Maria 1994, xiv; Zelzer-Zelzer 2001; Reinhardt 2003, 73; Bishoff 2004, 54 no. 2204; *IRHT*.

**[87.] B - Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus Lat. F. 86**

*CL* complete (*nat. deor.* 1r-59v); ca. 850, France. **B** is the only representative of the second branch of the tradition, being a descendant of  $\omega$  (maybe at one remove: see *supra* fn. 16), exemplar of **F** and also an ancestor of **M**.

Schwenke 1890, 4, 348; Ax 1933, vi; Pease 1955, 63-4; Bayer 1963, 99; Badalì 1968, 12-14; Schmidt 1974, 29-34; Giomini 1975, xxi-iv; Munk Olsen 1982, 200; Di Maria 1994, xv; Zelzer, Zelzer 2001; Reinhardt 2003, 73; Bishoff 2004, 55 no. 2205; *IRHT*.

**[71.] F - Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (= BML), San Marco 257**

*CL* complete (*nat. deor.* 1r-27v); ca. 850, France. **F** is the result of reciprocal collation and correction between **A** and **B**. It is also the exemplar of **KM** and, after its rediscovery at Strasbourg in 1417, of several humanistic copies.

Schwenke 1890, 4, 348-9; Ax 1933, xi; Beeson 1945, 220; Pease 1955, 65; Bayer 1963, 99; Badalì 1968, 25-6; Foffano 1969; Ullman-Stadter 1972; Schmidt 1974, 121-34; Giomini 1975, xxx-xxxi; Di Maria 1994, xxx; Reinhardt 2003, 73; Petitmengin-Ciccolini 2005, 251, no. 44; *IRHT*.

**[27.] P - Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (= BAV), Pal. Lat. 1519**

Only *nat. deor.* (1r-40r), *div.*; around 1000, Lorsch. **P** belongs to a branch of the same family as **AV**. To date, no copies have been identified.

Halm 1850, 22; Mayor 1880, LXX; Schwenke 1890, 4, 349; Ax 1933, ix; Pease 1955, 65; 85; Giomini 1975, xxiv-vi; Pellegrin 1982, 171-2; Bergmann 1996; Maso 2007, 9; *IRHT*.

**[111.] M - München, Universitätsbibliothek, 4° 528**

*CL* without *top.* (*nat. deor.* 1r-52v); 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> cent. Copy of F, partial contamination with BA; Schmidt believes that it may have been copied in Corbie.  
Schwenke 1890, 4, 349; Ax 1933, xi; Yon 1933, LII; Pease 1955, 66; Badalì 1968, 29-31; Schmidt 1974, 152-3; Giomini 1975, xxxi-ii; Munk Olsen 1982, 241; *IRHT*.

**[84.] H - Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 118**

Only *nat. deor.* (1r-53v), *div.*, *leg.*; ca. 1080, Montecassino. According to Plasberg, H belongs to a different branch of the AVP family, through a hyparchetype (see transpositions of *nat. deor.* 2); it is a twin of D and the exemplar of G.  
Ax 1933, ix; Pease 1955, 65-6; Schmidt 1974, 37-41; Munk Olsen 1982, 175; Petitmengin-Ciccolini 2005, 251, no. 45; *IRHT*.

**[93.] D - London, British Library (= BL), Harley 2622**

Only *parad.*, *nat. deor.* (9r-27v); 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> cent.? According to Plasberg, D too belongs to a branch of the AVP family, being a *gemellus* of H. Badalì believes that for *parad.* D is a twin of London, BL, Harley 2682, which does not contain *nat. deor.*  
Harley 1759, 2, no. 2622; Harley 1808, 704; Ax 1933, ix; Pease 1955, 66; Badalì 1968, 14-15; *IRHT*.

**[140.] N - Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (= BNF), Lat. 17812 (olim 178)**

Only *Luc.*, *nat. deor.* (13r-46r), *fat.*; 12<sup>th</sup> cent., France. The *Nostradamensis* is close to V, but not its direct descendant for *Luc.*; according to Plasberg and Pease it is a twin of O for *nat. deor.*  
Delisle 1871, 69-70; Ax 1933, vi; Pease 1955, 67; Bayer 1963, 99; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Rouse 1979 fn. 42; Munk Olsen 1982, 227; Denoël 2004, 162, 164, 171; Favre d'Arcier 2006, 75-6; Malaspina 2019a, 25-7; *IRHT*.

**[160.] T - Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 688**

*Luc.* (only 7-83), *nat. deor.* (9r-26r), *fat.*, *fam.* (excerpts); 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent., France (Marmoutier?); according to Pease for *nat. deor.* T is related to N, even if it sometimes agrees with O.  
Pease 1955, 68; Bayer 1963, 101; Munk Olsen 1982, 288; Malaspina 2019a, 24-7; *IRHT*.

**[90.] G (L for leg.) - London, BL, Burney 148**

Only *nat. deor.* (3r-57r), *leg.*; late 13<sup>th</sup> cent., Montecassino. Mayor and Pease agree that G is a copy of H for *nat. deor.*; on the other hand, Schmidt considers it, through a hyparchetype, a twin of H for *leg.* It is also the exemplar of [172.] Gud and [161.] Trec for *leg.*, but not for the whole *CL* (see *infra* [161.]).  
Schwenke 1890, 4, 350; Ax 1933, ix; Pease 1955, 68; Schmidt 1974, 41-2; *IRHT*.

**[129.] O - Oxford, Merton College 311-I (H.2.11)**

Only *nat. deor.* (37r-69v), *div.*; 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent., England; Mayor and Schwenke agree that it descends from V; according to Plasberg and Pease it is another twin of N for *nat. deor.*  
Mayor 1883; Reid 1888, xvii; 294-302; Schwenke 1890, 4, 350; Ax 1933, vi; Pease 1955, 67; Munk Olsen 1982, 250; *IRHT*.

## Excerpts (1)

### [35.] K - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1762 (*Excerpta Hadaardi*)

Parch.; 226 ff.; 20 lines; around 850, France; excerpts from the whole *CL* (without *top.*; *nat. deor.* 4r-12v; 19r-35v; 54r-64v), *off.*, *sen.*, *am.*, *Tusc.*, *de orat.*; Sall. *Iug.*, *Cat.*; Macr. *s. Scip.*; Mart. Capella; Publ. *Sir. sent.* According to Plasberg and Malaspina it is a direct copy of F. Schwenke 1890, 4, 349; Pease 1921, 604-5; Ax 1933, xi; Beeson 1945; Leonardi 1959, 460; Bischoff 1961; Bayer 1963, 99; Badalì 1968, 26-9; Schmidt 1974, 134-52; Giomini 1975, xxviii-xxx; Pellegrin 1978, 402-7; Zelzer 2001, 198-200, 206-7; Auvray-Assayas 2013;<sup>34</sup> C. Senore in Malaspina 2014, 593-5; Auvray-Assayas 2016a; 2016b; 2018.

## 3.2 Group 2 (104)

### Complete Copies (85)

#### [6.] Bon - Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, 2228 (1096 in Frati's list)

Parch.; 38 lines; 1450-60, Italy; humanistic hand; initials 'a bianchi girari'; coloured titles and subscriptions; *off.*, *am.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *Tusc.*, *fin.*, *Acad.* (wrongly called *liber sextus de finibus*), *nat. deor.* (215r-264v), *div.*, *fat.*, *leg.*, *Acad.*, *Tim.*, *s. Scip.*; probably written in Florence (maybe by the same scribe as for [38.] Urb) for the Venetian Domenico de' Domenichi. Schmidt for *leg.*, Hunt for *Acad.*, and Malaspina for *Luc.* agree that it descends from [70.] Gadd.

Frati 1909, 11; Pease 1955, 75; Bayer 1963, 100; Badalì 1968, 49; Schmidt 1974, 321-2; Winterbottom 1993, 236; Hunt 1998, 130-1; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

#### [9.] Cant2 - Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XIII.2<sup>35</sup>

Parch.; 209 ff.; 2 cols.; 47 lines; 1444, Rhineland (Cologne?); *sen.*, *nat. deor.* (9v-51r), *div.*, *fat.*, *Luc.*, *Tim.*, *parad.*, 13 orr., invectives, *Phil.*, *off.*, *Tusc.* It is a direct descendant of a lost manuscript which belonged to William of Malmesbury. According to Malaspina for *Luc.* Cant2 and [150.] Bert form one of the families issuing from V.

Cambridge 1856, 507; Pease 1955, 72; Malaspina 2015; Malaspina 2019a, 34-44; *IRHT*.

#### [10.] Ces - Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S.XVIII.1

Parch.; 355 ff.; 34 lines; 1440-50, Italy (1425-50, Rome according to A. de la Mare quoted by Hunt); one humanistic hand; marginal variants and corrections by the same hand; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *Tusc.*, *fin.*, *div.*, *nat. deor.* (169r-217v), *sen.*, *am.*, *off.*, *parad.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.*, *leg.*, *Tim.*, *fat.*; kept in the Franciscan library of Cesena, probably it was not written for Domenico Malatesta Novello and therefore it is absent from Lollini-Lucchi 1995: there is no agreement about its origin: Schmidt located it in Fer-

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<sup>34</sup> See *supra* fn. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Pease 1955, 91 lists a manuscript separately as Cambridge, Bibl. publ., 93, without realizing that this is an old reference to **Cant2** (we thank Michael D. Reeve for his help on the topic).

rara, Hunt in Rome, following A. de la Mare. According to Schmidt and Malaspina, **Ces** is among the descendants of **F** for *leg.* and *Luc.*, through the famous copy of Poggio Bracciolini, Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245 (only *Luc.*, *leg.*); for Hunt, however, the text of *Acad.* in **Ces** descends from the same lost hyparchetype as [36.] **Ross**. Pease 1955, 75; Badalì 1968, 49; Schmidt 1974, 345-6; Casamassima-Guasti 1992; Hunt 1998, 158; D. Caso in Malaspina 2014, 595-9.

**[11.] Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana S.XXV.4<sup>36</sup>**

Parch.; 80 ff.; mid. 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; *littera antiqua*; illuminated initials; *nat. deor.* (1r-71v), *parad.*; written for Giovanni Marco da Rimini (*ex-libris* f. Ilv: *Magistri johannis Marci de Arimino*), it was acquired by the library as a legacy in 1474. Zazzeri 1887, 461; Pease 1955, 81; Badalì 1968, 49; Manfron 1998; *IRHT*.

**[12.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.IV.99**

Parch.; 140 ff.; 1435, Siena; illuminated initials; one humanistic hand; unknown coat of arms on ff. 3r, 38r and 96v; *nat. deor.* (1r-132r), Francesco Filelfo, *Comment. in librum Ciceronis de natura deorum*. According to the monogram on f. 131v, the manuscript was written for Lattanzio Tolomei of Siena; after his death it became part of the library of Fabio Chigi (from 1655 Pope Alexander VII). Pease 1955, 72; Pellegrin 1975, 268-9; *IRHT*.

**[14.] Chis1 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.VII.221**

Pap.; 204 ff.; 1426-35, Northern Italy; humanistic hand; initials ‘a bianchi girari’; *nat. deor.* (1r-79v) *div.*, *Luc.*, *Tim. fat.*, *s. Scip. Avesani* maintains that **Chis1** was written by the copyist of BAV, Chis. Lat. H.VII.223, *Philippus*, who also appears in BAV, Chis. Lat. A.VI.177. Pellegrin also reports the hypothesis that the illuminations are by Andrea da Firenze. According to the coat of arms on f. 1r and to the *ex-libris* on f. IVv, **Chis1** was written for Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini. Malaspina shows for *Luc.* that **Chis1** is a copy of [34.] **Reg**. Pease 1955, 77; Bayer 1963, 100; Avesani 1964, 36; 46-7; Pellegrin 1975, 362-3; C. Senore in Malaspina 2014, 604-6; *IRHT*.

**[18.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1242**

Pap.; 180 ff.; 1461, Italy; humanistic; initials ‘a bianchi girari’; marginal corrections by another hand (16<sup>th</sup> cent.); *opp. varr.*; *nat. deor.* (1r-78v). Marcello Cervini (Pope Marcello II 1555) was the first known owner; he gave his library to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-85), who gave it to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna. The collection went on sale after Colonna’s death and was bought by Duke Giovanni Angelo d’Altemps (1586-1620). After his death some manuscripts, including this and the following three, were bought by Pietro Ottoboni (Pope Alexander VIII 1689-91). Pease 1955, 73; Pellegrin 1975, 500-1; *IRHT*.

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**36** The manuscript is given this baffling shelfmark by Pease: “Florence, Bibl. Fratrum Minorum Cesenae (olim Malatestinus)”.

**[19.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1372**

Pap.; 135 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; humanistic hand; contemporary marginal variants and headings; *nat. deor.* (1r-68v), *div.* Its watermarks point to Venice, ca. 1460. The first known owner was Duke Giovanni Angelo d'Altemps; at his death the manuscript was bought by Pietro Ottoboni: see *supra* [18.].

Pease 1955, 77; Pellegrin 1975, 539-40; *IRHT*.

**[20.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1414**

Parch.; 148 ff.; 1455, Italy; one hand, identified as Johann Kessler de Montabaur; marginal variants and decoration by the same; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-77r), *fat.*, *div.*; the decoration could have been realized by Jacopo da Fabriano or his school. The first known owner was Duke Giovanni Angelo d'Altemps: see *supra* [18.].

Pease 1955, 78; Pellegrin 1975, 555-6; Di Maria 1994, xLII; *IRHT*.

**[22.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1622**

Parch.; 116 ff.; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gothic hand; contemporary and later marginal notes; gold initials on red or green base; *nat. deor.* (1r-63v), *div.* F. 116v gives information about the first owners: *Habui hunc librum per manus Iacobi Zacharie pro uno ducato cum dimidio ano 1472 mensis novembris die XIII*; then by another hand: *Habui hunc librum ab Angelo de Reto die 20 ianuarii 1476 pro ducato uno auri cum dimidio*. Nothing is known for the following century, until the manuscript appears in the library of Duke Giovanni Angelo d'Altemps: see *supra* [18.].

