

THE TRANSMISSION OF CICERO'S *DE OFFICIIS**

By the time his Teubner *De Officiis* had reached its fourth edition, C. Atzert was running out of hope. So great was the number of the still-accumulating manuscripts 'ut paene desperaverim in seligendis et ordinandis eis'.¹ In fact, there were hundreds more of which he knew nothing. My own list approaches seven hundred in all, and there will be others lurking still. The present paper aims to impose some order on this vast army.² It sketches in new detail the interrelationships of the old witnesses to the ζ³ tradition, and the transition to a twelfth-century Vulgate (ψ); it throws light on the early story of the ξ family; and it makes a start on the task of showing how the ξ stream, from the twelfth century onwards, fitfully mingled with the Vulgate (for the stemma, see Fig. 1). It could never have been written without the help of Marina Luttrell and of countless friends and colleagues who provided information about manuscripts I could not see for myself.

THE ζ FAMILY

There is nothing new, and nothing disputed, about the basic distinction between the ζ class and the ξ class.⁴ Nor are the oldest members of the ζ class, B, P and V, newcomers to the stage. But they and their less known congeners require brief discussion.

B = Bamberg, Class. 26, s.X (24)

B is the brightest star in a constellation of related manuscripts; but it did not generate the others.⁵

* I am very grateful to Leighton Reynolds for commenting on a draft of this article, and to Jo Charrington for her scrupulous word-processing.

¹ *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Officiis* quartum recognovit C. Atzert (Leipzig, 1963), xi–xii. Throughout the article, I give references to this edition, normally providing line as well as book and section numbers.

² For manuscripts up to and including the twelfth century, I cannot add much to the list in Birger Munk Olsen's invaluable *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* i (Paris, 1982), pp. 115–16, referring forward to the detailed descriptions on pp. 135–320. For an addendum see ii (Paris, 1985), p. ix. I normally follow Munk Olsen's datings, and add his reference numbers in brackets, thus freeing myself to abbreviate references to manuscripts. In an Appendix, I list the later manuscripts (not including extracts and abbreviations) at present known to me, with acknowledgement to all those who have helped me.

³ Here, and in my forthcoming Oxford Classical Text, I refer to the families long known as Z and X by the corresponding Greek letters, wishing to keep Roman capital and lower-case letters for individual manuscripts, Greek for groups.

⁴ See P. Fedeli, *ANRW* 1.4 (1973), 376–87 for a statement of the present state of play in this tradition.

⁵ B has been very thoroughly corrected, by more than one old hand. Working from a microfilm, I have not ventured to distinguish the hands, and I refer to all corrections as B p.c. But it may be useful to signal a number of types of correction: (a) The removal of errors going

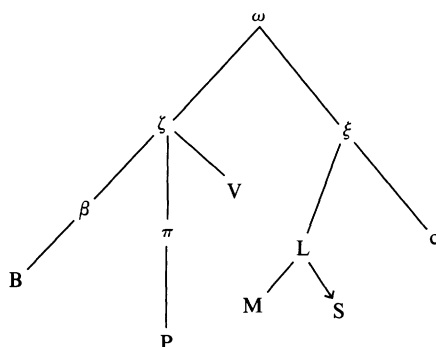


Fig. 1. Diagram of basic stemma

It is bound to three other witnesses, the Florilegium of Hadoard of Corbie⁶ (Vatican, Reg. lat. 1762, s.IX^{3/4} (528) = K), a not quite complete German text (Bamberg, Class. 27, s.XI (25), which I shall call B₂;⁷ ends at 3.87), and a later French book (Paris, lat. 13340, s.XII² (435), which I shall call P₂; perhaps also from Corbie⁸) by a large number of common errors against PVξ.⁹ These errors are shared, so long as it is present,¹⁰ by a truncated German manuscript (B.L., Harley 2682, s.XI² (245)

back not to ζ but to β (the ancestor of the sub-group to which B belongs). For examples see n. 9 below. (b) The importation of errors of V: which indeed might have been the source of the corrections given under (a). Note, e.g. 1.72,12 *adiumentum* (also ξ); 2.87,22 del. *ulla*; 3.70,14 *nam*] *num*; 3.79,13 del. *illum*; 3.113,1 *mansisse*. At 3.44,2 B p.c.V correctly give *possit* where B a.c.Pξ have *posset*. (c) The importation of errors familiar from the twelfth-century Vulgate (and so often found in (c)p also: see below, pp. 226–7), e.g. 1.41,27 *dictum* <est> (so cp); 1.49,28 *morbo*] *modo* (so L p.c.p); 1.64,28 *quo*] *quod* (so p); 1.97,23 *reliquorum* (so cp); 1.103,15 *fortuitu* (so cp). In the process B p.c. may be joined by P p.c., e.g. 1.130,8 *dicere* (so p). Once at least the truth is hit upon thus: 1.38,25 *quorum* (so cp). All these readings are found in a single representative Vulgate manuscript, Klosterneuburg 778 (except for that at 1.41, where the whole sentence is omitted). (d) Coincidence in truth and error with ξ against ζ. I agree with Atzert (ed. 4, xix) that we should not assume use of a ξ source. Conjecture and chance seem to be enough to explain the phenomena, especially in the case of banalization like 1.9,11 *inquirunt* (so P p.c.) and 3.38,29 *inuitata* (so P). (e) B p.c. occasionally attains truth unknown to ζξ, either by conjecture or from the Vulgate, e.g. 1.32,5 om. *quid/quod*; 1.150,7 *cetarii* (so Klosterneuburg 778); 2.43,11 *qui* (so also P p.c. and Klosterneuburg 778). At 1.92,6 it corrects the truth (the perhaps accidental *parta*) back to the reading of ζξ.

⁶ See esp. P. Schwenke, *Philologus* Supplementband 5 (1889), 397–588; also C. H. Beeson, *CPh* 40 (1945), 201–22. Beeson is quite wrong (pp. 217–18, 221) to countenance Mollweide's old view that K is close to T (for which see below, p. 229); R. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), p. 160, correctly saw K as 'indubbiamente' of class ζ, and only misinformation about K's readings led him to think it at all influenced by ξ.

⁷ Testard's β. Another German manuscript, Gotha, Membr. II.198 (below p. 220), is related to B₂ after starting as an ordinary Vulgate text.

⁸ If this provenance is correct, it would be tempting to think of the ancestor of our group as being a German manuscript, lent to Corbie (see the remarks of L. D. Reynolds in L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), p. xxix n. 107).

⁹ e.g. 1.8,3 *atqui* (B a.c.); 1.42,7–8 om. *et qui... convertant* (B a.c.); 1.47,13 *diligimur* (B a.c., ut vid.); 1.48,24 <si> *modo*; 1.96,12 *generis*; 1.160,16 *consideratio* (om. *actio*) (B a.c.); 2.32,1 *praeter eas*; 3.60,17 *sane*] *satis* (B a.c.). On corrections in B, see above, n. 5.

¹⁰ All the errors given in the previous note except that at 3.60, where I is lacking. H. Schwarz, *Philologus* 54 (1895), 177, thought I so near to B that complete collation was pointless. 'It does

= I; ends at 2.34), and some of them¹¹ by another, even less complete German text (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. lat. 2° 252, s.XII med. (46) = E, written for Wibald of Stavelot and Corvey; ends 1.118). Cross-currents make it impossible to draw a firm stemma. But it seems probable that all these texts descend from a single lost descendant (β) of hyparchetype ζ . B can hardly have generated an abbreviation older than itself, and unique errors of its own¹² suggest that it was not the source of the younger members of the group. The independence of I is clearly shown by the fact that it preserves, as B does not, the capitalization of the Ennian quotation at 1.51 also found in P and V.¹³ P₂ seems the sincerest of the group, apart from B; B₂ has clearly been subject to correction and contamination.¹⁴ If it were necessary to reconstruct the ancestor of this group (and I shall argue later that it is not), it might be permissible to regard a reading agreed between B and any or all of the other five as giving the reading of β . For the moment, it should be observed that to print all B's errors (as Fedeli tried to do) is patently a waste of editorial space.

P = Paris, lat. 6601, s.IX med., French (389)¹⁵

P, like B, is endowed with close relations, and there is no certainty that it is the progenitor of all the others.

Both Popp and, more firmly, Fedeli¹⁶ have asserted the dependence on P of another ninth-century French manuscript, Berne 391 (53) = b; neither provides quite conclusive proof, but I have no reason to doubt the conclusion. It may well be that b itself can boast a descendant, in Milan, Ambros. C.29 inf. 1, s.X–XI, French? (273) = A.¹⁷ More vexed is the status of a later Berne book, 514, s.XI, French (57) = a. a

not appear to have been copied from B': A. C. Clark, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1892), p. lxiv.

¹¹ Those (see n. 9) at 1.8, 1.47 and 1.48. It agrees with B a.c.KP₂I at 1.91,23 *versentur*. I cannot see that it is near to I, despite the stemma in M. Testard's Budé i (Paris, 1974), p. 89.

¹² e.g. 1.103,18 om. *illo*; 1.103,22 *honestis* (so Lp); 1.111,21 *quidem*; 2.13,22 *necessarium*.

¹³ To be precise: B does not capitalize, though the verses are placed in two lines with three blank lines following. P capitalizes only to *viam*. V preserves the line ends, as no doubt the hyparchetype did. It also capitalizes 1.121 *optima...liberis*.

¹⁴ It may be a corrected descendant of B, with whom it shares against the others, e.g. 1.104,28 *vocamus* (*vocant* is transmitted); 1.154,20 *contemplative* (but also P a.c.); 1.155,26 *quia* (B a.c.B₂ a.c.). At 1.13,6 it gives *contentio* (B a.c.EI, but also V) as a marginal variant. It seems likely that V had a hand in its make-up: it agrees with V at 2.74,12 om. *sit*; 2.87,22 om. *ulla* (so B p.c.: see above, n. 5); 3.10,23 *imitando*.

¹⁵ P, like B, has been much corrected, particularly in Book 1. I again distinguish not hands but some types of correction. (a) Apparent free conjecture: e.g. 1.4,15 *ysocrate* (m.rec.); 1.22,2 *mutuatione* (marked as a variant); 1.75,11 *a se adiutum*; 1.146,16 *dedeceat*. (b) Correction to readings found in the later Vulgate and/or (c)p: e.g. 1.22,1 *aliis*] *alius*; 1.35,6 *conservandi* <*sunt*> (so p); 1.35,10 *aliquos* (so p); 1.36,25 *patiatur* (so cp); 1.137,21 *ipso* (so cp); 3.44,28 *iurationis* (so p?). The first three of these errors are found in the Vulgate manuscript Klosterneuburg 778; 1.137,21 *ipso* is omitted in the Klosterneuburg book, but is common in other Vulgate texts. The matter is complicated by the interrelated facts that P in its first hand not seldom coincides with p and that the Vulgate owes something to the influence of P (below, p. 222). (c) Correction to truth or error found in ξ . Here again (see above, n. 5) it does not seem that there was direct use of a ξ source. Many of the changes to truth are obvious enough, and many of the errors are mere banalization (e.g. 2.56,30 *apparatione*).

¹⁶ E. Popp, *De Ciceronis de officiis librorum codicibus Vossiano Q.71 et Parisino 6601* (Progr. Hof, 1893), pp. 17–21; P. Fedeli, *Studi sulla tradizione manoscritta del 'De Officiis' di Cicerone*, *AFLB* 10 (1965), pp. 5–13. Atzert in his fourth Teubner edition, p. xxi, thought the two gemelli, a conclusion towards which Popp in the end inclined.

¹⁷ See Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, p. 159.

shares many of P's errors, but avoids many others.¹⁸ It has undoubtedly been subject to correction, and quite probably to contamination as well.¹⁹ It is at least possible that agreements of Pa will take us back to a common ancestor (π) descended from ζ ; or a may be the offspring of a corrected copy of P. Here again no decision is needed.

More importantly, we have Paris, lat. 6347, s.IX¹, French (384) = Q, unfortunately no more than a fragment, covering 2.72 to 3.11. It has been customary to regard this as a fourth witness to ζ , and so in a sense it is. But it is surely no more than a gemellus of P,²⁰ and their common errors²¹ go back to something that is not itself ζ . In this part of the text, therefore, only these common readings are relevant to the reconstruction of ζ . Such of these errors as are also found in a have a particularly good chance of going back to an intervening π .

V = Leiden, Voss. lat.Q.71, s.IX² (217)

This splendidly written French manuscript has two early descendants, independent of each other. One was diagnosed by Popp and Fedeli²² in the Swiss manuscript, Würzburg, Mp.misc. f. 1, s.X² (581) = H; the other is an Italian book,²³ Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl. Hamilton 155, s.XI (37), which I shall call B₃. Both can avoid minor errors in V,²⁴ but neither could seriously be regarded as a gemellus. Later we find another, separate²⁵ descendant of V in Darmstadt 756, s.XII², German (96), which may be called D.

¹⁸ Pa agree at e.g. 1.66,13 om. *aut expetere oportere*; 1.77,27 om. *nonne*; 1.118,10 om. *ea* (added by a modern hand in P); 1.161,25 om. *sit*; 2.36,26 om. *iis*; 3.39,18 om. *celare*¹; 3.63,18 om. *enim*; 3.77,17 om. *Romano*; 3.90,4 *medicando*. P is wrong where a is right e.g. 1.9,9 om. *aut*; 1.32,11 om. *quae*; 1.43,10 *visum iri*] *fieri*; 1.128,15 om. *sunt*; 1.138,3 om. *viri*; 1.158,26 om. *quae*; 2.62,21 om. *dicere*; 2.36,6 om. *neutiquam*; 2.57,17 om. *cum*; 2.65,15 om. *qui...par esset*; 3.60,15 om. *ipsis*. In all these places b follows P.

¹⁹ 'Der älteste von den planmässig corrigirten codices': G. F. Unger, *Philologus* Supplementband 3.1 (1867), 74. It appears in my apparatus as the earliest carrier of a conjecture at half a dozen places.

²⁰ Its relationship to b, and therefore (though he did not know it) to P, was observed by its discoverer, E. Chatelain, *RPh* 5 (1881), 136.

