

# ‘Age is No (De)merit’: The Case of the MS Marcianus L.Z. 469 (= 1856)

Francesca Piccioni

Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Italia

**Abstract** On the basis of a detailed analysis of its variants,  $M_1$  is found to diverge from Class II of *recentiores*, where it was assessed by Robertson; therefore, its stemmatic position is not certain. But it is remarkable because of valuable emendations or variants without parallel in other MSS, so suitable that they have been also proposed conjecturally (?) by modern scholars. Given that not even MSS by Petrarca or Boccaccio present such an appropriate text in face of problematic passages of the likely ancestor F, without calling into question the entire *stemma*, it will however be necessary to probe the origin of these readings and admit that for  $M_1$  the exclusive dependence from F is not proven yet.

**Keywords** Marcianus L.Z. 469 (1856) (=  $M_1$ ). Class II. Vaticanus Latinus 2193 (=  $V_1$ ). Antonius de Romagno de Feltro. Francesco Petrarca.

**Summary** 1 Description of the Manuscript. – 2 Stemmatic Hypotheses. – 3 Textual Variants and New Hypotheses.



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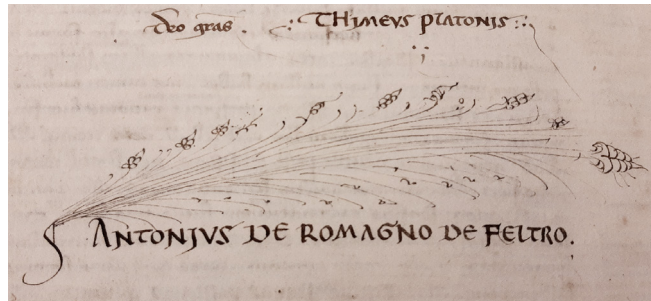
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## 1 Description of the Manuscript

The manuscript Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, L.Z. 469 (= 1856), marked by the *siglum* M<sub>1</sub>, belongs to the library's oldest collection, that of Bessarion.<sup>1</sup> It is a miscellaneous codex in terms of both contents and hands: it contains Calcidius' Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus* along with his commentary (fols 2r-14v + 16r-58r), a brief extract from Cicero's *De natura deorum* I (fols 58v-59v), Apuleius' *Apologia* (fols 63r-95r), and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (fols 99r-142v).<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 1** MS Marcianus L.Z. 469 (= 1856), fol. 14v, explicit of the Latin translation of the *Timaeus*, with mention of Antonius de Romagno de Feltro. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo by the Author



**Figure 2** MS Marcianus L.Z. 469 (= 1856), fol. 58r, detail of the explicit of the commentary on the *Timaeus*, featuring the second mention of Antonius. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Photo by the Author

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**1** As clarified by the label of the modern shelfmark; see also the brief unsigned note "Un calligrafo-umanista feltrense dell'ultimo trecento" 1923.

**2** The manuscript may thus be regarded as a miscellany of texts pertaining to, or connected with, philosophical content, particularly of a Platonic nature.

The manuscript can be dated to the late fourteenth century, as the name of the humanist *Antonius de Romagno de Feltro*<sup>3</sup> appears a few times (fols 14v, 58r, 95r) [figs 1-2]. Little or nothing is known about Antonius after the early fifteenth century. According to the catalogue of the Marciana's Latin manuscripts,<sup>4</sup> Antonius was not the scribe but merely the owner of the codex, at least as to refer the Apuleian section, which was certainly copied by a different hand.<sup>5</sup> This is a point worth bearing in mind.

The manuscript omits the Greek passages, as do most manuscripts of the *De magia*, often without indicating their absence with *uacuum* or diacritics.<sup>6</sup> In chapters 10 and 22, it does not provide the Latin versions of the Greek poetic inserts found in a few other manuscripts.<sup>7</sup>

Scattered throughout are minimal decorations, such as historiated initials or vegetal motifs, particularly ears of grain [figs 1, 3].

**3** Son of Vittore, who belonged to a noble yet declining family from Feltre, he was born in Feltre in 1360 and died before 1410. He served as Chancellor of his Community (1384-89). For these and other biographical details, see: Sabbadini 1915; Ganguzza Billanovich 1980; Faldon 2002, 51-6.

**4** Valentinelli 1871, 1-2.

**5** Nor, moreover, is this contradicted in "Un calligrafo-umanista feltrense dell'ultimo trecento" 1923: "alla sua mano è dovuto quasi per intero il cod. Marc. lat. Zan. 469". According to Faldon 2002, 52, however, the Marcianus manuscript was "scritto da Antonio da Romagno". Nevertheless, I note that the palaeographical examination I conducted on the *ductus* of the individual letters and tachygraphic signs reveals that the Apuleian section exhibits markedly different characteristics from the script found on fol. 144v, where Antonius himself records biographical details (the birth and death dates of his children and those of his brother Biaquino, as well as of his wife) - the autography of these notes is indisputable owing to the highly private nature of the content and to expressions such as *filius mei Antonii*, and similar ones. Conversely, the hand responsible for transcribing the translation of *Timeus* by Calcidius and its pertaining commentary does display palaeographic features attributable to Antonio's script; the negligible differences observed are due to the more cursive nature of the annotations on fol. 144v, in contrast with the more formal *textualis* of fols 2r-58r. The non-autograph nature of the Apuleian folia by Antonio da Romagno is thus confirmed. However, even if it could be demonstrated that Antonio's hand is so protean, so to speak, as to justify attributing to him also the Apuleian section, on the one hand the simple corrections of morphologically or syntactically inaccurate passages would then acquire an identifiable authorship; on the other hand, this would not alter the observation that multiple sources were likely employed in the compilation of this manuscript - an approach that may seem to be attested by the numerous alternative readings introduced by *uel/aliter*, which, as we shall see, may characterise it as a repository of variants.

**6** Only occasionally do marginal annotations appear indicating the omission of the Greek text, such as: *hic deberent interponi quaedam uerba Graeca quae deficiunt* (74v, corresponding to the Homeric verses cited in *apol.* 31). The note, written in a minute hand, appears to be by the same scribe.

**7** Such as Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vrbinas 199: cf. *infra*, *conspectus siglorum*.



**Figure 3**  
MS Marcianus L.Z. 469 (= 1856), fol. 63r,  
detail of *apol.* 1.1. Venice, Biblioteca  
Nazionale Marciana. Photo by the Author

At least two changes of hand can be detected: one between the Platonic commentary and Apuleius, and another within the Macrobian section. In the Apuleian folia, in addition to the change of hand, there is also a shift in the *mise en page* compared with the Calcidius' section: the layout moves from two columns to full-page, the script is fairly large (whereas the previous hand uses very tiny writing), and the line spacing and layout are more generous.

My focus is precisely the Apuleian section, as this study forms part of a much broader editorial project on *De magia* (*Apologia*) and *Florida*.

The Marciana manuscript was used only by Butler for his commented edition of the *De magia*<sup>8</sup> and was later placed in the II Class of Apuleian manuscripts of *rhetorica*.<sup>9</sup>

I shall seek to demonstrate that the stemmatic position proposed - and so far uncritically accepted - does not reflect the factual situation. I shall also aim to highlight the number of valuable readings found in the manuscript, to reassess their value, and to put forward new stemmatic hypotheses accordingly.

<sup>8</sup> Butler, Owen 1914.

<sup>9</sup> Robertson 1924.