Pease 1955, 78; Pellegrin 1975, 633-4; *IRHT*.

**[23.] Ott3 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1944**

Parch.; 198 ff.; 30 lines; 1462-67, Italy; one humanistic hand; blank spaces for Greek words; marginal notes by a second hand; other notes by a third hand; coloured titles and names; *nat. deor.* (1r-67v), *leg.*, *Acad.*, *top.*, *parad.*, *s. Scip.*, *div.* This book was written for Marco Barbo, before he was created cardinal (according to the coat of arms on f. 1r); the decoration was realized by Giuliano Amadei, who worked in Rome from 1462 for Pope Paul II (Pietro Barbo, Marco's uncle). This manuscript (Ott.2 for Hunt) is considered a direct copy of Escorial G.IV.15 (which does not contain *nat. deor.*), descending from Guarino Guarini's lost copy. Pease 1955, 78; Schmidt 1974, 376; Pellegrin 1975, 706-7; Di Maria 1994, xLII; Hunt 1998, 164; *IRHT*.

**[26.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1518**

Parch.; 140 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; humanistic hand; gold initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-74v), *div.*, *fat.*; according to A. de la Mare, quoted by É. Pellegrin, the copyist is the same as in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 881 and 1659. The first known owner is Giannozzo Manetti, then the manuscript was bought by Ulrich Fugger and passed to the Palatine Library of Heidelberg like the following item.

Pease 1955, 78; Bayer 1963, 100; Pellegrin 1982, 170-1; *IRHT*.

**[29.] Pal3 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1524**

Parch.; 359 ff.; 30 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; humanistic hand; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *am.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *fin.*, *off.*, *Tusc.*, *nat. deor.* (232r-280r), *div.*, *fat.*, *leg.* According to A. de la Mare,

quoted by É. Pellegrin, it was written by three copyists, two of whom are recognisable respectively in Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1029 and 1495. As for [26.], attested owners are Giannozzo Manetti (f. llv), Ulrich Fugger and the Palatine Library of Heidelberg. There the manuscript was consulted by Gruter for his edition (f. llv). Schmidt for *leg.* considers it a direct copy of [70.] **Gadd** and therefore a twin of [6.] **Bon**. Pease 1955, 78; Bayer 1963, 100; Badali 1968, 53; Schmidt 1974, 319-20; Pellegrin 1982, 177-8; *IRHT*.

**[30.] Pal - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1525**

Pap.; 439 ff.; 2 cols.; 62 lines; 1467, Heidelberg; on f. 1r green initials on gold and purple base; at the bottom of f. 1r unknown coat of arms; *off., fin., inv., nat. deor.* (102r-134r), *div., fat., Tim., Luc.*; Ps. Cic. *pridie quam in exilium iret*; Ps. Sall. *in Cic.*, Ps. Cic. *in Sall.*; Cic. *orr., sen., am., parad., Phil., Tusc.*; **Pal** is a twin of [55.] **Erl**: both descend from **F**, through a lost manuscript, with apparent contamination from the **V** branch. Pease 1955, 74; Bayer 1963, 100; Badali 1968, 53; Rouse-Rouse 1978, 336-7; Pellegrin 1982, 178-81; Rouse 1983b, 113; Winterbottom 1993, 231; 241; Hunt 1998, 107-8; Reynolds 1998, 7-8; A. Borgna in Malaspina 2014, 611-12; Hunt 2016, 225-8, 232, 234-40; *IRHT*.

**[33.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1473**

Parch.; 112 ff.; 30 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gothic hand; blank spaces for decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-58r), *div., fat.* The first known owner was Francesco Tolomei of Siena, whose collection was acquired by the BAV in 1705. Pease 1955, 81; Pellegrin 1978, 229; *IRHT*.

**[34.] Reg - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 1481**

Parch.; 261 ff.; 2 cols.; 37/38 lines; 1418, Constance or France; gothic hand; marginal variants and corrections by a second hand; gold initials on blue and red base; *off., parad., Tusc., sen., am., top., leg., Luc., nat. deor.* (122r-152v), *fin., rhet. Her.* It may have been written in Constance for Johannes Abeczier, bishop of Frauenburg, even if the decoration suggests rather France; it was in Frauenburg until 1626, when the library entered the Universitetsbibliotek of Uppsala, and later on among the possessions of Christina, Queen of Sweden, so that it shared the fortunes of all *Reginenses* till 1660, when Pope Alexander VIII became heir of her collection. According to Schmidt for *leg.*, **Reg** descends, through a hyparchetype, from Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245; for *Luc.* it is a direct copy of **F** and the exemplar of [14.] **Chis1**.

Pease 1955, 81; Badali 1968, 53; Schmidt 1974, 288; Pellegrin 1978, 233-5; Di Maria 1994, xLII; D. Caso in Malaspina 2014, 602-4; *IRHT*.

**[37.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. Lat. 312 (olim 456)**

Parch.; 60 ff.; 34 lines; after 1474, Italy; humanistic hand; margins with names in colour; marginal notes by another hand; gold initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-59r). It was written for Federico da Montefeltro when he was Duke of Urbino, as the coat of arms at the bottom of f. 1r reveals. His Library was bought by Pope Alexander VII and added to the BAV in 1657.

Stornajolo 1902, 274; Pease 1955, 78; Pellegrin 1978, 539; *IRHT*.



**[38.] Urb - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urb. Lat. 319 (olim 594)**

Parch.; 216 ff.; 33 lines; before 1474, Florence; round humanistic hand; superscript corrections by another hand; coat of arms of Federico da Montefeltro on f. 1r; rich decoration; *nat. deor.* (2r-59r), *div.*, *leg.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.*, *Tim.*, *fat.*; it was written by Nicolò Antonio de Pardo de' Ricci (Nicolaus Riccius Spinosus, who worked for Vespasiano da Bisticci) for Federico da Montefeltro, before he became Duke of Urbino. It entered the BAV in 1657 (see *supra* [37.]); **Urb** is a direct copy of **F** as for *leg.* and *Luc.* and probably also for the rest of the *CL*; according to Hunt, it is a direct copy of [70.] **Gadd** for *Acad.* (absent from **F**).

Stornajolo 1902, 277-8; Pease 1955, 78; Bayer 1963, 101; Schmidt 1974, 158; Pellegrin 1978, 543-4; Reynolds 1983, 128; de la Mare 1985; Hunt 1998, 135-6; M. Lucciano in Malaspina 2014, 606-8; Oakley 2016, 352; *IRHT*.

**[39.] Vat1 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1758 (olim 2018)**

Pap.; 108 ff.; 30 lines; ca. 1460, Bologna; gold initials in several colours; names and headings in colour; *nat. deor.* (1r-70r), *leg.* It belonged to Angelo Colocci, secretary of Pope Leo X; this manuscript entered the BAV in 1558; for *leg.* Schmidt shows that it is a direct copy of Vat. Lat. 3409.

Pease 1955, 77; Schmidt 1974, 366-7; Pellegrin 1991, 374; *IRHT*.

**[40.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1759**

Parch.; 173 ff.; 39 lines; mid 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; gothic hand; gold initials with flowers on a blue base; names and topics in the margins are rubricated; *nat. deor.* (1r-49r), *div.*, *Tim.*, *fat.*, *Tim.* (once again), *Modestus De re militari*. It was written for Nicolaus Modrusiensis (1427-80), whose coat of arms appears at the bottom of f. 1r; in 1481 it entered the BAV. The confusion between *nat. deor.* and *Acad.* appears in the rubricated title at f. 1r: *Marci tullij ciceronis academicorum seu de natura deorum liber primus feliciter incipit*. Pease 1955, 77; Bayer 1963, 99; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Pellegrin 1991, 374-5; Reeve 2003, 428; *IRHT*.

**[43.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3242**

Parch.; 77 ff.; 32 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., France; gothic hand; marginal variants and corrections by another hand (maybe 15<sup>th</sup> cent.); gold initials with floral decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-43v), *div.*; probably it was owned by Cardinal Giordano Orsini; when he died 1438 it passed to Fulvio Orsini, in whose inventory it appears at no. 103.

Pease 1955, 70; Pellegrin 1991, 146-7; *IRHT*.

**[48.] Dresd1 - Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dc.106**

Parch.; 342 ff.; 1460, Italy; humanistic hand; illuminated initials; *fin.*, *nat. deor.* (59r-103r), *div.*, *off.*, *am.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *Tusc.*, *fat.*, *leg.*, *Acad.*, *s. Scip.*; it belonged to the Werthern family; when Philip von Werthern died, the collection was acquired by Christian I of Saxony; this manuscript was destroyed during the Second World War, but it had previously been collated by several modern editors; according to these collations it appears to be a direct copy of [70.] **Gadd**.

Görenz 1810, vi; Pease 1955, 73; Bayer 1963, 100; Schmidt 1974, 327; Hunt 1998, 138; Winterbottom 1993, 237; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[51.] El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, S.I.18**

Parch.; 190 ff.; 2 cols.; 13<sup>th</sup> cent.; coloured initials; *inv., rhet. Her., nat. deor.* (begins 1,17 *nichil scire didicistis, 73r-104r*), *div., fat., off.*; *Macr. Sat.*; it was in the library of Jean-Jacques Chifflet and of Stefano Vasa. Then it belonged to the Count-Duke de Olivares (1587-1645).

Antolín 1916, 4, 24; Pease 1955, 68; Bayer 1963, 100; Rubio Fernández 1984, 210-11, no. 249; *IRHT*.

**[52.] El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, S.III.28**

Parch.; 72 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; gold and coloured initials; *nat. deor.* (1r-72r); it belonged to the Count-Duke de Olivares.

Antolín 1916, 4, 79-80; Pease 1955, 75; Rubio Fernández 1984, 240, no. 280; *IRHT*.

**[53.] El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, T.III.17**

Parch.; 155 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Italy; gold initials; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.* (1r-85v), *div.* It belonged to Antonio Agustín, bishop of Tarragona, before reaching the Escorial Library.

Antolín 1916, 4, 150; Pease 1955, 75; Rubio Fernández 1984, 264, no. 310; *IRHT*.

**[54.] Scor4 - El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, V.III.6**

Parch.; 240 ff.; 2 cols.; 13<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy (Verona?); gothic hand; corrections by three hands; *Luc., nat. deor.* (21v-59v), *Tusc., Tim., leg., fin., div., fat., orr. varr.*; Alex. Aphrod. It belonged to the Maffei family, then to Antonio Agustín and finally to the Escorial. **Scor4** is an important intersection in the V branch at least for *Luc.* (see *infra* [172.] **Gud**, [131.] **Par**, [139.] **Par4**, [141.] **Par6**, [161.] **Trec**); according to Schmidt, however, for *leg.* it is an unimportant copy of a lost Italian manuscript.

Antolín 1916, 4, 181; Pease 1955, 68; Bayer 1963, 100; Giomini 1967; Schmidt 1974, 229-32; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Rubio Fernández 1984, 274-6, no. 324; Senore 2017; Malaspina 2019a, 32-3; *IRHT*.

**[55.] Erl - Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek 618 (olim 847)**

Pap.; 467 ff.; 1466, Heidelberg; two humanistic hands; *off., Catil., Pis., invest., Tim., div. libri 3* (lib. 3 = *fat.*), *nat. deor.* (111v-153r), *fin., Luc., oratt. varr.*; ab alia manu: *am., sen., parad.*; it was written by Bernard Grosscheldel of Remingen and Conrad Haunolt; it belonged to Haunolt when he was abbot of the Cistercian abbey in Heidelberg. According to Malaspina, for *Luc.* Erl agrees closely with [30.] **Pal** (see *supra* [30.]).

Irmischer 1852, 219-20; Pease 1955, 73; Bayer 1963, 99; Badali 1968, 46; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Rouse-Rouse 1978, 336-7; Rouse 1983b, 113; Reynolds 1992, 2; 6-9; Hunt 1998, 107-8; Reynolds 2000, vii-x; xii-xiii; A. Borgna in Malaspina 2014, 611; Hunt 2016, 226-8, 232, 234-40; *IRHT*.

**[59.] Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Cl.II.386**

Parch.; 40 ff.; 40 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy?; one gothic hand (*rotunda*); marginal notes by the same hand; some Greek words; *nat. deor.* (1r-39r, divided in 4 books); it belonged to Girolamo Baruffaldi (1679-1755), who adds his monogram and the author's name and work at the top of f. 1r.

Pease 1955, 75; [https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=51301](https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=51301).

**[61.] Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr., 31<sup>37</sup>**

124 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; *nat. deor.* (1r-124v); owned by Marino Tomacelli († 1519) at Naples; it was in the catalogue of the Badia Fiorentina as no. 2833 (556).

Blum 1951, 185; Pease 1955, 81; Parenti 1985, 25 fn. 22; Kiss 2013, 708, no. 2; *IRHT*.

**[63.] Fes - Firenze, BML, Fiesole 188**

Parch.; 297 ff.; 40 lines; ca. 1460, Florence; one humanistic hand; marginal variants and corrections by the same hand; red marginal corrections by a later hand; Medici coat of arms on f. 1r; *off., am., sen., par., somn., Tusc., fin., nat. deor.* (170v-210v), *diu., fat., leg., Acad., Luc., Tim*. It was commissioned from Vespasiano da Bisticci by Cosimo de' Medici for the Badia Fiesolana, where it was kept until 1778, when the monastery was suppressed, to reach the BML eventually in 1783. Schmidt for *leg.*, Hunt for *Acad.* and Malaspina for *Luc.* agree that **Fes** is a direct copy of [70.] **Gadd**.