²¹ 2.76,7 om. *tantum* (the word is displaced in a); 2.76,10–11 *cessura* (P a.c. + a); 2.79,2 *sese* (+ a; B a.c. is uncertain); 2.79,4 *adeptum* (+ a); 2.81,16 *argys*; 3.5,12 *tunc*; 3.10,21 *veneris*. On the other hand, P and Q have their separate errors (P 2.76,5 *illo*] *illa*; 3.5,12 *ac*] *et*; Q 2.76,10 *nilhil*; 2.81,20 *quos* <*et*>; 2.82,3 *perfectique* (so a¹: i.e. the correct reading is given as a variant). On the corrections in Q, see M. van den Bruwaene's remarks in his review of Fedeli's edition (*Latomus* 27 (1968), 447–8). At 2.74,14 *enim* <*extranea*> (from which Fedeli (*Gnomon* 37 (1965), 263) made *extraneae*) is, besides being wrong, only the reading of a corrector (perhaps the same who added *videri*, equally wrongly, after *populares* at 2.78,21). His <a> *coetu* at 3.2,14 is not preferable to ζ 's e. But he is right to join B in *num quid* at 2.76,11.

²² Popp (1893) was uncertain whether to think H gemellus or copy of V; Fedeli, *Studi*, pp. 13–19, is clear that it is a copy.

²³ The earliest known Italian manuscript of the *De Officiis* (the work is known to the eleventh-century catalogues of Bobbio and Montecassino). For V readings in other Italian books see below, p. 222.

²⁴ For H, see Fedeli, *Studi*, p. 15. For B₃ note e.g. the avoidance of the following errors of V: 1.134,25 *causam*; 2.76,9 *patriam*; 2.86,10–11 *praeteritis*; 3.7,29 *controversia* <*deos qui sine controversia*>.

²⁵ VHB₃D share e.g. the following omissions: 2.74,12 *sit* (B₃ before correction); 2.77,18 *alia*; 2.82,2 *et eorum...tenebant*; 2.87,22 *ulla*. D is not copied from H, for it avoids H's errors at e.g. 1.38,16 *geratur*; 1.136,12 om. *alia*; 2.83,11 *civis boni*; 2.84,16 *habeam*] *habeo*; 2.88,26–7 om. *et externa...externis*¹. Nor is it copied from B₃, whose omissions it avoids at e.g. 2.85,1 *et*; 2.85,5 *nostros*; 2.88,1 *ut*.

As a tailpiece to this sketch of the early ζ tradition, I add a fragment that might be independent of β , π and V. This is Paris, lat. 10403, s.XI (431), perhaps German, containing on two folios 1.133–40 and 2.19–25. Atzert had no use for it, and indeed a fourth witness over so short a stretch would not be of more than academic interest. But there seems no basis for his reason: ‘ceteroquin [i.e. apart from its individual errors] verbotenus facit cum P’ (ed. 4, xli). In fact, it avoids the separative errors not only of P but also of B and V.²⁶ But as the errors of B²⁷ that it avoids are also avoided by B’s relations B₂, P₂ and I (together with K at 1.134,24), nothing *forbids* this fragment from being another member of the β group.

One cannot be sure what geographical conclusions to draw from the manuscripts mentioned so far. The hyparchetype ζ gave rise to three, perhaps four, offshoots. The manuscripts clustering around B have connections with Corbie, but also with southern Germany (B’s own provenance is unfortunately uncertain). V, once at Reims and perhaps written there, has German, Swiss and eventually Italian descendants. The Paris fragment is perhaps German. Only the manuscripts related to P speak uniformly of France. It is not clear if we should think of ζ as domiciled in France and colonizing Germany (though the work appears in Lorsch and Murbach catalogues as early as the ninth century), or as domiciled in Germany and colonizing France. Developments in the twelfth century, however, will show interesting divergences between the two areas.

We are left, as ever, with three main witnesses to ζ for most of the text. V could be a direct copy of the hyparchetype; B and P are certainly not, though reconstruction of the β and π that lie behind them would be a hazardous business. It is necessary, however, to confront at this point the contention of Fedeli that B is markedly superior to P and V, which, according to him, share a common ancestor that did not generate B.

To prove that ‘arctiore uinculo inter se cohaerent ... P et ... V’,²⁸ Fedeli cites twelve passages from Book 1: 5,4 *sunt* (but this is correct; B ζ ’s *sint* is an example of the familiar manner²⁹ in which later idiom has imposed a subjunctive after *quamquam* contrary to Ciceronian practice); 7,23 *om. sunt* (easily added); 12,13 *vi] ut* (but *vi* is actually given as a variant in P, and the two readings could go back to ζ itself); 28,21 *putant* (but *putent* is easily conjectured alongside *contemnunt*); 62,9 *proba* (but B seems to have this also); 76,20 *excindenda* (a mere orthographical variant); 81,1 *eversari* (easily corrected); 94,24 *delerare* (again no more than orthographical); 104,4 *elatioque* (easily corrected); 142,8 *accommoditatis* (but B a.c. had *commoditatis*, its corrector the same as PV); 155,3 *erudiverunt* (hardly significant; and so too K); 160,16 *considerat* (but B a.c. is even more corrupt). The list can be whittled down by the means indicated. It can also be extended, as Fedeli implies, by evidence from the other two books (and indeed from Book 1 itself). But I know of no passage where Fedeli’s conclusion imposes itself. It is usually easy to invoke either simple conjecture

²⁶ P: 1.133,16 *ipse*; 1.135,2 *destinandi*; 1.138,3 *om. viri*; 2.23,27 *tenentes*; 2.23,3 *maius*; 2.25,24 *ipse*. B: 1.134,24 *om. in*; 1.135,30 *nec <in>*. V: 1.134,25 *causam*; 2.25,19 *Thebenam modum diligere*. For a collation, see J. Klein, *RhM* 22 (1867), 429–32.

²⁷ I ignore the errors of B that a corrector of B has removed, some of them shared by B’s relations (e.g. 1.136,12 *recti* B a.c. B₂ P₂ I a.c., but not K or our fragment). This illustrates the difficulties posed by the careful correction of B. If it had not been corrected at all, we should be confident that the fragment was independent of B and its group.

²⁸ Fedeli’s Mondadori text (1965), p. 9.

²⁹ Cf. 1.1,2, *oporteat* B; 1.7,25 *pertineant* B; 1.56,4 *alliciat faciatque* p; 2.8,14 *verseris* p. *Contra*, Fedeli, ‘Sul testo del “De Officiis” Ciceroniano’, *Ciceroniana* 3–6 (1961–4), 33–5.

in B or coincidence in error in P and V (e.g. 1.13,22 *habemus* (so also ξ); 1.90,3 *voluptatem* (so also L); 2.22,21 *proprio*; 3.70,20 *manere* (so also M)).

Further, Fedeli does not mention that similar lists could be drawn up to demonstrate the ties of BP against V and of BV against P. For BP (I ignore corrections to either manuscript) note, e.g. 1.11,3 *videndum*; 2.12,12 *iterum*; 2.40,6 *regendam*; 2.45,10 *gere*; 2.48,1 *blando*; 2.64,18 *vicinatibus*; 3.118,23 *sed*] *si*. For BV (again ignoring corrections) observe e.g. 1.13,6 *contentio*; 1.82,5 om. *est*¹; 1.156,16 *quibus*; 2.41,25 *infirmos*; 2.84,15 *argumentum*; 3.39,12 om. *ne*; 3.88,10 *et* <*in*>. The fact is that B, P and V are all, at one time or another, and for one or another reason, right against the other two. The probability that they are in essence independent witnesses to ζ is not impaired by the phenomena.

Where, then, any one of BPV steps out of line but the other two are confirmed by ξ , it will normally be needless for a brief apparatus to mention the fact, and mine will not do so.³⁰ The same would apply even to readings of β and π , if they could be firmly established. I feel more compunction in suppressing the agreement of *two* of BPV against the other and ξ ; and I have hived off errors of this kind to a list in my Praefatio, from which readers will be able to judge the validity of my assertions in the last two paragraphs.

THE VULGATE

In northern France and England the twelfth century saw the first attempts to wed the ζ tradition with its sister ξ (below, p. 228 *et seq.*). At the same time, in Germany, something more depressing was taking place, the establishment of a degraded form of the ζ class itself, a Vulgate to which I assign the ill-omened letter ψ . I list from my sample passages (1.34–8, 132–7; 2.73–3.11) sixteen characteristic ψ readings: 1.35,5 *sunt bella* (transposed); 1.35,7 *non*] *nec*; 1.35,10 *aliquos*; 1.35,13 <*et*> *si*; 1.35,13 *at*] *vel*; 1.37,4 *mitigante*; 1.135,30 om. *nec*²; 1.135,1 om. *et*; 1.135,2 om. *ratio*; 1.135,2 *desinendi* <*vel destinandi*>; 1.136,7 *conferamus*; 1.135,10 *facere* <*ne*>; 1.137,16 om. *id*; 2.84,15 *novem*; 2.89,4 *male pascere*] *bene vestire*; 3.4,3 *enim*] *tamen*. Some of these are sheer errors; others are attempts at correction of the text (e.g. the omission of the awkward *id* at 1.137 and the filling of ζ 's gaping hole at 2.89 with the botched-up *quid tertium? bene vestire*); one is the result of contamination with a P text (1.135,2).

That the Vulgate arose in Germany seems clear. It first appears, if we follow Munk Olsen's dates and provenances, in two German books, Paris, lat.6602, s.XII in. (390) and Munich 13095, s.XII¹ (302). The first of these scores 15 out of 16 on my Vulgate rating, the second wins full marks. Then, in the second part of the century we have a close-knit group of Austro-German books³¹ (I add the score at the end of each reference):

- Heiligenkreuz 228, s.XII² (177), 15
- Klosterneuburg 778, s.XII² (182), 16
- Vienna 265*, s.XII² (565), 15
- Zwettl 253, s.XII ex. (591), 16

to which may be added another possibly German book

- Copenhagen, S.1905 4^o, s.XII ex. (184), 12

³⁰ Fedeli's edition can be consulted for individual readings of B, P and V. But I am afraid that caution is called for. When he and Atzert differ, it is by no means always Atzert who is wrong.

³¹ Bound to this group by an error at 1.156,13 (*suam* <*sapientiam*> *prudentiam intelligentiamque*) is Colmar frg. 690, s.XII², French (93), containing 1.116–28 and 1.151–2.1.

and the certainly German

Gotha, Membr. II.198, s.XII ex. (172), 12.

The only early intruders on this scene are two French books:

Milan, Ambros. F.42 sup., s.XII² (278), 12

and the apparently related

Paris, lat.3652, s.XII² (375), 12 (plus 2 p.c.).

After that we have a predominance of French and especially English texts:

British Library, Royal 15.A.XX. s.XII ex., English (258), 16

Lambeth Palace 342, s.XII ex. (262), 13

and, to come to books dated by Munk Olsen s.XII–XIII:

British Library, Royal 15.A.VI, English (253), 14 (see below, p. 229)

British Library, Royal 15.A.VIII (254), 13

Oxford, Rawlinson G.29, French (361), defective (ends 2.15), but scoring 12 out of 12 where present

Paris, lat. 2335, French? (374), 16.

I have so far listed strongly Vulgate texts, scoring over 10 on my count.³² Other ζ texts of the period are more sparsely affected by Vulgate readings. I list them in rough date order:

Paris, lat. 18419, s.XII in., Fr. (454), 1

Milan, Trivulziana 769, s.XII¹ (287), 4

Milan, Ambros. H.140 inf., s.XII, Italian (275), 4

Kraków, Czartoryski 3462 II, s.XII (not in Olsen), 3 (info. K. Bartol)

British Library, Add. 18385, s.XII, 5 (see below, p. 222)

Leeds, Brotherton 21, s.XII, Italian (198), 3

Brussels 10036, s.XII ex. (72), 7

Florence, plut. 76.13, s.XII ex., Italian (144), 2

Eton 90, s.XII–XIII, English (123), 6

Florence, plut. 76.20, s.XII–XIII, Italian (145), 1 (plus 2 p.c.)

Montpellier 133, s.XII–XIII, French? (289), 4

Paris, lat. 18420, s.XII–XIII, French? (455), 4.

Other texts of the period about which I can give no information other than that they are ζ type are:

Berne 608, s.XII², Italian (59) (info. K. Müller)

Munich 22272, s.XII–XIII (not in Olsen) (info. M. Ludolph)

Paris, lat. 15085, s.XII², French? (440) (info. M. Luttrell).

Finally, I know nothing at all of

St Petersburg, Q.v.class. 10, s.XII (227).

My Vulgate count bears no relation to the underlying text of these manuscripts, nor

³² To this category should probably be added the fragments of two texts in British Library, Harley 2567. The first, s.XII ex., French or English (239), scores 2 out of 2 where it is available to my test. The second, s.XII, German? (240), falls outside my sample passages. I make no assertion about the underlying text of either.

is it always easy to be sure what that text is in any particular case. The influence of V is occasional but clear, especially in the Eton³³ and Leeds manuscripts, together with Florence, plut. 76.20. It also surfaces in Paris, lat. 18419 and Milan, Ambros. H.140 inf., though there the influence of a π manuscript is also present. A strain of π , indeed, is, as the contamination observable at 1.135 suggested, an important constituent in many Vulgate texts,³⁴ even where there is also clear use of β readings, as in (especially) the Copenhagen and Gotha³⁵ manuscripts, Milan, Ambros. F.42 sup. and Paris, lat. 3652. But it would not be in the least surprising if a further unknown offshoot of ζ (or even more than one) lay behind at least some of the Vulgate books. That such an offshoot could exist is strongly supported by the phenomenon of British Library, Add. 18385,³⁶ which, though certainly descended from ζ , shows no trace whatever, so far as I have investigated it, of specifically β , π or V readings, and only a dusting of ordinary Vulgate readings (which could indeed go back to a gemellus of BPV). And Paris, lat. 10403, the fragment already discussed (pp. 218–19), may also be relevant here.³⁷

The only use I have found for this array of twelfth-century books is as a source of correction; some of them strikingly anticipate conjectures made much later. In this respect the thought devoted by readers of the period in the formation of the Vulgate was not wasted. It is sad that they were not, it would seem, stimulated by being able to use manuscripts of a quite different class, even though a ξ manuscript lurked all the time in Germany. The wedding of ζ and ξ , as we shall see, was a quite separate development.