## 2 Stemmatic Hypotheses

Now, it is important to briefly recall the two stemmatic hypotheses that have been proposed regarding the manuscript tradition of the Apuleian rhetorical works. Among the approximately forty codices that transmit their text, the main one is F (Florence, BML, Plutei 68,2), copied in Montecassino in the second half of the eleventh century and containing (in addition to Tac. *ann.* 11-16 and *hist.* 1-5), Apuleius' *De magia*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Florida*, which usually forms a compact triad in the transmission. The traditional *stemma codicum*, which recognises F as the ancestor of all extant manuscripts, dates back to Keil,<sup>10</sup> who found evidence for such derivation in the text of the *Metamorphoses*: a conspicuous tear that occurred at fol. 160 of F affected the legibility and completeness of *met.* 8.7-9. Precisely from the observation that, in these very passages, all the codices then known exhibit lacunae or (alleged) conjectural supplements, Keil derived the material proof of all *recentiores* descending from F.

A direct apograph of F is  $\varphi$  (Florence, BML, Plutei 29,2), also transcribed, about 1200, in the same monastery of Montecassino. It is on the basis of these two manuscripts that the text of the three rhetorical works of Apuleius has as a rule been constituted.

This *stemma* was confirmed by Helm,<sup>11</sup> and it was essentially confirmed by Robertson and Giarratano<sup>12</sup> as well, though with a significant difference: they were the first to highlight the value of the *recentiores*, showing, for the *Metamorphoses*, that *a*, the direct or indirect source of the codices of the best family (the so-called Class I), unlike  $\varphi$ , was copied before later hands worked on F, introducing erasures and corrections that often worsened the text; *a* also predates both the early fading of many readings in the Laurentianus and the large tear at fol. 160. Moreover, these *recentiores* – the most representative of which is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N 180 Sup. (= A), thirteenth century, second half – allow an absolutely necessary verification of the readings in F in the many passages where this precious witness, badly damaged over time, is now illegible.

However, it is worth noticing that the hypothesis of a branch of transmission independent from F has been advanced several times: first of all, by C. Marchesi, referring to Florence, BML, Plutei 54,32 (= L<sub>1</sub>), fourteenth century, copied by Giovanni Boccaccio; and again, by L. Pepe with reference to Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 706 (= C), eleventh century. More recently, O. Pecere,

<sup>10</sup> Keil 1849, 14 ff. and 77 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Helm 1910.

<sup>12</sup> Robertson 1924; Giarratano 1929.

giving new codicological and paleographical arguments, has strongly advanced this hypothesis in relation to C, A and to all the other manuscripts of Class I.<sup>13</sup>

Hence the compelling need for a careful and thorough analysis of the manuscript tradition of the Apuleian *rhetorica*. I therefore undertook an extensive study of the manuscripts of *De magia* and *Florida*, carrying out a complete collation or re-collation of all the fundamental manuscripts of these two Apuleian works, as well as broad collation samples on the remaining manuscripts (usually first using microfilm or high-resolution photographs, then by autopsy).

After a wide and accurate examination, none of these manuscripts has proved to be independent from F. On the contrary, it has been possible to identify material evidence of derivation, or - where not definitive - at least strong indications of dependence on F, such as errors that are easily explained if one takes into account certain unusual graphic renderings in F.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, the likely ancestor is severely damaged, and this makes the support of its most faithful apographs essential, especially those of Class I.<sup>15</sup>

It was Robertson in 1929 who divided the approximately 40 manuscripts into 4 classes and included the Marcianus L.Z. 469 in Class II, without investigating it personally but relying on the data collected by Butler for his edition of *De magia*. Butler considers M<sub>1</sub> as "inclining to F",<sup>16</sup> but remarkable for the number of valuable emendations it offers - recorded desultorily in his critical apparatus - emendations which reappear in the first printed editions and have no parallels in other manuscripts.

The Marcianus was subsumed under Class II on the basis of presumed *supplementa* to the above mentioned lacunae in *Metamorphoses* 8.7-9,<sup>17</sup> but actually the Marcianus does not contain *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, after detailed analysis of its variants, the Marcianus diverges from the other manuscripts assessed by Robertson in Class II and also containing *De magia*: its stemmatic position, therefore, does not appear so certain.

**13** Marchesi 1912; Pepe 1951; Pecere 1987.

**14** Cf. Piccioni 2010; 2011; 2013; 2014.

**15** Zimmerman, indeed, also reached analogous stemmatic conclusions in her studies on the *Metamorphoses*: Zimmerman 2011; 2012.

**16** Butler, Owen 1914, XLII.

**17** Robertson 1924, 36-7.

### 3 Textual Variants and New Hypotheses

I now present the textual data from the Marcianus. I have collated  $M_1$  systematically with regard to chapters 1-65 of the modern editions, which in the manuscript tradition constitute Book I of the *De magia*; for the remaining chapters (66-103), I have examined the most problematic *loci*.

My collation has been carried out not only on the two Laurentiani, F and  $\varphi$ , but also on manuscripts belonging to the four classes of *recentiores*. In particular, I will refer to the following ones:<sup>18</sup> A,  $B_1$ ,  $L_1$  (Giovanni Boccaccio's autograph manuscript) (Class Ia); U, E, *ed. pr.* (G.A. Bussi, Rome 1469) and  $S_1$  (Class Ib); as for Class II, the only possible systematic comparison is with  $V_1$  (which belonged to Francesco Petrarca and was annotated by him) - in fact, among the numerous MSS that Robertson includes in the II Class, this is the only one that contains the *De magia*, while all the others preserve only the *Metamorphoses* or *Metamorphoses* and *Florida*; in addition  $V_4$  contains short *excerpta* from *De magia*<sup>19</sup> -; for the III Class, I have considered  $L_3$  and  $\delta$ ; for the IV Class,  $V_5$  (again, it is the only manuscript of this family containing the entire work).

The different correcting hands are referred to by a number in superscript as follows: <sup>1</sup> = *codicis lectio ante correctionem*; <sup>1c</sup> = *librarius se ipsum corrigens*; <sup>2</sup> = *manus recentior*; <sup>c</sup> = *manus incerta*.

I follow the division into chapters and lines by Butler. An asterisk (\*) next to the siglum  $M_1$  marks its not many variants already recorded by Butler.

**18** Here is the *conspectus siglorum* of all the manuscripts mentioned, in chronological order: F = Florence, BML, Plut. 68,2, saec. XI; C = Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, 706, saec. XI;  $\varphi$  = Florence, BML, Plut. 29,2, saec. XII-XIII; A = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, N 180 Sup., saec. XIII<sup>2</sup>;  $V_4$  = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. 2091, saec. XIV in.;  $B_1$  = London, BL, Additional 24893, saec. XIV;  $L_1$  = Florence, BML, Plut. 54,32, saec. XIV;  $V_1$  = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Latinus 2193, saec. XIV (ante 1348); U = Urbana, University of Illinois Library, Ms. 7, MCA.2, a. 1389;  $M_1$  = Venice, BNMs, L.Z. 469, saec. XIV ex.;  $V_4$  = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ottob. 2047, saec. XIV ex.; E = Windsor, Eton College Library, 147, saec. XV in.;  $L_2$  = Florence, BML, Plut. 54,12, a. 1425;  $L_3$  = Florence, BML, Plut. 54,13, saec. XV; D = San Daniele del Friuli, Civica Biblioteca Guarneriana, 91, saec. XV; M = Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, alfa.Q.5.27 (= Lat. 214, olim XII.E.5), saec. XV; T = Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, 827, saec. XV<sup>2</sup>;  $\delta$  = Leyden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Oudendorpianus 34 (Doruillianus), saec. XV (post 1470);  $V_5$  = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Urbinas 199, saec. XV (post 1474);  $S_1$  = London, BL, Sloane 2586, saec. XVI; v refers, of course, to the vulgate tradition. The *editio princeps* by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, printed in Rome in 1469, derived from the lost ancestor of the I Class, where it is therefore included.

**19** Specifically, the manuscript contains: *apol.* 1-5 (up to *suscensentem*); 17-21 (from *at tu me scis to indigeant*); 24-5 (from *de patria to strepitu uiget*); 22 (from *Socrates inquam to togam palmatam*).