Pease 1955, 76; Schmidt 1974, 322-3; Hunt 1998, 131-2; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[64.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 23sin.05**

Parch.; 166 ff.; 23 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Florence; two humanistic hands; blank spaces for Greek words; rare corrections by a third hand; gold initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-115r), *fat., div.*; maybe its original location was Santa Croce Library in Florence, as a note on f. llv reveals: *Liber Conventus Sanctae Crucis de flor. ordinis minorum | Tullius de natura deorum. N° 656*; collated by Lagomarsini in 1740.

Bandini 1778, 4, 170; Pease 1955, 76.

**[65.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 50.27**

Parch.; 105 ff.; 2 cols.; 89 lines; 13<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy?; gothic hand; blank spaces for decoration; *inv., off., Tusc., nat. deor.* (62v-73v); *Quint. inst.*

Bandini 1778, 2: 514-15; Deschamps 1863, 121; Pease 1955, 68; Winterbottom 1970, 26; Feo 1991.

**[66.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 83.03**

Pap.; 231 ff.; 2 cols.; 54 lines; 1469, Italy?; a few marginal notes by another hand; blank spaces for decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-24r), *div., fin., Tusc.*; *Serv. Aen.*

Bandini 1778, 2, 207; Pease 1955, 74.

**[67.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 83.04**

Parch.; 126 ff.; 28 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy?; humanistic hand; blank spaces for Greek words; blue, yellow and red initials; a few marginal notes by a second hand; *nat. deor.* (1r-64r), *div., fat.*

Bandini 1778, 3, 208; Pease 1955, 75; Bayer 1963, 100.

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**37** Pease lists it with the previous shelfmark ("Florence, Bibl. S. Mariae").

**[68.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 83.06**

Parch.; 126 ff.; 30 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy?; humanistic hand; gold initials on blue and red base; *nat. deor.* (1r-66r), *div., fat.*; it may have been written (in Florence?) for Francesco Sassetti (1421-90), humanist and Medici banker, since his coat of arms is present at the bottom of f. 1r.

Bandini 1778, 3: 208-9; Pease 1955, 76; Bayer 1963, 100.

**[69.] Laur3 - Firenze, BML, Plut. 83.07**

Parch.; 268 ff.; 29 lines; 1450-60, Florence; humanistic hand; gold initials 'a bianchi girari' on blue base; Medici coat of arms on f. 1r; *nat. deor.* (1r-85r), *div., fat., leg., s. Scip., Acad., Luc.* It was written for Piero de' Medici, Cosimo's son (f. 1r); the scribe is Franciscus de Tianis of Pistoia (A. de la Mare in Lollini-Lucchi); Schmidt for *leg.*, Hunt for *Acad.* and Malaspina for *Luc.* agree that **Laur3** is a direct copy of [70.] **Gadd**.

Pease 1955, 76; Bayer 1963, 100; Schmidt 1974, 327; Lollini-Lucchi 1995, 69; Hunt 1998, 132-3; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[70.] Gadd - Firenze, BML, Plut. 90sup.78 (ex Gaddi)**

Pap.; 230 ff.; 24/27 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Florence (watermarks 1411-21); humanistic hand; variants and corrections by the first hand; blank spaces for decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-71r), *div., fat., leg., Acad., Luc., Tim., s. Scip.*; according to Bischoff it should be dated 1440; it belonged to Bernardo Puccini, then was kept by Francesco Gaddi, whose library was acquired by Francis II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1755. The exemplars are several: at least Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr., 131 for *Acad.* (Hunt), a lost descendant of V for *leg.* (Schmidt), BML, S. Marco 272 for *Luc.* (Malaspina). **Gadd** is the exemplar of a group of *in folio* manuscripts ([122.] **Ball**, [6.] **Bon**, [118.] **Corv**, [48.] **Dresd1**, [63.] **Fes**, [69.] **Laur3**, [116.] **Yal** contain *nat. deor.*) made for Vespasiano da Bisticci (15<sup>th</sup> cent., second half).

Pease 1955, 76; Bayer 1963, 100; Schmidt 1974, 319; Hunt 1998, 128-9; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[72.] Firenze, BML, Strozz. XLV**

Pap.; 160 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; gold and coloured initials; unknown coat of arms on f. 1r; *nat. deor.* (1r-83v), *div., fat.*; no additional bibliography in the databases of the BML for this item (we thank Francesca Gallori for her help).

Bandini 1792, 378; Pease 1955, 76.

**[75.] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. VI.27**

Parch.; 100 ff.; 1467, Italy; illuminated initials; Ridolfi coat of arms on f. 1r; *nat. deor.* (1r-100v).

Galante 1902, 330, no. 17; Mazzatinti 1902, 131; Pease 1955, 74; *IRHT*.

**[76.] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XXI.30**

Pap.; 162 ff.; 29 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (Briquet no. 11669-81 and no. 11702), Florence; humanistic hand; *fin., fat., Acad., Tim., nat. deor.* (102r-162r). The first known owner was Antonio Magliabecchi (1633-1714). According to Hunt for *Acad.* it seems to be the exemplar of Gdansk, Gdanska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2388.

Pease 1955, 76; Bayer 1963, 100; Hunt 1998, 92-3.

**[81.] Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 4° Ms. philos. 6**

Pap.; 234 ff.; 1470, Ulm; *nat. deor.* (2r-86v), *parad.*; works of St Basil and Lorenzo Val-la; Cic. *Marc.*; Hor. *carm.* 4,7; treatises of humanists.  
Kassel, 1: 190; Pease 1955, 74; Pfeil 2019,<sup>38</sup> *IRHT*.

**[83.] Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 454**

Pap.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., France; *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *Tim.*; written in Notre-Dame.  
France 1849, 240; Pease 1955, 76; *IRHT*.

**[85.] Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Perizonianus F.25**

Parch.; 325 ff. (now 324); 34 lines; 1422-24, France; two gothic hands; red and blue titles and subtitles; marginal notes by the same hand; *off.*, *fin.*, *Acad.*, *Tusc.*, *nat. deor.* (233v-267r), *div.*, *fat.*, *leg.*; *Prophetia de Carolo Magno*; Cic. *sen.*, *am.*, *parad.* It was written for Philippe de Barac'h's family (coat of arms on ff. 115v, 121v, 179v, 237r). On f. 229v coat of arms of Pope Benedict XIII with the inscription *hereticus*; it belonged to Samuel van Huls; Perizonius bought it from Haverkamp and took it to Leiden University Library; Schmidt calls it **E** and locates it in the **V** family of *leg.*, with Paris, BNF, Lat. 15084 (**S** for him: it does not contain *nat. deor.*) and [148.] Rouen, Bibl. Mun. 1041 (**R** for him: see *infra* [148.]). All three are considered direct copies of a lost manuscript which descends from **V**.  
Pease 1955, 71; Bayer 1963, 100; Badali 1968, 56; Schmidt 1974, 57-61; Rouse-Rouse 1978, 13; Reynolds 1992, 13; Hunt 1998, 56-7; *IRHT*.

**[88.] London, BL, Add. MS 11932**

Pap.; mid 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Germany or NW Italy; *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *fat.*, *Tim.*; it belonged to Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham from 1750.  
Pease 1955, 76; Bayer 1963, 100; *IRHT*.

**[89.] London, BL Add. MS 19586**

Parch.; 252 ff.; 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy?; *inv.*, *rhet. Her.*, *de orat.*, *orat.*, *opt. gen.*, *part. or.*, *off.*, *am.*, *sen.*, *Tusc.*, *Tim.*, *nat. deor.* (221r-251r, as *De divinationibus*), *orr. varr.*  
Pease 1955, 71.

**[91.] London, BL, Harley 2465**

Parch. and pap.; 1418, Padua; several hands; *nat. deor.*, *Tim.* (excerpts).  
Harley 1808, 694; Mayor 1880, 45-6; Pease 1955, 76.

**[92.] London, BL, Harley 2511**

Parch.; 168 ff.; 1404, Italy; *nat. deor.*, *div.* (lib. 2 called *De fato*), *Tim.*; Pease thinks it was written by an uncultivated copyist; related to München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C.L.M. 15741.  
Harley 1808, 697; Pease 1955, 71.

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**38** We thank the Universitätsbibliothek Kassel for having added the manuscript to the public domain at our request (<https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1554800983506/1/>).

**[94.] London, BL, Harley 4662**

Parch.; 173 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; corrections by later hands; some initials are rubricated; *nat. deor.* (1r-106v), *div.*; *Macr. Sat.* (fragm.); *Cic. parad.* The inversions of portions of the text are unique.

Harley 1808, 186-7; Pease 1955, 80; Badalì 1968, 48; *IRHT*.

**[95.] Harl3 - London, BL, Harley 5114**

Parch.; 226 ff.; 26 lines; 1416-20, Florence; humanistic hand; corrections and notes by several hands; rubricated titles; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *leg., Luc., nat. deor.* (61r-121v), *div., off.*; it belonged to Robert Harley and his heirs, then it was acquired by the British Museum in 1753; for *leg.* and *Luc.* it is a direct copy of Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245, and it is also the exemplar of Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, 571 and [46.] **Vat6**.

Pease 1955, 80; Schmidt 1974, 299-300; Winterbottom 1993, 239; D. Caso in Malaspina 2014, 598-601; *IRHT*.

**[98.] Matr - Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 7813 (V.227)**

Parch.; 203 ff.; 38/40 lines; end 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> cent., Southern France; gothic hand; marginal notes and corrections by the first hand; *Phil., Tim., fat., leg., Luc., div., nat. deor.* (158r-200r); it belonged to Philip V, who gave it to the Biblioteca Nacional. Schmidt for *leg.* and Malaspina for *Luc.* agree that it is a descendant of V (see *infra* [171.] for the relationship with **Aug** in *leg.*).

Pease 1955, 69; Schmidt 1974, 205-6; Rubio Fernández 1984, 324-5, no. 380; Malaspina 2019a, 31-2; *IRHT*.

**[99.] Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 9116 (Aa.25)**

Parch.; 333 ff. (now 256); 36 lines; end 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Padua or Bologna; marginal notes by first and second hand; decoration by Bologna school; *nat. deor.* (1r-54v), *Tim., div., Tusc., parad., Acad.*; originally *nat. deor.* began on f. 75r: the first 74 ff. are therefore lost.

Pease 1955, 69; Rouse-Rouse 1978, 364-5; Rouse 1983b, 115; Rubio Fernández 1984, 341-2, no. 405; Reynolds 1992, 25-6; Hunt 1998, 72-3; Reynolds 1998, vi; viii; Reynolds 2000, 37-52; Hunt 2016, 228, 230-40; *IRHT*.

**[101.] Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 113 sup.**

Pap.; 157 ff.; 1426, Milan; *Tusc., nat. deor.* (65r-109v), *div., fat.*; Suet. (excerpts); it was written by Modesto Decembrio (†1430).

Pease 1955, 72; Bayer 1963, 100; Ceruti (1973-79), 3: 303; *IRHT*.

**[102.] Ambr2 - Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 15 inf.**

Parch.; 198 ff.; 2 cols.; 40 lines; 14<sup>th</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cent., Venice; gothic hand; red and blue initials; *off., Tusc., nat. deor.* (73r-102v), *Tim., sen., am., div., fat., leg., fin.*; written by Marcus de Raphanellis, it offers with its companion E 14 inf.<sup>39</sup> an illuminated edition of Cic-

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**39** See *supra* fn. 33.

ero's *opera omnia* of huge format (40 × 27 cm) and great value; it belonged to Francesco Ciceri (1521-96) in Milan and was acquired by the Ambrosiana in 1604; Schmidt for *leg.* places it among the descendants of V, not far from [54.] **Scor4**. Sabbadini 1913; Pease 1955, 69; Bayer 1963, 100; Cipriani 1968, 233; Schmidt 1974, 248; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Ceruti (1973-79), 1: 705-6; *IRHT*.

**[106.] Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O 209 Sup.**

Pap.; 59 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gold and coloured initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-51v), *fat.*; it was written for Nicola Cademosto of Lodi (coat of arms f. 1r); it belonged to Giorgio Casteni (15<sup>th</sup> cent.), then to Francesco Ciceri (see [102.]); it has been in the Ambrosiana since 1603.

Pease 1955, 81; Bayer 1963, 100; Cipriani 1968, 98-9; Ceruti (1973-79), 4: 371-2; *IRHT*.

**[107.] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C.L.M. 277**

193 ff.; 1465, Padua; *epitaph. Cic.*; *Cic. Tusc., div.*; *Macr. s. Scip.* (fragm.); *Cic. nat. deor.* (118r-192r), *Hor. carm.* 4,7; written by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514).

München 1892, 71; Pease 1955, 73.

**[118.] Corv - New York, Morgan Library, 497**

Parch.; 271 ff.; 34 lines; 1470-75, Florence; two humanistic hands; blank spaces for Greek words; illuminated initials and circular table of contents; *nat. deor.* (1r-55v), *off., am., parad., sen., Acad., Tim., s. Scip., leg., fat.*, a work of Niccolò Niccoli; written for Francesco Sassetti (see *supra* [68.]), it passed to the library of Matthias Corvinus (1443-90), King of Hungary; after his death it returned to Italy with Beatrice of Aragon; it belonged afterwards to G.F. De Rossi (see *infra* [36.]), whose collection was given to the Jesuit College at Rome by his wife Luisa Carlotta di Borbone Parma (1802-57); nevertheless, **Corv** did not share the fortune of the other *Rossiani* and was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) from Alexandre Imbert in 1912; it is a descendant of [70.] **Gadd** at least for *Acad.* (according to Hunt 1998, 139-40, who calls it *Pier*) and for *leg.*, (according to Schmidt); two exemplars were probably used for *Luc.*: (a descendant of) **F** for the first part and [70.] **Gadd** for the second (Malaspina is incomplete on the topic and a new research is ongoing).