THE ξ FAMILY

L = British Library, Harley 2716, s.X (246)

The ξ branch presents complex problems; but its main witnesses are but two in number. I shall start by discussing *L* and its fortunes, only later coming to *c*.

In 1725 Lord Oxford bought, amongst other books from the library of the Dutch scholar J. G. Graevius (including Harley 2682, our *I*), a manuscript whose contents included a mutilated text of the *De Officiis*.³⁸ On the first surviving page of that work, Graevius had written the words: ‘est codex optimus et praestantissimus I. G. Graevii.’³⁹ The book has been dated by Bischoff to the late tenth century, and Olsen attributes it to (?West) Germany. If that attribution is correct, the book had been on its travels in other Germanic lands.

Most recently it had been the *codex Anemoecii*. The German scholar who thus grecized his name (?Windheim or Windhaus) published in Cologne editions of the *De*

³³ But this is also strongly affected by a β text. For the Leeds book see R. H. Martin, *CQ* 1 (1951), 35–8.

³⁴ All those I list that I do not place in other categories, except for the Kraków, Lambeth Palace and Trivulziana manuscripts, which would need further investigation.

³⁵ Related in fact to B_2 (above, n. 7).

³⁶ This manuscript, not in Olsen, is of some interest. It is dated by Professor A. G. Watson and Dr R. M. Thomson (personal communications) to s.XII (German A.G.W., French R.M.T.). It is full of striking archaic spellings (e.g. 1.133 *optume*, 1.135 *desinundi*, 1.136 *utundum*, 2.80 *optumates*, 2.82 (*a*)*estumandis*) that go beyond what we find scattered among the primary manuscripts, and it bears the flamboyant colophon: ‘Lucius Fulvius Tullii scriba et liberatus scripsit.’ ‘Codicem plane abiecti’ (Atzert⁴, xl).

³⁷ Add (perhaps) the fragmentary Cambridge, Trinity College R.16.34, c. 1100, English (83) (ends 2.9), which merits examination. ³⁸ A. C. Clark, *CR* 5 (1891), 365–72.

³⁹ Words reminiscent of many eulogies by Graevius on his manuscript: see Popp, *De Ciceronis de officiis librorum codicibus Bernensi 104 eique cognatis* (Erlangen, 1883), 6.

Officiis of portentous rarity,⁴⁰ from 1535 to 1558, employing for them and for his accompanying *Castigationes* a manuscript 'Coenobii ad D. Vlrici, quod est Augustae Vindel', that is, the Benedictine monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg.⁴¹ There is every reason to suppose that this manuscript was our L. The argument is cumulative, and will appear from what follows.

L, as we have it today, lacks a large portion of the *De Officiis*: not only 2.25–51, which it can never have carried, but also 2.81–3.85, 3.89–99 and 3.109–17, passages corresponding to folios that have been lost from the manuscript. The same reason may be adduced for the lack of (at least part of) 1.1–37, for the text starts with no old title and shows every sign of having been mutilated here also. The manuscript used by Anemoecius, however, contained, it would seem, the whole text. Its virtues were striking. It exhibited 1.40, a chapter which, apocryphal or genuine, was unknown to the ζ tradition.⁴² At a crucial point, where the readings of L and the two other witnesses to the chapter diverge (below, pp. 228–9), Anemoecius follows L in the (apparently correct) version 'senatus eum et C. Fabricius consul Pyrrho dedit'. In other passages where L is available today, Anemoecius found in his old manuscript, e.g. 1.65,6–7 *animo et gloria et cupiditate*; 1.130,11 *inepti non vacant* <*offensione*>; 1.141,27–8 *liberalitatem specie et dignitate*; 1.158,27 *initam*; 2.15,12 *distat*; 2.53,29–1 *spereant... praebitorem* (om. ζ). In all these places, Anem. agrees (in error or new truth) with Lc⁴³ against ζ. But such readings extend beyond the present bounds of L's text. At the following places, for instance, Anem. agrees with c (and M: see below, p. 224) against ζ: 1.30,15 *sese*; 3.15,26 *compareant*; 3.112,7 *primo lucis*; 3.113,21 *potiti*. We may, especially on the basis of 3.112, form the hypothesis that Anemoecius was using L before its loss of folios. A negative point supports: though he does cite his manuscript in 2.25–51 he knows none of the distinguished ξ readings that, because of the gap in L, we know only from c.⁴⁴ It is probable that in this passage he is citing the patched-in pages referred to in a note at the place of the lacuna in L: 'queratur in medio libri in minustulis cartulis interligatis' – folios that have now disappeared again, but which doubtless carried the text as given in some ζ class manuscript available to a user of L.⁴⁵

It seems, then, that in the 1530s L was at Augsburg. It was a companion in the library there of a tenth-century copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which we know to

⁴⁰ So rare that I have not had access to any of them. I owe my knowledge of the reading at 1.40 to the kind services of Catherine MacCormack at the University of Chicago Library, whose Anemoecius is too frail to be filmed. Other readings I have gleaned from Heusinger's edition (Brunswick, 1783) and from Popp (1883), pp. 27 *seq.*

⁴¹ On which see P. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* iii.1 (Munich, 1932), pp. 43–58.

⁴² It was Atzert's view that the 'DM' seen in the margin of L at this point stands for *dolus malus* (ed. 4, xxiv). Rather *dignum memoria* (*The Bodleian Library Record* 3 (1950–1), 121).

⁴³ Anemoecius could not have been using c, which (apart from anything else) contains 1.40 only in part.

⁴⁴ I remark especially 2.29,26 P.] p. c: 1. ζ; 37,11 *maioris partis animos* c: *maiores partes animi* ζ; 45,30 *atque ad* c, Non.: *et ad* ζ; 49,8 *et apud populum* c: om. ζ; 50,15–16 *ut hii quos antea dixi aut ulciscendi gratia* c: om. ζ; 50,17 M'. *Aquilio*] *aquilio* c: *manilio* ζ. I have gone further than most editors in accepting readings of c in this passage.

⁴⁵ After sampling 2.40–6 I think that the lost folios could be reconstructed (if we needed to) from MSV₁ (for which see below). Though showing Vulgate errors (especially 43,18 *boni*), the three are united by many errors that I do not find in representative Vulgate MSS (40,9 *is*] *idem*; 43,12 *retur*; 43,13 *errat*; 45,30 *firmitate* *eo*), while, thanks to the known separate contamination in S and V₁, we find agreements of MS against V₁ζc (44,24 *que*) and especially MV₁ against Sζc (41,24 *constituendam*; 41,25 *obtinebant*; 42,6 *non pecunie*; 44,21 om. *ipso*; 44,22 *qui*] *quales*; 44,27 *versatur*; 44,27 *esse eius*; 46,12 *ratione* (*h*)*ac ingenio*).

have passed to Graevius' library and on to the Harley collection (it is now Harley 2610 (Olsen, Ovid no. 67)).⁴⁶ The manuscript used by Anemoecius no doubt accompanied the Ovid in its fortunes. We know that in the period between 1535 and Graevius' acquisition, a number of its folios were lost.⁴⁷ Two, however, have now reappeared. They had been bound up in a copy of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and are now Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, Kapsel 536/289. Olsen signalled these folios in his Addenda (II.ix), dating them to the beginning of the eleventh century. They are, however, unmistakably folios of L. They contain 3.41,8 *interemit... 46,17 utilitatis*; 3.73,7 *putet... 77,20 videretur* (though with slight losses due to trimming of the pages). They will be cited in my edition as N.

When we move back to the fifteenth century we find further evidence of L in southern Germany. I hope to have demonstrated in *Materiali e discussioni* 24 (1990), 135–41 that in the previously unexamined Munich 7020 (M) we have a copy of L made before it lost its folios in Books 2 and 3; and that the same is true of 1.1–37 I shall try to show later. The book was written in Germany in the late fifteenth century. More needs now to be said about a second Munich manuscript, 650, which I dismissed in a footnote to my previous article (p. 141 n. 28). This book, which I shall call S, was written in Germany by Hartmann Schedel, the distinguished humanist. He was based in Nuremberg from 1484 until his death in 1514,⁴⁸ and we know that he copied Persius at Augsburg (now Munich 526).⁴⁹ I wrote before that S's 'basically X text has been overlaid by some contamination from Z (thus at 2.75 it has *roboris*, omitted by LcpM), though where this has taken place the X reading⁵⁰ is sometimes retained in the margin. Its close relationship to M is suggested by a number of common errors against ZX..., but its contamination prevents it being usable as a check on the private errors of M.' That account may stand. But it should be added that the common errors with M against ζζ which I cited are confined to passages where L is today lacking, and they may be taken to go back to L itself, not to an intermediary. Where L is present, I know of no cases where MS agree against it.⁵¹ I know nothing, indeed, that weighs against the hypothesis that M and S descend separately from L, M directly, S via a copy of L, perhaps itself made by Schedel, where contamination from a ζ source was written in.⁵² It is probable, then, that in M

⁴⁶ Ruf, *Mitt. Bibl.*, p. 54; Clark (1891), 370.

⁴⁷ Cf. Graevius' words on the subject: 'sed multum quoque debeo membranarum pervetustis, quanquam laceris et mancis, quas aere suo comparatas mihi misit frater optimus et carissimus, Godefridus Graevius' (cited by Popp (1883), p. 3; see his succeeding discussion).

⁴⁸ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 30 (Leipzig, 1890), 661–2.

⁴⁹ Ruf, *Mitt. Bibl.*, p. 49. He wrote a number of other books in the Munich collection (including a *De Officiis* that is now Munich 364), some dated from Nuremberg from 1463 to 1504.

⁵⁰ Sometimes the Vulgate reading is so relegated: thus 3.10,21 *veneris*, where L had *inchoaret*.

⁵¹ There is a certain worry about 2.77,14, where for *taetrius* MS agree on *deterius*, though S gives the correct reading in the margin. But (see *MD* loc. cit., 138 n. 13) L has an erasure here, with *tetrius* in the margin.

⁵² Unless he was capable of producing a contaminated copy in one step. For divergent treatment of corrections and variants in L, note 1.38,19 *praeclara* ζ LM: *praeclara sententia est* L p.c.S; 1.38,25 *virtuti* LS: *vital* L var. MS var. It may be worth adding here that the corrections in L adduced in my edition fall into two categories, though all may be taken from the same (Vulgate) source: (a) corrections from ξ readings to ζ readings (1.92,6 *tum*; 1.93,13 *omnisque*; 1.93,14 *modus*; 1.142,3 *hanc*; 2.52,15 *indigentibus*; 2.72,26 *civibus*; 2.72,26 *rei publicae*) and (b) importation of Vulgate readings (1.38,19 (see above); 1.49,28 *modo*; 1.52,8 *ipsi luceat*; 1.76,14 *dilatatum* (this is sheer conjecture; the archetype omitted any participle); 1.82,9 *et*² del. (a conjecture shared by c (see below, n. 70) and conditioned by the following, itself conjectured,

and S we have two independent witnesses (one less sincere than the other) to the state of L in the late fifteenth century; and that consequently the agreement of MS will give the reading of L where L is lost, even though, at times (we cannot know when), *only* M will tell us what L read.⁵³

A quite separate use of L keeps us in Germanic lands. A Vienna manuscript, 315 (which I shall call V₁), dated to the thirteenth century, presents a base text derived from L (as its version of 1.40 shows), overlaid by contamination from a Vulgate source not unlike the Trivulziana (ψ rating 6; some π readings, none observed from β or V).⁵⁴ The manuscript is badly faded, but where it is legible its tendency is quite clear. In the lacunae of L, it, like S, provides positive, though not negative, witness to the readings that must originally have stood in L.

We come now, in our backward journey, to the manuscript that has hitherto been accorded pride of place, alongside L and c, in the reconstruction of ξ . This is the (late?) twelfth-century Vatican, Palatinus lat. 1531 (Olsen no. 515) = p. It is said to hail from Italy. As this book will appear in my apparatus only sparsely, and largely as a carrier of conjecture, its downgrading requires defence. Atzert sums up the standard view well enough: 'Quin X classi adnumerandus sit nemo dubitat; facit enim plerumque cum Lc, ita autem, ut saepius cum illo [sc. L] quam cum hoc [sc. c]. Neque tamen desunt loci, quibus contra archetypum X consentiat cum archetypo Z, id quod vel maxime 1.40 manifestum est. Haec [sc. ζ readings] unde hauserit, adhuc pro certo diiudicari nequit' (ed. 4, xvii). The instance of 1.40 is certainly illuminating: p's contamination from ζ has gone so far that it omits the chapter altogether. In general, the number of passages where Lc witness to the truth (as well as to falsehood) against ζ p is remarkable.⁵⁵ Lp, on the other hand, never (and Atzert does not make this crucial point) stand against ζ c in the truth, with an exception that, as we shall see, strikingly proves the rule.⁵⁶

Popp, whose work Atzert cited as authority for the judgements just mentioned, was unable to decide 'utrum p ex L...manaverit an, quod equidem magis credo, statuendus sit codex ab X oriundus, unde Lp descripti sint'.⁵⁷ He added an interesting caveat: 'neque enim, quod illa pars ab 2.25 ad 2.51, quae in L a principio omitta est, in p exstat..., sequitur ilico, ut Palatinus ex Harleiano descriptus non sit; potuit enim in p illa lacuna ex codice alio suppleri.' The evidence of this vital passage should be taken further than Popp (or, to my knowledge, anyone else) has taken it. p does not, in these sections, give any of the remarkable truths that c provides against ζ (above, n. 44). When it agrees with c, it is usually in readings that are familiar from the Vulgate (below, pp. 227–8). p, then, shows the effects of supplementation from a

cogitationibus); 2.11.4 *inanimata*; 2.73.2 *diminutio*). On the different correctors of L, which I do not distinguish, see Atzert, *De Ciceronis librorum de officiis quibusdam codicibus. I. De codice Harleiano 2716* (Osnabrück, 1914), pp. 7–20.

⁵³ In my edition I use Mc alone to reconstruct ξ where L is absent (except of course for the central part of Book 2). But where I record divergences of M and c, I show to which the support of S goes.