I begin with the data that lead us to question the proposed classification of the Marcianus among the manuscripts of Class II. See, merely *exempli gratia*, the following cases:

e.g. *apol.* 2.3 tacet. Enim scripsi (tacet enim iam Wiman; sed cf. 18.2 Enim paupertas, flor. 9.22, 9.31, Socr. 8.30): tacerem F $\phi$ AV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, taceret M<sub>1</sub> (*Krüger Sauppe*), aliter tacet M<sub>1</sub> *inter lin. ead. m.*, tacere M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> *in mg. L<sub>2</sub>* (*Petschenig*), tacens *ed. pr.*  $\delta$ V<sub>5</sub> || 20.19 fis V<sub>3</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup> (*Helm*) (*v*): scis F $\phi$ <sup>3</sup>, sis  $\phi$ <sup>2</sup>AV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (*Butler*) || 21.16-17 uitae humanae tempestate M<sub>1</sub><sup>2\*</sup> *inter lin.* (*Colvius Lipsius*): uita humanae tempestates F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>, uita similiter humanae tempestates V<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub> || 22.2 diceretis F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub> $\delta$ : obieceris M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup> (obiecistis *inter lin. ead. m.*), dicentis V<sub>5</sub> || 36.24 sedulique F $\phi$ V<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub> $\delta$ V<sub>5</sub>: seduplici AL<sub>1</sub>, sed et illum M<sub>1</sub>, sed utique *Lipsius*, sed aliquem *Kronenberg*, sedulique <aliis porrexere> *Becker*, fortasse sedulique *delendum* (*uaria lectio uidetur ad et sedulo*) || 38.8 genitum *Bosscha*: genita F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (*Colvius*), genitura M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup>, genitus *Casaubonus*, genituras *lahn*, genera *Ellis*, genitu *Novák* || 39.17 umbramque F<sup>2</sup> $\phi$ <sup>2</sup>M<sub>1</sub>: umbra inque F<sup>2</sup> $\phi$ <sup>2</sup>A, umbram inque L<sub>1</sub>, umbram in quam V<sub>1</sub> || 40.6 esse M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup> $\delta$ V<sub>5</sub>T: est F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> || 42.7 esse F $\phi$ AV<sub>1</sub>: esset M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup> || 43.7 carminum F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> *inter lin.* L<sub>3</sub> $\delta$ V<sub>5</sub>: cantaminum M<sub>1</sub> || 45.20 consternendos F $\phi$ AM<sub>1</sub>: construendos V<sub>1</sub> || 54.7 reprehensum F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (*Butler*): deprehensum M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup>V<sub>5</sub>T (*Helm*) || 54.16 praeiudicare F $\phi$ AM<sub>1</sub>: praedicare V<sub>1</sub>.

There are several other dozens of cases in which M<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>1</sub> (with V<sub>4</sub>, in the few chapters it preserves) do not agree.

36.24 is a redundant passage, which over time has been object of several emendation proposals; I have personally suggested that *sedulique* constitutes a *duplex lectio* referring to *et sedulo* just above, which has intruded into the text and should therefore be deleted.<sup>20</sup> M<sub>1</sub>, whose reading *sed et illum* is not noted by Butler, presents a correct text, of which there is no trace in F $\phi$  or in manuscripts of other classes, beginning with V<sub>1</sub> of Class II.

M<sub>1</sub> does not appear to be a manuscript of Class II. We may also begin to observe that sometimes, when F makes a mistake, V<sub>1</sub> follows it, whereas M<sub>1</sub> does not and offers a better reading, sometimes chosen by editors (e.g. 21.16-17, 40.6). No trace of the exact or indifferent variants of M<sub>1</sub> is found in V<sub>1</sub>, not even in Petrarca's dense marginal annotations.<sup>21</sup>

At this point, we must see whether M<sub>1</sub> shares significant variants with the other three classes. With Class I, the best one, it does not share the peculiar variants:

e.g. *apol.* 1.2 castum esse F $\phi$  *ed. pr.* V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub>: esse castum esse AUM, esse castum V<sub>2</sub>, castum esse castum esse  $\delta$  || 11.8 muneraretur F $\phi$ V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub> $\delta$ : ueneraretur AL<sub>1</sub>UM

<sup>20</sup> Piccioni 2021.

<sup>21</sup> The same applies to 38.8, where M<sub>1</sub> arranges the text (*genitura*) in a reasonably intelligent manner, dealing with a passage that indeed presents difficulties.

*ed. pr.* S<sub>1</sub>V<sub>5</sub> || 27.26 sancte FφV<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δ: secreto AB<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>UM *ed. pr.* S<sub>1</sub>V<sub>5</sub> || 30.18 in opere serio scripsit FφV<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δ: in opere scripsit serio AUMV<sub>5</sub>, scripsit in opere serio L<sub>1</sub> || 42.3 secreto loco Fφ *ed. pr.* S<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δV<sub>5</sub> *Ald.*: secreto aliquo loco AB<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>U<sup>2</sup> (loco *add. inter lin.*), secreto aliquo U<sup>3</sup>M || 56.30 signum dato FCφV<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub>: signo dato AL<sub>1</sub>UM, signi dato δ || 87.24 equisonum F<sup>1c</sup> (o *inter lin.*) φV<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>: equisium F<sup>1</sup>, equisonum AUM *ed. pr.* S<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δV<sub>5</sub>, oquisionum L<sub>1</sub> || 102.19 eminiscimini F (d *in mg.*) φ: reminiscimini AL<sub>1</sub>UM *ed. pr.* S<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub>, eminiscimini V<sub>1</sub>, comminiscimini M<sub>1</sub>.

M<sub>1</sub> also shows significant cases of divergence from Classes III and/or IV:

e.g. *apol.* 22.18 exprobrares FφAV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>δV<sub>5</sub>: exprobras L<sub>3</sub>DT, exprobraris M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup>, exprobrare v || 37.16 legit, aquam *lunt. post.*: legit ta quam quam F (d *in mg.*) AL<sub>1</sub>, legit tanquam φV<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>, legit tantum M<sub>1</sub>, legit causam V<sub>5</sub>, legit quicquam δ || 42.12 enim FφAV<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>: sed M<sub>1</sub><sup>\*</sup>, etenim V<sub>5</sub> || 44.10 nisi rus adeo iam diu φ<sup>2</sup> *mg.* (*Butler*): rusa de omnium diu FCφV<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δ, rus diu AL<sub>1</sub>, rus ni diu M<sub>1</sub>, nisi de omnium consensu rus diu V<sub>5</sub> || 44.17 exul Oea est is *Butler*: exolēis F, exoleis CφAV<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>, oleis L<sub>1</sub>, exolens δ, exulet T, ex aliis M<sub>1</sub>, *om.* V<sub>5</sub> (a Thallus solus *ad* exul Oea est, is), ex oculis *edd. uett.*, exul est *Hildebrand* || 44.26 et tenerem, si FφAM<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>δ: ut teneres ipse ut V<sub>5</sub> *lunt. pr.* || 52.7 contende si *Beyte*: contenderi F, contendere φ<sup>2</sup> (e *in ras.*) AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>δ, si conferri M<sub>1</sub>, si contendere V<sub>5</sub>T *Ald. lunt. pr.*, contende L<sub>3</sub>, si contenderis *lunt. post.*, contendere si *Van der Vliet* || 64.1 duit F<sup>1</sup> (*m. antiqua mg.*) *iter. deinde ras.* φ<sup>2</sup>: det φ<sup>1</sup>, aut F<sup>2</sup> (a *in ras.*) CAL<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>, diuit V<sub>1</sub>, dii ut L<sub>3</sub>, duat V<sub>5</sub> || 65.18 deinde subnectit *om.* M<sub>1</sub>, *legitur in* FφAV<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub> || 65.23 Maxime quique M<sub>1</sub>δ (v): maxime quis qui FφA, maximeque qui L<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>5</sub>L<sub>3</sub> *lunt.*

In 44.17 the author refers to the young slave Thallus, banished far from the city because he was epileptic and therefore absent at the trial:

Thallus solus, ut dixi, quod ferme ad centesimum lapidem longe exul Oea est, is Thallus solus abest.