Pease 1955, 74; Bayer 1963, 100; Schmidt 1974, 324; Hunt 1998, 134-5, 139-40; Winterbottom 1993, 240; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[119.] Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, App. 7**

Pap.; 200 ff.; 41/42 lines; 1460-70, Southern Germany; gothic (*bastarda*) and humanistic hands; a few rubricated initials; *Tusc., div., nat. deor.* (107r-148v), *fat.*; *Macr. Somn.* (excerpts 1,3); *Ps-Cic. De proprietate sermonum*; *Fulgent. Verg. cont.*; it belonged to Hermann Schedel (1410-85) and Hartmann Schedel (see *supra* [107.]); Pease mentions a *Cod. Norimbergensis prior* used by Moser 1818, which should in all probability be identified with this item.

Pease 1955, 82; Neske 1997, 125-6; *IRHT*.

**[122.] Ball - Oxford, Balliol College, 248D**

Parch.; 391 ff.; 36 lines; 1445-54, Florence; humanistic hand; marginal notes by other hands; it contains almost all Cicero's works (*nat. deor.* 155r-207v); written for William Gray, who ordered it from Vespasiano da Bisticci; it has been placed by Hunt and Malaspina among the descendants of [70.] **Gadd**.

Pease 1955, 77; Schmidt 1974, 320; Hunt 1998, 129-30; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31; *IRHT*.

**[125.] Bodl - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.1.12 2497**

Parch.; 317 ff.; 36 lines; 1459, Florence; humanistic hand; marginal notes by another hand; *off., sen., am., parad., s. Scip., Tusc., fin., Acad., nat. deor.* (199r-245v), *div., fat., leg., Tim.*; written by Dominicus Cassii de Narnia (Bisticci's workshop) maybe for Jean Jouffroy (1412-73); it belonged to an otherwise unknown John Doston (late 15<sup>th</sup> cent.), then to William Melton (1455-1528) and finally to Henry Saville (1549-1622), who gave it to the Bodleian Library; according to Hunt for *Acad.* it is a descendant, through some lost manuscripts, of Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr., 131.

Pease 1955, 72-3; Schmidt 1974, 315; Hunt 1998, 141-2; Desachy 2012, 72-3; *IRHT*.

**[127.] Oxford, Corpus Christi College 283**

Parch.; 174 ff.; several parts with different dates; the ff. containing *nat. deor.* (6r-30r) were written in 2 cols. in France, 13<sup>th</sup> cent.; it belonged to Guilelmus de Clara, OSB, then to St. Augustine's Canterbury; the last private owner, Christopher Wase, gave it to Corpus Christi Library.

Pease 1955, 66; Thomson 2011, 143-7; *IRHT*.

**[128.] Linc - Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 38**

Parch.; 233 ff.; 2 cols.; 50 lines; 1420, Northern Italy; five gothic hands; rubricated headings; interlinear and marginal corrections by contemporary hands; *de orat., Tusc., sen., parad., am., s. Scip., Q. fr., Acad., nat. deor.* (81r-109r), *div., Luc., leg., top.*; Ps. Cic. *synon.*; Cic. *fat., Tim., har. resp., opt. gen., part. or.*; it belonged to Robert Fleming, who gave it to Lincoln College in 1465. According to Hunt, for *Acad.* it is a descendant of Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr., 131, while for *leg.* it belongs to the family of V and for *Luc.* it derives from Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245.

Pease 1955, 77; Bayer 1963, 100; Schmidt 1974, 240-5; Di Maria 1994, xLI; Hunt 1998, 176-7; Malaspina 2019a, 22 fn. 18; *IRHT*.

**[131.] Par - Paris, BNF, Lat. 6283**

Parch.; 2 cols.; 40 lines.; 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> cent.; illuminated initials; a few marginal notes and corrections; Chalc. *Tim.*; Cic. *nat. deor.* (13r-45r), *Tim., Luc.* (= *de laude ac defensione philosophiae*), *div., fat.*; according to Yon, for *fat.* **Par** belongs to the V family; more precisely, Senore proposes [54.] **Scor4** as its ancestor at least for *Luc.*

Yon 1933, LIII; Pease 1955, 69; Bayer 1963, 99; Hunt 1998, 69; Hankins 2004, 121; Senore 2017; Malaspina 2019a, 33; *IRHT*.



**[132.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6334**

Parch.; 2 cols.; 43 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy?; gothic hand; illuminated uncial initials; marginal notes by later hands; *Tusc., nat. deor.* (62v-111v), *div., Tim.*  
Pease 1955, 69; Gousset 2005, 58, 117, 119, 121; no. 51; *IRHT*.

**[133.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6339**

Parch.; 98 ff.; 2 cols.; 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cent., France; *nat. deor.* (1v-57r), *div.* It belonged to Cardinal Mazarin.  
Pease 1955, 68; Munk Olsen 1982, 256; Reynolds 1983, 128 fn. 16; *IRHT*.

**[134.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6340**

Parch.; 2 cols.; 35 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gothic hand; no marginal notes; rich decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-51r), *div. I.*  
Pease 1955, 69; Bollati 2004, 531; Gousset 2005, no. 59; *IRHT*.

**[136.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6375**

Parch.; 84 ff.; 2 cols.; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gothic hand; illuminated uncial initials; rubricated *incipit* and *explicit*; marginal notes by later hands; *Luc.* (*De laude ac defensione philosophiae*), *nat. deor.* (17r-46v), *fin.*; it may be connected with Petrarch; it belonged to the Visconti-Sforza Library. As for *Luc.*, it descends certainly from V via [54.] **Scor4**.  
Pease 1955, 70; Rouse-Rouse 1978, 360; Reynolds 1983, 115; Albertini Ottolenghi 1991, 97; Rouse-Rouse 1991, 90; Malaspina 2019a, 33-4; *IRHT*.

**[137.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 7698**

Parch.; 623 ff.; 2 cols.; 49 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent.; gothic hand; illuminated initials; *inv., rhet. Her., off., am., sen., Tusc., parad., nat. deor.* (145r-174v), *div., fat.*; some works of Seneca; probably to be identified with the 'Parisinus (inc.)' collated in Moser 1828.  
Pease 1955, 70; Bayer 1963, 99; Albertini Ottolenghi 1991, 98; Munk-Olsen 1998, 111; *IRHT*.

**[141.] Par6 - Paris, BNF, Suppl. Lat. 9320**

Parch.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., France or Italy; *Luc., nat. deor.* (22r-58r), *div.*; translations of ethical works of Aristotle by Leonardo Bruni; according to Senore for *Luc.* it belongs to the V family and descends, through a lost manuscript, from [54.] **Scor4**.  
Deschamps 1863, 172; Pease 1955, 77; Hankins 2004, 146; Senore 2017; Malaspina 2019a, 33; *IRHT*.

**[142.] Pavia, Libreria Universitaria, 194**

Pap.; 132 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; several marginal notes by Guarino Veronese (1374-1460); *nat. deor.* (1r-52r); *Macr. Sat.*  
De Marchi 1894, 1: 108; Pease 1955, 77.

**[143.] Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, 11 (A.14)**

Parch. (partial palimps.); 57 ff.; 1401-25, Italy; *nat. deor.* (1r-57r); written by Sozomeno of Pistoia (1387-1458); the names of Bartolomeo da Forlì and Francesco Di Luca (both notaries, 15<sup>th</sup> cent.) also appear in the manuscript.

Pease 1955, 77; Murano-Savino-Zamponi 1998, 84, no. 156, tav. CLXX; Reynolds 2015, 291; Ceccherini 2016, 271-2, tav. LXXXVI.

**[150.] Bert - Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 652**

Pap.; 259 ff.; 1452, Colmar or 1470, Troyes (watermarks); gothic hand; coloured initials; Hieron. *ad Galat.* (fragm.); Cic. *Tusc., nat. deor.* (67r-119r), *div., fat., Luc., Tim., Phil.*; Apul. *Asclep.*; it was in Saint Bertin abbey near Saint Omer (Pas de Calais); Malaspina discovered the value of this manuscript, which descends from V and is very close to [9.] **Cant2**, both witnesses of William of Malmesbury's work on Ciceronian texts. Pease 1955, 79; Bayer 1963, 101; Thomson 2003, 51-6; Malaspina 2015; Malaspina 2019a, 34-44; *IRHT*.

**[151.] Sand1 - San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Comunale, 62**

Pap.; 104 ff.; 49/50 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Florence; gothic hand; a few marginal notes; blank spaces for decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-27v), *div., fat., leg.; epitaph. Cic.*; Cic. *Catil.*; Ps. *Sall. in Cic.*, Ps. *Cic. in Sall.*; Cic. *part. or.*; the first known owner was Guarnerio d'Artegna (1387-1467); his collection was bequeathed to the parish of St. Michele Arcangelo in San Daniele; according to Schmidt for *leg.*, it is a descendant of V in the group of [104.] Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 137 sup. and other witnesses. Pease 1955, 79; Bayer 1963, 101; Schmidt 1974, 259-60; *IRHT*.

**[152.] Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 850**

Parch; 420 ff.; 1439-43, Florence; humanistic hand; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *Tusc., fin., nat. deor.* (249r-344r), *div.*; it belonged to Tommaso Parentucelli (1397-1455; from 1447 Pope Nicholas V), whose coat of arms appears on f. 3r and also in other 38 manuscripts conserved in the BAV. Scherrer 1875, 288; Pease 1955, 78; <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/list/one/csg/0850>; *IRHT*.

**[153.] Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina, 5.5.19 (olim BB.150.3)**

Pap.; 342 ff.; 1462, Augsburg (84r); several gothic hands; *nat. deor.* (2r-28r), *off., sen., parad.*; Ps. *Cic. syn., diff.*; little is known about this manuscript, bought in 1531 in Augsburg. Pease 1955, 74; Rubio Fernández 1984, 483-4, no. 577; Kristeller 1989, 616-17.

**[158.] Toledo (Ohio), Museum of Art, ms. 33**

Parch.; 170 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; Italian copyist; *nat. deor.* (1r-188r), *div.* De Ricci-Wilson list a series of owners and auctions of the manuscript from 1785 to 1930; no recent literature is recorded. De Ricci-Wilson 1937, 1976, no. 33; Pease 1955, 79.

**[159.] Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares (olim Biblioteca del Cabildo), 100.18**

Parch.; 156 ff.; 1463; illuminated initials; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.* (1r-90r), *div.*; it belonged to Cardinal Zelada. Haenel 1830, 994; Pease 1955, 73; Rubio Fernández 1984, 524, no. 635; *IRHT*.

**[161.] Trec - Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 552 (QQ.III.10.335)**

Parch.; 360 ff.; 2 cols.; 45 lines; two parts: 9<sup>th</sup> cent. (Christian texts); 14<sup>th</sup> cent. (Cicero), Northern Italy; gothic hand; some marginal notes by Petrarch; *off.*, *Tusc.*, *nat. deor.* (187r-211v), *div.*, *fat.*, *am.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *Luc.*, *de orat.*, *orat.*, *part. or.*, *Catil.*, *orr. varr.*, *leg.*; according to Schmidt for *leg.*, it is closely related to [172.] **Gud** and [32.] **Reg1**: they descend from **G** through a hyparchetype (I); Senore, however, has shown for *Luc.* that [172.] **Gud** and **Trec** descend from [54.] **Scor4**.

Pease 1955, 70; Schmidt 1974, 179-80; Winterbottom 1993, 241; Billanovich 1996, 267-71; 359-63; Giomini 1996, 19; Berté 2012, 22-4; Senore 2017; Malaspina 2019, 23 fn. 19, 33; *IRHT*.

**[164.] Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X.118 (Z.L. CCCCXIV)**

Parch.; 140 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; *nat. deor.* (1r-70r), *off.*; the text is poorly edited and often corrupt.

Valentinelli 1871, 80; Pease 1955, 79.

**[167.] Wash - Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, SM. 9 (V.a.88)**

Parch.; 156 ff.; 35 lines; 1453-71, Ferrara; humanistic hand; marginal notes and corrections by the first hand; illuminated initials; *leg.*, *nat. deor.* (28r-86r), *div.*, *fat.*, *Tim.*, *s. Scip.*, *Acad.*; the first known owner was Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach (1683-1734); in 1730 his library was sold and **Wash** was acquired by Johann Melchior Hartman, who gave it to Friederich Creuzer in 1818: this is the *Codex Creuzerianus*, *olim Uffenbachianus* collated in Moser 1828; according to Schmidt for *leg.*, **Wash** and [100.] **Ambr1** are twins and descend, through an *interpositus*, from the lost copy of Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245 made for Guarino Guarini; on the other hand, Hunt identifies **Wash** as the direct exemplar of [100.] **Ambr1** for *Acad.*

Pease 1955, 79-80; Bayer 1963, 99; Schmidt 1974, 347-8; Hunt 1998, 190-1.

**[168.] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 124**

Parch.; 227 ff.; 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; *nat. deor.* (1r-30r), *div.*, *Tim.*, *fat.*, *off.*, *Tusc.*; *epitaph. Cic.*; *Lact. inst.* 6,8; *Cic. s. Scip.*; *fam.* 2,2; Albert. Magn.; *Cic. orr. varr.*; it belonged to Johannes Sambucus (1531-84), who sold it to the imperial library in 1578; collated as 'Vind. a' by Moser 1828.

Wien 1864, 18; Pease 1955, 70-1; Bayer 1963, 99; *IRHT*.

**[169.] Vind - Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 163/146**

Parch.; 130 ff.; end 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Naples; initials 'a bianchi girari'; on f. 1r coat of arms of an unknown Neapolitan family; *nat. deor.* (1r-87r), *leg.*; it belonged to Johannes Sambucus as [168.]; according to Schmidt, for *leg.* it is a direct copy of Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245.

Wien 1864, 22; Pease 1955, 79; Schmidt 1974, 307-8; *IRHT*.

**[171.] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 3261, 22.7.Aug. 4°**

Parch.; 124 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; on f. 1r Dati coat of arms; *nat. deor.* (1r-112v), *fat.*; it forms an evident unity with Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 3260, 22.6.Aug. 4° (*div.*, *leg.*; *Aug* for Schmidt), sharing the dimensions and probably also the scribe (*a frater*

*Basilius?*); both were offered as a present by C.R. Dati to N. Heinsius in Florence 1652; Schmidt sees for *leg.* a close affinity of *Aug* with [98.] **Matr** (see *supra* [98.]). Heinemann 1900, 312; Pease 1955, 80; Bayer 1963, 99; Schmidt 1974, 206.