⁵⁴ That it is formed thus, rather than by the infection of a Vulgate text from L, is strongly suggested by its behaviour in 2.25–51 (above, n. 45).

⁵⁵ So much so that it is not quite absurd to wonder, as did T. Schiche (*WKIPh* 4 (1887), 17), whether p is the result of a ζ text being overlaid by ξ readings.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 228. I do not count 1.115.8, where I have preferred the word order given by Lp; here c and ζ do not agree with each other, but provide two other orders. Compare the three-way split Mp/ ζ /c at 3.15.3 *sunt*.

⁵⁷ Popp (1883), p. 10; cf. Popp, *De Ciceronis de officiis librorum codice Palatino* (Erlangen, 1886), p. 16.

non- ξ text.⁵⁸ A text that needed to be so supplemented must have shared the lacuna found in L. Lp then stand together in a most important respect. It is true that this does not settle the question that Popp posed. The ancestor of p could have been the ancestor of L, damage to which gave rise to the gap seen in L. p, then, may or may not be descended from L. I am not sure that we could ever hope to be able to prove the point, granted the extent of the contamination seen in p. For we cannot cite individual errors of L as evidence of p's independence of L, when such errors could so easily have been ironed out by use of another manuscript.⁵⁹ And when Lp do agree against ζ c, that is, of course, entirely compatible with p being sister, not daughter, of L.

In another respect, progress may be made. Atzert said he did not know where p's ζ readings came from. The answer seems to be, and not just for 2.25–51, a ψ text.⁶⁰ Using as representatives of ψ three twelfth-century witnesses from different geographical areas, I note that of 46 errors of p against ζ c in 2.1.1–21 11 appear in Milan, Ambros. H.140 inf. (Italian), 4 (one as a gloss) in the French Paris, lat. 2335, and 8 in the Austrian Heiligenkreuz 228. Twenty-nine appear in none of these, but may in other Vulgate texts. There is no reason to suspect that any of these ψ manuscripts is influenced by ξ . What we see here is evidence of p's contamination from ψ , not ψ 's contamination from ξ .⁶¹

The conclusion from all this is that p has almost no right to a mention in an apparatus of the *De Officiis*. Its assent adds no further weight to readings of Lc. When it stands alone against Lc ζ , it is eliminable, and will only be correct by conjecture. Such correctness is rare, and less striking than in several other twelfth-century books. When it stands with L against ζ c, both are also, in principle, eliminable. But consideration of that point hinges on our attitude to c, to which I now turn.

c = Berne 104, s.XIII (?)

We come now to a unique manuscript, of unmistakably ξ origin, but standing alone in witnessing (as it would seem) to ξ readings in 2.25–51. Its provenance (French, according to Testard)⁶² and date⁶³ are not beyond question. It has, as Popp saw,⁶⁴ been subject to correction by a not unintelligent medieval reader. But (as has not, I think, been pointed out) it is also affected by a degree of contamination. This becomes clear when we examine its behaviour within the group Lcp.

⁵⁸ Not the intercalated leaves discussed above, p. 223 with n. 45. It may be remarked that p's last ξ reading before L's lacuna starts is as close as 2.24,8–9, and the first after it finishes as close as 2.51,8 (cf. also line 3).

⁵⁹ A lacuna in p explicable from some special feature of L would be decisive. At 2.64,19–20 p (before correction) omits not (as one might expect: homocoteleuton!) *et...liceat* but *et...abhorrentem*. The *est* that follows is in L below and a little to the right of *et*; that *could* have increased the possibility of a leap from *et* to *est*.

⁶⁰ p has a ψ count (above, p. 220) of 2, thanks to this contamination. ψ 's connection with P (above, p. 222) explains the agreements of p with P type manuscripts noted by Popp (1886), p. 18.

⁶¹ A point I stress in view of the assumption in Fedeli, *Studi*, pp. 33–5 (in a discussion of T) that agreements with p are *ipso facto* signs of contamination from ξ .

⁶² In his Budé, i.72. Not German, according to Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, who very kindly examined a microfilm for me.

⁶³ s.XIII in. according to Dr Barker-Benfield. P. Petitmengin thought of s.XIII²–XIV¹ (but perhaps only for the *pro Milone: Texts and Transmission*, p. 82 n. 167).

⁶⁴ Popp (1883), pp. 11–18. See also Atzert⁴, pp. xii–xv.

We have seen that p is closer to L than to c. cp will then at times side with ζ in truth where L has a private error. They should, however, never give the truth against ζL, except by conjecture; nor, I think, do they.⁶⁵ But, if the stemma were watertight, they should not coincide in error against ζL. As such agreements are in fact fairly frequent,⁶⁶ some explanation is called for. It seems to be the case that such readings are the result of contamination in both manuscripts from the Vulgate. I illustrate this by giving what is intended as a complete list of cp errors in Book 2. I start with those that are also found in one or more of the three ψ manuscripts consulted for p (above, p. 226; in two places I have called in a fourth ψ text): 2.7,29 *pr(a)ecipi*; 15,14 *descriptio*; 18,20 *sunt* (no doubt inherited from P); 25,24 *enim est*; 25,24 *ipse* (again from P?); 27,14 *locupletum*; 29,33 *maluimus*; 31,11 *cum] tum* (so P, perhaps p.c.); 42,3 *tum*; 43,14–15 *quicquam potest* (the order of words is variously disturbed in the ψ texts); 43,19 *volent* (Paris, lat. 18420); 46,11 *rebus reliquis* (Paris, lat. 18420); 48,30 *antipatris*; 49,9 *sunt* (so P before correction?); 54,12 *ceperint*; 64,16 *tum* (from P?); 77,18 om. *esse*; 86,9 om. *esse*.⁶⁷ There remain, not found in the ψ books I consulted, 37,16 om. *est* (a commendable conjecture);⁶⁸ 43,19 *fungantur* (bringing the verb into line with *volent*: see above); and 45,30 *contendere debent* (order). These three readings may perhaps prove some special connection between the Vulgate manuscripts used in the contamination of c and p; but the matter is hardly certain.

The agreements of cpψ in error seem to show that not only p (as we already knew) but also c is subject to a certain amount of contamination from the Vulgate. But the amount does appear to be small. If it were greater it would be difficult to account for the behaviour of Lp *vis-à-vis* ζc. Suppose a hundred readings of ξ to have been preserved in Lp but removed by contamination in c. Unless the contaminator had astonishing powers of judgement, at least some of the hundred ξ readings would give us the truth against ζ. Yet Lp, as we have seen, agree only in error. I signalled an exception (p. 225), and this must now be examined. At 1.149,15 Lp give *sicut*, which ζc omit; the evidence of Nonius confirms the correctness of the word, which no one could have added by conjecture. But this striking exception comes precisely on one of two folios that have been added to c to replace lost pages. One (f. 9) covers 1.77,1 *de* to 87,7 *velint*.⁶⁹ There is no indication⁷⁰ in this passage that we have anything other

⁶⁵ I print six readings on the authority of cp: 1.38,25 *quorum* (also B p.c.); 1.43,11 *ab*; 1.76,15 *disciplinae*; 2.37,16 om. *est*; 3.17,14 *nec*; 3.19,6 *esse*. Most if not all of these can be also found in, and no doubt came from, the Vulgate. They are no less conjectural than c's successes at 1.50,9 *natura* and 3.57,15 *rhodius*. See also n. 68.

⁶⁶ It will be clear from my discussion why I disregard them in my apparatus. Such contamination could of course result in cp joining ζ to leave L in sole possession of the truth. In fact this seems rarely to happen (I only print the following on L's (or M's) sole authority: 1.37,9 *effecit*; 1.38,14 *cum cive aliter contendimus*; 1.54,22 *domus* (hardly significant); 1.128,15 *sint*; 3.112,15 *T*. Note also 3.90,1 *sibine uterque] sibi neuterque* M solus). Of course, we cannot know which of L's individual errors in fact go back to ξ, having been ironed out in cp. In any event, I do not trouble my apparatus with them.

⁶⁷ Note also three cases of *inanimatus* for *inanimus* at 12,14; 14,1 and 19,27; common enough in Vulgate texts; and 77,14 *digressa* (a banalization of the ξ reading). It will be noticed how many of these readings are easy errors or banalizations, liable to coincidental efflorescence. The real extent of contamination in c may be minimal (note the dismissal of cp agreements in Popp (1886), pp. 12–15).

⁶⁸ See above, n. 65. So too 41,25 *infirmis*; 48,32 *alliciant* (both given by cpψ, but also by P after correction).

⁶⁹ There is an overlap. The older hand resumes at *iudiciō tueri*. I am very grateful to Marlis Stähli for help concerning the new folios.

⁷⁰ That is, there is no build-up of Lp agreements against ζc. But note that at 1.82,9 occurs the agreement of L p.c. with c in the deletion of *et*² mentioned at n. 52. That could be a sign of

than the original ξ text recopied. But this is not the case for the other folio (f. 16), which contains 1.142,2 *nomi[n]ant* to 151,11 *honestarum* (though the older hand resumes at *doctrina*). In this passage, though some ξ readings occur, there is a much larger number of places than usual where *c* joins hands with ζ against *Lp*. Only at 142,3 *hac* (so *L* before correction), 142,8 *accommodatis*, 147,1–2 *qua de* and 147,4 *cum* do *Lp* agree in the normal manner;⁷¹ *Lp* meanwhile agree about twenty times, once, as we have seen, in remarkable truth. It would seem that these phenomena are the result (say) of the renewed folio in *c* being copied from an original where a number of ζ readings had been added since the original copying of *c*. In this passage, therefore, my apparatus does not employ the normal symbol ξ , but ‘*L**’, symbolizing the agreement of *Lp*,⁷² to show that circumstances are unusual. Where *c* still retains a ξ reading agreeing with *Lp*, I put ‘+*c*’ in brackets.⁷³ Elsewhere, however, I have peremptorily dismissed readings of *Lp* against ζc from my apparatus, except for special reasons, though I provide a list of such readings in my preface. I hope that this list will make it clear that, though I have run the risk of suppressing readings that may go back to ξ , I have not left out of my apparatus anything that has any claim to be true.

Use of ξ in later manuscripts

I shall now say something about the influence of the ξ tradition on other manuscripts from the twelfth century to the Renaissance. It will only be a start on a subject so vast, and so unfruitful, that it may never be fully explored.

I have accumulated information from as many manuscripts as possible of the presence (or absence) of certain ξ signs. But I shall concentrate first on only one such sign,⁷⁴ the presence of 1.40, which was not transmitted in the old ζ manuscripts, and indeed may well be apocryphal. The chapter appears in full in *L*, but *c* gives it only from *semper autem* (line 14). It may be that the omission of the first part of the chapter is the result of (mis)interpretation of) some diacritical sign or other indication in the exemplar from which *L* and *c* descend. Or it could merely be that the scribe jumped from *secundo autem* at the start of the chapter to *semper autem* half-way through it. Whatever the case,⁷⁵ we are left with a truncated chapter. It contrasts most strongly with the text given by *L* at lines 17–18; where, as we have seen (above, p. 223), *L* gives ‘*senatus eum et C. Fabricius consul Pyrrho dedit*’, *c* has ‘*senatus et C. Fabricius eum Pyrrho dedit*’.

I know of fifteen (mostly Renaissance) manuscripts⁷⁶ which contain, in first or

contamination in *c*. So could other agreements of *L p.c.* with *c* outside these folios (see 1.38,19; 1.76,14; 2.11,4).

⁷¹ I find all but the third of these readings in my usual Vulgate manuscripts.

⁷² I use the asterisk elsewhere to show which way *p* goes where there is a split between *L* and *c* (and in 2.25–51 to mark places where *p* ‘supports’ *c*).

⁷³ Thus at 1.145,7 ‘vel ξ : aut *L**’; contrast at 1.147,1–2 ‘*qua de L** (+*c*): *de qua ζ* ’.

⁷⁴ For two others see below, p. 231 and n. 93.

⁷⁵ *c* cannot be right, however, for *semper autem*... does not cohere with 1.39.

⁷⁶ Not counting books already discussed, or the older Vienna 315 (above, p. 225). Apart from the Lincoln College book* they are, in abbreviated description (all from the fifteenth century unless otherwise indicated): Amherst 14; Berkeley 62*; Florence, Strozzi 36, s.XIII? (mg. in similar hand); Florence, Riccardiana 564*, 577; Ithaca 564.A4*; Kraków 518; Naples IV.G.8 (mg., different hand); New York, Plimpton 99, s.XIV ex. (mg.)*; Princeton 68; Ravenna 107; Seville 5–5–19 (mg., but same hand; there are other intriguing ξ indications, and the manuscript

second hand, 1.40 in its L version. I have not investigated them in any detail, except for the only one housed in England, Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 43 (I call it O₁₂). It contains a large number of striking ξ readings not available in representative ψ manuscripts.⁷⁷ I note from Book 2 especially 1,6 hab. *tum...utile*; 15,12 *distat*; 16,20 *belli*; 17,8 hab. *usu et* (after correction, perhaps by first hand); 20,3 *eas* <*res*>; 23,1 *valeat*; 56,5 *cogantur*; 62,2 *beneficia* (a.c.); 74,18 hab. *ad victum*; 75,21 *ut post est*; 76,10 *nullo*; 84,18 *nam* (so Mcp); 88,26 *corporis*² <*cum corpore*> (so Mcp). The readings extend into territory now lost in L, but do not intrude upon 25–51, where L was always defective. There are also coincidences with L against c: thus 7,7 *alia* <*non probabilia*>; 63,9 *etiam*] *eam* (a.c.); 68,3 om. *ne* (a.c.).⁷⁸ Taken together with the evidence of 1.40, these data seem to show use of L in an ancestor.⁷⁹ Only further examination of other manuscripts bearing the L version of 1.40 would show if such use was the result of more than a single draft on the riches of L.