Even if M<sub>1</sub> does not offer the best reading here, it nevertheless provides a plausible one (*longe ex aliis*, 'who is far from the others - slaves'); judging from the photographic reproductions of F, there is no indication that the variant *ex aliis* found in M<sub>1</sub> originally appeared in F and was later erased, as has sometimes happened. Not even Petrarca corrects the mistake in the margin in V<sub>1</sub>, and Boccaccio (L<sub>1</sub>) in fact worsens the reading of F.

$M_1$  does not appear to be easily attributable to any of the 4 classes.<sup>22</sup> But we can go further.

Working on  $M_1$  has made it possible to recover a large number of correct readings where there is error or graphic imperfection in F (and sometimes also in  $\phi$ ). These are almost always ignored in the apparatuses, where editors attribute them exclusively to the various hands of  $\phi$ , to *recentiores*, to the *vulgata* (v), or, finally, they are considered late conjectures. Here is a list, which is not intended to be exhaustive:<sup>23</sup>

e.g. *apol.* 12.2 platonica  $M_1^*\delta$ : platonice  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 12.13 incomptum  $M_1$  (v): incomitum  $F\phi AV_1$ , in comitum  $L_1$  || 16.3 praeter ista  $M_1^*\delta V_5$ : praeteris tu  $F\phi AV_1$ , praeteritis tu  $L_1$  || 16.11 duo soles  $M_1^*\delta V_5$ : duos soles  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 23.20 nomen  $M_1^*V_5$ : numen  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 24.2 meis scriptis  $V_4 M_1^*L_3$ : mei scriptis  $F\phi AV_1$ , in in scriptis  $L_1$  || 24.4 Semigaetulum  $\phi M_1$ : Semigaetulum  $FAV_1 V_4$ , Semigaetulum  $L_1$  || 25.11 immania  $\phi^2 M_1^*T$  (*Colvius*): immunia  $F\phi^1 AL_1 V_1 V_4$  || 28.14 falsa  $\phi^2 M_1^*$ : falso  $F\phi^1 AL_1 V_1$  || 31.13 fuisse  $\phi^2 M_1^*$ : fuisset  $F\phi^1 AL_1 V_1$  || 32.18 cur  $M_1^*V_5$ : cum  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 35.7 conchulam  $V_5 M_1^*$  (*sed conc-*): conchalam  $F\phi V_1$ , cum chalar  $AL_1$ , concham T || 35.17 calculus  $M_1^*V_5 T$ : calculos  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 36.19 annitar  $M_1^*V_5$  (*adn-*): adnitur F, adnititur  $\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 37.4 peregregiam  $M_1^*T$ : peregregium  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 39.1 utrum  $M_1^*V_5$ : uerum  $FC\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 39.15 supremi  $\phi V_1 M_1$ : suppremi  $FAL_1$  || 39.19 purpura  $M_1$  (v): purpuram  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 40.6 esse  $M_1^*V_5 T\delta$ : est  $FC\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 40.8 usurus est  $M_1^*V_5$ : usura est  $FC\phi AL_1 T\delta$ , asura est  $V_1$ , usurust *Purser Helm* || 40.16 deque (*bis*)  $M_1^*V_5$ : denique (*bis*)  $FC\phi AL_1 V_1 \delta$  || 40.19 locorum  $AL_1 V_1 M_1^*$ : locarum  $FC\phi$  || 40.32 numquam  $M_1^*$ : si unquam  $F\phi AV_1$ , si inquam  $L_1$ , si <scisset, n>umquam v (*Helm*) || 41.4 rusparer  $M_1$  (v): rusparet  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 41.6 obsonio  $\phi^2 M_1$ : obsono F || 41.8 iecinora  $M_1$  *inter lin.* (*ead. m.* aliter i.) (v): iocinena  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 M_1$  || 41.15 nunc  $AL_1 M_1^*V_5$ : num  $F\phi V_1$  || 41.17 mediterraneis  $L_1 M_1^*V_5$ : mediterranis  $F\phi AV_1$  || 41.19 reperientur  $\phi AL_1 V_1 M_1$ : repperientur F, aliter reperuntur  $M_1$  *inter lin. fort. ead. m.*, reperiantur  $V_5$  || 41.21 ueneficii  $M_1^*$ : beneficis  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  (-tiis) || 42.5 ridiculam  $M_1 T$ : ridiculum  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 42.11 nescientem  $\phi M_1$ : nesciente  $FAL_1 V_1$  || 42.22 Fabium  $M_1^*$ : fauium  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 42.25 locorum  $\phi$  ( $\phi^2$  *in ras.*)  $AL_1 V_1 M_1$ : locarum F || 47.1 tantam  $M_1 V_5 T$  *edd. uett.*: tantum  $F\phi A$  || 48.5 accessere  $\phi M_1$ : accessero  $FCV_1$ , accersero  $AL_1$ , accesserint *edd. uett.* || 48.16 emolumentum  $\phi AM_1$ : emulumentum F || 51.9 aegritudini succumbunt  $L_1^2$  (*in mg.*)  $M_1$ : aegritudinis

**22** Obviously, there are occasional agreements with MSS belonging to different classes, but these are often plausible yet banalising variants compared to the corresponding readings in F (and  $\phi$ ): e.g. *apol.* 3.13 *cuius*  $F\phi A$ : *cuius*  $L_1 V_4 V_1 M_1 \delta V_5$  || 3.17 *effutierunt*  $F\phi^2 A$ : *effituerunt*  $\phi^1$ , *effuderunt*  $UM$  *ed. pr.*, *effuderant*  $M_1$  || 49.12 *ossi*  $F\phi L_3 \delta$ : *ossis*  $AV_1 M_1 V_3 V_5$  *edd. uett.*

**23** Additional cases are included in which  $M_1$  confirms the correct *lectio* in contrast to an error in F, which, however, is due to second-hand rewriting: e.g. 17.9 *uenit*  $C\phi V_4 L_1 V_1 M_1$ : *dicit*  $F^2$  (*litt. redint.*), *uelit* A || 31.9 *quibusdam*  $\phi AL_1 V_1 M_1$ : *quibus dum*  $F^2$  (*litt. redint.*) || 31.11 *emisse*  $\phi AL_1 V_1 M_1$ : *emissae*  $F^2$  (*litt. redint.*) || 31.13 *quid*  $\phi^2 M_1$ : *quidem*  $F^2$  (*litt. redint.*)  $AL_1 V_1$ , *quid eē* (i.e. *esse*) *Plasberg*.

accumbunt F $\phi$ A, aegritudini accumbunt  $\delta V_5$  edd. uett. || 53.29 sed enim  $\phi^2 AM_1$ : sed eui F $\phi^1$  || 59.27 nam  $M_1^*$ : num F $\phi AL_1 V_1$  || 63.2 diri<sup>24</sup>  $M_1$  inter lin. fort. ead. m. (aliter diri) ed. pr.  $V_5$  (v): duri F $\phi AV_1 L_1 M_1 L_3$ .

As can be inferred from these data,  $M_1$  is often the earliest or the only manuscript to transmit the correct reading (frequently not previously recorded).<sup>25</sup> All these good readings can now be backdated within the manuscript transmission and in relation to both ancient and modern critical editions.

It is worth noting that also the Ambrosianus, despite offering many valuable corrections to the faulty text of F,<sup>26</sup> in nearly all of the aforementioned cases agrees with F in its errors, whereas  $M_1$  preserves an accurate reading.