**[172.] Gud - Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 4306 Gud. Lat. 2°**

Parch.; 256 ff.; 2 cols.; 66 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy (or France); gothic hand; *off., sen., am., Catil., Tusc., de orat., orat., inv., rhet. Her., parad., leg., nat. deor.* (113v-133v), *div., fat., orr. varr., part. or., Tim., fin., Luc., Phil.*; it belonged to the de Rochefort family (Paris, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.), then to M. Gude (1635-89); it descends certainly from **V**: see *supra* [161.] **Trec** for the relationship with **G**, [32.] **Reg1** or [54.] **Scor4**.

Koehler-Milchsack 1913, 77-8; Pease 1955, 71; Bayer 1963, 99; Badali 1968, 47; Schmidt 1974, 177-8; Winterbottom 1993, 242; Senore 2017; Malaspina 2019a, 32-3.

**[173.] Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Rehdigeranus 64 (olim XXXV = Scrinium I.4.15)**

Pap.; 187 ff., two cols.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; *nat. deor.* (1r-28v), *div., fat., Tim., s. Scip., Tusc.*; it belonged to Thomas von Rehdiger (1540-76) and was also collated by Heindorf. Mayor 1880, LXXI; Ziegler 1915, 29-30; Pease 1921, 615; Pease 1955, 75; Bayer 1963, 99.

**[174.] Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV.F.180**

Pap.; 245 ff.; two parts, two hands: *Vitae Patrum* (dated 1420); *nat. deor.* (103-61), *fin.*, 1416; it was collated by L.F. Heindorf for his edition (Lipsiae 1815) and brought to the Wrocław Library by order of the King of Prussia in 1825.

Mayor 1880, LXXI; Goeber-Klapper 1944, 592; Pease 1955, 72; <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/33200#description>.

## Incomplete Copies (9)

**[15.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.VII.222**

Pap.; 111 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy (watermarks 1440 Pisa, 1451 Reggio Emilia, 1444 Venice); two parts: gothic and humanistic hands; floral initials on gold base; marginal notes by several hands; *nat. deor.* (1r-11v; from 2,65), *div.* (to 2,25), *Hor., opp.* Pease 1955, 70; Pellegrin 1975, 363-4; *IRHT*.

**[49.] Edinburgh, University Library, Ms. 16 (olim Db.IV.6)**

Parch; 243 ff.; 12<sup>th</sup> cent., England; several hands; rubricated titles in rustic capital; *Biblia abbrev.*; *Liber testimoniorum Ysidori contra Judaeos*; *Chalc. Tim.*; *Mart. Cap.*; *Macr. s. Scip.*; *Cic. nat. deor.* (180r-192r, from 1,11 to 3,95); *Apul. Socr.* (excerpta); *Chalc. Tim.*; *Dicta Albumassar.*

Borland 1916, 21-2; Pease 1955, 67; Leonardi 1960, 31. [https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival\\_objects/141244](https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/archival_objects/141244); *IRHT*.

**[58.] Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana, 30**

Pap.; 1434; *s. Scip., nat. deor.* (up to 3,39: *nihil sit quod*). Mazzatinti 1896, 243; Pease 1955, 72; *IRHT*.

**[114.] Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale (olim Real Museo Borbonico), IV.G.3**

Parch.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; illuminated initials; *nat. deor.*, *div.* (up to 2,111, *attenti animi*); the remaining quires have been torn away.

Iannelli 1827, 214, no. 311; Napoli 1853, 196r-v; Pease 1955, 77.

**[130.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 4588A (olim Colbertinus)**

Parch.; 107 ff.; 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent.; miscellaneous: *nat. deor.* 2 cols., two gothic hands, blank spaces for decoration; marginal notes and corrections by two other hands; later works followed by *nat. deor.* (35r-53r; begins 1,17 *nichil scire didicistis*), *div.*, *Verr.*; Apul. The first known owner was Colbert.

Pease 1955, 68; Munk Olsen 1982, 253; Reynolds 1983, 71; *IRHT*.

**[138.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 15085**

213 ff.; 12<sup>th</sup> cent. (second half), France?; six parts; *Sen. epp.*, *opp. varr.*; *Cic. off.*, *nat. deor.* (189r-202r, 1 col.; 37 lines), *div.*

Pease 1955, 67; Munk Olsen 1982, 275; Malaspina 2001, 150-1; Munk Olsen 2009, 244; *IRHT*.

**[145.] Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunga, SC.MS.29 (olim D.II.11)**

Parch.; 80 ff.; 29 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; humanistic hand; marginal red notes by later hands; gold initials; *nat. deor. libri 4* (1r-80v, book 1 is in two parts: §§ 1-56 and 57-124); the manuscript is mutilated, finishing f. 80v *ab ea genus humanum esse contemptum* (3,93). Nothing is known about it, except that it was already in the Gambalunga Library when Lorenzo Antonio Drudi was the librarian (1796-1818).

Nardi 1828, 87; Pease 1955, 80; Meldini, s.v.

**[148.] Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1041 (O.47)**

Pap.; 199 ff.; ca. 1420, Paris; several hands (gothic *bastarda*); corrections by later hands; *Phil.*, *leg.*; auctt. varr.; *top.*, *nat. deor.* (140r-199r, ending at 3,14 *philosophis debeo discere*); written by Guillaume Euvrie (f. 125r), it was in the Benedictine abbey of St. Ouen in Rouen; according to Schmidt (who calls it R) for *leg.*, it belongs to the V family with [85.] Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Perizonianus F.25.

Omont 1886, 261-2; Pease 1955, 78; Di Maria 1994, XLII; Schmidt 1974, 60-1; *IRHT*.

**[163.] Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X.2 (Z.L. CCCCLXIX)**

Pap.; 144 ff.; 1387-1400, Trogir; Chalc. *Tim.*; *Cic. nat. deor.* (58r-59r, 1,1-12); Apul.; it bears the name of Antonius de Romagno de Feltro (f. 144).

Valentinelli 1871, 1-2; Pease 1955, 70.

## Excerpts (9)

**[8.] Cant3 - Cambridge, St. John's College 97 (D.32)**

Parch.; 297 ff.; 39 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent.; miscellaneous: excerpts from Cicero's rhetorical treatises and *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *Luc.* (f. 164r); Cicero's texts are part of William of Malmesbury's *Polyhistor* and Cant3 is both the *codex unicus* for the first part of the *Polyhistor* and a (partial) witness of *nat. deor.*

James 1913, 126-9; Pease 1955, 69; Rouse-Rouse 1976, 455; Testroet Ouellette 1982, 25-6; Hunt 1998, 30 fn. 44.

**[41.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 1918 (olim 2178)**

Parch., palimps.; 102 ff.; 1381, Bologna; gothic hand; marginal notes by a humanistic hand; Val. Max.; Iul. Par. *De nominibus*; excerpts from *Tusc., nat. deor.* (f. 102v); the scribe is Giovanni da Gemona (101v); the manuscript has been listed in the BAV since 1455. Pease 1955, 69; Pellegrin 1991, 479-80; *IRHT*.

**[79.] Hagion Oros, Βιβλιοθήκη Μονῆ Ἰβήρων, 4203**

Pap.; 270 ff.; 1440, Florence; miscellaneous excerpts, mostly in Greek, including Cic. *nat. deor.* (f. 257v), *Tusc., off., leg., div.*  
Lampros 1900, 11-12; Pease 1955, 75.

**[96.] London, BL, Sloane 3861**

67 ff.; 17<sup>th</sup> cent.; miscellaneous: excerpts *nat. deor.* 26v-29r.  
Sloane 1904, 111; Pease 1955, 80.

**[120.] Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, App. 15**

Pap.; 488 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Augsburg (watermarks Fribourg 1457); several hands; rubricated titles and some initials; miscellaneous (*epp.* and *orr.*), *nat. deor.* 283r-294v; it belonged to Herman Schedel (see *supra* [107.]) and was then in the Ratsbibliothek in Lüneburg; Pease mentions a fragmentary *Cod. Norimbergensis alter* used by Moser 1818, which should in all probability be identified with this item.  
Pease 1955, 82; Neske 1997, 129-37.

**[146.] Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 1511 (V.3.18)**

Pap.; 80 ff.; end 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; humanistic hand; numerous marginal notes; excerpts from Cic. *orr. varr.*; *nat. deor.* (71r-80r), *div., fat., leg., Luc.* The excerpts of *Luc.* descend from V.  
Narducci 1893, 652; Pease 1955, 80; Bayer 1963, 101.

**[154.] Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, H.VI.14**

Pap.; 145 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; *nat. deor.* (1r, excerpts books 1-2); Anon. *De Cic. Oration.*; Cic. *fin., Phil.* 12-13; it belonged to Ludovico de Interamnis, then it passed to the library of Monte Oliveto Maggiore.  
Pease 1955, 79.

**[165.] Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. X.148**

Pap.; 30 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; miscellaneous: f. 10 *Phil., nat. deor., div.*  
Valentinelli 1871, 80; Pease 1955, 79.

**[166.] Verona, Bibliot. Capitolare 168 (olim 155)**

Parch.; 28 ff.; 2 cols.; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy?; the *Flores moralium autoritatum* preserved only in this ms. depend heavily on the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais and on the *Compendium moralium notabilium* by Geremia da Montagnone (see

*infra* § 3.3 Excerpts II) and are attributed to the Veronese milieu around Guglielmo da Pastrengo. They contain excerpts of several philosophical works (among them *off., nat. deor., Tusc., div., leg., fin., sen., am., parad., s. Scip., Acad.*) and are dated 1329 in the *explicit* of the ms.: *Expliciunt flores moralium auctoritatum maxime utilitatis et honoris sub brevi intervallo conditi per me in hoc passim opere et labore sub anno X Imper. M bis C junct. C quoque triginta minus uno*; the manuscript was given by Scipione Maffei to the Chapter Library.

Pease 1955, 69; Turrini 1959-60, 6(2), 49-65; Bottari 1991, xvi fn. 17; LXIV; Marchi 1996, 234-5; Hunt 1998, 28 fn. 36; Cerroni 2004.

## Commentaries (1)

### [31.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1900

Pap.; 253 ff.; *opp. varr.*, four parts: ff. 71-83 (end 16<sup>th</sup> cent., datable through watermarks) contain the collations of *nat. deor.* (1r-80v), *div., fat.* made by Johan van der Does († ca. 1596) in Heidelberg from three manuscripts. The last private owners were Frans van der Does (brother of Johan) and Jan Gruter, whose notes appear on f. 71r. Pease 1955, 81; Kristeller 1963, 395; Pellegrin 1982, 415-16.

## 3.3 Group 3 (57)

### Complete Copies (33)

#### [3.] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Ham. 161

Parch.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy (Ferrara?); illuminated initials; *nat. deor.* (1r-84r), *div.*; Hebrew quotations; *rhet. Her.*; it was kept in the library of the Carmelite monastery of Ferrara; the last private owner was the Duke of Hamilton, part of whose collection was given to Berlin.

Boese 1966, 83-4.

#### [4.] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 626

Pap.; 48 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; *nat. deor.* (1r-48v); the first known owner was Adrian Fortescue (London, 1898); it was sold to the Berlin Library in 1911.

<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/#|12>

#### [7.] Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, IV.399

Pap.; 25 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; humanistic hand; illuminated initials; *nat. deor.* (1r-88v); the manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale in 1965 from William Salloch (Ossining, NY).

Wittek 1976, 446; Cockshaw 1987; *IRHT*.

#### [13.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.V.149

Parch.; 182 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; humanistic hand; illuminated; Piccolomini coat of arms at the bottom of f. 1r; *nat. deor.* (1r-102v), *div.*; the decorator was Gioacchino de Gi-

gantibus, who worked for Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), the first owner of the manuscript; it later appeared in the collection of Fabio Chigi.  
Pellegrin 1975, 308; *IRHT*.

**[17.] Chis2 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.VIII.253**

Parch.; 182 ff.; 36 lines; mid 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Florence; one humanistic hand; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *Tusc., nat. deor.* (62r-107v), *div., Tim., fat., top., leg.*; it was kept in the Badia Fiorentina, then it appeared in the library of Fabio Chigi. According to Schmidt, for *leg.* **Chis** is a direct descendant of **F**.  
Schmidt 1974, 155-6; Pellegrin 1975, 388-9; Di Maria 1994, xLII; *IRHT*.

**[25.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1492**

Pap.; 146 ff.; 1453-59, Florence; 3 parts: 1. and 2. humanistic hand, 3. gothic *Bononiensis*; Ps. Cic. *Catil. V*; Cic. *Catil.*; Ps. Sall. *in Cic.*, Ps. Cic. *in Sall.*; Cic. *nat. deor.* (60r-142v), *rhet. Her.*; *notae diversae*; the first known owner was Ulrich Fugger, who sold it to the Heidelberg Library.  
Pellegrin 1982, 151-2; *IRHT*.

**[28.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1520**

Parch., palimps.; 84 ff.; 24 lines; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; gothic hand; rubricated initials; inter-linear corrections and marginal variants probably by contemporary hands; marginal and superscript variants and corrections by a later hand; *nat. deor.* (1r-66v); Ps. Apul. *De principatu*; Ps. Cic. *in Sall.*, Ps. Sall. *in Cic.*; *Vita Cic.*; the first known owner was Giovanni Conversini (1393, Ravenna), whose name appears at the bottom of f. 1r; then it was owned by Giambattista Cipelli; when he died, his library was sold by his heir and the manuscript passed to Ulrich Fugger and eventually to the Heidelberg Library.  
Pellegrin 1982, 172-3; *IRHT*.