We come now to another group of manuscripts which give 1.40 complete; these, however, present it in a form different from L's. In particular, they give, I think rightly, *iurisiurandi* at line 10. The sentence beginning *senatus* appears in yet a third form: 'senatus et C. Fabricius perfugam Pyrrho dedit.' The books in question are fifteen in number. Three of them, Avranches 225, s.XII², French (Olsen 14)*, Vatican, Borg. lat. 326, s.XIII–XIV, Italian (where the chapter is added only in the margin) and the Petrarchan Troyes 552, s.XIV², Italian (T)*, were dragooned by Atzert in his ill-fated fourth edition to form a third family of manuscripts, Y (along with Paris, lat. 6342, s.XIV², which does not even contain 1.40). There is no need to recapitulate Fedeli's demonstration that no such family exists.⁸⁰ But the fact remains that the Avranches and Troyes⁸¹ books do show clear signs of contamination from a ξ source; so too do relations unknown to Atzert, Oxford, Rawlinson G.139, s.XII¹, English (Olsen 363)* (which I call R) with its copy,⁸² Poppi 39, s.XII, French (Olsen 463)*, and Oxford, Merton College 311, s.XII ex., English? (Olsen 368)*, to which may be added British Library, Royal 15.A.VI* (above, p. 221), where the *perfugam* version is

would repay further investigation)*; Trento 1781 (mg., later hand); Vatican, Ottob. lat. 1781 (mg.). I do not know which version is found in Skokloster 8° 13. For the use of the asterisk, see below, p. 231.

⁷⁷ And those I mention are not found in Avranches 225 or in Oxford, New College 251 (see below p. 231).

⁷⁸ It is true that there are also stray (chance?) agreements with c against L, notably 2,6,26 om. *tantum*; 36,3 <*esse*> *putant*; 53,27 *mala*. The many agreements with p are a sign of influence not from ξ but from the Vulgate (above, n. 61). The Vulgate count is 4 (plus one p.c.).

⁷⁹ It is, however, worrying that at least in the Lincoln College book *nostris* is present in 1.40,15, though it is omitted by L and its descendants, M, S and V₁. Perhaps it was added by conjecture, or introduced by contamination; or perhaps we should postulate a gemellus of L (see also below, n. 88). What do the other manuscripts listed in n. 76 do?

⁸⁰ *Studi*, pp. 19–39. Fedeli's study at once underplays the extent of ξ influence on these manuscripts by recording only ξ errors, and overplays it by regarding coincidences with p as evidence of ξ rather than Vulgate affiliation (above, n. 61); thus his evidence in effect shows *no* ξ influence on Vatican, Borg. lat. 326 (where, it will be recalled, 1.40 is only added in the margin). As for c (as opposed to Lc) readings, Fedeli claims none for Paris, lat. 6342 or Avranches 225, and does not press his data for Borg. lat. 326. As for Troyes 552, he does not know that many of his examples, often taken from Book 3, are in fact also found in M and so derive from ξ .

⁸¹ It should be mentioned that in the first part of Book 1, T is hardly more than an ordinary Vulgate manuscript, despite the presence of 1.40. It gets closer to Avranches 225 later.

⁸² In particular, Prof. R. M. Thomson points out to me that the words added by William of Malmesbury to the Rawlinson manuscript at 2.43 to fill a lacuna reappear in the text of the Poppi book; for this intervention of William's see Prof. Thomson's remarks in A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (eds.), *Manuscripts at Oxford: R. W. Hunt Memorial Exhibition* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1980), p. 28.

added in the margin. It will be seen that these early carriers of the version show a strong tendency to English and French origin; and such bias is also apparent in the later witnesses, which all date from the Renaissance:

Bonn S 140 (def.)

Cambridge University Library, Dd.13.2⁸³

Cambridge University Library, Ff.5.12 (1.40 added on an inserted leaf)*

Cambridge, Caius College 249, English*

London, British Library, Harley 4810*

Oxford, Canon. Class. Lat.221 (1.40 mg., m.2)

Oxford, New College 251* (which I call O₁₃)

Utrecht 808.

I shall make no assertions about these manuscripts as a group, and again restrict myself to samples.

The Avranches manuscript (which I call Av) has a strikingly pure π text, overlaid by corrections from a ξ source. It is not affected by the Vulgate,⁸⁴ despite some agreements with p and cp. Two questions arise:

(a) Was P itself, or a related text avoiding some of P's errors, used? It is difficult to be sure, in the presence of the contamination from ξ , but it is worth noting that, whereas P itself capitalizes the Ennius quotation in 1.51 (see above, n. 13) only down to *viam*, Av, like the Rawlinson and Poppi books, does so right on to *accenderit*, as in V.⁸⁵

(b) Where do the ξ readings come from? Coincidences with c (as opposed to cp) are insignificant in Book 2 at least (the only one I have investigated in detail); and there are certainly none of c's special virtues in 25–51. On the other hand, as well as the ξ (i.e. Lc) readings (overlapping but not coinciding with those found in Lincoln College, Lat. 43 (above, p. 229): 2.4,3 hab. *molestias*; 63,14 hab. *longe*; 68,18–19 hab. *gratiam autem et qui retulerit habere*;⁸⁶ 72,26 *civis*; 78,23 <hii> *labefactant*; 84,26–7 hab. *cum ipsius intererat tum*), there are readings peculiar to L(M) alone (10,26 *genera e*; 72,26 *res* (om. *publicae*); 87,22 *disputantur*) and to Lp (64,25 <is> *est*).⁸⁷ All this points towards L, not towards c. At the same time, we have to remember that 1.40 appears in Av in a different form from that in L, and indeed in a version not easily derivable from L's. Candid examination of the three versions of the *senatus* sentence, indeed, suggests that L's version stands on one side, c's and Av's on the other.⁸⁸ But

⁸³ Written for William Gray, perhaps in Cologne, by the Dutch scribe T. Werken (see R. A. B. Mynors, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1950), 97–104).

⁸⁴ At least it does not show up on my Vulgate count, and ξ 's tempting lacuna at 2.89,4 remains unfilled. The agreements with cp are trivial, those with p sometimes more striking; 31,18 *putant*; 39,3 om. *eam*; 46,14 <um> *in suos*; 54,5 *constat*; 84,21 *ne* <non>. See further, Fedeli, *Studi*, p. 30.

⁸⁵ The source then would seem not to be P; and it cannot be a, where there is no capitalization at all. ⁸⁶ The ψ texts make a fist at filling this gap, but read *reddiderit* or the like.

⁸⁷ Of these readings the Lincoln College manuscript gives those at 2.4,3; 69,18–19; 84,26–7 (a.c.).

⁸⁸ L's seems to be correct: the position of *eum* looks idiomatic, and for *senatus et C. Fabricius consul* cf. 3.86 'a C. Fabricio consule iterum et a senatu nostro' (also 87 'vel Fabricio... vel senatui nostro') and esp. Polybius 18.46.5 (cited by K. B. Thomas, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu Ciceros Schrift De Officiis* (Münster, 1971), p. 73 n. 250) ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ Ρωμαίων καὶ Τύρος Κοίντος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος. The c version might seem to arise from a misreading of some abbreviation for *consul* as eū, with consequent omission of the first *eum*. The third version would be parasitic on that, *perfugam* glossing *eum*. But we could instead assume, e.g., that all three versions arose independently from a fourth in which no object was

this cannot be true of the Avranches manuscript as a whole. There appears to be no chance that the ξ readings in general come from a manuscript resembling c⁸⁹ rather than L. In particular, the lack of virtue in 2.25–51 ensures affiliation, if not to L itself, then to a manuscript close to L.⁹⁰

I have also examined a local bearer of the *perfulgam* version of 1.40, Oxford, New College 251 (which I call O₁₃). Almost all its Lc readings in Book 2 are also in Av, a surprising degree of continuity. cp and p readings have increased in number.⁹¹ Half a dozen unimpressive coincidences with c also have their precedents in Av; add one or two more (14,3 *aut quae*] *atque*; 15,11 om. *rebus*).

I add two footnotes to this story, one particular, one more general.

1. At 2.84,26–7 the words *cum ipsius intererat tum*, omitted in ζ but present in ξ , appear (more or less thus)⁹² in thirty-five or so manuscripts of the twelfth century and later, those starred in the lists given above, n. 76 and p. 230, and also the following: Brussels 9756 (?), 10738, 12116, 14579 mg.; Florence, plut. 89 inf. 41, 90 sup. 67, Acq. e Doni 252 (mg.), Conv. Soppr. 17, Edili 213 (mg.), Strozzi 35; Florence, Riccardiana 567; Hanover, 001911; Leiden, Lips. 24, Voss. lat. Q.118; Munich 7884, 28458; Naples IV.G.5 (mg.); New Haven, Yale, Marston 4; Oxford, Canon. Class. Lat. 252; Seville 5-4-20; Skokloster 8° 13; Valencia 86; Vatican, Chigi H.VI.184, Reg. lat. 1623; Wolfenbüttel 418 Novi. There is clearly some but by no means complete correlation between presence of 1.40 and contamination with other ξ readings.⁹³ But anyone in search of manuscripts influenced by ξ could do worse than start with these.

2. My impression (it can be no more) is that no very extensive wedding of ζ and ξ took place in the fifteenth century. Readings of L were available in some number, but they seem to go back to scholarly activity years before; only in and around Augsburg was L known and copied, and the news did not get out widely until Anemoecius' rediscovery of the book. That took place in or before 1535, and Anemoecius' edition naturally bore the L version of 1.40. But in 1534 an edition of Cicero published at Basle 'ex officina Hervagiana' had already printed the *perfulgam* version, apparently for the first time. Two separative errors⁹⁴ place its text of 1.40

present. In that case it would seem that the ξ readings in the Avranches book (supposing always that they are from the same source from which it got its version of 1.40) do not come from L itself, but from a close relative. Cf. also above, n. 79.

⁸⁹ c itself is younger than Av, and does not carry 1.40 complete.

⁹⁰ Geography is also relevant. If L was always in the vicinity of Augsburg, one would think of a gemellus nearer to France and England. Cologne might be a different matter.

⁹¹ The Vulgate count is very high (14).

⁹² Some of the variants, like the quite common omission of *tum*, might suggest a conjectural restoration.

⁹³ The ξ reading *ianum* at 2.87,21 is found very rarely, and may, at least sometimes, be the result of learned conjecture. I have noted it in (apart from M, S mg. and V₁) Florence, plut. 76.19 (mg.), Conv. Soppr. 529 (*iani*); Florence, Magl. VI.208 (a.c.); Padua, Antoniana 50 (*iani*); Seville 5-5-19 (see above, n. 76, for this manuscript); Vatican, lat. 11465; and Wolfenbüttel, Gud. lat. 2. Conversely, the ζ omission of *quid tertium male pascere* at 2.89,4 is occasionally found, not only in the old ζ witnesses and in the early members of the Avranches group, but in a few twelfth-century books (Gotha, Membr. II.198 before correction – to *q.t. bene vestire* as in all cases in this list); Leeds 21 (a.c.); Milan, Ambros. C.29 inf. (a.c.); Paris, lat. 13340 and 18419, and in the following later texts: Berlin, Hamilton 159/1 (a.c.); Bloomington 219; Budapest 142; Erlangen 618; Escorial S.1.18; Florence, Riccardiana 567; Leiden, Periz.F.25; London, Burney 152; Madrid 9502; Oxford, Laud. Lat. 62; Paris, lat. 6357; Paris, Ste Geneviève 2394; Prague 2369 (a.c.); Vatican, Ottob. lat. 2988 and Pal. lat. 1525; and Wrocław R.436. Such an omission could be accidental, but it could also be a sign of a late survivor from the pre-Vulgate strain of ζ . The correct reading is not found here except in M and S; but in Oxford, Canon. Class. Lat. 252 we find 'quid tertium male pascere bene vestire' (it is sad that this manuscript seems to have no other virtues).

⁹⁴ 1.40, 10 *quod*] *qui*; 14 om. *est*.

with that found in Av, Merton 311, Royal 15.A.VI and Troyes 552; a third⁹⁵ binds it with the Troyes book alone. Hervagius was, then, using T, or a near relation. When Carolus Langius published his edition in Antwerp in 1563 (though I have only had access to a reprint (?) of 1568),⁹⁶ he gave 1.40 in a *perfugam* version very close to the Hervagiana's; but in his notes he says 'in unico Parcensi libro repperi.⁹⁷ Germani⁹⁸ certe hic inseruerunt.' More importantly, he is the first editor to my knowledge to show, at least intermittently, awareness of readings peculiar to c. We cannot know where he saw it,⁹⁹ for the crucial notes are tiresomely vague: 2.50 'has septem dictiones, ut ii quos ante dixi: aut ulciscendi ex libro Gallico inserui'; 2.87 *vellem etiam* is taken from 'vet. unus liber'.

We are now in a position to turn to a question I raised in *MD*, loc. cit. 139–40: was the whole, or a part, of 1.1–37 at one time available in L? From my earlier discussion of the manuscripts related to L, it follows that we are looking for the presence (or absence) of a pattern in these early sections similar to that found in the lacunae of L in the third book. We are looking, that is, for readings of M, differing from the ordinary Vulgate run, that are regularly (though not always) confirmed by S and/or by V₁. Some of these readings should coincide with those of c, and some again of these should be true against ζ. It would be a bonus if some of these readings reappeared in other manuscripts which, as I have argued, are influenced elsewhere by L. If, on the other hand, L always started at 1.37, or somewhere between 1.1 and 1.37, we should find these agreements not present at all, or present only in part of the passage.

In fact, the phenomena do seem to support the hypothesis that L once started at 1.1, and that MSV₁ can be used to reconstruct its readings. MS agree regularly: 1,3 *augeri*;¹⁰⁰ 5,4 *quamquam*] *quam*; 7,25 *quamque*; 9,17 *econtra*; 11,3 *ut*²] *et*; 15,19 *amatores*; 19,27 *Sulpicium* <*Gallum*>;¹⁰¹ 19,1 *vestigatione* (so the archetype, corrected in c); 21,21 *quis* <*plus*>;¹⁰² 22,24 *placeat*; 30,8 *cuius*; 32,26 *quod* <*pro*>; 32,2 *hoc*

⁹⁵ 1.40,18–19 *cum scelere interitum* (transposition).

⁹⁶ Hence my difficulties about priority between Langius and Lambinus' edition of 1565.