Most of these cases could be interpreted as simple emendations by  $M_1$  to the corrupt text of F (16.11 *duo soles* pro *duos soles*; 24.2 *meis scriptis* pro *mei scriptis*),<sup>27</sup> but not all of  $M_1$ 's correct variants can be so readily explained starting from F.

In 63.2, the expression is *diri cadaueris* ('of a dreadful corpse'), referring to a figurine of Mercury. The correction of *duri* to *diri* in  $M_1$ 's interlinear note is by an early hand, not the more recent one which frequently intervenes in the margins, in a far more cursive style. In all likelihood, the variant was copied by the same hand that wrote the manuscript. I would emphasise that this scribe does not fail to annotate *aliter*, which may suggest that he drew upon multiple sources. Not even in Petrarca's manuscript, which also annotates in the margin in summary form *De forma cadaueris et Mercurii simulacro*, is there any trace of the accurate and non-trivial reading *diri*; the exact variant is not attested even in Boccaccio's manuscript. The original reading *diri*, hitherto attributed to the vulgate in critical apparatuses, can now be assigned to  $M_1$ , which offers the earliest attestation of it ( $V_5$  being a later manuscript).

Often, too, the variant in  $M_1$  is superior to F's erroneous reading, even where to  $M_1$ 's readings the ones of other manuscripts or modern corrections are to be preferred:

**24** This passage occurs in one of the many extensive lacunae of  $\delta$ , which therefore offers no testimony for it.

**25** In various examples cited above,  $M_1$  coincides with  $V_5$ , mostly in cases of plausible polygenetic correction to the text of F (e.g. 23.20 *nomen*; 32.18 *cur*) - indeed, these are often readings also shared by manuscripts of other branches (e.g. 16.3 *praeter ista*; 40.6 *esse*; 41.15 *nunc*).

**26** Piccioni 2011; 2017-18.

**27** Nonetheless, even Petrarca and Boccaccio frequently inherit the errors of F without correcting them, or even worsen the text, as in the cases just mentioned.

e.g. *apol.* 17.4 obiecit  $\phi V_4 V_1$ : abiecit  $F^2$  (*litt. redint.*)  $CAL_1 U$ , adiecit<sup>28</sup>  $M_1$  || 18.10 haud *Casaubonus* (haud  $M_1$ ): hanc  $FC\phi AL_1 V_1 V_4$  || 19.21 simulatam  $AL_1 T$  (*cf. met.* 6.12.1, 8.16.6): simulata  $F\phi V_1 V_4$ , simulate  $M_1 \delta$  (*Hunink*), simulato *Acidalius* || 34.11 ut quaesisse *Salmasius e cod.*: at quaesisse  $FL_1$ , acquisisse  $\phi V_1$ , acquesisse  $A$ , si quaesisse  $M_1^*$  || 34.21 quisquilas *Helm*: quiscillas  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$ , quisquilas  $M_1^*$  || 45.9 nam *Bosscha*: num  $FC\phi V_1$ , non  $L_1$ , nunc  $AM_1^*$  (*Groslotius*) || 50.24 sanctissimast eam *Helm*: sanctissima est eam  $F^2\phi^2$  ( $\bar{e}$  in *ras.*), sanctissimasteam  $F^1$ , sanctissimam steam  $A$ , sanctissima est  $M_1$  ( $v$ ).

Casaubon's correction in 18.10, based on the nonsense *hanc* found in the Laurentiani manuscripts, certainly hits the mark, taking into account the palaeographic similarity in minuscule script between *u/n* and *t/c*; but the more usual graphic variant (*haud*) was already in  $M_1$ , which may have banalised it from *haut*, but is unlikely to have corrected it starting from the error *hanc* (we would have to ascribe too much palaeographic expertise to the scribe). Moreover, because of this error, in this passage the *iunctura contra hanc* arises, which makes the error even harder to detect.

In 19.21 *eam non simulate, sed uere fungimur*, the error *simulata* in  $F_\phi$  is corrected in the Class I manuscripts by agreeing *simulatam* with *eam*, while in the Marcianus and in  $\delta$  (Class III) *simulate* balances perfectly the presence of the other adverb *uere*: *simulate* is so appropriate that Hunink chose it in his commented edition.

The number of exact writings of  $M_1$  in comparison with corresponding errors in  $F$  is striking, significantly more than those noted by Butler.

We can also notice significant variants that might appear equivalent to those in  $F$ , but often not superior to them (seemingly they are not interlinear or marginal erased variants of  $F$ ):

e.g. *apol.* 2.5 uideretur  $F\phi A^{1c}$  *inter lin.*  $V_4 V_1 \delta V_5$ : uidetur  $A^1$ , uideret  $M_1$ , aliter puderet  $M_1$  *inter lin. fort. ead. m.* || 12.1 mitto  $F\phi^1 AV_1$ : dicto  $\phi^2$  *inter lin.*, micto  $L_1$ , mallo (*pro malo*)  $M_1$  || 27.14 uana et inepta, simplicia  $F\phi AL_1 V_1$  (*sed in empta*) *Armini Hunink*: uana, inepta, simplicia  $M_1^*$ , uana et inepta <et> simplicia  $v$ , uana et inepta <ac> simplicia *Hildebrand*, uana et inepta simulacra *Krüger*, uana et inepta <et> similia *Scioppius*, uana et inepta simpliciter *Helm Butler* (*coll.* 74.1 simpliciter ignoui) *Vallette*, inepta *del. Verdram*, simplicia *del. Novák* || 43.7 carminum  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 M_1^2$  *inter lin.*  $L_3 \delta V_5$  *lunt. pr.*: cantaminum  $M_1$  || 46.2 frigere  $FC\phi A$  *edd. uett.*: fingeret<sup>29</sup>  $M_1$ , aliter dicerat  $M_1^2$  *in mg.* || 47.21 nominastis an ut... numerarent  $\phi^2$ : nominasti

**28** At 17.4, the text refers to accusations 'directed' (*adiecit* in  $M_1$ ) against Apuleius, rather than 'reproached' (*obiecit* in  $\phi$ ), the latter being stronger and more consistent with the author's usual practice in similar contexts involving charges brought against him.

**29** It is a *lectio facillior* – perhaps resulting from a confusion of abbreviations? – yet entirely appropriate.

sancit... numerarent F $\Phi$ <sup>1</sup>, *non liquet* A, nominasti. Sicinius... nominauerat M<sub>1</sub> || 53.22 eccille F $\Phi$ : etiam ille A (v), est ille M<sub>1</sub> || 54.7 reprehensum F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (Butler): deprehensum M<sub>1</sub>\*V<sub>5</sub>T (Helm) || 55.6 interrogas F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: interrogas me M<sub>1</sub> || 55.7 ullum F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: illud M<sub>1</sub> || 55.14 Vlixi F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: Vlixis M<sub>1</sub> || 55.21 quid F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: quod M<sub>1</sub> || 55.22 omnibus profanis F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: omni profano M<sub>1</sub> || 55.31 si qui F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: siquis M<sub>1</sub>\*L<sub>3</sub> || 56.17 in uilla eius F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub>: enim in uilla M<sub>1</sub> (aliter ei *inter lin.*, *fort. ead. m.*) || 57.5 legerunt F $\Phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: legere M<sub>1</sub> || 102.19 eminiscimini<sup>30</sup> F (d mg.)  $\Phi$ : reminiscimini AL<sub>1</sub>UM ed. pr. S<sub>1</sub>L<sub>3</sub>V<sub>5</sub>, eminisimini V<sub>1</sub>, comminiscimini M<sub>1</sub>.

These are sometimes synonymic variants, or verbal or nominal forms with exchanges of preverbs, or in some cases syntactic, morphological, or graphic normalisations.