**[36.] Ross - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ross. Lat. 559**

Parch.; 450 ff.; 2 cols., 53 lines; 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; five gothic and humanistic hands; *fat., off., rhet. Her., inv., part. or., div., parad., am., sen.*; *Anth. Lat.* 603-9; Cic. *Catil.*; Ps. Cic. *in Sall.*; Cic. *Marc., Lig., Deiot., Phil., fin., Acad., nat. deor.* (390r-419r); it belonged to Domenico Capranica († 1458), bishop of Fermo (the item is listed in the catalogue of the Collegio Capranica, 1657), and was sold to Giovanni Francesco De Rossi (1796-1854) in 1842; according to Hunt for *Acad.*, **Ross** descends, through a lost manuscript, from Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr., 131 together with [70.] **Gadd**.  
Badali 1968, 54; Giomini 1975, xxxiii; Pellegrin 1988, 503-6; Hunt 1998, 156-7; *IRHT*.

**[42.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 2909**

Parch.; 54 ff.; 2 cols., 38 lines; two parts: *nat. deor.* (1r-32r) 13<sup>th</sup> cent., France, one gothic hand; *div.* 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy, several humanistic hands; marginal corrections; blue and red uncial initials; rubricated titles; the history of the manuscript before its acquisition (during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, 1471-84) is unknown.  
Pellegrin 1991, 27-8; Fohlen 2008, 79; *IRHT*.



**[44.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3243**

Parch.; 106 ff., 21 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; several humanistic hands; on f. 1r gold initials 'a bianchi girari' on blue and red base; unknown coat of arms at the bottom of f. 1r; *nat. deor.* (1r-104r); it could have been written for Trapezuntius' family; one hand that adds marginal notes seems to belong to Andreas Trapezuntius (son of George); then the manuscript was owned by Fulvio Orsini.

Pellegrin 1991, 146-7; *IRHT*.

**[45.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3244**

Parch.; 122 ff., 21 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; several humanistic hands; blue and red initials; *nat. deor.* (1r-122r); the last owner was Fulvio Orsini, whose *ex-libris* appears on f. IIIv. Gilles-Raynal, A-V. 2010, 147-8; *IRHT*.

**[46.] Vat6 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 11493**

Parch. and pap.; 301 ff., 37/40 lines; 1458, Italy; gold capital letters with green and red decoration; rubricated headings; corrections by a later hand; *nat. deor.* (1r-46r), *div.*, *fin.*, *leg.*, *Luc.*, *Tusc.*, *sen.*, *am.*, *parad.*, *fat.*, *Tim.*; it belonged to M.A. Muret (f. 1r); according to Schmidt for *leg.* and Malaspina for *Luc.* it is among the descendants of Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3245 through [95.] **Harl3**: in this way it is also a twin of Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana e Moreniana, 571.

Badali 1968, 54; Schmidt 1974, 300-1; Gilles-Raynal, A-V. 2010, 834-5; Malaspina 2014, 599-601; *IRHT*.

**[47.] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs-1428**

Parch.; 237 ff., 39 lines; 1429, SE Germany; *bastarda*; two parts: *Cic. inv.*, *nat. deor.* (30r-63r), *leg. agr.*; a treatise of the Italian jurist Peter of Ancarano (ca. 1333-1416); it may have been kept in the library of the Dominican monastery in Wimpfen.

Kristeller 1992, 503; <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31909782>; *IRHT*.

**[50.] El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, N.III.2**

Parch.; 59 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., unknown origin; gold and coloured initials; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.* (1r-59r); it belonged to Jerónimo Zurita (1512-80) and to the Count-Duke de Olivares (see *supra* [51.] S.I.18 and [52.] S.III.28).

Antolín 1916, 3, 147; Rubio Fernández 1984, 145, no. 178; *IRHT*.

**[62.] Firenze, BML, Conv. Soppr. 44**

*nat. deor.*; it was in the catalogue of the Badia Fiorentina as no. 544.

Blum 1951, 168; *IRHT*.

**[73.] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I.IX.4<sup>40</sup>**

Pap., in-4°, 212 × 152 mm; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (second half); *nat. deor.* (1r-64v); binding 19<sup>th</sup> cent.; it reached the Biblioteca Nazionale in the aftermath of the Napoleonic suppressions from the abbey of S. Marco in Florence (f. 1r *Conventus Sancti Marci de Florentia, Ordinis Praedicatorum, ex armario novitiorum*); absent from Ullman-Stadter 1972, Bianchi 2002 and Petitmengin-Ciccolini 2005.

*IRHT.*

**[74.] Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Fondo Landau Finaly 33**

Pap.; 63 ff.; 1458, Cremona (Briquet no. 3387); *littera antiqua*; marginal notes by the first and a later hand; blank spaces for decoration; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.* (1r-63r); it was written by *Johannes Antonius Egidii civitatis Cremonae* (f. 63r); nothing else is known.

Lazzi 1994, 104; *IRHT.*

**[78.] Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms.G.IV.28**

Parch.; 112 ff.; 38 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; red marginal notes; some illuminated initials; *Tusc.*, *nat. deor.* (61r-112v); Walter Ashburner's coat of arms (ff. 2r and 112v); it was among the possessions of Gerolamo Gaslini (1877-1964), who gave it to Genoa University.

Cartaregia 1991, 128-9; *IRHT.*

**[97.] Lond - London, Private Collection of Nicholas Barker**

Parch.; 220 ff., 27 lines; 1420-30 (A. de la Mare quoted by Hunt), Florence; humanistic hand; marginal correction and variants by the same hand; gold initials; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *fat.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.*; the first known owner was Sir George Shuckburgh; his collection was acquired by N.D. Martin and finally by Lady Christian Holland Martin; Hunt was the first who collated **Lond** and suggested it is a descendant of [70.] **Gadd**; this has been confirmed for *Luc.* too by Malaspina.

Hunt 1998, 133; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31.

**[100.] Ambr1 - Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 94 sup.**

Parch.; 180 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy; humanistic hand; marginal names and notes by the same hand; illuminated initials; *fin.*, *leg.*, *nat. deor.* (71v-112r), *div.*, *fat.*, *Acad.*, *Tim.*, *part. or.*, *s. Scip.*; written for Giovanni Maria Catane (f. 1r), it was acquired by the Ambrosiana in 1606; see *supra* [167.] **Wash** for its controversial collocation (the association with the V family is in any case evident); in *nat. deor.* 2 there are important changes in the order of the text (see *infra* § 4).

Schmidt 1974, 349; Cipriani 1968, 31; Ceruti (1973-79), 3, 291; Hunt 1998, 191-2; *IRHT.*

**[104.] Ambr3 - Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 137 sup.**

Parch.; 208 ff.; 35/36 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Northern Italy (Padua?); two humanistic hands; gold initials 'a bianchi girari'; *Tim.*, *leg.*, *fin.*, *div.*, *nat. deor.* (151r-196v), *fat.*; it belonged

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**40** We have received *per litteras* a concise description of the manuscript from Dr. David Speranzi of the Biblioteca Nazionale.

to Francesco Pizolpasso, archbishop of Milan (1432-39); his collection was inherited by the chapter of the Cathedral in Milan; it was bought by the Ambrosiana in 1605; Schmidt for *leg.* places it among the descendants of V. Cipriani 1968, 50; Ceruti (1973-79), 3: 514; Schmidt 1974, 336-7; *IRHT*.

**[108.] Mon1 - München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C.L.M. 5386**

Pap.; 218 ff.; 1465, Padua; *bastarda*; blue and red initials; Sall. *Catil.*, *Iug.*; Cic. *Catil.*, *nat. deor.* (96r-158v), *leg.*; Ps. Diog. *Cynicus*; written for Bernhard von Kraiburg, bishop of Chiemsee from 1467; according to Schmidt for *leg.* it is a copy of Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1522 (which does not contain *nat. deor.*). München 1873, 63; Schmidt 1974, 360; *IRHT*.

**[112.] Neap1 - Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.G.1**

Parch.; 119 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (1420-30), Florence; initials 'a bianchi girari'; *nat. deor.* (1r-72v), *fat.*, *leg.*; it belonged to the 'Fondo farnesiano', established by Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549), Pope Paul III, in Rome. For *leg.* it descends, at one remove, from Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl. XXIX, 199 (see [139.] **Par4**). Iannelli 1827, 213, no. 309; Napoli 1853, 196r; Schmidt 1974, 272-3.

**[113.] Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV.G.2**

Parch.; 2 columns; 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent.; *nat. deor.* (3r-45r), *Tim.*, *fat.*; marginal notes by later hands; the first known owner was Aulo Giano Parrasio, who bought it during his stay in Vicenza; after his death 1522, it belonged to Antonio Seripando (flyleaf top: *A. Iani Parrhasii et amicorum Veicetiae emptus aureolo*; bottom: *Antonii Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasii testamento*). Apparently, the manuscript has been scarcely studied by Parrasio's experts. Iannelli 1827, 213, no. 310; Napoli 1853, 196r; Tristano 1988, 374.

**[116.] Yal - New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 284**

Parch.; 278 ff.; 1470, Florence; humanistic hand; illuminated initials; rubricated titles; *nat. deor.* (2r-40r), *div.*, *fat.*, *leg.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.*, *fin.*, *s. Scip.*, *Tusc.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *am.*, *off.*; copied by Pietro Cennini (so A. de la Mare in Shailor), it belonged to Janos Vitez, bishop of Esztergom (Hungary); scholars agree it is a copy of [70.] **Gadd**, at least for *leg.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.* Schmidt 1974, 323; Shailor 1987, 52-6; Hunt 1998, 136-7; Oakley 2016, 352; Malaspina 2019a, 29-31; *IRHT*.

**[117.] New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Marston 116**

Parch.; 106 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., NE Italy; humanistic hand; blank spaces for decoration; *nat. deor.* (1r-106r); it belonged to Henry Allen; in 1953 it was among the possessions of Thomas Marston. Shailor 1992, 209-10.

**[121.] Olomouc, Veřejná Knihovna, M.II.78**

Pap.; 159 ff.; 1469 (on f. 1r; furthermore, Briquet no. 4736); humanistic hand; *de orat.*, *nat. deor.* (102r-159v); written for Johannes Rabenstein.  
Boháček 1998, 406; *IRHT*.

**[123.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G.194**

Parch.; 56 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; with miniatures; *nat. deor.* (1r-56r); fragment of an Italian-English vocabulary on f. 9r; on f. 1r an unknown episcopal coat of arms.  
Madan 1895, 3: 376; *IRHT*.

**[124.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, d'Orville 83**

Parch.; 70 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; *nat. deor.* (1r-70r); illuminated initials; it belonged to Jacques Philippe d'Orville, Dutch philologist, who travelled in France, Italy, England and Germany between 1723 and 1729; his collection was finally brought to Oxford in 1804.  
Madan 1897, 4: 58; *IRHT*.

**[139.] Par4 - Paris, BNF, Lat. 17154**

Parch.; 488 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; two gothic hands; white floral initials (only in the first part); *nat. deor.* (1r-28r), *div.*, *Tim.*, *fat.*, *Tusc.*, *fin.*, *leg.*, *Acad.*, *Luc.*, *off.*, *sen.*, *parad.*, *am.*; Q. Cic. *pet.*; Cic. *s. Scip.*; the first known owner was Achille Visconti (f. 488r); in the BNF since 1784; it belongs to the family of V: according to Schmidt for *leg.*, it is also the twin of [112.] **Neap1** and descends, at one remove, from Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl. XXIX, 199 (which does not contain *nat. deor.*); according to Malaspina for *Luc.*, however, it derives (together with Magl. XXIX, 199 itself) from [54.] **Scor4** (see *supra* [54.]).  
Schmidt 1974, 268-72; Di Maria 1994, xLi; Billanovich 1996, 310; Hunt 1998, 144-6; Malaspina 2019a, 32-3; *IRHT*.

**[144.] Praha, Archiv Prazského Hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly, L.LXIV 1309**

Pap.; 146 ff.; 1459, Bologna; miscellaneous: Cic. *nat. deor.* 1r-40v; copied and owned by Venceslaus of Krizanov.  
Podlaha 1922, 237-9; Hankins 1997, 156 fn. 2127; Venier 2011, 127-9; *IRHT*.

**[149.] Sant - Saint Andrews, University Library, PA 6295.A2A00**

Pap.; 283 ff., 36 lines; 1471-82, Flanders or France; gothic *bastarda*, three hands; blue and red initials; *off.*, *parad.*, *am.*, *sen.*; epitaphs of Cicero; *Tusc.*, *fin.*, *s. Scip.*; Q. Cic. *pet.*; Cic. *Acad.*, *Tim.*, *Luc.*, *fat.*, *nat. deor.* (192r-233r), *div.*, *leg.*; the first owner was Archibald Whitelaw; it belonged thereafter to Thomas Henryson of Chester, then to William Guild, who gave his collection to St. Andrews Library; according to Schmidt for *leg.*, **Sant** is a copy of the *editio princeps* 1471.  
Schmidt 1974, 396-8; Winterbottom 1993, 241; Hunt 1998, 213-14; *IRHT*.

**[157.] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.X.8**

Pap.; 88 ff.; 24 lines; 1464, Constance; two hands: gothic *bastarda*; rare notes; titles with capital letters; *nat. deor.* (2r-73v); Hieron. de Vallibus *lesuida*; Verg. *Aen.* On f. 2r a note testifies to the passage from the Cathedral Library of Constance to the Weingarten monastery in 1630.  
Buhl 1972, 66-7; *IRHT*.

## Incomplete Copies (2)

### [60.] Firenze, BML, Acq. e Doni 125 (Castilionensis, olim 62.169)

Pap.; 181 ff.; end 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; several works of Greek authors, followed by Cic. *oratt.*, *Brut.*, *nat. deor.* (lib. 3); it belonged to Francesco da Castiglione (1420-84) and was acquired by the Laurentian Library in 1815.

Bandini 1961, 67\*; *IRHT*.