⁹⁷ The Parcensis (from the Abbaye du Parc, near Louvain), then, was not c. Nor, to judge from other readings given by Langius, was it of any particular merit. In 1.40, Langius seems to have been contaminating the Hervagiana with his Parcensis; at 1.40,10 he reads *qui*, but notes: 'liber script. quod peierassent.' The Parcensis therefore was not T either (see n. 94). It, or (better) Langius himself, was apparently responsible for the conjecture *dedit* in line 18.

⁹⁸ The reference is of course to Anemoecius (not that his version of 1.40 was the same).

⁹⁹ Not, anyway, at the Cistercian Abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert. For even if a book there could count as 'Gallicus', the readings Langius gives from it are *not* in c (though he says it did have *toga* at 2.66,20: perhaps he is confusing it with c for this reading alone?).

¹⁰⁰ At 3,3–4 *se* appears instead of *iam* in M, in front of *iam* in S, after *fere* in c (and O₁₃). We should deduce, perhaps, that the reflexive is being added by conjecture, as it is so variously in the Vulgate. It is remarkable that V₁ gives *illos* with no *se* (as later did Lambinus), another way of solving the problem. What the truth is, I am not sure: perhaps *illas* (Faccioliati). For *aequare* used like that, cf. Livy 27.16.7.

¹⁰¹ See *MD*, loc. cit., 140 with n. 23. I am less confident than I was that *Gallum* is correct. It is noteworthy that V₁ reads *Sulpitium G.* for *C. Sulpicium*, without adding *Gallum*. Taken together with the fact that Florence, plut. 76.20 has *Gallum* as a gloss over *G.*, this may suggest how *Gallum* arrived in the text (it is also found in another Vulgate text, Paris, lat. 2335, before correction). The coincidence, C. Sulpicius being a Galus, would be extravagant. The equally unattractive alternative is that one or more medieval scholars identified this not altogether prominent person.

¹⁰² I do not know what Cicero wrote here. *plus* is attractive in view of *Parad. Stoic.* 52 'avari... plus semper appetunt'. *e quo* is immediately suspect both for its form (though it is true that MS have *ex*), and because of *ex quo* just before. *aequo* (Boot) governed by *plus* is by no means absurd. Or one might think of deleting.

<enim>; 32,3 *imperato*; 35,8 om. *Sabinos*. They are at times joined by V_1 ¹⁰³ (and would no doubt be joined more often were V_1 more legible than it is): 2,14 *istis*; 11,2 *declinetque*; 15,24 *inest*] *est*; 19,27 † <et> in; 21,20 † *sit*; 36,21 *petitis*. M, with S or V_1 or both, is joined by c to give a full ξ reading at: 5,4 *sint* MS (def. V_1); 9,11 *inquirunt* MSV₁; 11,10 *progressus* MSV₁; 13,22 *habemus* MS (and probably V_1); 17,8 *tum* MV₁; 18,19 † *ducimus* MSV₁; 19,27 *audivimus* MSV₁; 19,3 *intermissio* MSV₁; 19,4 *quiescit* MS (V_1 has a lacuna here); 21,19 *descriptio* MSV₁; 21,21 † *appetat* MS; 22,23 *vendicat* MSV₁; 24,18 *concupierunt* MV₁; 27,10 † *cogitatu* MSV₁; 28,21 † *putent* MS^v (V_1 illegible); 29,3 *ne* MSV₁; 30,15 † *sese* MSV₁; 31,20 † *negare* MS^v V_1 ; 31,21 *sit* MSV₁; 34,1 † *posthac* <faciat> MSV₁; 36,21 *Pompilius* MS (*Pop*- V_1 !). A number of the readings in the last two lists are regularly found in ψ (and some of them in one or more hands of the old ζ manuscripts). That does not in itself disqualify them from having appeared also in ξ ,¹⁰⁴ but I have marked with a dagger readings that seem free of any taint of Vulgate connections. Daggered readings at three places (18,19; 27,10; 30,15) seem either right or of merit.

It is, however, a disappointment that these readings leave so little trace in the Avranches group or in later books influenced by ξ after 1.37. Not quite unconsoling are the following: 7,24 *sunt*] † *sint* RAvMS; 11,12 † *cursum* cO₁₂MS(?); 11,13 *regendam* O₁₃MS; 15,24 *inest*] *est* RAvMSV₁; 18,19 † *ducimus* ξ O₁₂p.c.; 19,4 *quiescit* ξ R p.c.; 27,10 † *cogitatu* ξ O₁₂; 28,21 † *putent* ξ RAvO₁₂O₁₃; 31,20 † *negare* ξ O₁₂. I again dagger readings that seem untouched by the Vulgate.¹⁰⁵ The possibility, I think, remains that, even if L itself was fully available to the scribes of MSV₁, the other manuscripts here cited were dependent on a relation of L (above, p. 231) that was not itself available until, say, 1.18.

A final reservation: the behaviour of these subsidiary ξ manuscripts in relation to c may seem disconcerting. Thus: 5,30 *ipse* om. cO₁₃S; 6,8 *aut*¹ om. cO₁₂a.c.O₁₃; 19,8 *ac*] *haec* cV₁; 24,17 *maxima* ... *parte* cO₁₂O₁₃ (but also ψ); 26,6 *splendisdisque* cS; 28,15 *nam aut*] *aut enim* cO₁₃; 30,6 *quando*] *quoniam* cR(p.c.?)O₁₃; 30,12 *adveniunt* cRS a.c.; 31,19 *etiamne*] *et non* cO₁₃ (*et ne* V_1). No doubt much of this could be coincidental; but taken together with the natural interpretation of the variants in 1.40 (above, p. 230), the data leave me with the suspicion that things are not as straightforward even as I have tried to represent them.

I end by summarizing the practice I follow in my apparatus, with references back to the preceding discussion.

Throughout the book I use BPV (and, in 2.72–3.11, Q) to reconstruct ζ . But I do not, except for special reasons, cite errors of any one or two of the three against the other(s) and ξ (pp. 219–20).

As to ξ , wherever L is present I use it and c. I normally ignore peculiar readings of L and c. I always ignore p (pp. 225–6), except that where L and c split I mark with an asterisk the way in which p goes (above, n. 72). Where L is not available, but can be reconstructed from M (with some help from S), I use M just as I elsewhere use L. In 2.25–51, where L was never available, I cite only c, marking agreements with p,

¹⁰³ Probably add 4,24, where *et colendo* (M, S and doubtless V_1) stands against c ψ 's *colendo*.

¹⁰⁴ See above, nn. 5 and 15 for ξ and the correctors of B and P (and also n. 52 for intrusion of Vulgate readings into L by correction).

¹⁰⁵ Note also, for what they are worth, agreements of M with O₁₃ (17,8–9 *agendis* (perhaps also V_1); 27,11 om. *aliquo*; 28,20 *xpetant*) to counteract the agreements of c with O₁₃ mentioned below. If these really were L readings they have been ironed out by contamination in S and V_1 (just as the latter pair has lost ξ readings at 23,4 *iustitiae est*; 28,20–1 *gladiari*). Or they may intrude from the Vulgate.

rather as a warning than as a confirmation, with an asterisk (above n. 72). At one part of Book 1, where c has been rewritten, I use L*, while noting if the ξ readings are still preserved in c (p. 228).

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APPENDIX: THE LATER MANUSCRIPTS

A very large number of manuscripts containing the *De Officiis* postdate 1200, and it seemed important to collect some information about as many of these as possible. It was not a task that could have been undertaken without collaboration. I am especially indebted to Marina Luttrell, who with great kindness and patience looked for me at manuscripts in eight countries. To her¹⁰⁶ I owe my information on the manuscripts listed below as housed in Antwerp*, Augsburg (2° 111), Berlin, Boston, Budapest, Caen*, Cambridge (Mass.), Chambéry*, Colmar*, Épinal*, Erlangen, Ithaca (N.Y.), Lyon*, New Haven, New York, Nice*, Paris B.N. (all but lat. 6345, 6347 [text of s.XIII–IV] and 6603) with outlying libraries*, Prague, Saint-Dié*, Saint-Mihiel*, Saint-Omer*, Skokloster, Stockholm, Stuttgart, Tours*, Troyes (1320)*, Uppsala, Venice (Marciana 2597 and 3084), Weimar and Würzburg. I also made shameless drafts on the time and courtesy of friends, colleagues and librarians all over the world. I owe to the following my information about the manuscripts at places put in brackets after their names: A. Anglada (Valencia), P. Barras (Milan, Brera), K. Bartol (Kraków, Wrocław), E. Berti (Udine), M. Brett (Pavia), J. Bridgen (Cluj-Napoca), G. Calboli (Bologna), R. C. Cape (Bloomington), H. Claus (Gotha), M. Colker (Charlottesville), J. A. Correa Rodríguez (Seville), E. Courtney (Stanford), P. N. Cronenwett (Hanover), R. W. Daniel (Cologne), J. Delz (Basle), J. den Boeft (Utrecht), K. Enenkel (Leiden), M. Fredborg (Aalborg, Copenhagen), S. L. Glass (Claremont), R. Gurval (Eugene), G. Hägele (Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek), A. Haidinger (Klosterneuburg), H. Hofmann (Groningen), R. Jakobi (Bonn), H. D. Jocelyn (Manchester), G. A. Kennedy (Chapel Hill), F. Kerlouégan (Besançon), S. Koster (Nuremberg), M. Kulis (Chicago), C. D. Lanham (Los Angeles), A. D. Leeman (Amsterdam), M. Ludolph (Munich), W. Ludwig (Hamburg), M. Luginbühl (Frauenfeld), P. K. Marshall (Amherst), M. Mayer Oliver (Barcelona, Montserrat), J. L. Moralejo Alvarez (Oviedo), K. Müller (Berne 244), C. Murgia (Berkeley), J. Nechutová (Brno), L. F. Newton (Durham, NC), J. A. Nicholls (Bordeaux), S. Pätzold (Wolfenbüttel), F. Paschoud and Y. Rütsche (Geneva), M. Petta (Grottaferrata), J. G. F. Powell (Durham), D. Puncuh (Genoa), M. D. Reeve (Augsburg, Cambridge (Christ's College), Dresden, Oldenburg), F. Römer (Vienna), M. Soland (Zurich), R. Taylor (Holkham Hall 382 and 384), R. M. Thomson (Hobart), Y. Tomasella (Brussels), S. M. Wheeler (Princeton) and L. Wysocki (Montreal). I am grateful also to friends who put me in touch with a number of the above, especially M. Francis, J.-A. Lopez Férez and A. D. Leeman, to C. O. Brink and C. J. Classen, and to Señora Maria Brey de Rodríguez Moñino, who established that her late husband's library no longer contained the manuscript once reported there.

My own travels were in part subsidized by a Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy, by the Craven Committee of the University of Oxford, and by

¹⁰⁶ She in turn was much helped by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, whose microfilm holdings enabled her to report on manuscripts in the places starred in this list. I was myself saved a good deal of Italian travel by the microfilm holdings of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome.

Worcester College, Oxford; to the generous help of these institutions I am deeply indebted. When all librarians and library staff were without exception courteous and helpful, it is invidious to single out some in particular; but I cannot forbear to record my especial thanks to the Prefect of the Vatican Library and to the staff of the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, and (of course) of Duke Humfrey's reading room in the Bodleian Library. My purchase of microfilms (mostly of manuscripts up to 1200) was subsidized by a second Small Personal Research Grant from the British Academy.

The results of this part of my researches are almost entirely negative. I have shown above how a small number of *recentiores* throw light on the story of the ξ tradition. Almost all¹⁰⁷ the other manuscripts listed omit 1.40 and 2.84,26–7 *cum ipsius intererat tum*, and read *ianuae* at 2.87,21 and *quid tertium bene vestire* at 2.89,4. They therefore seem to belong to the Vulgate discussed above. Where gaps in a manuscript did not allow a check of some or all of these signs, I have added 'def.' in brackets. I ignore minor variations on the readings given above, and occasional minor deficiencies in the information I received. A number of manuscripts (and some whole collections) have been starred as ones for which I have no information. Many of these are accounted for by the present closure of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, and by conditions in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice at the time of my own visit and that of Marina Luttrell. But all the *De Officiis* texts in both these libraries were reported on in the early years of the century,¹⁰⁸ and they are unlikely to hold any surprises.

In the following list I omit mention of epitomes and extracts of the work, nor do I include all fragments of which I know. Dates of MSS I have not seen which have not been confirmed specifically by my informants or by recent authorities are given in inverted commas. I have kept details to a minimum, usually giving no more than shelf-mark (following where possible the principles of the excellent Index of *Texts and Transmission*), date, and, if stated, scribe¹⁰⁹ and/or place of writing; the bibliography given has been severely pruned.

The only use I have made of any of these books in my edition (with the exception of Munich 650 and 7020) is as a source of conjecture. The process of correction began in the tenth century, if not earlier, and continued unabated till the advent of the printed book. I have no doubt that examination of more manuscripts in detail would turn up even more anticipation of modern conjectures than I record. Inevitably, I have looked at the manuscripts that it was most convenient to look at, with some bias towards books with a specified date.

Register

Aalborg, Kathedralskole, olim Stiftsbibliothek 113 8°, 'XIII in.'

Amherst College 14, XV ex.

Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek 76, 'XV'

Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus lat. 189, 'XV' (frag.)

¹⁰⁷ For the exceptions see the lists above, n. 76, p. 230, p. 231 and n. 93.

¹⁰⁸ See Sabbadini, *Storia e critica*, pp. 145–53 (Milan); A. Gnesotto, *Atti e Mem. Acc. di Padova* 18 (1901–2), 303–10 and 20 (1903–4), 157–70, 287–303 (Venice). I am most grateful to Alessandro Schiesaro for procuring me copies of these and other articles by Gnesotto.

¹⁰⁹ I give references to the scribes listed in *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI^e siècle* (Fribourg, 1965–79) under the form B followed by the number(s) in that collection.