At 2.5, beyond the erroneous *uideret* found in the text of M<sub>1</sub>, it is perhaps the scribe himself (certainly the same hand responsible for the interlinear previous note *aliter tacet*)<sup>31</sup> who records the variant *puderet* interlinearly, introduced, as is customary, by *aliter*. This variant is appropriate to the context (*cum omnino desistere puderet* refers to Apuleius' accuser, who would be ashamed to abandon entirely the original accusations, thereby retaining only the charge of magic). The variant, however, is not attested in any of the known manuscripts from the various branches.

In 27.14, the omission of the coordinating conjunction *et* offers a simple solution to the apparent dissonance in the text transmitted by F, *uana et inepta, simplicia* (preserved by Hunink, corrected by all other modern editors).

In 43.7, M<sub>1</sub>'s first reading *cantaminum*,<sup>32</sup> which finds no counterpart in other manuscripts, when compared with *carminum* in F $\Phi$  and the other manuscripts, may appear a *lectio difficilior*, as the term is definitely less common – yet it is fully within Apuleius' usage: it occurs 7 times between *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia*, including *apol.* 43.26.

In 56.17, *nullum enim in uilla delubrum situm* is perhaps less banal than *nullum in uilla eius delubrum situm*, where *eius* in F, by making the reference to the accuser Aemilianus explicit, may even appear as an explanatory gloss (the referent can easily be inferred from the preceding sentence). It should also be noted that, with an inversion in the *ordo uerborum* offered by the other manuscripts, M<sub>1</sub> correctly shows *enim* in second position within the clause. It is significant that

<sup>30</sup> In  $\delta$  it falls within the substantial lacuna extending from 88.23 *de proximo congruit* to 102.22 *respondete qui Apuleium*.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *infra*.

<sup>32</sup> The interlinear correction *carminum* in M<sub>1</sub> is undoubtedly to be attributed to a different hand – much later and more cursive – which intervenes repeatedly in the margins or between the lines to annotate or emend, and which introduces variants with  $\ddagger$  (= *uel*), unlike the first hand, which uses  $\alpha\ddagger$  (= *aliter*).

probably the same first hand annotates interlinearly, above *enim*, the not impossible variant *aliter ei* (not *eius*), further evidence that the scribe of the Marcianus may have had access to diverse sources and may in many cases have contaminated a source dependent on F with one not derived from it – with all the relevant stemmatic implications.

The annotation *al(ite)r* appears frequently in M<sub>1</sub> to introduce *uariae lectiones*, showing it as a collector of variants,<sup>33</sup> for several of which we could not exclude an extra-stemmatic origin.

In 57.5, compared with *legerunt* in F, *legere* may appear a *lectio difficilior*, and moreover is very much in line with Apuleius' expressive style.

In 102.19, where F presents the dubious variant *eminiscimini*, marked by *d* (= *dubium*) in the margin, M<sub>1</sub> presents a variant of similar meaning, *comminiscimini*, 'excogitate', devised for a parallel passage of the work (54.1) by the seventeenth-century editor Colvius, as further proof of its plausibility:

54.1 *reminiscere cum codd. scripsi* (cf. *Nep. Alc.* 2.1 *si ipse fingere uellet, neque plura bona reminisci, neque maiora posset consequi*): *eminiscere Pricaeus edd. (coll. 102.19), comminiscere Colvius.*

A check on the photographs of F shows no trace that M<sub>1</sub>'s variant *comminiscimini* appeared as a *duplex lectio* in the Laurentianus manuscript. Most likely, the decipherment issue arose in a manuscript upstream of both F and M<sub>1</sub>.

It is worth noticing, incidentally, that here too M<sub>1</sub> diverges from Class II, represented by V<sub>1</sub> (as well as from MSS of all the other classes).

Sometimes the variants in M<sub>1</sub> are so appropriate that they have been also proposed conjecturally (?) by modern scholars, to whom these writings are generally ascribed in the apparatuses, rather than being correctly attributed to the Marcianus codex:

**33** That at least one of the correcting hands worked with access to another manuscript is, moreover, evidenced by the quality of the corrections themselves, that would have been impossible without a source of comparison. Consider, for example, 1.13 Granios F<sub>φ</sub>AV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>4</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> (*aliter G. in mg.*): Gaios M<sub>1</sub> || 2.24 Lollius Vrbicus V.C. F<sub>φ</sub>AV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>4</sub>: Lollius M<sub>1</sub>, Vrbicus *add. M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> inter lin.*, Vir Clarissimus *omisso* [incidentally, the corrector of M<sub>1</sub> cannot have added *Vrbicus* on the basis of the following occurrence, as the first hand omits it again just a few lines later at 2.28] || 2.28 *ab eius pernicie* F<sub>φ</sub>AV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: *aliquantisper uicio M<sub>1</sub>, ab qui pernicie M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> in mg.* || 3.3 *erupturam* F<sub>φ</sub>AV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> *inter lin.* (*corrigere in mg. add.*): *scripturam M<sub>1</sub>* [it is worth noting that the second hand in M<sub>1</sub> points out that this is not a variant, but a correction] || 4.18 *decorissimum* F<sub>φ</sub>AV<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> *inter lin.*: *decorosum M<sub>1</sub>* || 46.13 *quid respectas φ: quid respectus FCA, om. M<sub>1</sub>, quid respectes M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> in mg., quid expectas edd. uett.*

e.g. *apol.* 2.3 *tacet*. Enim *scripsi* (*tacet enim iam Wiman; sed cf.* 18.2 Enim *pauertas, flor.* 9.22, 9.31, *Socr.* 8.30): *tacerem* F $\phi$ AV<sub>1</sub>V<sub>4</sub>, *taceret* M<sub>1</sub> (<sin>... t. *Krüger*, <sed cum>... t. *Sauppe*), aliter *tacet* M<sub>1</sub> *inter lin. ead. m.*, *tacere* M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> *in mg.* L<sub>2</sub> (*Petschenig, probb. Helm<sup>2</sup> in Addendis Butler Vallette Hunink*), *tacens ed. pr.*  $\delta$ V<sub>5</sub>, *tacere Cataudella*, *tacere* <maluit> *Helm<sup>2</sup> app.* || 2.25 *consularium* consiliarium<sup>34</sup> V<sub>4</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>\* (*Lipsius*) || 14.26 *referendam Pricaeus* (*referendam M<sub>1</sub>*): *referendum* F $\phi$ A, *referendum* L<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> || 31.17 *ascripsisse M<sub>1</sub>* (*Casaubonus*): *scripsisset* F, *scripsisse*  $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (*Groslotius*) || 39.6 *uersibus M<sub>1</sub>* (*Scriverius*): a *uersibus* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, quae *uersibus v*, qui *uersibus Bosscha*, CC *uersibus Roszbach* || 42.12 *enim* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>: *sed* M<sub>1</sub>\* *etenim* V<sub>5</sub>, <sed> *enim Bosscha*, <at> *enim Pricaeus* || 51.25 *ac M<sub>1</sub>* (*Ursinus*): *ad* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>, *et Van der Vliet*, *ad* <me et> *Helm Vallette* || 52.7 *contende* si *Beyte*: *contenderi* F, *contendere*  $\phi^2$  (*e in ras.*) AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> $\delta$ , si *conferri* M<sub>1</sub>, si *contendere* V<sub>5</sub>T *Ald. lunt. pr.*, *contende* L<sub>3</sub>, si *contenderis lunt. post.*, *contendere* si *Van der Vliet* || 54.29 *cumque* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: *cuique* M<sub>1</sub> (*lungermann*) || 55.1 *cuiusce modi* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: *cuius modi* M<sub>1</sub> (*Ald. Colvius Krüger Butler Vallette Hunink*) || 58.9 *reliquerit* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: *reliquerat* M<sub>1</sub> (*Elmenhorst*) || 59.5 *eum* M<sub>1</sub>\* (*Salmasius Butler Vallette*): *cum* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> (*Helm*) || 60.15 *testimonio* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>: *testimonium* M<sub>1</sub>\* (*Colvius*) || 60.20 *impunitum* Crasso foret *Butler*: *impunitum* foret crassum F<sup>c</sup>C, *impunitum* crassum foret F<sup>c</sup> $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>, *impunitum* foret Crasso M<sub>1</sub>\* *impunitus* Crassus foret V<sub>1</sub>, <Crasso> foret, crassum *Helm<sup>2</sup> coll.* 62.5), foret <Crasso> crassum *Helm<sup>2</sup> Addenda* || 61.1 *unde* F $\phi$ L<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup> (*in mg. uel u.*): *unum* M<sub>1</sub>\* (*Salmasius Helm Vallette*), *inde* *Acidalius Butler* || 61.16 *elaborasset* F $\phi$ AL<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>M<sub>1</sub>: aliter *elaboraret* M<sub>1</sub> *inter lin., fort. ead. m. (Acidalius)*.