### [80.] Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester, 381<sup>41</sup>

Parch.; 57 ff.; 1420-40, Florence (?); three gothic hands; *nat. deor.* 1,53-3,95 (2r-57v); it was probably owned by Sozomeno of Pistoia and certainly by the Neapolitan bibliophile Giuseppe Valletta (1636-1714).

Reynolds 2015, 289-91; Ceccherini 2016, 359.

## Excerpts I. (16)

### [1.] Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 357

Parch.; 122 ff., 30 lines; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (end), France (Avignon?); rubricated initials and titles; excerpts from *nat. deor.* f. 100v; originally preserved in the Celestine (O.S.B.) monastery at Gentilly (f. 1r).

Popof 1993; Hunt 1998, 28 fn. 36; *IRHT*.

### [2.] Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F.V.06

Pap.; 137 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (Briquet no. 6017); humanistic hand; excerpts from *nat. deor.* f. 81v; it belonged to the charterhouse of Basle; according to Schmidt for *leg.* it descends from F.

Schmidt 1974, 155 fn. 50; *IRHT*.

### [5.] Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 161

Parch.; 131 ff. (two quires lost after f. 8); 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent.; blank spaces for decoration; excerpts from *nat. deor.* f. 77v.

Hagen 1875, 231-3; Hunt 1998, 28 fn. 36; *IRHT*.

### [16.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Chis. Lat. H.VII.248

Pap.; 198 ff., 2 cols.; 1383-1400, Northern Italy; several hands; excerpts from *nat. deor.* 3 f. 194v; it belonged to Antonio Sbedardo, active in Lodi on behalf of Francesco Sforza as administrator of St. Stephen's Abbey; then it entered the collection of Fabio Chigi. Pellegrin 1975, 242-6; *IRHT*.

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**41** We are indebted to Michael D. Reeve for pointing out that this manuscript coincides with the item quoted by Pease 1955, 81 as "Naples, Bibl. Olivetanorum": Pease takes it from P. Deschamps, who follows in turn (wrongly, however) Bernard de Montfaucon, who had correctly ascribed the manuscript to Valletta's library. At his death, some items were not inherited by the Library of the Gerolamini in Naples, but sold; the present one is among them, as confirmed by Reynolds 2015.

**[21.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1586**

Pap.; 191 ff., 2 cols., 38 lines; 1424-26, Italy (watermarks suggest Palermo, Pisa or Florence); illuminated initials; excerpts from *nat. deor.* 2 f. 191v; probably written for Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391-1452), it belonged to Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto and to Duke Giovanni Angelo d'Altemps, before reaching Pietro Ottoboni's library and finally the BAV. Pellegrin 1975, 621-4; *IRHT*.

**[24.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 2105**

Pap.; 53 ff., 29 lines; three parts: 1467, Zadar; 16<sup>th</sup> cent., maybe Venice (watermarks); 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.; humanistic hands; excerpts from *nat. deor.* f. 43v; the first known owner may have been Cardinal Marcello Cervini (for the history of his library see *supra* [18.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 1242). Pellegrin 1975, 788; *IRHT*.

**[32.] Reg1 - Città del Vaticano, BAV, Reg. Lat. 358**

Parch.; 108 ff.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., France; gothic hand (*bastarda*); excerpts from many Greek, Latin and medieval authors, among them Val. Max.; Sall.; Cic. (31r-42v, *nat. deor.* 41r-v); Sen.; Publ. Syr.; Ps. Sen.; Sen. Rhet.; Tert.; Fulg.; Quint.; Ps. Auson.; Plin. Iun.; Arist.; the manuscript presents an enlarged version of the *Florilegium Angelicum*, with the insertion, among other (Ciceronian) material, of excerpts from the whole *CL* (in the order *parad., leg., top., Luc., nat. deor., div., fat., Tim.*); this format reappears in the witnesses of the *Compendium moralium notabilium* (see *infra*): according to Schmidt for *leg.* (followed by Reynolds for *fin.*), both **Reg1** and the *Compendium* derive from the same source, which in turn derives from I, the exemplar also of [172.] **Gud** and [54.] **Scor4**; Schmidt, Rouse-Rouse, Reynolds and Senore also agree that the excerpts are too short and too much rephrased for their readings to be used for stemmatic purposes.

Schmidt 1974, 185-92; Rouse-Rouse 1976, 112; Pellegrin 1978, 68-71; Reynolds 1992, 20; Senore in Malaspina 2014, 614-15.

**[56.] Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 099**

Parch.; 154 ff.; 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy or England or Germany; excerpts from Cic. *nat. deor., off., Mil., Tusc.* (143r-144v) written by Johannes of Wasia (f. 154v: *Iuramenta a baccalaureis theologie, antequam ad lecturam sententiarum accedant, prestanda. Conclusio facultatis theologie Coloniensis a. 1392 die 25. Mensis Novembris facta de legendi licentia baccalaureis*); 1410-12 it was owned by Amplonius Rating de Berka (1363-1435). Schum 1887, 358-9.

**[57.] Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 393**

Parch.; 111 ff.; 1380; ff. 81r-111v excerpts from Cic. *off., sen., am., parad., Tusc., fin., div., fat., leg., nat. deor., Marc., Lig., Cael., Catil., Balb.*; it belonged to Amplonius Rating de Berka, in whose catalogue it is listed as no. 20m *philosophie moralis*. Schum 1887, 655-7.

**[103.] Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 146 sup.**

Parch.; 216 ff.; 14<sup>th</sup> cent. (second half); Sen. *trag.*; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,62 (f. 213v, not noticed by Navoni); it belonged to Francesco Ciceri (see *supra* [102.]) and then to Ludovico Bossi.

Cipriani 1968, 45; Ceruti (1973-79), 3: 417; Navoni 2000, 215-16; <http://ambrosiana.comperio.it/opac/detail/view/ambro:catalog:72843>.

**[105.] Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 45 inf.**

Pap.; 69 ff.; 16<sup>th</sup> cent., Milan; excerpts of several works and authors made by Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), among them Cic. *nat. deor.* (39r-53r).

Ceruti (1973-79), 2: 105.

**[126.] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 94 (olim 3631)**

Parch.; 12 ff. (final part of a larger item); ca. 1400, England; Richard Maidstone, *operae*; Cic. *nat. deor.* (ff. 11v-12r, excerpts by Richard Lavynham).

Madan 1937, 711-12; *IRHT*.

**[147.] Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1316**

Parch.; 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Italy; marginal notes by the first hand; blank spaces for decoration; excerpts of *sententiae* of classical authors, among them Plat., Cic. *nat. deor.*, Ter., Plaut., Ovid., Verg.; probably written by Giovan Pietro (Giampietro) d'Avenza (Lucca), it was bought by the Casanatense Library in 1780 (f. lv).

De Ferrari 1844; *IRHT*.

**[155.] Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, K.VIII.41**

Pap.; 15+158 ff.; 1449; one hand, *bastarda*; excerpts from *nat. deor.* 120r-123r.; some subscriptions (15<sup>th</sup> cent.); it belonged to the Dominican monastery of Siena (18<sup>th</sup> cent.).

Ilari 1848, 1, 239; Kristeller 1963, 157.

**[156.] Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB.VIII.13**

Pap.; 350 ff.; 1470, Leipzig; several hands, *bastarda*; marginal notes by several later hands; blank spaces for decoration; miscellaneous: from f. 160r several philosophical and rhetorical works of Cicero, among them *fin.*, *nat. deor.*, *div.*, *fat.* (f. 168v); it belonged to Rudolph von Gottmadingen; during the 16<sup>th</sup> cent. it was among the possessions of Gandolph Wolfgang Metzelt (†1541; on f. 1r *fratri Gandolpho Metzelt*); f. 3r *Monasterii Weingartensis 1628*.

Buhl 1972, 16-23.

**[162.] Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C362**

Pap.; 281 ff.; ca. 1489, Vadstena; excerpts from *nat. deor.* f. 104r; written by Nicolaus Ragvaldi (†1514), monk and general confessor at the Abbey of Our Lady and of St Bridget in Vadstena.

Andersson-Schmitt 1991, 405-10.

Excerpts II. From the *Florilegium Angelicum* to the *Compendium moralium notabilium* by Geremia da Montagnone (4)<sup>42</sup>

**[77.] Fritzlar, Dombibliothek, Ms. 2**

Pap.; 316 ff.; two parts: 1420-60 (Briquet no. 11689-11750), 40/60 lines, *bastarda*: various theological treatises and Geremia da Montagnone (115r-279v), with excerpts from *nat. deor.*; 14<sup>th</sup> cent. (second half), 45/50 lines, two gothic hands; it was written in memory of Johannes Borgholz and Sander Dassel of Fritzlar.

List 1984, 2-5.

**[82.] Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, cod.700**

Pap.; 240 ff., two cols.; 1419, Poland; Geremia da Montagnone, with excerpts from *nat. deor.* 1.

Kowalczyk 1993, 5: 90-1.

**[109.] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C.L.M. 14317**

Pap.; 392 ff., 15<sup>th</sup> cent.; four parts: ff. 219-367 two cols., one hand (*bastarda*); blank spaces for initials; Geremia da Montagnone, with excerpts from *nat. deor.* (f. 222r).

München 1876, 157; Helmer 2011, 179-84.

**[110.] München, Universitätsbibliothek, fol. 98**

Pap.; 233 ff., 43/45 lines; 1467, Southern Germany; Geremia da Montagnone, with excerpts from *nat. deor.* (f. 5v); it belonged to Wolfgang Peyssers (Ingolstadt, †1526), then to Christoph Gewold, from whom it passed to the University Library of Ingolstadt.

Daniel 1974, 159-60.

Commentaries (2)

**[115.] Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, V.F.14**

Pap.; 166 ff.; 16<sup>th</sup> cent. (first decade); “miscellany composed of different fascicles and hands” (Monfasani), with many blank sheets; working copy of Giles of Viterbo (1469-1532) containing letters and sermons of Giles himself and also some anonymous treatises; ff. 40r-41r (different cursive hand) display an anonymous commentary on *nat. deor.* 3,42-59; absent from Fossier 1982; according to Monfasani it belonged to an Augustinian monastery.

Monfasani 1991, 329-31; Kristeller 1992, 110-11; *IRHT*.

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**42** In the pertinent catalogues these four manuscripts are listed as witnesses of *nat. deor.* However, their Ciceronian excerpts are part of the treatise of Geremia da Montagnone (1250-1321), *Compendium moralium notabilium*, which is in turn an enlarged version of the *Florilegium Angelicum* (see Rouse 1979, 133-5), as we have just seen for [32.]

**Reg1.** In this sense, every manuscript of the *Compendium* is potentially a witness of *nat. deor.*, even when the presence of the Ciceronian excerpts is not recorded in the catalogue (it is the case, for instance, of Fritzlar, Dombibliothek, Ms. 7: see List 1984, 15-17).



**[135.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6341**

Pap.; 16<sup>th</sup> cent.; *Comment. in secundum librum De natura deorum*; little is known about this manuscript, which is linked to the name of David Mentelli (1780-1836).

*IRHT.*

## **4 Some Notes on the Arrangement of Book 2 in the *Recentiores***

It is not surprising that the great majority of the *recentiores* keep the same book order as in **AVHP**:<sup>43</sup>

- 2.1 – 2.16 *potius dixeris quam deum*
- 2.156 *largitate fundit ... gignere videtur*
- 2.86 *ex sese perfectiores* – 2.156 *quae cum maxima*
- 2.16 *etenim si di* – 2.86 *ecferant aliquid*
- 2.156 *ex largitate fundit* usque ad finem.

Nevertheless, Città del Vaticano, [38.] **Urb** - BAV, Urb. Lat. 319 and [130.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 4588A follow **B**:

- 2.1 – 2.15 *motus gubernari*;
- 2.86 *ex sese perfectiores* – 2.156 *quae cum maxima*;
- 2.15 *tam multarum rerum* – 2.86 *ecferant aliquid*;
- 2.156 *largitate fundit* usque ad finem.

As far as we have seen until now, one item has substantial omissions: [46.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Lat. 11493:

- 2.1 *Quae cum Cotta* – 2.4 *tamque perspicuum cum*
- 2.97 *videamus constantissime conficientem* – 2.156 *quae cum maxima*
- 2.16 *etenim si di* – 2.86 *quae ecferant aliquid*
- 2.156 *ex largitate fundit* usque ad finem

Abest:

- 2.4 *caelum suspeximus caelestium* – 2.16 *quid potius dixeris quam deum?*
- 2.86 *ex sese perfectiores* – 2.97 *cum admirabili celeritate moveri.*

and [100.] **Ambr1** - Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 94 sup. has an absolutely peculiar order:

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**43** The following partial list contains the manuscripts available on line: [25.] Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1492; [26.] Pal. Lat. 1518; [29.] Pal. Lat. 1524; [30.] **Pal** - Pal. Lat. 1525; [33.] Reg. Lat. 1473; [34.] **Reg** - Reg. Lat. 1481; [37.] Urb. Lat. 312; [39.] Vat. Lat. 1758; [40.] Vat. Lat. 1759; [42.] Vat. Lat. 2909; [43.] Vat. Lat. 3242; [45.] Vat. Lat. 3244; [64.] Firenze, BML, Plut. 23sin.05; [65.] Plut. 50.27; [66.] Plut. 83.03; [67.] Plut. 83.04; [68.] Plut. 83.06; [69.] Plut. 83.07; [70.] **Gadd** - Plut. 90sup.78; [81.] Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, 4<sup>o</sup> Ms. philos. 6; [131.] Paris, BNF, Lat. 6283; [132.] Lat. 6334; [134.] Lat. 6340; [136.] Lat. 6375; [137.] Lat. 7698; [139.] Lat. 17154; [140.] **N** - Lat. 17812.