- Arezzo**, Biblioteca Consorziale 212, XV (Fr. Iacobus Chirami = B7671)
- Assisi**, Biblioteca Comunale 307, XV
- Augsburg**, Staatsbibliothek 2° 111, 'XV med.' Universitätsbibliothek II.1.2° 94, XV ex.; (olim Harburg) II.1.2° 102, XV ex.
- Baltimore**, Johns Hopkins University 8 (28990), a.1471. Walters Art Gallery W.362 (De Ricci 461), XV; W.363 (De Ricci 460), XV in.; W.364 (De Ricci 462), XV ex.
- Barcelona**, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón 136, 'XV'. Biblioteca Universitaria 358, XV; 589, XV (Gabriel Defont)
- Basle**, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität A VII 36, a.1448; F I 13, a. 1458
- Bergamo**, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai MA 323 (olim Δ .6.7), a.1471 (Antonius Lulmus); MA 351 (olim Δ .6.36), a.1451 (Angelus de Soldo de Isolella); MA 369 (olim Δ .7.18), s.XV ex.
- Berkeley**, University of California 62, s.XV¹
- Berlin**, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek lat. 2° 29, '1471'; 290, XV?; lat. 4° 499, 'XV'; theol. lat. 2° 659, '1465–70'
- (former) **Berlin (East)**, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 156, 'XV'; 157, 'XV'; 158, XV^{2/2}; 159/1, 'XV'; 160, 'XV'
- Berne**, Burgerbibliothek 104, XIII (?) = c: 244, XV (Johannes Riser = B11210)
- Besançon**, Bibliothèque Municipale 410, XV med. (Gregorius de Freisigna)
- Bloomington**, Indiana University, Lilly Library, C. L. Ricketts 219 (De Ricci p. 651), 'c. 1460'
- Bologna**, Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio A.69, 'XV'; A.201, 'XV'. Biblioteca Universitaria 285 Frati (474), XIV?; 1055 (2066), 'XV'; 1096 (2228), 1450–60; 1265 (2474), 'XV'; 1315 (2548), 'XV'; 1347 (2585), 'XV'
- Bonn**, Universitätsbibliothek S 140, XV^{2/4} (def.)
- Bordeaux**, Bibliothèque Municipale 991, a.1421 (Dominicus de Reate at Siena)
- Boston**, Public Library 19 (G.31.84), a.1440
- Brno**, Universitni Knihovna, Arch. Cerroni II.89, 'XV' (def.)
- Brussels**, Bibliothèque Royale 9756, XV^{2/2} (perhaps by Johannes de Lumel: *T & T* 150 n.5, to which add *CQ* 17 (1967), 355 n. 4); 9764, 'XV'; 10738, 'XV'; 12116, c. 1460–70; 14579, c. 1460; 14873, a.1428 (Sachela; add this and Paris, lat. 5836 to B16898); II.2251, XV (J. Fluzinc, †1466); IV.267, c. 1480
- Budapest**, Magyar Országos Levéltár 142, XV; 143, 'XV ex.'; 144, 'XV'; 145, 'XV'; 146, a.1476 (Lazarus de Montelon of Paris = B12359). Egyetemi Könyvtár Lat.20, 'XIV¹'
- Caen**, Bibliothèque Municipale 181, 'XVI in.'
- Cambrai**, Bibliothèque Municipale 939, a.1378 (Guillelmus de Bruolio = B5819)
- Cambridge**, Christ's College 20 (olim Rouse 274), XV med. Gonville and Caius College 249, a.1464 (for John Herryson = B10031). University Library Dd.13.2, a.1444 (T. Werken); Ff.5.12, XV; Mm.5.18, XV; Add. 8442, XV^{2/4} (Domenico de Niccolò Pollini = B3466)
- Cambridge, Mass.**, Harvard College Library, Typ.153 H, 'XV ex.' (def.); Sumner 69 (= lat. 177), 'XV ex.'; W. K. Richardson 18 (De Ricci p. 960), 'XV ex.'
- ***Catania**, Biblioteca Universitaria 82, 'XV'
- Cesena**, Biblioteca Malatestiana S.XVIII.1, XV^{2/4}
- Chambéry**, Bibliothèque Municipale 5, a.1437 (Bartholomeus de Ursinis, aliter de Magistris, at Milan)

- Chapel Hill**, NC, University Library 2, 'XV'
- Charlottesville**, Collection M. L. Colker 13, XV
- Chicago**, Newberry Library, Case MS 98/Ry 4, XV (once at Crespano Veneto: see A. Gnesotto, *Atti e Mem. Acc. di Padova* 28 (1911–12), 119–31) (def.?)
- Claremont**, Ella Strong Denison Library, Kirby 2, 'XV²'
- Cluj-Napoca**, Biblioteca Filialei, lat. 6/1, a.1441 (olim Blaj 170)
- Colmar**, Bibliothèque Municipale 198, a.1474 (owned by Sebastianus Murr: see B16993)
- Cologne**, Historisches Archiv der Stadt W 203a, date not known
- Copenhagen**, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl.Kgl. S.378 2°, a.1425 (Johannes Andree de Camulio = B8654); S.379 2°, 'XV'; S.1902 4°, 'XV'; S.3541 8°, XV; Thott 301 2°, 'XIV'
- Cortona**, Biblioteca Comunale e dell' Accademia Etrusca 79, XV
- *Covington, Va.**, H. A. Walton A-3 (De Ricci Suppl. p. 518), 'XV'
- Dresden**, Sächsische Landesbibliothek *Dc 106, c. 1460 (destroyed in 1945); Dc 119, XIV ex.; Dc 120, a.1421 (Rolandus de Grompo = B16820); *Dc 122, a.1484 (Bernardinus Laneck at Dorgau = B1994)
- Durham**, Cathedral Library C.IV.6 4°, 'XV–XVI'
- Durham**, NC, Duke University Library, Latin 43, a.1440; 47 (olim B. L. Ullman 3), 'XV'; 48 (olim B. L. Ullman 4), a.1473 (Bartolucius Mansuetus = B1868) (def.) (for the last two MSS see De Ricci p. 667)
- *Dylta Bruk**, number not known, 'XV' (see H. Sjögren, *Eranos* 19 (1919–20), 94–5)
- Épinal**, Bibliothèque Municipale 8, 'XV'
- Erlangen**, Universitätsbibliothek 381, 'XV'; 618, a.1466 (Bernhard Groschedel de Remingen = B2076); 621, 'XV'
- Escorial**, El, Real Biblioteca E.III.20, XIV; H.III.23, XIV; H.IV.23, XV; L.III.11, XIII–XIV; M.II.12, XV in.; M.III.12, XV; O.III.3, 1450–60; O.III.10, XV; S.I.18, XIII; S.II.26, XV; T.II.3, XIV?; T.II.19, a.1445 (Milo de Cararia at Bruges = B13835); T.III.19, XV (Sebastianus Bursa (?Burra) at Venice = B16978); V.III.4, XV in.; V.III.9, XV^{1/4}; V.III.16, XV
- Eton College** 149, a.1497
- Eugene, Oregon**, University Library, Burgess 32, 'XV'
- Ferrara**, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea II.179, XV in.; II.350, a.1454 (Merlus de Pelis = B13648)
- Florence**, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 50.1, XIV; 50.2 (*pace* Bandini), XV; 50.27, XIV; 76.1, a.1455 (Gherardo del Ciriagio; add to B5252–76, with Acq. e Doni 300 below); 76.12, XV; 76.14, XV; 76.15, XV (Nicolaus de Ricciis = B14527); 76.16, XV; 76.17, XV; 76.18, XV; 76.19, XV; 76.21 XV ('iste liber est meus mathei angeli'); 76.22, a.1455 (Petrus Bonamicus = B15351); 76.44, XV; (Gaddi) 89 inf. 41, XIV; 90 sup. 66, XV; 90 sup. 67, XV; 90 sup. 68, a.1465 or later (Iohannes Lacus of Florence = B10203); Acq. e Doni 252, XV; 300, a.1460 (Gherardo del Ciriagio at Florence; see above on plut. 76.1); 302, a.1436 (Iohannes Franci); 819, a.1436 (at Florence); Conv. Soppr. 17, XV; 527, XV; 529, XIV; Edili 209, XV; 211, a.1438 (at Ferrara); 213, a.1392 (?) (Michaelis filius domini Iohannis de Mutina); Fiesole 188, c.1460; Renuccini 7, XV; S. Croce 23 sin. 7, XV; 23 sin. 10, a.1452 (Hieronymus = B7111); S. Marco *259, a.1422 (at Norcia); *263, a.1443 (Iohannes Gerardus Gerardi de Harlem); *267,

XV; Strozzi 35, XIV; 36, XIII or later. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale II-128, XV (def.); II.III.222, XV; II.VII.155, a.1469; Magl. VI.208, XV. Biblioteca Riccardiana 554, XV; 564, XV; *565 (lost); 566, XV; 567, XV; 568, XV (def.); 577, XV; 582, XV; 583, XV; 3018 (olim 3428), XV; 3600 (olim 3854), XIV ex. **Frauenfeld**, Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek Y 222A, a.1453

Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire lat.88, XV; lat.89, XIV

Genoa, Raccolta Durazzo 146, XV ex.; 147, c. 1436

Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. A.979, a.1467? (at Heidelberg); A.1262, XV^{2/2} (def.); Membr. II.49, a.1430 (Johannes Constanciensis at Venice)

Groningen, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 158, XV med.

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del monumento nazionale Abbazia di Grottaferrata Z.β.1, a.1453

Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Yg fol. 19, XV

***Hamburg**, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Auct. class. lat. f.118 (lost in war)

Hanover, NH, Dartmouth College Library 001911 (= A. L. Gale 1, De Ricci p. 1673), XV (def.?)

Hobart, University of Tasmania Library 1, a.1465 (Silvester: scribe of Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. lat. 125) (see K. V. Sinclair, *Phoenix* 16 (1962), 278–9)

Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Library of the Earls of Leicester 382, XV^{1/2}; 383, XV; 384, XV

Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Library BD Rare P.C.564, A4, 'XV med.' (A. Archipresbyter Conchensis = B6)

Karlsruhe, Hof- und Landesbibliothek, Reich. Papierh. 30, a.1467

***Kassel**, Landesbibliothek, frg., 'XIII' (see *RhM* 36 (1881), 152–5)

Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek 739, a.1459 (Johannes Steinmar de Wangen)

***Korčula**, Abbey Library, number not known, 'a.1460' (see *Actes du congr.... Budé* 1960, 305–6)

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska 304, 'a.1434'; 515, 'a.1471' (M. Köler of Strelitz); *516, 'a.1459' (Johannes de Ca[m]mieniec); 518, 'a.1457'; 536, XV; 1207, a.1434; 1949, XV (def.); 2652, XV (def.)

Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 452, XV (Guillelmus Taquenet = B6093)

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Gronov. 2, a.1474 (Guilhelmus de Elden = B5883); 36, 'XIII'; Lipsius 24, 'XIV'; Periz. F.25, XV^{1/4}; Voss.Lat.F.14, 'XV²'; Q.118, 'XV ex.'

London, British Library, Add. 6051, a.1494 (Bartolomeo Sanvito at Rome); 11933, XV; 11934, XV (at Bologna); 11935, XIV; 11936, XV; 11937, a.1416; 11938, XV ex.; 16985, XV^{3/4}; 18842, before 1463 (Hilarius Parmensis = B7204); 19586, XIV ex.; 39647, XIII? (def.); Arundel 171, XV; 382, XV (Jo. Ha., i.e. Johannes Hasenbeyn of Worms: add to B9985–6); Burney 137, in or before 1473; 149, XV; 150, XV; 151, XV (def.); 152, a.1468 (Simon de Liuriatis = B17234); Egerton 1119, a.1463 (Laurentius filius Signorini de Chonzadonis at Darfo (near Brescia) = B12329); Harley 2469, XV; 2543, XV; 2544, XV; 2599, a.1471 (Stephanus de Novo Monte at Verona); 2628, a.1433 (Blasius de Axereto at Milan = B2250); 2692, a.1498 (Bartolomeo Sanvito at Rome); 2698, a.1423 ('Paris Romano' at 'Candida' = B14968) (def.); 2784, XV; 3921, XV; 3924,

XV; 3931, XV; 4810, XV; 4929, XIV; 4974, XV (def.); 5060, XV; 5114, XV^{2/4}; 5135, XV; 5264, a.1441 (?Domenico di Niccolò Pollini); 5267A, XV (two texts); 5341, in or before 1478; Lansdowne 832, XV. Victoria and Albert Museum K.R.P. A.18 = L1609–1954, a.1495 (?Bartolomeo Sanvito, at Rome)

Los Angeles, Hoose Library 7, XV

Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana VII.497, XV; VIII.515, a.1469 (Ludovicus de Vannuchoris of Lucca = B12823); VIII.559, XV

Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale 287, 'XIV or XV' (Augustinus Cnutatedey (?))

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 9126, before 1474 (Lodovicus de Novis); 9502, XV; 12839, a.1417; Vitr. 22–6, XV in. Museo Lázaro Galdiano 15217, a.1447

Manchester, John Rylands Library, lat. 61, XV (def.)

Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale A.IV.35, XIV

Milan, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana A.37 inf., 'XV med.'; C.229 inf., 'XV^{1/2}'; D.69 inf., 'XV'; E.15 inf., XIV² (Marcus de Raphanellis); H.137 inf., a.1432 (Johannes de Terrutio in Chios); C.76 sup., 'XV' (Johannes de Lanteriis); D.1 sup., a.1453 (Antonius de Gratapaliis); E.67 sup., 'XV' (Bartholomeus de Vicecomitibus = B1858); F.38 sup., 'XV'; F.63 sup., 'XV'; I.94 sup., 'a.1409'; L.83 sup., 'XV'; L.91 sup., 'before 1431'; M.78 sup., 'a.1439' (Nicolaus Mamelinus); O.157 sup., 'XV'; Q.78 sup., 'XV'; Q.86 sup., 'XV med.'; R.5 sup., 'XV'; S.25 sup., 'XV med.'; T.105 sup., 'XV'. Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense AF.IX 65, 'XV'. Biblioteca Trivulziana 661, a.1412 (?) (P. Hieronimus Donatus at Rivoalto = B7146); 770, a.1432 (Antonius de Busseto)

Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, Lat. 72 (a.Q.9.30), XV; 154 (a.O.6.27), XV (def.); 179 (a.O.6.12), XV; 194 (a.S.6.16), XV^{1/4}; 208 (a.Q.5.28), XV (Petrus 'cui sit Paradisus apertus'); 217 (a.P.6.25), XV; 218 (a.P.6.28), XV; 288 (a.P.8.3), XV; 417 (a.H.6.26), XV; 940 (a.K.7.5), XV; 1027 (a.F.2.53), a.1415 (at Venice); 1270 (a.H.10.36), XV

Montreal, McGill University, McLennan Library 137, 'XV med.'