At 2.3, the same first hand records two variants that were later independently conjectured by modern scholars: *tacet* interlinearly (Wiman) and *taceret* in the text (Krüger and Sauppe). The reading *tacere*, written in the margin by a clearly different and significantly later hand, is shared by L<sub>2</sub> – which, however, is of a later date (1425) – and was subsequently proposed by Petschenig and adopted by Helm in his second edition and by many other modern editors, though it has never been attributed to M<sub>1</sub>.

In 42.12 *enim* appears in F $\phi$  and in manuscripts of other classes, but the appropriateness of the adversative value of the phrase – expressed in M<sub>1</sub> by *sed* – is confirmed by the conjectures of seventeenth- and nineteenth-century scholars (<at> *enim Pricaeus*; <sed> *enim Bosscha*).

At 52.7 the reading of M<sub>1</sub> *si conferri* – not recorded in the critical apparatuses – is particularly well suited to the context (*atqui si*

**34** The expression is *de consilio consularium*: on the one hand, the reading found in the Marcianus, *consiliarium*, may easily have arisen through contextual pressure; but on the other hand, *de consilio consularium* produces precisely the kind of phonetic-etymological wordplay Apuleius is known to favour.

*conferri uis furorem tuum cum Thalli furore*), yet it is not attested in any other known manuscript.

In 55.1 *cuius modi*, which over time has been adopted by many editors, is attributed in the critical apparatuses to the Aldine edition or to Colvius, or even to Krüger (Martos), yet it is already found in  $M_1$ .

As for 60.20, Butler himself corrects the passage *impunitum Crasso foret* drawing on  $M_1$ .  $M_1$  does not seem to depend either on F's scribe's self-correction or on  $\varphi$ , with which it does not share either *ordo uerborum* or case.

In 61.16 the conjecture *elaboraret* by Acidalius is in fact already present as an interlinear variant in  $M_1$ , as usual accompanied by *al(iter)*, possibly signifying the use of different sources by the scribe of the Marcianus.

One noteworthy case is *apol. 22.2*:

Proinde gratum hab<u>i, cum ad contumeliam diceretis rem familiarem mihi peram et baculum fuisse.

habui cum *Casaubonus*: habitum  $F\phi AL_1$ , habitum  $\langle obiecistis, cum \rangle$  *Beyte Butler* (*coll. 22.7-8 amore huius habitus, quem mihi obiectas*) || diceretis  $F\phi AL_1 V_1 L_3 \delta$ : obieceris  $M_1^*$  (*obiecistis em. inter lin. ead. m.*), dicentis  $V_5$ .

Here the reading *habitum... diceretis* in  $F\phi A$  is not acceptable as it stands, and has been corrected by Casaubon and, following him, by Helm, Vallette, and Hunink, by changing *habitum* into *habui cum*. Beyte,<sup>35</sup> however, followed by Butler and supported by a passage from the same chapter of the *De magia* (22.8), constitutes the text: *habitum <obiecistis, cum>... diceretis, etc.*

It is interesting to note that the verb *obicere* actually appears in this passage in the Marcianus manuscript, replacing *diceretis*: the mistaken *obieceris* initially, then *obiecistis* as an interlinear correction by the same scribe. Preserving Casaubon's correction *habui cum*, the passage as it appears in  $M_1$  makes perfectly sense: *proinde gratum habui, cum ad contumeliam obieceris*.

It is worth noting that *obicere* is the verb Apuleius frequently uses for the accusations reproached to him; and here in 22.2 it constitutes a *lectio difficilior* compared to the more common *dicere*. Its presence anticipates Beyte's conjecture (who had no access to the manuscript and proposed it *ope ingenii*). In any case, this further confirms the quality of  $M_1$ 's readings. Even in this case, the reading of  $M_1$  is found neither in the Class II manuscript (Petrarca's  $V_1$ ), nor in manuscripts of other classes (included Boccaccio's  $L_1$ ).

35 Beyte 1888, 40-3.

Note that F and  $M_1$  some times diverge on variants for which the scrupulous copyist of F adds a  $d$  (= *dubium*) in the margin to signal his doubt in deciphering the exemplar; however, from the verifications carried out on F,  $M_1$ 's readings even in these cases cannot be traced back to semi-erased *uariæ lectiones* in F.<sup>36</sup> this increases the suspicion that the Marcianus derived from a source not directly linked to F (or rather, it could appear not solely linked to F).

On the other hand, the scribe of  $M_1$  is not free from frequent distractions (omissions, dittographies, metatheses, *ordo uerborum*, banalisations, graphic inaccuracies...).

A few examples of *errores singulares*:

e.g. *apol.* 16.1 debere F $\phi$ A: uidere  $V_1$ , om.  $M_1$  || 16.2 uestigare et inquirere] inuestigare et inquirere  $M_1$  || 24.5 Cyro maiori  $AV_4V_1$ : Ciro maiori F $\phi$ , Oromaico  $M_1$  || 28.1 equidem bono] bono equidem  $M_1$  || 30.38 surculi, sauræ *Salmasius*: surculis auræ F $\phi$  $AV_1$ , surculi laurus  $M_1$  || 35.18 querceram *Butler*: quercerum F $\phi$ A, ad quercerum  $V_1$ , quercetum  $M_1$ , querqueram *Coluius* || 42.27 habere M. *Catonem edd.*: habere# *Catonem F $\phi$  (in utroque m eras., d add. in mg. F) V\_1*, haberem *Catonem AL\_1*, habere hecatonem  $M_1$  || 44.18 solus abest] abest  $M_1$  || 68.7 *Aemilia F $\phi$ AV\_1*: *Amelia M\_1*.

Also in 42.27,  $d$  accompanies the partially erroneous reading of F *habere Catonem*, which in  $M_1$  appears as the evident *nonsense habere hecatonem*, of which no trace can be found in the Laurentianus.

It is therefore difficult to attribute all of  $M_1$ 's exact variants in comparison with errors in F – or even the variants almost equivalent to F – simply to the scribe of  $M_1$ .

It might be objected that the scribe could have derived those good variants from a copy of F that had already been corrected. But this too is problematic, since it can be excluded, as we have seen, that  $M_1$  is related to Class I, whose archetype  $a$  offers the best evidence in terms of accurate deciphering of F and linguistic competence of its copyist. Some of the variants found in  $M_1$  do not appear to be easily explainable as conjectures *ope ingenii* by  $M_1$ 's scribe (who, moreover – it is worth recalling – is not to be identified with the owner, the humanist Antonius de Romagno).

Could they be the variants derived from a source different from F on which Pecere has often speculated? It is difficult to determine.