- 2.1 – 2.16 *potius dixeris quam deus*  
2.86 *ex sese perfectiores habere* – 2.94 *si mundum efficere potest*  
2.127 *quae quidem* – 2.156 *quae cum maxima*  
2.16 *Etenim si di* – 2.19 *mundi partibus profecto*  
2.94 *concursum atomorum* – 2.127 *stirpibus continerentur*  
2.54 *tempus non possum intellegere* – 2.86 *ea quae eferant aliquid*  
2.156 *quid de vitibus olivetisque* – 2.158 *canum vero tam fida custodia*  
2.19 *nisi ea uno divino* – 2.54 *in omni aeternitate convenientiam*  
2.158 *tamque amans usque ad finem.*

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## Appendix: A Summary Table in Alphabetical Order<sup>44</sup>

Library	Shelfmark	Folios	Dating	Existing siglum	Previous mentions
1. * Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale	357	100v	15 <sup>th</sup>		H I
2. * Basel, Universitätsbibliothek	F.V.06	81v	15 <sup>th</sup>		S I
3. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz	Ms. Ham. 161	1r-84r	15 <sup>th</sup>		
4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz	Ms. lat. qu. 626	1r-48v	15 <sup>th</sup>		
5. * Bern, Stadtbibliothek	161	77v	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>		H I
6. Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria	2228 (1096)	215r-264v	1450-60	Bon	P S H
7. Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale	IV.399	1r-88v	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
8. * Cambridge, St. John's College	97 (D.32)	164r	14 <sup>th</sup>	Cant3	P H
9. Cambridge, University Library	Dd.XIII.2	9v-51r	1444	Cant2	P I
10. Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana	S.XVIII.1	169r-217v	1440-50	Ces	P S H M
11. Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana	S.XXV.4	1r-71v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
12. Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H. IV.99	1r-132r	1435		P I M
13. Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H.V.149	1r-102v	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
14. Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H.VII.221	1r-79v	ca. 1430	Chis1	P I
15. Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H.VII.222	1r-11v (partial)	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
16. * Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H.VII.248	194v	1383-1400		I
17. Città del Vaticano	Chis. Lat. H.VIII.253	62r-107v	15 <sup>th</sup>	Chis2	S I
18. Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1242	1r-78v	1461		P I
19. Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1372	1r-68v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
20. Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1414	1r-77r	1455		P I
21. * Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1586	191v	1424-26		I
22. Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1622	1r-63v	14 <sup>th</sup>		P I
23. Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 1944	1r-67v	ca. 1450	Ott3	P S H I
24. * Città del Vaticano	Ott. Lat. 2105	43v	15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup>		I
25. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1492	60r-142v	ca. 1455		I
26. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1518	1r-74v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
27. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1519	1r-40r	ca. 1000	P	P I M
28. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1520	1r-66v	14 <sup>th</sup>		I

<sup>44</sup> Fragmentary or excerpted items are highlighted by an asterisk (\*). As for the previous mentions in catalogues, P = Pease 1955; S = Schmidt 1974; H = Hunt 1998; I = IRHT (typewritten cards); M = Mirabile (online).

<b>Library</b>	<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Dating</b>	<b>Existing siglum</b>	<b>Previous mentions</b>
29. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1524	232r-280r	15 <sup>th</sup>	Pal3	P S I
30. Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1525	102r-134r	1467	Pal	P S I M
31. * Città del Vaticano	Pal. Lat. 1900	71r-80v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
32. * Città del Vaticano	Reg. Lat. 358	41r-v	15 <sup>th</sup>	Reg1	S
33. Città del Vaticano	Reg. Lat. 1473	1r-58r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
34. Città del Vaticano	Reg. Lat. 1481	122r-152v	1418	Reg	P S I M
35. * Città del Vaticano	Reg. Lat. 1762	4r-64v (passim)	9 <sup>th</sup>	<b>K</b>	P S M
36. Città del Vaticano	Ross. Lat. 559	390r-419r	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup>	Ross	I
37. Città del Vaticano	Urb. Lat. 312	1r-59r	post 1474		P I
38. Città del Vaticano	Urb. Lat. 319	2r-59r	ante 1474	Urb	P S H I M
39. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 1758	1r-70r	ca. 1460	Vat1	P S I
40. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 1759	1r-49r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
41. * Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 1918	102v	1381		P I
42. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 2909	1r-32r	13 <sup>th</sup>		I M
43. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 3242	1r-43v	14 <sup>th</sup>		P I
44. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 3243	1r-104r	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
45. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 3244	1r-122r	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
46. Città del Vaticano	Vat. Lat. 11493	1r-46r	1458	Vat6	S I
47. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek	Hs-1428	30r-63r	1429		I
48. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek	Dc.106	59r-103r	1460	Dresd1	P S H
49. Edinburgh, University Library	Ms. 16	180r-192r (partial)	12 <sup>th</sup>		P I
50. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo	N.III.2	1r-59r	1536		I
51. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo	S.I.18	73r-104r	13 <sup>th</sup>		P I
52. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo	S.III.28	1r-72r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
53. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo	T.III.17	1r-85v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
54. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo	V.III.6	21v-59v	13 <sup>th</sup>	Scor4	P S I
55. Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek	618 (olim 847)	111v-153r	1466	Erl	P H I
56. * Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha	Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 099	143r-144v	14 <sup>th</sup>		
57. * Erfurt, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha	Dep. Erf. CA. 4° 393	81r-111v (passim)	1346-55		
58. Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Manfrediana	30	(partial)	1434		P I
59. Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea	Cl.II.386	1r-39r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P

<b>Library</b>	<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Dating</b>	<b>Existing siglum</b>	<b>Previous mentions</b>
60. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Acquisti e Doni 125	(partial)	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
61. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Conv. Soppr. 31	1r-124v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
62. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Conv. Soppr. 44				I
63. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Fiesole 188	170v-210v	ca. 1460	Fes	P S H
64. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 23sin.05	1r-115r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
65. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 50.27	62v-73v	13 <sup>th</sup>		P M
66. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 83.03	1r-24r	1469		P
67. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 83.04	1r-64r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
68. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 83.06	1r-66r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
69. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 83.07	1r-85r	1450-60	Laur3	P S H
70. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Plut. 90sup.78 (ex Gaddi)	1r-71r	15 <sup>th</sup>	Gadd	P S H
71. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	San Marco 257	1r-27v	ca. 850	F	P S I M
72. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana	Strozz. XLV	1r-83v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
73. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	Conv. Soppr. I.IX.4	1r-64v	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
74. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	Fondo Landau Finaly 33	1r-63r	1458		I
75. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	Magl. VI.27	1r-100v	1467		P I
76. Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	Magl. XXI.30	102r-162r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P H
77. * Fritzlar, Dombibliothek	Ms. 2		1420-60		
78. Genova, Biblioteca Universitaria	ms.G.IV.28	61r-112v	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
79. * Hagion Oros, Βιβλιοθήκη Μονῆ Ἰβήρων	4203	257v	1440		P
80. * Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester	381	1r-57v (partial)	1420-40		M
81. Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek	4 <sup>o</sup> Ms. philos. 6	2r-86v	1470		P I
82. * Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska	cod.700		1419		
83. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale	454		15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
84. Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit	B.P.L. 118	1r-53v	ca. 1080	H	P S I M



<b>Library</b>	<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Dating</b>	<b>Existing siglum</b>	<b>Previous mentions</b>
85. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit	Perizonianus F.25	233v-267r	1422-24		P S H I
86. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit	Vossianus Lat. F. 84	1r-36v	ca. 850	A	P S I M
87. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit	Vossianus Lat. F. 86	1r-59r	ca. 850	B	P S I M
88. London, British Library	Add. MS 11932		15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
89. London, British Library	Add. MS 19586	221r-251r	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup>		P
90. London, British Library	Burney 148	3r-57r	13 <sup>th</sup>	<b>G (L)</b>	P S I
91. London, British Library	Harley 2465		1418		P
92. London, British Library	Harley 2511		1404		P
93. London, British Library	Harley 2622	9r-27v	11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> ?	D	P I
94. London, British Library	Harley 4662	1r-106v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
95. London, British Library	Harley 5114	61r-121v	1416-20	Harl3	P S I
96. * London, British Library	Sloane 3861	26v-29r	17 <sup>th</sup>		P
97. London, Collection of Nicholas Barker			1420-30	Lond	H
98. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional	7813 (V 227)	158r-200r	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup>	Matr	P S I M
99. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional	9116 (Aa 25)	1r-54v	14 <sup>th</sup>		P H I M
100. Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	D 94 sup.	71v-112r	15 <sup>th</sup>	Ambr1	S H I M
101. Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	D 113 sup.	65r-109v	1426		P I
102. Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	E 15 inf.	73r-102v	14 <sup>th</sup>	Ambr2	P S I
103. * Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	E 146 sup.	213v	14 <sup>th</sup>		
104. Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	F 137 sup.	151r-196v	15 <sup>th</sup>	Ambr3	S I
105. * Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	G 45 inf.	39r-53r	16 <sup>th</sup>		
106. Milano, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana	O 209 sup.	1r-51v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P I
107. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	C.L.M. 277	118r-192r	1465		P
108. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	C.L.M. 5386	96r-158v	1465	Mon1	S I
109. * München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	C.L.M. 14317	222r	15 <sup>th</sup>		
110. * München, Universitätsbibliothek	fol. 98	5v	1467		
111. München, Universitätsbibliothek	4° 528	1r-52v	10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup>	M	P S I M
112. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	IV.G.1	1r-72v	1420-30	Neap1	S
113. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	IV.G.2	3r-45r	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>		
114. Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	IV.G.3		15 <sup>th</sup>		P
115. * Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale	V.F.14	40r-41r	16 <sup>th</sup>		I

<b>Library</b>	<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Dating</b>	<b>Existing siglum</b>	<b>Previous mentions</b>
116. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library	284	2r-40r	1470	Yal	SHIM
117. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library	Marston 116	1r-106r	15 <sup>th</sup>		
118. New York, Morgan Library	497		1470-75	Corv	PSH
119. Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek	Cent. V, App. 7	107r-148v	1460-70		PI
120. * Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek	Cent. V, App. 15	283r-294v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
121. Olomouc, Veřejná knihovna	M.II.78	102r-159v	1469		I
122. Oxford, Balliol College	248D	155r-207v	1445-54	Ball	PSHI
123. Oxford, Bodleian Library	Rawlinson G.194	1r-56r	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
124. Oxford, Bodleian Library	d'Orville 83	1r-70r	15 <sup>th</sup>		I
125. Oxford, Bodleian Library	Auct. F.1.12 (2497)		1459	Bodl	PSHI
126. * Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ms. e Mus. 94	11v-12r	ca. 1400		I
127. Oxford, Corpus Christi College	283	6r-30r	13 <sup>th</sup>		PIM
128. Oxford, Lincoln College	Lat. 38		1420	Linc	PSHI
129. Oxford, Merton College	311-I (H.2.11)	37r-69v	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>	O	PI
130. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 4588A	35r-53r (partial)	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>		PI
131. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6283	13r-45r	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>	Par	PHIM
132. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6334	62v-111v	14 <sup>th</sup>		PI
133. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6339	1v-57r	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup>		PI
134. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6340	1r-51r	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup>		PIM
135. * Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6341		16 <sup>th</sup>		I
136. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 6375	17r-46v	14 <sup>th</sup>		PIM
137. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 7698	145r-174v	14 <sup>th</sup>		PI
138. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 15085	189r-202r (partial)	12 <sup>th</sup>		PI
139. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 17154		15 <sup>th</sup>	Par4	SHI
140. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Lat. 17812	13r-46r	12 <sup>th</sup>	N	PIM
141. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France	Suppl. Lat. 9320	22r-58r	15 <sup>th</sup>	Par6	PIM
142. Pavia, Libreria Universitaria	194	1r-52r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P

<b>Library</b>	<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Dating</b>	<b>Existing siglum</b>	<b>Previous mentions</b>
143. Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana	11 (A.14)	1r-57r	1401-25		P M
144. Praha, Archiv Pražského Hradu, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituly	L.LXIV (1309)	1r-40v	15 <sup>th</sup>		I M
145. Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunga	SC.MS.29	1r-80v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
146. * Roma, Biblioteca Angelica	1511 (V.3.18)	71r-80r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
147. * Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense	1316		15 <sup>th</sup>		I
148. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale	1041 (O.47)	140r-199r	ca. 1420		P S I
149. Saint Andrews, University Library	PA 6295.A2A00	192r-233r	1471-82	Sant	S H I
150. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale	652	69r-119r	post 1452	Bert	P I M
151. San Daniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Comunale	62	1r-27v	14 <sup>th</sup>	Sand1	P S I
152. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek	850	249r-344r	ca. 1440		P I M
153. Sevilla, Biblioteca Colombina	5.5.19	2r-28r	1462		P
154. * Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati	H.VI.14	1r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
155. * Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati	K.VIII.41	120r-123r	1449		M
156. * Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek	HB.VIII.13	168v	1470		
157. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek	HB.X.8	2r-73v	1464		I
158. Toledo (Ohio), Museum of Art	ms. 33	1r-188r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
159. Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares	100.18	1r-90r	1463		P I
160. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale	688	9r-26r	12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup>	T	P I
161. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale	552 (QQ. III.10.335)	187r-211v	14 <sup>th</sup>	Trec	P S I
162. * Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek	C362	f.104r	ca. 1489		
163. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	Lat. X.2	58r-59r (partial)	1387-1400		P
164. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	Lat. X.118	1r-70r	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
165. * Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	Lat. X.148	10	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
166. * Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare	168 (olim 155)		1329		P H
167. Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library	SM.9 (V.a.88)		1453-71	Wash	P S H
168. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	124	1r-30r	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup>		P I
169. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	163/146	1r-87r	15 <sup>th</sup>	Vind	P S I
170. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	189	40v-82v	800-850	V	P S I M

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171. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	3261 22.7.Aug. 4°	1r-112v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P S
172. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek	4306 Gud. Lat. 2°	113v-133v	14 <sup>th</sup>	Gud	P S
173. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka	Rehdigeranus 64	1r-28v	15 <sup>th</sup>		P
174. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka	IV.F.180	103-161	1416		P