Montserrat, Biblioteca de la Abadía 984, 'XV' (Leo); 1057, 'XV'; 1058, 'XV'

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 364, a.1463 (Hartmann Schedel at Nuremberg; add this and 650 to B7041–9); 650, XV (Hartmann Schedel) = S; 920, XV; 5417, XV; 5594, XV (def.); 6410, XIV; 6717, XV; 7020, XV ex. = M; 7882, XV (def.); 7883, XV; 7884, XV; 9809, XV; 11016, XV; 23702, XV–XVI; 27255, XV; 28362, a.1464–5 (frg.); 28458, a.1478

***Münster**, Universitätsbibliothek 709, 'XV' (lost in war?)

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale IV.A.41, XV in. (Philippus de Civitate Cristi); IV.G.4, XV in.; IV.G.5, XV in.; IV.G.5 bis, XV; IV.G.7, XIII–XIV; IV.G.8, XV; IV.G.9, XV; IV.G.10, XV; IV.G.11, a.1391 (Johannes de Mozzo at Siena = B10696); IV.G.12, XV; IV.G.13, XV (def.); IV.G.14, a.1467 (Iacobus Iohannis Magistri Pistorii = B7807); IV.G.15, a.1455 (Barnabas = B1653); IV.G.16, XV; IV.G.17, XV; IV.G.18, XV; *IV.G.65, 'XV'

New Haven, CT, Yale University Library 158 (= D. Wagstaff 3, De Ricci p. 1901), 'XV'; 159 (= D. Wagstaff 4, De Ricci p. 1901), 'XV'; 170 (= D. Wagstaff 17, De Ricci p. 1905), 'XV'; 284, a.1470 (Florence; said to be by P. Cennini); Marston 4, 'XV'

***New Orleans**, E. A. Parsons 3 (De Ricci p. 747), 'XV'

New York, Columbia University Library, Lodge 5, 'XV'; Plimpton 99, 'XIV ex.'

*P. W. and H. L. Goodhart 4 (De Ricci p. 1676), 'XV med.' *P. G. and J. D.

- Gordon 108 (De Ricci p. 404), 'XV'; 111 (De Ricci Suppl. p. 404), 'XV'. Pierpont Morgan Library M.497, a.1450–70. Public Library 139, 'XV' (= W. Eames 15, De Ricci p. 2315)
- Nice, Bibliothèque Municipale 39, 'XV' (Iacobus Pas. Torellus Brigenis)
- Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek cent. V Appendix-No. 11, a.1465
- Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek CIM I.12, XV^{3/4}
- Oviedo, Archivo de la Catedral 29, 'XV'
- Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct.F.1.12, a.1459 ('opera Vespasiani'; attr. to Dominicus Casii de Narnia); F.5.12, a.1479; Canon. Class. Lat. 199, XV (def.); 202, XV; 203, XV; 215, XV; 221, XIV ex. ('Johannes ex nobilibus de Ruvinio de Montepirho in legibus studens'); 222, XV; 229, a.1461 (Antonius Farina at Ferrara = B1048); 231, XV; 237, XV (def.); 239, XV; 241, XV (def.); 250, XV; 252, XIV; Canon. Misc. 220, XIV^{2/2}; 295, a.1438; 297, XV (Iacobus de Azonibus = B7615); D'Orville 10, XV; 79, XIV^{2/2} (def.); 86, XIV^{2/2} (def.); 87, XV; 135, XV; 136, XV; Laud. Lat. 62, a.1461 (Gabrielis de Veritate = B4732); Rawl.G.28, XV. Balliol College 248D, XV med. Brasenose College 7, XV. Lincoln College, Lat. 43, XV (Robert Flemmyng) = O₁₂. Magdalen College, Lat. 218, XV. Merton College 297, XIV. New College 251, XV = O₁₃
- Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana 12, XV (Franciscus de Pillatis = B4359); 50, a.1324. Biblioteca Capitolare C 73, XV. Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile 42, XV; 169, a.1501 (Antonius Sinibaldus for David Lomellis; add to B1223–54); 463, XV. Biblioteca Universitaria 465, XV; 661, XV ex.; 1345, a.1422
- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 816, 'XV'. Bibliothèque Mazarine 3848, 'XV'. Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5755, 'XV'; 6342, '1376'; 6343, 'XIV–XV'; 6344, XV; 6345, XV?; 6346, XIV^{1/2}; 6347 (text prefacing Q), XIII–XIV; 6348, 'XIV'; 6349, 'XIV ex.'; 6350, a.1446 (A.R., add to B36); 6351, a.1467 (Io. de Serigné); 6352, 'XV'; 6353, XIV–XV; 6354, XV; 6355, XV; 6356, 'XV'; 6357, a.1444 (Anthonius de Confluentia); 6358, 'XV'; 6360, 'XIII'; 6603, 'XIV'; 6604, 'XIV' (by or for Io. le Marguetel (?)); 6605, a.1468 (at Florence); 6606, 'XV'; 6607, 'XV'; 6608, 'XV'; 6609, 'XV' (Toffanus de Chenemonte); 6610, 'XV'; 6611, 'XV'; 6758, 'XIII'; 6759, 'XV–XVI'; 6760, 'XV'; 7698, XIV; 7785, XIV; 11121, 'XV'; 13947, a.1506?; 15083, 'XV'; 16587, 'XV'; 16589, 'XV'; 17154, XV^{1/4}; n.a.lat. 351, a.1487; 1000, 'XV'; 1737, 'XV'. Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève 2394, 'XV'
- Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parmense 5, XV ex.; 689, XV; 696, a.1435 ('Antoniolus de Cataneis de Trigolo de Crema' at Parma); 896, XV; 937, a.1444 (P. Guaspar Viennensis); 1393, XV; 3179, XV
- Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria 46, a.1404
- Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta D.14, XV; D.53, XV; D.70, XV (Ioannes Clenitola (?De Nitola) = B9274)
- Prague, Národní knihovna 240 (I F 8), 'XV'; 1620 (VIII H 2), 'XV'; 2369 (XIII G 2), 'XV'
- Princeton, University Library 68 (= E. Adler 2, De Ricci p. 1650), XV
- Ravenna, Biblioteca Comunale Classense 107, XV
- Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 871, XV
- Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 1391, a.1405 (Fr. Johannes); 1499, XV; 1742, XV; 1857, XV^{1/2}; 2172, XV. Biblioteca Casanatense 294, XV (frg., def.); 299, XV; 593, XV;

1005, XV; 1049, XIV ex.; 1591, XV (Andreas De Pamciatichis of Pistoia) (def.).
Biblioteca Corsiniana 43.E.10, a.1446; 43.E.11, a.1477 (?1427); 43.F.18, XV;
43.G.29, XV

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 929, a.1503

Rovigo, Biblioteca dell' Accademia dei Concordi, Silvestriana 211, a.1416 ('Anthonius
Basitii de Arengheria civis et notarius Bonon.');

326, XV

***St Andrews**, University Library PA 6295, A2A00, XV^{3/4}

Saint-Dié, Bibliothèque Municipale 37, 'XV'

Saint-Mihiel, Bibliothèque Municipale 45, a.1438 (Fr. Lud. Portier); *48, 'XV' (lost
since 1914)

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 758, 'XV'

Sandaniele del Friuli, Biblioteca Civica Guarneriana 69, a.1441 (Guarnerius: add to
B4796–8)

Savignano sul Rubicone, Biblioteca Comunale e Accademica 17, XV

Seville, Biblioteca Colombina 5-4-20, 'XV'; 5-5-19, a.1467

Siena, Biblioteca Comunale H.VI.18, XV; H.VI.22, XV (or earlier?); K.VI.67, XV^{1/4}

Skokloster, Collection Baron von Essen 8° 13, XV

Stanford, University Library 378, XV^{3/4}

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket Va. 13, XV

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek HB.VIII.14, 'c. 1473–5'; VIII.14a, 'c.
1474–6'; *VIII.16, 'c. 1509–11'; X.14, 'c. 1473–6'; poet. et phil. 4° 26, 'c. 1490'

Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo 100.21, XV; 100.22, XV

***Tournai**, Bibliothèque Communale 98, 'XVI in.' (destroyed 1940)

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 689, 'XV in.'; 690, 'XV in.' (def.)

Trento, Biblioteca Comunale 1781, XV (Albertus de Colonia); già Vienn. 236, XV

Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 552, XIV^{2/3}; 1320, 'XIII'

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria E.IV.19, XV; F.V.22, XIV; H.V.30, XV

Udine, Biblioteca Archivescovile, lat. fol. 12 = 71 Scalon, 'XV'; 39 = 98 Scalon,
'XIV ex.' (def.)

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek C.907, a.1464

Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Universiteit 808, 'XV'

Valencia, Archivo de la Catedral 86, 'XIV'. *Biblioteca Municipal S-771, 'XIV' (lost
since 1966)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro H.21, XIV–XV; H.22,
XIV ex.; Barb. lat. 31, XV¹; Borg. lat. 325, XV med.; 326, XIII–XIV; 368, XV;
382, a.1452 (at Ancona); Chigi H.IV.100, XV (def.); H.IV.105, XV (def.);
H.IV.106, XV; H.V.150, XV; H.V.151, XIV; H.VI.184, XV; H.VI.185, XV;
Ottob. lat. 1494, XV; 1505, XV ex.; 1686, XV; 1707, XV; 1752, XV; 1781,
a.1432 (Niccolò de Cassio de Parma) (def.); 1987, XV; 1995, a.1452 (at Rome);
2033, XV; 2034, XIV; 2839, a.1446 (Angelus Simonis de Tivoli); 2840, a.1422;
2855, XV (Bartholomaeus); 2988, a.1466 (Michelangelus Anibalis de Perusio);
Pal. lat. 1463, XV (two texts); 1524, c. 1440; 1525, a.1467; 1526, XIV–XV; 1527,
a.1467; 1528, a.1424 (at Treviso); 1530, XV; 1532, XV; 1533, a.1468 (Iohannes
Nydenna de Confluentia; add to B10763–6; see *T. & T.* p. 148 n. 1); 1534, XV;
1535, a.1467 (Antonio de Arzignano); 1820, a.1394 (by Henry of Prussia for
Giovanni Lodovico Lambertazzi); Reg. lat. 1464, XV; 1481, a.1418 (at

Constance?); 1576, XV in.; 1623, XIII; 1651, XV (Iohannes Vila of Barcelona: cf. B11771); 1754, XV; Rossi 416, a.1474 (N.M. at Bologna); 559, XV in.; 603, XV; 956, XV in.; 1020, a.1470 (Permarinus Perigoliermi de Monte Fortino); 1049, a.1460 (Antonius at Ascoli); Urb. lat. 323, XV; 1147, XV^{1/2}; Vat. lat. 1734, XV; 1735, XV; 1736, XV^{1/4}; 1737, XIV–XV; 1738, XV; 1739, XIV (def.); 2880, XIV; 2881, XV in.; 2882, XV; *2883 (lost); 2884, a.1445 (Petrus Antonius Piani de Pisanis at Macerata, 'cum magno dolore dentium'); 2885, XV; 2886, XVI in.; 2887, a.1446 (Marianus Carillius de Asculo); 2888, XV; 2889, a.1468; 2890, XV; 3239, XIII?; 4609, a.1440 (Franciscus Aleardus at Ferrara; add to B4182); 5136, XIII?; 6838, XV ex.; 9521, XV; 9824, XV; 11465, XV; 11488, XIV–XV; 11574, XIV (def.)

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana *Lat. II.413 (1586), 'XV'; *II.414 (1882), 'XV'; *II.415 (1587), 'XV'; *VI.50 (3632), XV; VI.98 (3084), 'XV'; VI.114 (2597), 'XV'; VI.115 (3640), a.1440 (Nicolaus Marci Petri filius Dalmata Spoletinus = B14409); VI.116 (3343), a.1425 (Nicolaus filius Johannis de Bononia at Padua = B14345). Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna 38, XV ex.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 42, 'XV'; 124, 'XIV'; 192, a.1454 (Bartholomeus 'notarius de Rambaldo'); [for 236 v. *Trento*]; 315, XIII = V₁; 3115, 'XV'; 5187, a.1467 (Johannes Merwart de Wemding at Basle; cf. B10574); Fid. Kom. 7916 (311-116) S.N. 12838 (date unknown). Schottenstift 214 (220 Hübl), a.1447

Viterbo, Biblioteca Comunale degli Ardentini 200, XV

Volterra, Biblioteca Comunale Guarnacci 59 (= LVI.6.30), XV (def.); 60 (= LVI.3.6), XV

Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library SM 12, XV. Library of Congress, Law Library C 5, XV

Weimar, Landesbibliothek, fol. 64, 'XV'

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Aug. 4° 3.3 (2928), a.1469; 8.12 (2978), 'XV'; 19.43 (3224), 'XV' (Tantris); Gud.lat. 2 (4306), XIV; 150 (4454), XIII; 418 Novi, 'XV' (at Vienna?)

Wrocław, (formerly Breslau) Biblioteka Uniwersytecka *B.1708, 'XIV–XV' (lost); R.73, a.1451; R.75, 'a.1420'; R.436, 'XIV'

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.ch.q.174, a.1462 (at Erfurt?)

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek C 218, 'XV'; 96, 'XIII' (def.); 133, 'XV'

I add a few manuscripts concerning which I have doubts of various kinds: Bruges, 'Bibliothèque Sc. et Arts' 4 (XV) and 'Bibl. du grand séminaire' 112/111 (XV); Boncompagni 189 (XV) and 349 (a.1469) (the collection was dispersed in 1894); Zalusiana fol.55 (a.1462, Antonius Ursius de Pnierey), perhaps now in St Petersburg; Zwettl 269.

Postscript: Thanks to the kindness of A. D. Vardi, I can now add to the list **Jerusalem**, Jewish National and University Library Var. 552, XV med.