Certainly, what Butler asserted – that the text of the *De magia* in  $M_1$  is “inclining to F” – does not seem to be supported by the data;

**36** A further case is 41.23 nonnihil F (N nihil, d in mg. add.)  $\phi$  (N nihil, .d. nonnihil in mg.)  $V_1$ : nihil  $M_1$ . Here  $M_1$  does not appear to be related to F or  $\phi$ , where – despite the doubt being noted in the margin – the correct reading is clearly recorded both marginally and in the main body of the text.

more frequently, it rather agrees with a recent hand that corrects  $\varphi$  ( $\varphi^2$ ):<sup>37</sup>

e.g. *apol.* 25.24 *ego*  $\varphi^2$  *in mg.* ( $\dagger$  *c*<sup>e</sup> *ego*)  $M_1$  (*codd. dett.*): *ago*  $F\varphi^1AL_1$  || 29.21 *nullam*  $\varphi^2M_1$ : *nullum*  $F\varphi^1AV_1$ , *nullus*  $L_1$  || 32.21 *papaueris*  $\varphi^2$  (*m. recentior* *c*<sup>e</sup> *p.* *in mg.*)  $M_1$ : *parauerit*  $F\varphi^1AV_1$ , *paraueris*  $L_1$  || 35.6 *plurimos*  $\varphi^2$  (*mg.*)  $M_1^*V_5$ : *plurimisos*  $F\varphi^1AL_1V_1$  || 36.15 *secta*  $\varphi^2$  *mg.* (*c. secta m. recentior in mg.*)  $M_1$ : *recta*  $F\varphi^1AL_1V_1$  || 40.4 *naturae munere*  $\varphi^2M_1$ : *natura emunere*  $FC\varphi^1A$ , *natura e numerem*  $L_1$ , *natura emunere*  $V_1$  || 41.6 *accusandam*  $\varphi^2$  ( $\dagger$  *c*<sup>e</sup> *a. in mg.*)  $M_1$ : *accurandam*  $F\varphi^1AL_1V_1M_1$  (*a* $\dagger$  *a. inter lin. fort. ead. m.*) || 42.19 *legere* *Trallibus*  $\varphi^2$  (*in mg.*)  $M_1$  (*sed* *Tral-*): *legeret* *rallibus*  $F$  (*d in mg.*)  $\varphi^1A$ , *legeret* *talibus*  $L_1$ , *legeret* *trallibus*  $V_1$  || 43.5 *intersitas*  $\varphi^2$  (*c*<sup>e</sup> *i. in mg.*)  $M_1^*L_3V_5T$ : *intersitus*  $F\varphi^1AL_1V_1$  || 43.17 *an*  $FC\varphi^1AL_1V_1$ : *aut*<sup>38</sup>  $\varphi^2M_1T$  *lunt. pr. Ald. lunt. post.* || 44.20 *accusatorum*  $\varphi^2$  (*c*<sup>e</sup> *a. in mg.*)  $M_1^*L_3$ : *accuratorum*  $F\varphi^1V_1$  || 44.25 *uellem*  $\varphi^2AL_1V_1M_1$ : *uelle*  $FC\varphi^1$  || 45.20 *caducos*  $\varphi^1AL_1V_1M_1$ : *caduco* *se*  $FC\varphi^1$  || 47.3 *quot*  $\varphi^2M_1$  *edd. uett.*: *quod*  $F\varphi^1A$  || 50.1 *praecipuast* *Helm*: *praecipua* *si*  $F\varphi^1AL_1$ , *praecipua* *sit*  $\varphi^2M_1$  *edd. uett.* || 51.10 *problematis]* *problematicibus*  $\varphi^2$  *inter lin.*  $M_1$  || 53.21 *interrogares*  $\varphi^2$  (*in mg. manus recentissima*)  $M_1$ : *interrogaret*  $F\varphi^1AL_1$  || 58.3 *horam*  $\varphi^2$  *inter lin.*  $AL_1V_1M_1$ : *horum*  $FC\varphi^1$  || 61.15 *formas e buxo*  $T$  (*Colvius post Erasmus*): *formas euoxo*  $FC\varphi^1$  (*c*<sup>e</sup> *de buxo*  $\varphi^2$  *m. recentior in mg.*)  $A$ , *formas enexo*  $L_1$ , *formas buxo*  $M_1$ , *formasse uoxo*  $V_1$  || 64.8 *abest*  $FC\varphi^1AL_1$ : *abes*  $\varphi^2$  (*c*<sup>e</sup> *a. m. recentior in mg.*)  $V_1M_1$  *edd.*

In 61.15 it is not immediate to suppose a correction *buxo* by  $M_1$  from *euoxo* in  $F\varphi^1$ . On the other hand, could  $M_1$  have seen  $\varphi$  already emended (i.e.  $\varphi^2$ ), it would have found *de buxo*, which is more accurate.

It is hard to say if there is a direct relationship between  $M_1$  and one of the later hands of  $\varphi$  or if they have a common, external source.

In short,  $M_1$  is difficult to situate firmly within the transmission known to us and undoubtedly stemming from  $F$ . It can also be added that the incipit of the *Apologia* is unparalleled, and such a level of detail is not found in any manuscript known to me:

**37** At times, the reading of  $M_1$  significantly coincides with those of  $\varphi$ : e.g. 46.10 *pollicitus es*  $\delta$ : *pollicitus*  $F$ , *es pollicitus*  $\varphi M_1$  *edd. uett.* || 46.14 *didicerit* *Van der Vliet*: *dicerit*  $FCA$ , *dixerit*  $\varphi M_1$  *edd. uett.* That it cannot, however, derive entirely from  $\varphi$  is demonstrated by cases such as: e.g. 53.15 *hoc fuerit quoniam quid fuerit ignoro*  $FAM_1$ , *om.*  $\varphi$ . Perhaps it is precisely this plausible relationship between  $M_1$  and  $\varphi$  that can account for the reading at *apol.* 56.26 *inducatur animum*  $F\varphi^1L_1$ : *inducatur animum*  $\varphi^1CV_1$ , *inducatur animum*  $A$ , *inducatur animum*  $V_1^cV_5$  *edd. uett.*, *inducatur animum*  $M_1$  - a passage on the basis of which the manuscripts known have generally been traced back to  $F$ . In this case, the Laurentianus, although preserving the correct reading *inducatur*, reveals - due to the thinness of the parchment - a *u* from the *recto* of the folium, which likely misled various scribes into reading *inducatur animum*, or adapting it to *inducatur in animum*. The reading *inducatur animum* of  $M_1$  is otherwise unattested, but might perhaps be explained as a 'palaeographic' correction derived from *inducatur*, which is, notably, also the *lectio ante correctionem* of  $\varphi$ .

**38** *Aut* is a plausible variant, to the extent that it has been adopted by numerous editions *ueteres*.

Lucii Apuleii Platonici Madaurensis phylosophi contra magiae accusationem aliorumque maleficiorum criminationem sibi per Sicinium Aemilianum et Herennium Ruffinum eius aemulos falso iniectas oratoria defensio incipit. (63r)

Generally, the *inscriptio*, when present, is minimal and limited to formulas such as *Apulei Platonici Madaurensis De magia liber I*.

If we consider, finally, that in many cases not even the MSS written or annotated by Petrarca or Boccaccio present a text as appropriate as  $M_1$  in face of problematic passages of the ancestor, without of course calling the stemma in its entirety into discussion, it will however be necessary to question the origin of these single variants (or conjectures) and admit that in the case of the Marcianus the exclusive dependence from F does not appear definitely established yet. But whatever their origin may be, the re-emergence of such a quantity of remarkable yet hitherto unpublished writings is undoubtedly of great interest. So, to rephrase Housman, 'age in no (de)merit'. And the Venetian *recentior* MS does actually demonstrate it.

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